

A HISTORY
of
THE ROYAL ACADEMY SCHOOLS
from 1837 to
1878,

by

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University of Leeds.

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April 1968.

H.C.Morgan.

PREFACE.

This thesis follows on from my previous one. I have accepted the same brief, and have attempted to investigate very fully the history of, and conditions in, the Academy Schools for a further forty years.

It is intended to be a reference book, and it is therefore set out in such a way that information can be readily obtained.

The three Presidencies are dealt with separately, and in each account there is a section on routine happenings - drawn from Minutes of Council, General Assembly, and other Academy records. (Perhaps I should explain that though I use a chronological basis here, and deal with each year in turn, I do not treat of events within the year in a purely chronological way. Within the year I have tried to keep to topics. Within the topic, naturally, I have kept to a chronological sequence). This section is followed by one covering other information for the Presidency period. In this I have made some attempt to 'put flesh on the bones' by including reminiscences, impressions, and anecdotes from contemporary sources when these bear upon the Schools or the students.

Further, the happenings of the Academy and Schools are placed against the background of wider events. Much was taking place in education, for example, which clearly affected these.

South Kensington and the national Art Schools, so very active during the period, were a challenge or a stimulation, or both. In this I have tried to avoid the charge of being too diffuse: manifestly, however, one must not be too parochial. It is hoped that a correct balance is attained.

Appendices, which are referred to in the text, give 'fringe information', and a very full index covers the text.

Original spellings and punctuation are preserved in the extracts.

H.C.M.

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INTRODUCTION:

Events leading to the Report from the 1835 Select Committee on Arts and their Connection with Manufactures. Further, some consideration of that Report.

The above-mentioned Report was printed on 16th August 1836, and from this point it might reasonably be expected that the conduct of the Royal Academy and its Schools might change. The events connected with this Report constituted the greatest threat that the Royal Academy had had to face since its foundation. This thesis is an examination of the events attendant upon this, and will attempt to show to what extent changes did take place within the Schools of the Royal Academy.

From its inception until some years within the 19th century the Royal Academy was a powerful, wealthy, royally-protected body. Occasionally, and inevitably, from the artists themselves - both within and without the institution - there had been outbursts of dissatisfaction down the years. Northcote, Fuseli and their ilk found much to complain of within the establishment all the time, but occasionally the extent of grievances was publically laid open by such occurrences as the dismissal of Barry and the conduct of Haydon. The majority of Academicians however were content enough with the Academy milieu. They had sought the honours, endured the ignominy of being Associates (about which so much is heard during the 19th century), and were established "R.A." and "Esquire". But outside the Academy events were taking place which were to change the

whole pattern of society, and the thinking which went with this was ultimately to lead to the setting up of the 1835 Select Committee.

The change began - or perhaps it is truer to say that the wheels really began turning - after 1815. In England after the end of the Napoleonic Wars a slump occurred, when government orders for food and clothing suddenly ceased. Trade became disorganised, and Europe was too impoverished to buy British goods. Prices were high and inflation took place. Britain in these years was, in Disraeli's phrase 'two nations' - the one rich and authoritative, privileged; the other abject and depressed. Machinery was displacing hand work and industrial unrest was rife. The Luddite Riots had begun in 1811, and in the years of trouble the policy of the government was to punish ruthlessly. In 1815 the Corn Law was passed, the price of bread was raised, and social ferment increased.

Men of different classes and backgrounds began to speak, write and act. The poets and writers, fired by the French Revolution and events subsequent, were demanding freedom for the human soul. Sir James Mackintosh and Sir Samuel Romilly were urging reform of the penal code. Lord Grey and Sir Francis Burdett pressed for Parliamentary Reform, which later also occupied the efforts of Francis Place. Bentham was influencing thinking men by his criterion of judging the laws and institutions of a country by their usefulness. For him,

tradition and custom could go hang. 'Orator' Hunt was shouting, and the Peterloo Massacres took place in 1819. William Cobbett, possibly the most effective of them all, was in full cry, and his Political Register - 'Cobbett's Twopenny Trash' - was published weekly from 1802 until his death in 1835. The currents of English history at this time were strong and diverse, and it was clear that things would never be the same again. Scholars and men of action alike were critically aware of society and united in considering the value and functionality of institutions. So great was the outcry, over several years, that no-one could remain unaffected. Parliament began to change, and the entire composition of that body was re-shuffled after the Reform Act. So much then for the general social and political background. It is now time to consider some of the cultural thinking which came out of it, which thinking was to lead to the setting up of the 1835 Select Committee.

Professor Bell has this to say:

"The new class of men which had come to power in the Commons contained some who attributed our inferiority in the manufacture of those articles which involve the arts of design, to our lack of art schools and museums, and who felt that the Academy, despite its early promise in this matter, was largely responsible for our backward condition. Moreover, they regarded the corporation as a monopolistic body, hampering free enterprise in art and, by reason of its association with the Crown, belonging to the era of corruption, privilege and aristocratic rule. Amongst the most important of these radical members was the wealthy Liverpool merchant, William Ewart, a strong advocate of free trade and the founder of our public libraries. Ewart saw eye to eye with Haydon on matters of art and art education and it would seem, from his speeches in the House of Commons, that the politician was briefed by the painter.

The collision between the Radicals and the Royal Academy was occasioned by the decision of Lord Grey's government to give the National Gallery a local habitation more fitting than the house in Pall Mall in which our small collection of pictures then hung. The Academy had never been quite whole-hearted in its support of the projected museum; there were some who, like Constable, feared that it might teach our painters to look to art rather than to nature, while others, quite frankly, said that it would be bad for trade. Nevertheless, under the reformed Parliament, action was taken; the site in Trafalgar Square was purchased and the building was begun. At this point the Academy, which no longer found its old premises in the Strand convenient, saw the chance to move to more spacious apartments nearer to the fashionable part of the town. It was therefore proposed that the National Gallery and the Academy should be united for the benefit of the art." ¹

Such a projected union, however, inevitably caused questions to be asked in Parliament, and in April 1834 Henry Warburton, radical Member, was asking what terms the government had made with the Royal Academy. The Minister spoke enthusiastically of the scheme but agreed that the property should

"rest in the public; and that if the resumption of these apartments became desirable, the Academy should resign them." ²

Further comment was raised in Parliament, and,

"a general debate on the Academy took place, William Ewart declared that the Academy had become a body of portrait painters from whose exhibitions 'historical or poetical works of great value were excluded.' He went on to express the opinion that, if the Academy were to occupy a building erected at public expense, its exhibitions should be opened to the public without charge. He was supported by O'Connell and by Mr Roebuck and opposed by Sir Robert Inglis, always a staunch friend of the institution, and by Sir Matthew White Ridley and by Sir Robert Peel. It will be observed that the cleavage ran along party lines, although it was in fact only the left wing of the ministerial party which was active in the assault upon the Academy." ²

As Bell continues, Sir Martin Archer Shee now began to take up the matter with the Prime Minister. Lord Grey was

clearly somewhat embarrassed, but was generally optimistic. He did not think the Academy need be alarmed, but meanwhile Ewart and his friends moved that certain returns relating to the Academy should be produced for the House. Shee neatly managed this one, by asking the King if the returns might be furnished. Thus they were given, whilst the Academy had lost no autonomy. The matter was only beginning however, for in the next year Ewart moved that "a Select Committee be appointed to enquire into the best means of extending a knowledge of the Arts and of the Principles of Design among the people (especially the Manufacturing Population) of the Country; also to enquire into the Constitution of the Royal Academy, and the effects produced by it." Now, then, the gloves were off!

Of the various aspects of the Academy which made the opposition very angry it is probably true to say that foremost was the position of privilege - the Royal protection - and the fact that the Academy was apparently going to have the best of both worlds by getting a half-share in the new National Gallery building, withal at no cost to itself. This comes out strongly in the evidence before the Select Committee. The evidence of Shee is worth quoting to illustrate this and, secondly, to give some idea of his defence:

"2030. Has not the Royal Academy got one half of the National Gallery? - Not at present.

2031. Is it to be devoted to it? - Yes.

2032. And to that one half of the National Gallery, the public cannot go, unless they pay 1s.? - I consider that half of that building is to be the National Gallery, and the other half the Royal Academy.

2033. That half of the National Gallery is not open to the Nation? - Certainly not; the Royal Academy being dependent on the receipts from the exhibition, must necessarily charge the same sum for admission as where they now are.

2034. Do you consider the new National Gallery is commensurate with the greatness of this nation? - Certainly not.

2035. Do you think it proper, then, if it is not itself large enough, half should be given away to another institution? - I did not say it was not large enough; I say, as a structure erected for the purpose of a national gallery and a royal academy, it is not so extensive as a great nation like this would be expected to produce; but I say that part of the structure which is to be devoted to the National Gallery, is fully ample for any pictures which the National Gallery have now to place in it; and not only fully ample to receive those pictures now, but will be fully ample for many more years to come; and I trust, should the period arrive when it will be necessary for the convenience of the collection of the nation to extend its locality, that room and space sufficient will be found to accommodate it.

2036. Do you consider if the national pictures were to be too numerous to be contained in the half of the National Gallery, which is now to be devoted to the purposes of the National Gallery, that the Royal Academy would then have to give up the half which they possess in consequence of the increased number of the national pictures to be exhibited? - I conceive that the Royal Academy is to be placed in the apartments connected with the National Gallery, precisely on the same footing as they are now in Somerset House. That is the foundation on which the academy has thought it prudent to remove; and that is the position in which I conceive them to stand.

2037. Do you consider that if the half of the building was not sufficient for a national gallery, that the nation who paid for the whole of the building have a right to demand the other half now occupied by the Royal Academy or not? - I cannot pretend to say what right the nation possesses; all I can say is, that the Royal Academy has been placed in the apartments which they now occupy by the express donation and

command of His Majesty; that when His Majesty was pleased to transfer the property of the King to the nation, a stipulation was made that the Royal Academy as well as the Royal Society and the Society of Antiquaries should have accommodation in the new building. The plans and the arrangement of the different apartments were all submitted to the Royal Academy for their approbation, and sanctioned by the president and the council. The academy have enjoyed these apartments ever since, precisely on the same footing, by the favour of their Sovereign, and the honourable tenure of their integrity and utility; they are to be placed in their new position, on the same terms upon which they held the old; and I conceive that it would not be to the credit of any government to disturb or remove them.

2038. You do not mean to deny the public have paid for the whole of the building of the National Gallery; may they not, therefore, when they think it right, place the Royal Academy in some other position, and if it is deemed for the national welfare, take the whole of the building? - The public paid for the erection of Somerset House; at the period of its erection, there was an express condition that a portion of it was to be devoted to the Royal Academy. The academy, understanding that it would be to the convenience of the Government to obtain their apartments in Somerset House, and feeling that it would be an advantage to the arts of the country to have a more enlarged space for the display of their powers, proposed this change or rather exchange of residence. The academy give up that which they have a right to consider their own, and of which they have been in possession for upwards of half a century; and they receive in return the apartments in which they are to be now placed.

2039. If you consider it for the convenience of the Government and the academy, that the Royal Academy might be shifted from Somerset House elsewhere, would it not be right that they should be moved from the projected situation in the National Gallery, if it were good for the nation? - I must observe, that that seems to be begging the question. I do not conceive that such a measure could be for the good of the nation.

2040. Might it or might it not be? - I do not think it possible that it could be.

2041. I will just put the case, that one half of the building was not sufficient for the national pictures, do you think the nation have or have not a right to call for the Royal Academy to give up the whole of the building for which the nation paid? - It is not for me to decide as to what are the rights of the nation; therefore I give no opinion upon that subject; but I beg leave to observe, that I consider

the Royal Academy a much more important institution to the nation than the National Gallery; I look upon it that a garden is of more consequence than a granary; and you may heap up a hortus-siccus of art without producing any of the salutary effects which never fail to result from the operations of such a school as the Royal Academy. It would therefore, I conceive, be an injury to the nation, as well as to the Royal Academy, if they were to be removed, in order to make room for even the best works of the old masters." 3

There was much evidence presented before the Select Committee which refuted that of Sir Martin. To illustrate, it is as well to quote the vociferous Haydon:

"1118. You have made some reference to the mode in which you would apportion the National Gallery for works of British artists; what do you think of the plan which is now in fact carrying into execution, of appropriating a part of the National Gallery for the exhibition of the annual pictures, not a selection, but an annual contribution of artists? - I think it will ruin the art and the academy too. I am perfectly convinced on every principle of common sense and justice, after a whole body of artists have been suffering for years, to let the Royal Academy get into that national building, and take the advantage of a national vote, and not having a single law altered, or a single injustice corrected, is the most extraordinary thing I ever heard of in my life. I would not let them into the gallery, but devote that portion of the gallery to a native collection, leaving such spaces as there would be in the other part for the cartoons. In the first place that plan is most desirable, for persons may look in and go away with an improved notion, and I would gradually fill it with the best works of native genius, as they successively appeared, and the Royal Academy should not be admitted." 4

What official backing was there to Shee's claims in paragraphs 2037 and 2038? A simple statement appeared in the Appendix to the 1836 Select Committee Report. This accompanied various Returns submitted by Howard, the Academy Secretary, to the House of Commons. The statement runs thus:

"There are no expressed conditions on which the apartments at Somerset House were originally bestowed on the Royal Academy.

Note facing p.9.

The shared building at Trafalgar Square, designed
by William Wilkins.

Since so much contemporary contention arose over this, as is here seen, a further brief note is perhaps desirable.

Available with this thesis - but too awkwardly-shaped to be bound in with the text - are photostats of Wilkin's plans, reproduced from the Report of the 1835 Select Committee. It may well be of interest to look at these and read the comments of Hutchison. The latter points out some of the architect's difficulties:

"....Wilkins was considerably hampered in the realisation of his plans...Accounts vary as to the amounts of money.. (he) was allowed to spend, but it seems certain that the Government was not over-generous. The architect was expected to use what materials he could from Kent's building, and he was also given some fine columns from Carlton House which had recently been gutted by fire. He was compelled to set his facade back 50 feet from the line originally chosen, so as not to obscure the view of St. Martin-in-the-Fields Church from Pall Mall - a laudable proviso, but one which meant the sacrifice of his proposed entrance steps from the square, as he was not allowed to encroach on certain barrack grounds to the north. Indeed, an ancient right of way had to be left to these, and the dilapidated property surrounding them, through the new building. Hence the clear passage at ground-floor level dividing a part of the Academy into two..."

Certain it is that he was indeed restricted. A great defender of the right of way was the Duke of Wellington, who saw the strategic value of being able to rush troops from the barracks into Trafalgar Square in the event of riots and disturbances.

Hutchison defends Wilkins:

"...I feel, however, that Wilkins tackled a difficult problem and coped with the various hindrances extremely well. It cannot be easy to design a building as a whole and yet at the same time give equality..to two constituent parts. The columns ...were used to good effect...The long frontage is well defined...the central dome would have commanded more dignity had there been a flight of steps from the square, as originally envisaged...the small domes at the extremities would have seemed less niggardly..had the sculptures...ever materialised." (The Homes of the Royal Academy - S.C. HUTCHISON)

The Royal Academy of Arts took possession of the apartments which they occupy in Somerset House, in April 1780, by virtue of a letter from the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury to the Surveyor General, directing him to deliver over to the Treasurer of the Royal Academy, "all the apartments allotted to His Majesty's said Academy in the new buildings at Somerset House, which are to be appropriated to the uses specified in the several plans of the same heretofore settled."

The Royal Academy received these apartments as a gift from their munificent founder, George the Third; and it has always been understood by the members, that His Majesty, when he gave up to the Government his Palace of Old Somerset House (where the Royal Academy was originally established), stipulated that apartments should be erected for that establishment in the new building. The Royal Academy remained in the old Palace till those rooms were completed which had been destined for their occupation; plans of which had been submitted to their approval, and signed by the President, Council and Officers."

Further details are available concerning the Royal Academy and its right of tenure to apartments. Since it seems somewhat cumbersome to give them here in the text, however, they are presented separately in Appendix IV.

General dissatisfaction with the fact that the Academy was to share the building with the National Gallery comes out time and again in the questions of Members of the Select Committee to Wilkins, the architect of the building:

"1157. But as it stands at present, the academy has excluded any works of sculpture? - What I mean by works of sculpture, are such as you see in the British Museum, a public collection.

1158. But at present of course these rooms are appropriated to the Royal Academy? - And to their numerous pupils.

1159. Therefore of course it is not a public exhibition? - Not accessible to the public.

1160. But I mean to say, that half of the first floor which is now given up to the Royal Academy might be devoted to the purpose of exhibition of ancient sculpture? - Half of it would, because the room at the back are useless.

.....

"1164. Chairman). I observe that, of the first floor above the ground floor, nearly one half is devoted to the Royal Academy? - One half.

1165. The result of the whole being, that as nearly as possible half the National Gallery, both on the lower and upper story is given up to the Royal Academy? - It might be said so very fairly.

1166. The Royal Academy of course will, as long as it retains possession of this portion of the National Gallery, be able to exclude such portion of the public as it does not choose to admit? - Of course, excepting through these rights of way, which we deplore as much as any body." 5

The attacks on Wilkins seem almost personal at some points, and this is not entirely surprising, as the evidence shows. It seems clear that the original idea to have the shared building was his:

"....the plan that has been adopted.

1388. Was it open to public competition? - No, not to public competition.

1389. Who laid the plans before them? - Two Mr. Nash, one Mr. Cockerell, and my own.

1390. And any other? - No other that I know of; I mean to say I only saw those.

1391. Did the Committee call in the assistance of artists to enable them to decide? - No, not at all; none were called in.

1392. Dr. Bowring). And the number of architects who were competitors were confined to those three? - Yes, they were hardly competitors; I do not know whether I ought to call them competitors; plans had been presented by Mr. Nash and Mr. Cockerell; but the fact is that the suggestion of erecting a building for this purpose originated with me; whether that was a ground for preference or not, I do not know, but I wish to state that. The site was about to be converted into shops, and seeing a very magnificent site, I took the liberty of calling at Lord Dover's and Lord Aberdeen's, and suggesting that there would be the site for a National Gallery, if one was to be erected.

1393. Did you make a written representation on the subject? -

Yes, and Lord Dover communicated with Lord Grey; in consequence of which I had to wait on Lord Grey.

1394. Chairman). What communication passed between you and the Committee upon that occasion? - I was only once, I think, before the Committee; I was in attendance, but they did not call me in only on one occasion, and asked me to give some explanation of the plans; I saw them but once, I think."

Later, in this his second appearance before Select Committee, Wilkins claimed that the idea was his even more emphatically:

"1429. Did not the Treasury form the Committee, and did not they desire the plans to be submitted, and prescribe the insertion of the Royal Academy into the plan of the National Gallery? - Yes; the plan was, as I have already observed, a volunteer originally of mine.

1430. Then you originally proposed the appropriation of part of the National Gallery to the Royal Academy; it was your suggestion? - Certainly it was my suggestion. Sir Martin Shee had, very nearly about the same time, some communication with Lord Grey, reminding him of the promise that had been given to him; but that was a little subsequent to my original suggestion."

The idea of the Academy being in a position of privilege, of having the best of both worlds - enjoying the immunity of Royal protection and the material advantages of receiving the usage of a public building - these were the things which caused attacks on the Academy to go on for many years. But the 1835 and 1836 Select Committees did not only concern themselves with this aspect. Many facets of the Academy were investigated and criticised, but before looking at some of these there follows a word about the witnesses who appeared before the two Select Committees.

These witnesses were generally hostile, though naturally

witnesses who defended the Academy were also called. The hostile witnesses were roughly divisible into three categories. There were those much moved by the social reformers who felt deeply that the lot of working men must be improved, and that these latter must have the opportunity for education. Others, versed in manufacture and trade, felt that Britain's goods were inferior to those of France and elsewhere on the Continent. Their own pockets were being hit, and they believed that the fault lay largely with the Academy that it had not trained artists to enter British industry as designers and so raise the standard of production. Finally, there was the category of dissatisfied artists, who had personal grudges against the Academy. The motives of many witnesses were, of course, mixed, but the total effect was the same - the Academy came under very heavy fire.

Objections to the mode of conducting its entire affairs, as opposed to those merely concerned with the Schools, covered such topics as:

uses of funds; the honours of the profession being entirely in the Academy, and the limiting factor of the number of artists who could become members; the system of election of Academy officers; hanging committees; exhibition accommodation; Academicians not being permitted to belong to any other artistic society; the social contact between the Academy and influential art patrons; the exclusion of engravers from full membership; the sharing of the accommodation with the National Gallery; the state of the Schools.

So far as the Schools were concerned there was a deal of criticism of the mode of instruction. Haydon, for example, spoke of the faults of the Life Academy, and the system therein of instruction by Visitors. The content of instruction was also queried, and a number of witnesses, like Morrison, decried the excessive use of the human figure in training, and the linking to pure Academism as it had been practised for centuries throughout Europe. Others were concerned that so much vital matter was left out of the curriculum. Cockerell, and others, considered that architecture was very little catered for - a fact which even Howard, the Secretary of the Academy, had to admit. Great dissatisfaction was expressed that the instruction offered was in no way linked to the requirements of manufacturers. Witnesses from different backgrounds and occupations united in this major criticism. Lastly, there was criticism of the laxity of the professors, and the fact that lectures had often not been delivered over considerable periods. These points were frequently mentioned in the evidence of such witnesses as Rennie, Hurlstone, Martin, Clint, Haydon and Foggo.⁶

By investigating at considerable length the condition of schools of design abroad the Select Committee produced a weight of evidence in favour of these, thus showing the Royal Academy Schools to be inadequate for the needs of the nation. That there should be Academic instruction to a degree was admitted, but there was a widespread strong feeling that this should be limited, and that the main instruction of the Schools should be more realistic. Many witnesses expressed the idea

that a more pragmatic system for the training of industrial designers was needed, and indicated that the Academy might well have given a lead herein. It is significant that the Committee chose as its first witness Dr. Waagen, Director of the Royal Gallery at Berlin. He described the logical and very thorough system of art instruction in Germany. He mentioned that both sorts of training were offered: Academic training at the Berlin Royal Academy for those destined for the higher levels of art; and, more important in many ways, useful training directly applicable to manufactures which was offered in the considerable number of schools of design. He outlined the courses of instruction offered in these latter, and showed how such industries as cotton manufacturing had gained by the existence of such schools. Many witnesses, such as Foggo, Toplis, Bowring and Donaldson extolled French design and the lean of training towards this skill. Belgian practice was praised by Bogaerts and Barnes. (Bogaerts mentioned that in Antwerp some 7,000 to 8,000 children of the poor were given instruction in the Sunday Schools, not only in reading and writing but also in the arts of design. Thus they were equipped towards work in design in some measure). James Skene showed how Scotland also was in advance of England in this respect as a result of the work of the two bodies, the Board of Trustees for the Encouragement of Manufactures in Scotland, and the Royal Institution for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts in Scotland. The system of the 33 Schools of Design in Bavaria was also explained in detail by Von Klenze.

There was much evidence also to show that an interest in fine art, and considerable talent for it, was to be found among ordinary workmen in England. H.J.Howell, an Inspector for Administering the Factory Act, spoke of the Literary and Scientific Institution at Worcester, and the lectures recently given there by the painter Constable. The men told him that "they had attended the lectures with great profit to themselves, as tending to correct their taste and to improve their judgment". These men maintained that they were most anxious to have a set of casts, and that "they had derived considerable advantage from the exhibition of pictures in the town, particularly one of the ancient masters, furnished from the private collections of gentlemen in the neighbourhood". Toplis, a Vice President of the London Mechanics' Institute, produced much supporting evidence from that organisation. Witnesses also spoke of the very great dearth of drawers and designers in England. John Millward, for example, mentioned the two artists employed in pattern drawing for the lace industry centred in Birmingham. These two artists were the only ones employed by an industry of 150,000 people.

The use of wider cultural opportunities - museums and exhibitions - was fully investigated. Dr. Bowring spoke of the French and their good taste. Much was explained, he thought, by the fact that "the circumstances that surround them are very favourable to the study and love of art; their public collections and museums are everywhere accessible and very much

visited by the labouring population". There was considerable support for the extension of such facilities in England, and the belief was expressed that much benefit would accrue from it.

So much for the hostile evidence. There was evidence in defence of the Academy, mainly from the Academicians themselves. William Sandby, writing in 1863 and not very far from these events, gives a useful summary of the Report. It is, however, a biassed summary and makes much of the evidence on behalf of the Academy. Of the 13 pages he devotes to the Report $4\frac{1}{2}$ are of the evidence against the establishment; the rest the evidence supporting it. In these $4\frac{1}{2}$ pages the treatment is not just, as is illustrated by the following examples.

The first is the way Sandby treats of the evidence of Rennie. He says of this:

"The first of these witnesses was Mr. George Rennie, who gave his general opinion in opposition to it, but was unable to state any reason for his objections; for although he was at that time a sculptor, he had never been a student at the Academy, and had resided during the greater part of his life on the continent. Subsequently, he abandoned his profession and became a colonial governor. His evidence, therefore, virtually amounted to nothing." 7

Looking into these statements we can see the bias: first, that he was "unable to state any reason for his objections". The evidence shows that Rennie answered the questions he was asked ably and sensibly. If a clear statement of fact was not built up from his answers the fault must largely have lain with the questioners and not with the one answering. Secondly, the disparaging reference to the fact that "he abandoned his

profession" has nothing whatever to do with the evidence as he gave it at the time, when he was a practising artist. Thirdly, his evidence is played down because "he had never been a student at the Academy". Nevertheless he could be, and no doubt was, familiar with Academy practice. Fourthly, the odd conclusion that "his evidence, therefore, virtually amounted to nothing". Certain it is that Sandby, by the preceding statements, has not proved that it amounted to nothing.

Another example of Sandby's bias concerns Foggo's evidence. Sandby dismisses it in a few lines because it is "trivial". He says that Foggo protested that he had lost patronage insofar as he could not show his work to the daughter of the French ambassador before she was due to leave England. This work was impounded in the Customs, and the signatures of two Academicians were required before it could enter the country duty free. Apparently, Foggo had not been able to get Academicians to sign his paper in time. Of this Sandby says: "the charge was frivolous enough" etc., and he thereafter dismisses all the evidence of Foggo. Again, on referring to the Report, it is evident that Foggo was well informed and that his statements were damaging to the Academy. His evidence was especially useful in shedding light on the academic system in France.

A last example of this bias concerns Haydon. Sandby says:

"A more formidable and violent opponent was the unfortunate B.R.Haydon, whose death by his own hand, some twelve years

after this enquiry, in a measure explains his previous conduct." 4

What exactly is to be made of this statement is not very clear! That Haydon was odd and eccentric is a truism. In this Report there is no doubt, however, that his evidence was powerful. Just how powerful is indicated in the researches of Professor Bell, already referred to. To imply, as this statement does, that because Haydon testified against the Academy he felt obliged to take his own life is palpably ridiculous. Provided that the bias is recognised and allowed for Sandby's summary is quite useful to consult.

It cannot be denied that the Report of the 1835 and 1836 Select Committees was a condemnation of the Academy and its Schools, and that a vast amount of evidence was built up to support the condemnation. It is interesting to note how other Academicians than Sandby continued in later years to play down this condemnation. Another such was G.D.Leslie, writing as late as 1913. He was obviously voicing the sentiments of loyal Academicians down the decades.

Undoubtedly many good ideas had been expressed by witnesses, and useful experiences related to the Select Committee. It might have been expected that some of these would seize the imaginations of the Academicians and affect the conduct of the Academy and Schools alike. To what extent they did so comes out as the transactions of the Academy Minutes are examined.

Before looking at such things, however, it is well to

state that an over-simplified picture has been presented so far in this summary of thinking which radiated in time from the 1835 Report of the Select Committee. Throughout the period being studied there were further complications of theory and practice which were strands in the ultimate pattern. All ideas - religious, political, educational, humanitarian, cultural, literary, artistic - were part of this pattern, this scheme of thinking and action, theory and practice. The Radicals, for example, were opposed not only by their political opponents, but also by those of a different religious complexion. The Gothic High Church Movement, which was backed by such artists as Dyce, Herbert, and Redgrave linked up with the politics of Gladstone, Philip Pusey and Beresford Hope. From a study of the Schools of Design it can be seen that a mass of varied advice came from different quarters - advice in which artists, politicians, civil servants, manufacturers, businessmen, churchmen, philanthropists, art critics and art patrons all took part. For the supporters of the Gothic Revival, religion, morality and beauty went together, and the theory and practice of the fine arts was to be a manifestation of this idealism. Dyce, with his early Nazarene connections, became closely associated with Gladstone, who furthered his artistic interests. Beresford Hope was the first to commission a German Nazarene to decorate an English Church. The thinking of Beresford Hope in this respect is illustrated by his evidence before the 1863 Royal Commission, in this case referring to matters architectural:

"4259. How is it that the Institute of Architects is

separate from the Architectural Museum? - There are always three societies to do the work of one in England. The Institute of Architects was founded 25 years ago; and several people, about 12 years ago, seeing it did not embrace handicraftsmen, set up the Architectural Museum to supply that deficiency. The Architectural Museum though it has no obligatory credo is mainly Gothic. It does not exclude other styles, but it has a strong Gothic bias. It is governed by a mixed council of professional and amateur members. I may add that, not to mention many distinguished living architects who belong to it, the Prince Consort was our patron, and the late Lord de Grey our first president, and that the list includes the names of Sir Charles Barry and Mr. Ruskin. The Institute of Architects has no credo at all." 10

Some of the ideas of Beresford Hope will be examined later.

On the other side were the Radicals and those who went with them. They believed there should be no academies of the privileged, and no papistical ideas from Germany. Politicians like Hume and Ewart, utilitarians like Bentham, literary men like Macaulay were lined up on this side. And, of course, amongst the artists there was no louder nor more persistent voice than that of Haydon.

In this way then was the pattern further complicated. An attempt will be made later to relate the history of the Royal Academy Schools to these wider developments. Now there follows an examination of the Minutes of the Academy during the Presidency of Shee from the year 1837.

THE PRESIDENCY

of

SIR MARTIN ARCHER SHEE,

from

1837 to

1850

Events taking place within the Academy and Schools which affected the working of the latter, from 1837 to 1850.

1837.

Although the rates of pay to models had been reduced in August 1832 it seems that there was prestige attached to doing that work in the Royal Academy Schools. A CM of 27th January 1837 reads:

"M. Fleurat, a French model, having proposed to sit in the Life Academy, for one week, on condition of receiving a silver medal as a remuneration - Mr Etty moved & was seconded by Mr. Stansfield that his proposal should be acceded to, and a medal procured from Mssrs Rundall & Bridge."

On 28th February the medal was ready and given to Etty to hand over. (See footnote at end of section).

CM of 5th August 1837 states that the Keeper and Mr. Etty had been asked to

"...give directions for such apparatus as they may think necessary for setting the Model in the Life Academy - & further to obtain an Estimate from Mr. Edge of the expense of fitting up the Life Academy with Gas Lights, as well as the Antique School and such other parts of the Building as may require them."

Etty was again active later in the year regarding the Life Class. In the generally financially restrictive measures introduced in August 1832 the use of the female model had been reduced to one week in four. In October of that same year Etty had persuaded the Council to allow the female model "to sit one week in three and not oftener". Now, on 5th December 1837,

he gained a further concession:

"Mr. Eddy moved, and was seconded by Mr. Pickersgill,
'Resolved that in future each Visitor in the life Academy
be allowed to employ the Female Model two weeks in the
month during which time he is officiating, but not oftener'".

On 10th July 1837 occurred the customary visit to
Dulwich College to select pictures for use in the Painting
School. This had been taking place since 1815. The four
selected this year were:

"Painting School, by Rubens; a Poussin; a Guercino; a
Paul Potter."

The Travelling Student, Mr. I. Johnson, appealed on 22nd
April 1837 to delay his setting out "in consequence of particular
engagements in business which it would be detrimental to him
to leave unfinished". Permission was granted but he was to
receive no pension until he left, and his Studentship was still
to terminate on the agreed date, 10th May 1840.

CM of 28th June 1837 contains a copy of the letter
written from the Academy to Queen Victoria on her accession.
William IV had died on 20th June, not long after he had attended
his last function, the opening of the new premises, to be shared
by the Royal Academy and the National Gallery, in Trafalgar
Square on 28th April 1837. (C.R. Leslie¹¹ has left a description
of the occasion, and elsewhere the new apartments are fully
described by William Sandby¹²). The letter to the Queen outlined
the history of the Academy and sets out its claims for continued
Royal patronage. It states:

"Under that patronage the Royal Academy has for sixty eight years gratuitously supported the only public school of Art in the Kingdom - they have expended £300,000 in promoting the objects for which it was established (including £31,000 devoted to the relief of distress'd Artists and their families, they have formed a valuable Collection of Casts, Pictures, Prints and books and have educated 1700 Students without having at any time had recourse to the nation for assistance..)"

The Queen responded by knighting two Academicians at her first levee, A.W.Callcott and R.Westmacott, and at the end of July paid her first visit to the Exhibition as Sovereign and Patron of the Academy.

There must have been some relieved Academicians as they noted the continuing Royal favour, for the enemies of the Academy, not yet sated by the findings of the 1835 Select Committee, were preparing another attack. In May 1837 Joseph Hume, M.P., had seen the President, Shee, at his private residence, and in a lengthy talk had endeavoured to persuade Shee to open the Exhibition, free, to the public, at certain times. Not content with a verbal refusal Hume repeated the request in a letter to the Academy, requesting that free entry to the public should take place "on one or more days in the week". The President again refused, and the Council backed him unanimously (CM of 22nd June 1837). Such was the general interest in this that in July Shee printed and published a letter entitled, 'A Letter to Lord John Russell, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, on the Alleged Claims of the Public to be Admitted Gratis to the Exhibition of the Royal Academy'. CM of 2nd November 1837 quotes a letter from Russell asking if Mr.Hume may be "furnished with

a list of the names of Students sent to Italy at the expense of the Royal Academy in each year since the commencement of the Institution, distinguishing Painters, Sculptors and Architects, the time each was maintained in Italy & the amount paid for each". Russell asked if there was any objection to this information being given, and it was agreed that it should be sent. CM of 28th December 1837 tells that Russell had again to ask when Mr. Hume might have his information, and he was told that it had then been sent.

These events indicate how pressure was being kept up against the Academy and its Schools, possibly the more so since the move to Trafalgar Square had been effected. Of this move a letter of August 1837 states that nothing had been lost nor any book damaged.

Footnote.

It seems likely that this model is the one referred to by Frith (Autobiography and Reminiscences, Vol III, p.170). Frith tells of a French artist he met at Creswick's and continues:

"We then fell to talking about French models. 'Yes, the English woman is prettier than the French; the English miss' - here he blew away imaginary kisses - 'she is- she is- mais - but we have the model man as you have it not in your country; he is- he is - There was a man Fleury. I think it was - his name was - ah! he was such a fine man; he was a man of Herculeaneum strength.'"

1838.

During this year there is very little in the Minutes of either Council or General Assembly relating to the Schools. That the influence of Reynolds was still strong in the teaching is apparent in that one of his pictures, the Sleeping Girl, was requested on loan from Mr. Rogers. This, together with Gaspar Poussin's Tivoli, was to be used in the Painting School. This is recorded in CM of 6th August 1838.

An anatomical figure was authorised in CM of 20th October 1838. It was to be made for 20 guineas, by Mr. Simpson.

After the embarrassing questions asked about J.M.W. Turner by the 1835 Select Committee, and the revelation that his lectures were often neglected, he had resigned the office of Professor of Perspective at the end of 1837 (CM of 28th December 1837). One year later discussion of professors and their lectures was again brought up before Council. CM of 14th December 1838 reads:

"Mr. Cockerell moved & was seconded by Mr. Eastlake - 'That every Professor be allowed two years after his election to prepare his Lectures: but if he fail to deliver his whole Course within the third year, or if he subsequently omit to deliver them for three successive years he shall be deemed to have resign'd his office and it shall immediately be declared vacant -

Mr. Turner moved an amendment & was seconded by Sir David Wilkie 'That the consideration of the motion just read be postponed -

The amendment being put from the Chair, the Ayes being 2 - & the nays 6, was declared to be negatived.

Mr. Cockerell's motion was then put and passed - the Ayes being 6 - nays 2."

It is interesting to note the members present at this meeting of Council. They were: Shee (President); Wilkie; W.Hilton; C.R.Cockerell; Etty; Turner; E.H.Baily; C.L.Eastlake; A.Cooper; and the Secretary, Howard. The matter must have been a delicate one, transacted as it was before Turner himself.

The only other items concerning the Schools which appear in the Minutes for this year are CM of 23rd May 1838, which tells that the bill for lighting the Schools was £193. 0. 7d, and CM of 29th August 1838 which speaks of improvements in the fabric. An Arnott stove was to be placed in the Painting School, and in the Life Academy sash windows were to be provided, and a means of warming the dressing room for the model.

The anti-Academy party had been active during this year. Sandby tells that Joseph Hume had headed a Committee which met frequently at the Freemasons' Hall and the Thatched House Tavern.¹⁴ At these meetings institutions which refused free admission to the public were attacked. So many inaccurate statements were made against the Royal Academy that Shee decided to publish, in July 1838, a pamphlet entitled, "A Letter to Joseph Hume Esq., M.P., in reply to his Aspersions on the Character and Proceedings of the Royal Academy". Sandby goes in some detail over the points covered by Shee.

(It is perhaps worth pointing out that at least one set of facts given in Shee's pamphlet does not appear to be substantiated in the Council Minutes. Shee claimed to have replied on the next day to Lord Russell's request for returns for Hume. Russell's letter was dated 26th September 1837. Shee replied that the books of the Institution were in the charge of the Secretary, who was out of town, but that on that officials's return Council would be assembled and the information sent. This he claimed had been done in early November, "Six weeks before Mr. Hume stated that they had not been supplied". As has been pointed out in the text here, on 28th December 1837 Russell was again asking for these facts for Hume. Therefore there is discrepancy between the account by Shee and the evidence of Council Minutes. HCM).

An example of Shee's word-power in this letter is:

"We object to be cast in the new mould which your plastic patriotism would prepare for us. We decline to be cut and carved according to the peculiar fashion which your new-born zeal for popular refinement may choose to inflict upon us."

1839.

During 1839 pressure from Parliament was again put upon the Academy. CM of 20th March 1839 gives the text of a letter which had been left at the Academy 'open and unaddressed'. It was signed by J.H.Ley, Clerk to the House of Commons, and required further annual returns from the Academy for the years 1836, 1837 and 1838. In a long, polite and firm letter the President and Council declined to give these. They said:

"This information in the most ample details has been supplied by the Academy in various returns to the House of Commons, and also in the copious evidence given by the President and Officers of that Institution before the Parliamentary Committee of the Fine Arts....The Academy has no motive for concealment....The President and Council therefore respectfully decline to furnish the additional Returns now sought for, as they conceive that a further acquiescence on their part might appear to be a recognition of a right of interference in their concerns, inconsistent with the independence of an Institution responsible only to their Sovereign, and which rests for support on its own resources."

Having drawn up this letter, however, it is clear that further deliberations took place, for another document was composed to replace it. CM of 4th June 1839 reads:

"Took into consideration the Order from the House of Commons of 14th March 1839 -

The President read the draft of a Memorial or Petition to the House of Commons which he proposed to be presented if necessary in answer to the above Order, in lieu of the answer voted on the 20th March, and confirmed by the General Assembly on the 27th March."

CM of 2nd July gives the full text of this petition. It is a very lengthy document, taking eighteen pages of the CM book to transcribe. It is of about 3,700 words. Very respectful, it abounds in references to "your Honourable House" almost to the

point of the ridiculous! A resumé of the history of the Royal Academy is given, the Royal founding, how well it has fulfilled its duties, charities, training of students, made collections of pictures etc.. All this, it pointed out, was done by the labours of artists, which labours had made £300,000 over the period. The letter speaks of the removal of the Academy to Trafalgar Square, and has this to say about the attacks made upon it:

"If your Petitioners had been defaulters convicted of applying the public money to private purposes, instead of spending their own for the public benefit, they could not have been followed by a louder cry of condemnation - it was even proposed that the funds of the Academy should be seized and distributed in a general scramble among the other Societies of Art, and the doors of our exhibition rooms were to be forced open for the promiscuous admission of the populace - Committees were formed, Petitions to the Sovereign and the Legislature presented and various returns demanded from the Academy in the name of your honourable house.... At the first application of this kind, although somewhat surprised at such a requisition... yet your Petitioners did not hesitate to solicit the permission of their late Royal Patron and Protector King William the Fourth to supply all the information then required.... to take the opportunity of laying before the Parliament and the Public such an authentic statement respecting the constitution and laws of the Royal Academy as would enable them fully to understand the nature, the objects and the operation of that Institution."

The letter carries on to say:

"But it surely cannot be considered unreasonable if they claim as a consideration of this obligation the unmolested management of an institution which owes its existence to their Predecessors and which is still maintained by the exertions of those who have succeeded to their duties and rights.... If others can do better your Petitioners do not wish to stand in their way and they would be the last to obstruct the adoption of any measure which national ^{liberality} may suggest or national means accomplish for the more effectual attainment of those objects to which all the efforts of your Petitioners have been

directed - the prosperity of the Arts and the honour of their country. Fully confiding in the wisdom and justice of your honourable house your Petitioners must respectfully express their hope and trust that, in consideration of the statements herein set forth, your honourable House will be pleased to review the order of the fourteenth of March last."

This version was passed in the same evening by General Assembly and was placed in the hands of Sir R.H.Inglis, Barrister, to be presented by him to the House of Commons with as many signatures of Officials and Academicians as could be obtained. This combination of tact, tears, soft soap and diplomacy did the trick, for CM of 2nd August 1839 states:

"Read an Order from the House of Commons of the 30th July discharging their Order of the 14th of March last."

Council ordered thanks to be given to Lord John Russell for his able support, to Sir Robert Peel, Rt. Hon. C.Poulett Thomson, Phillip Henry Howard and Benjamin Hawes Esq., M.P.. The barrister, Sir Robert Harry Inglis, was also thanked. (See Appendix "I").

A CM of 14th June 1839 reads

"Resolved that the Teacher of Perspective be required to deliver twenty lessons in the Academy during the session and that his Allowance for the same be Fourty Pounds."
(sic)

The title of the instructor in Perspective had again been changed after the resignation of Professor Turner. Bearing in mind also, presumably, the laxity of Turner, the number of lectures was also stipulated. A further CM of 15th October 1839 said that J.P.Knight had been appointed Teacher in Perspective "according to the recent Regulations".

This year was the last one in office for the Keeper, Hilton. CM of 2nd August 1839 tells that he has been granted leave of absence for six months to "take such measures as may be adviseable for the reestablishment of his health", and he was presented with a cheque for £50. It was decided to appoint a deputy in his absence. CM of 10th August 1839 however stated Hilton's wish to carry on until the approaching vacation and his unwillingness to accept the leave of absence yet. Further, "with a due sense of their liberality he begs also to decline the cheque which they had voted to him". Later in the year his health had worsened and CM of 29th October 1839 says that he had decided to accept the leave of absence and that George Jones, the Librarian, would for the present perform the duties of Keeper.

CM of 26th July 1839 gives the pictures chosen from the Dulwich Collection for use in the Painting School. They were: St. John Preaching, by Guido; A Girl, by Rembrandt; Banditti, by Salvator Rosa; Cows, by Cuyp; Figures, by Watteau. Had the Painting School existed at the end of the 18th century what a different selection there would then have been! This list reflects the widening interest in romantic painting, although a deal of lip service continued to be paid to classical ideas and ideals.

1840.

The Keeper Hilton did not long survive after starting his leave of absence, and a CM of 4th January 1840 speaks of the Foyal Academicians at his funeral: the President and Council, the temporary Keeper in "three coaches and four". CM of 3rd February 1840 states that George Jones and Thomas Uwins have offered themselves as candidates for the vacant post, announcing at the same time that Jones has resigned the Librarianship. Within a few days Uwins withdrew his candidature and CM of 25th July tells that Jones was elected Keeper.

A slight change occurred in the duties of Keeper after the death of Hilton. It is given in CM of 18th January 1840:

"Read the recommendation of the General Assembly of the 16th Inst. to consider the propriety of omitting the name of the Keeper in the Annual List of Members eligible as Visitors in the Life Academy - Resolved, The Council on reference to the Laws of the Academy are of the opinion that the duties to be discharged by the Keeper are not compatible with his election to the office of Visitor, and that his name should therefore be omitted in future in the Annual List of Members eligible."

This was ratified by the General Assembly (G.A. Minute of 11th February 1840). Similarly, a CM of 3rd February gives the decision to move the Librarian's name also from the list of Visitors.

A further CM of 11th February 1840, which was passed unanimously, proposed the raising of salaries of Officers to the following:

Keeper, £160 to £200; Secretary, £140 to £180; Librarian,

to £120, with the added duty of opening the Library one more evening per week.

In December 1839 the students had attempted to gain better facilities, and the matter had been deferred until the Council Meeting of 18th January 1840, for which the CM reads:

"Read a Petition from 84 Students of the Academy praying the Council to extend the Evening School, in the Antique, one hour."

Council decision is given, as follows:

"Of the Petition of 84 Students this refused on the grounds that their request.... would be inconsistent with the original laws of the Academy, and interfere with its established arrangements which have hitherto been found sufficient for the purposes of the Schools."

This was an entirely unhelpful and reactionary answer, and one can imagine the thoughts and comments of the students on receiving it. Council showed itself in a better light regarding a decision on Travelling Students, in the CM of 26th February 1840:

"Mr. Uwins moved, and was seconded by Sir R. Westmacott. Resolved that it is expedient to increase the numbers of Students to be maintained on the Continent - and that in future there shall be sent abroad a Travelling Student every year, in the succession of Painting Sculpture & Architecture - which passed unanimously."

CM of 18th March shows that the letter of the law was still being strictly observed. Mr. Kennedy, the recently elected Travelling Student asked to be allowed one month longer in England. This was agreed to, but it was to be "deducted from his term of three years, as well as the allowance belonging to it."

In June 1840 there was a query about damage to one of the pictures on loan from the Dulwich Collection. The Keeper went over to look and found a minor accident had happened to one of the pictures "which could not have taken place while it was under the care of the Royal Academy."

CM of 6th November 1840 speaks of gifts of casts to the Academy, as follows: Venus de Milo, from John Hardwick; Figures from Parthenon, from P.Hardwick, A.R.A.; Cartoon, from the late W.Hilton, R.A. (In this thesis I do not list all the gifts, but occasionally mention those which are either still in the Schools or seem worthy of mention for some particular reason. HCM).

1841.

During 1841 there is only one reference to the Schools in Council Minutes. This is the authorisation of increased payment to the Curator of the Painting School, Mr. Oliver, A.R.A.. He was now to be paid £100 per annum.

The important event so far as the Academy was concerned in this year was the death of Sir David Wilkie. The Schools also lost his services as a Visitor in both Life and Painting Schools, and more is said of this on page 110. What the Academy felt about his death is apparent from such a story as that given on page 85, regarding Turner and the black sails. A further indication is the fact that Sir Martin Archer Shee devoted almost the whole of his Discourse of 10th December 1841 to an appreciation of Wilkie and his art.

1842.

There are several references to the Schools and students in 1842, but nothing of any significance.

A CM of 26th November 1842 states that 250 copies of the Abstract were to be reprinted, with an Appendix containing the Laws enacted since 1815. Also to be reprinted were 250 copies of the Laws relating to the Students and Schools, with an insertion of such alterations as had been made since 1815.

(There does not appear to be any copy of this in the R.A. Library at present, though it is always possible that one will turn up again. HCM).

There are several mentions of Officials:

CM of 15th March 1842 gives the resolution that the salary of Mr. Drummond, Sub-Keeper in the Painting School, should be raised to two guineas per week:

CM of 21st March states that William Collins has resigned the office of Librarian as he cannot afford time for the third night in each week.

CM of 30th May 1842 says that only Eastlake is prepared to take on the office of Librarian. He was therefore appointed on 13th July 1842.

CM of 8th October 1842 deals with instruction:

"Read a letter from Mr. J.P. Knight A.R.A., the Teacher of Perspective, stating his mode of proceeding in the School, and suggesting the expediency of extending the number of evenings devoted to that study in the Academy -

Resolved that Mr. Knight's proposal be adopted and that

ten additional lessons be given in the School of Perspective before Christmas in each year and that the remuneration of the Teacher be increased in the same ratio. Passed nem.con."

Mr. W.D.Kennedy, Travelling Student stated that he had "been induced to return to this country... six months before the fulfillment of his term". In a CM of 28th October 1842 the Secretary is ordered to tell him that his salary would cease from his arrival in England. A later CM of 19th November 1842 granted him £30 for his journey back to England. Gold Medallists "in the Class of Historical Sculpture" were to be told of the vacancy.

There is a CM of 8th October 1842 to the effect that Turner had presented to the Schools a cast of the Torso.

Much attention is given in the Council Minutes of this year to the Chantrey Bequest, but as this matter does not directly concern the Schools it is given no place here.

A CM of 26th November 1842 states that a motion proposed by Etty has been carried, and is made a Bye-Law of the Royal Academy. It is:

"No picture above the dimensions of a Kitcat, representing a human figure or figures as large as life shall be hung below the line, Portraits of the Sovereign, or the Consort of the Sovereign excepted."

The implication of this Bye-Law must have been considerable, hitting especially the fashionable portrait painters. It would affect the work of teachers and students in the Schools, for the end-product of the Schools was an artist who exhibited

at the Academy, from which exhibitions mainly would be expected patronage. It is obvious from many extant letters and records that this is how the students thought, and that they expected help from their instructors towards this end.

1843.

In November 1843 there was some disturbance concerning the sculptor E.H.Baily and his reported interference in the work of some students. CM of 22nd November 1843 reads:

"Certain students, candidates for prizes in the Antique School, alleged that E.H.Baily, R.A., had worked upon some of the models and that these ought to be excluded from the competition."

In CM of 25th November 1843 Baily's letter to Council is transcribed. It states:

"I state most solemnly that I have never placed a finger upon the model of any student. Still I must own that in passing through the School I gave my advice to one and all - as to individual defects relative to the figure or proportions. This as a member of the Academy I considered myself bound to do for general advantage - no ^(sic) favor can have been shewn thereby as all parties enjoyed them equally, or, should it apply, it makes all alike ineligible."

A long letter to Baily from the Council is also given. Council accepts his statement, but say:

"Mr. Baily from his long experience as a teacher of the Academy ought to have known it to be as irregular as unusual.... and.... indecorous interference."

It was finally resolved by 5 Ayes to 2 Noes to accept the eight models offered from the Antique School.

A certain Mr. A.Parsey had for some time been trying to persuade the Academy to accept his "new system of perspective". A CM of 20th June 1843 pointed out to him that the Council "did not deem it expedient to adopt any proceedings in consequence".

CM of 11th October 1843 gives the information that a

Mr. G. Simpson had offered himself as a Demonstrator of Anatomy in the Academy. These services Council "declined as unnecessary". It seems clear that the various Professors of Anatomy gave their own practical demonstrations as and when they wished. They usually employed or hired a demonstrator or demonstrators. It is difficult to see then how Mr. Simpson envisaged he might be used.

As has been noted the Academy was being rather more generous in its payments and allowances at this time. A CM of 18th January 1843, which put up the allowance for members attending Council Meetings to 10s. also "allowed to each meeting of Council £4. 10s. as in 1831".

CM of 7th January 1843 decreed that the extra evening for the opening of the Library should be Tuesday in each week.

1844.

The independence of the Academy was again threatened in July 1844. A CM of 11th July quotes a letter from James Fahey, writing "by the commands of the Chairman of the Committee appointed by the House of Commons and now sitting on Art Unions". He requested financial details, returns etc.. The letter written in reply to him is given in the CM, in which he is refused and referred to the Petition of the Royal Academy of 2nd July 1839. Following upon this a CM of 2nd August 1844 contains a copy of a letter received from Sir Robert Peel. Among other things he said:

"It is a pleasing duty to resist to the utmost of my power an uncall'd for interference in (the Academy's) concerns and the consequent disparagement of its useful influence and authority."

The same CM acknowledges and thanks Palmerston for a copy of a resolution received from him....The Academy had powerful friends, and these had again stood it in good stead in the Commons, for Hume had been concerned also in the move to have these returns made (see Appendix "1").

A Travelling Student made a lone bid in this year. CM of 21st February 1844 reads:

"Read a letter from Mr. Timbrell travelling student on the Continent stating his allowance from the Academy to be insufficient & hoping that it might be increased.

Resolved, that the Secretary acquaint Mr. Timbrell that his request cannot be complied with."

The same CM reports that the Trustees of the British

Museum had asked the Academy if it would receive back the architectural casts of Sir Thomas Lawrence. The Trustees were informed that "the Academy (would) be happy to have the Collection again". These casts had been purchased under the will of Lawrence, very cheaply at £250, and had then been presented by the Academy to the British Museum.¹⁵ In such circumstances it would have been difficult for the Academy to refuse to have them back, even had it wished to do so!

CM of 12th November 1844 mentions an invitation from Dr. W.V.Pettigrew to the students to attend, gratuitously, the anatomical lectures, dissecting rooms, and museum of himself and Mr. Lane. The Secretary was ordered to return thanks.

The same CM gives the numbers of works entered for premiums. They are surprisingly small:

"Two Copies made in the Painting School - Fourteen Drawings and two models from the Antique - Ten Drawings and One Model from the Life, & Three Architectural Drawings of St. Mary, Woolnoth."

CM of 18th December 1844 reports the resignation of Eastlake from the Librarianship.

1845.

There is very little relating to the Schools in Council or General Assembly Minutes of 1845.

A CM of 29th October 1845 gives the resolution that copies of the lectures of Phillips and Flaxman will replace those of Barry and Opie for academic prizes, and that fifty copies of each will be purchased to that end.

It is not surprising that the work of one so eminent as Flaxman should be selected for this purpose. The lectures of Phillips, however, seem a less obvious choice. He had been Professor of Painting from 1825 to 1832, and in the thirteen years since that time Henry Howard had been the Professor of Painting. It seems, in retrospect, almost something of a slight that the works of the former Professor be chosen, instead of those of the present one. Perhaps something which influenced this choice was the fact that earlier in 1845, on 20th April, Phillips had died. He had served the Academy well for a very long time, and this could well have been some sort of a tribute. The lectures of Phillips had been published on his retirement, in 1833, and followed the line of development from Reynolds. They are well-written, and in the usual format for such lectures: four lectures on the History of Painting; Lecture V on Invention in Painting; Lecture VI on Design; Lecture VII on Composition in Painting; Lecture VIII on Colouring; Lecture IX on Chiaro Oscuro; Lecture X on Application of the Principles of Painting.

A CM of 2nd July 1845 mentions the authorisation of a payment of £21 to transport a group from Rome, the work of the Travelling Student, Mr. Timbrell.

CM of 20th February 1845 speaks of the Academy being approached by a Mr. Sandford to give an opinion on a supposed Raphael picture. This was declined,

"It never having been the ^(sic) practise of the Royal Academy to give their opinion, collectively, of any controverted picture."

Although this CM appears to have nothing to do with the Schools it is illustrative of the policy of the Academy which was always to be found also in the Schools. In the Schools also the right of the individual was sacrosanct. Visitors in the Academy always acted as individuals - indeed this was one of the charges frequently levelled against them, that in their work they produced no uniformity, no 'party line', so far as instruction was concerned.

CM of 5th June 1845 mentions the letter of resignation of Sir Martin Archer Shee. This is the letter, dated 27th May 1845, which William Sandby gives in full. ¹⁶ Shee said he must retire, due to age and ill-health. The text of the reply from Council is given also, in which the hope is expressed that he will remain President, allowing others to do the work. Council asked that he would inform it to this effect so that his resignation need not go before General Assembly. CM of 14th June 1845 gives Shee's reply. It is to the effect that he still

feels he must resign:

"I must seek for what I am given to understand is my only remedy, quiet, submitting to a reluctant retirement."

It is a sentimental letter.

William Sandby does not mention these last two letters, but goes straight on to that from the Academicians and the Associates to Shee in July. The entire body asks him to stay, so he agrees to do so. CM of 20th August 1845 gives the resolution to offer him an annual £300 pension, proposed by Pickersgill, seconded by Baily, passed unanimously. Shee, further, was honoured by another pension. This was a £200 per year pension, given from the Civil List, and awarded at the instigation of Sir Robert Peel, in August 1845. Sandby gives the text of Peel's letter.¹⁷

1846.

During 1846 there are only two items of interest mentioned in the Council Minutes. The first is in CM of 18th March 1846 and concerns correspondence with the Society of British Artists. Because this is not directly concerned with the Schools, account of it is omitted here. It is, however, undoubtedly of some fringe interest, concerning as it does, Shee and some of his antagonists of the 1835 Select Committee, and therefore it is given some attention in Appendix "11".

The other matter appears in CM of 11th June 1846. A letter from C.E. Trevelyan, one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, is quoted, in which the Trustees of the Academy are asked about a grant of £300 to the Living Model Academy of No. 14, Upper St. Martin's Lane. The reply of the Academy is given in the Minute. It is a lengthy letter which says, in brief, that they have no idea what are the terms etc. of this project, but that £300 is "no unreasonable expenditure" on a simple school for life-drawing. It seems, they add, that what is envisaged is much more ambitious than such a simple ^{life-drawing} school and therefore they decline to give judgment. Apparently the "very numerous" list of artist subscribers was headed by Landseer and Etty, so the Minute tells. What exactly this project was, and what was done about it, is not now known.

1847.

Several matters appertaining to the Schools occurred in 1847. On 8th October 1847 Henry Howard, Professor of Painting, died. He had been Professor since 1833, and had attended Council for many years before that, as Secretary. Some account of him is given later. It is possible that his removal from the scene, he being one of the 'old guard' and probably resistant to change, was partly responsible for Jones's suggestion, given below. There is no doubt that the Secretary had considerable power. He had no vote but he could speak for as long as he liked on any subject before General Assembly, and clearly, could thereby influence voting considerably.

Before looking at Jones's suggestion it is well to recall the situation regarding painting instruction in the Schools. There was, from the outset, a Professor of Painting, whose duty it was "to read annually six lectures", as laid down in Section XII of the Instrument. In time the Painting School was set up - in 1815 - and presumably from then the theoretical instruction of the Professor of Painting was to be concomitant with the practical work of the students done in the Painting School. The nature of the Painting School has been discussed very fully elsewhere.¹⁸ It seems that it was not merely a school for copying old masters, though this statement is very nearly correct. Fuseli probably did try to give wider instruction and help, but it is likely that others did not follow in this and that fairly slavish copying was the general practice at this time (c.1847).

By ~~by~~ now there was also a certain amount of pragmatic thinking going on, mainly as a result of the airing of ideas expressed before the 1835 Select Committee, and apparently George Jones, the Keeper, was one of those who were trying to see if the time-honoured, almost hallowed, system of instruction in the Schools was the best that could be done. CM of 30th October 1847 gives the text of a letter he sent to the Council:

"Gentlemen -

As we are all solicitous for the advancement of Art, and particularly of the Academic part in which we are concerned I venture to suggest to your consideration, whether we could make the Painting School more useful by introducing the practise of Painting from Nature, in that school at the same time and in union with the present practise of copying from the Old Masters. ^(sic)

In Foreign Academies the Students paint from Nature during the day, and the model sits draped so far as to expose the head, arms, throat and chest at the discretion of the Visitor.

This might be easily accomplished in our painting school, by placing the model on a small throne near the stove, and students might then be employed from nature in the middle of the Room, whilst others were engaged by the pictures on the walls.

This practise might be made useful and effective for Historical Art, by accustoming the Student to a variety of faces and expressions, and of diversity of beauty and form, and by this means prevent a similarity of countenance too frequent in Historical works.

Three hours might not be too much, which would leave three hours for the study of the Old Masters.

The Visitor must place the figure at first, after which the Curator or Senior Student might keep the model in exact position.

A few pieces of Drapery would enable the Visitor to aid the character of the Model, produce contrast, and give an

appearance of completeness in the whole arrangement.

I respectfully offer these observations for your consideration and have the honour Gentlemen etc. etc.

George Jones."

The "similarity of countenance too frequent in Historical works", to which Jones refers, was the result of studying carefully, and copying, such sets of facial expressions as appeared in works like Le Brun's 'Expressions of the Passions of the Soul'. Such works were used widely by students.

Jones's letter met with Council decree

"to give the proposition a trial - to commence as soon as the necessary arrangements can be completed."

The Keeper had sent another letter to Council which was also discussed at the same meeting. He stated that he had brought together the Diploma pictures to form an exhibition, but that he had found them in an unsatisfactory state. He carries on:

"at times the Council has consented to send some of the works of deceased members to a picture cleaner. This necessity might be obviated if the pictures were constantly attended to - by being occasionally washed and rubbed with a flannel, without using any chemical preparation, or even varnish, excepting the latter should be order'd by the Council.

This duty might well be performed, under the eye of the Keeper, by the Curator of the Painting School, and a small annual allowance to the latter, might well be bestowed for the benefit of the Establishment.

As all the property in the House is under the care of the Keeper, I feel it is my duty to offer this suggestion."

This suggestion of the Keeper was also ordered to be carried into immediate effect. Whether or not there was any

idea in the mind of Jones that the Diploma pictures might well be used by students we cannot now know. Certain it is that by preserving them in a place where they could be seen and used, some students would consult them. A CM of 17th December 1847 affirms that a salary of £15 will be paid to Mr. Archer, the Curator of Diploma pictures.

Changes in regulations affecting the movement of a student from the Antique into the Life School also took place at this time. Formerly, under the "1814 Laws relating to the Schools, the Library and the Students", the rule was:

"When a Student of the Antique School shall desire to be admitted into that of the Living Model, he shall deliver to the Keeper a Drawing or Model of a figure or groupe done in the Academy, accompanied by drawings as large as nature of a hand & a foot, which approved by him shall be submitted to the Council, & if from specimens produced & the report of the Keeper he shall be thought duly qualified, he shall be admitted accordingly."

CM of 17th December 1847 sets out the new conditions and gives also some new rules. It is:

"The following propositions regulating the Studies in the Antique and Life Schools were then put and carried n.c.

When a Student of the Antique School shall desire to be admitted to that of the Living Model, he shall procure from the Keeper a certificate of having made at least six accurately finished Drawings of Groups of Figures from the Antique, and also a certificate of attendance, during one entire course of lessons in the class of Perspective - and he shall deliver to the Keeper the last of his six Drawings, accompanied by other drawings as large as nature of a hand and foot which if approved by him shall together with the certificates before mentioned, be submitted to the Council, and if from the Specimens produced, the student shall be thought duly qualified, he shall be admitted accordingly - but should such specimens not be deemed satisfactory, he shall be required to make an additional drawing of an Antique Figure, accompanied by the drawings of a Hand and Foot as

before, to be submitted to the judgment of the Council.

Modellers to procure a certificate from the Keeper of having executed at least six models in clay from the Antique, one to be produced in plaster, together with outline drawings of a Hand and Foot as large as nature to be submitted to the inspection and judgment of the Council.

Students who have obtained Medals in the Antique School may at once, under sanction of the Keeper, present drawings to the Council for admission to the Life School.

Every Student in the Life School, in proof of his attendance and proficiency shall produce in each year a drawing from the Living male model - which drawing if approved shall entitle the Student to continue his Studies in the Life School for the succeeding year - but any Student whose drawing shall not be consider'd satisfactory shall be required to make an additional Drawing in the course of the following Month, to be submitted to the Council, which if likewise disapproved of such Student shall be required to return to the Antique School, and must again make the necessary drawings of an Antique Figure, together with drawings of Hand and Foot as large as nature, subject to the approval of the Keeper, and to be submitted to the Council to obtain re-admission to the Life School. Students who have obtained Medals in the Life School are exempt from this annual examination."

These regulations came into operation in June 1848.

Summarising the differences between the 1814 and the 1848 regulations for admission into the Life School from the Antique School they are:

1. The practical work is largely the same. Drawings, life-size, of hand and foot are still required. The 1848 regulations read however (and it must be pointed out that the wording is a little obscure) as if the student's last drawing, which the Keeper has to present, must be of a group from the antique, and cannot be of a single figure as formerly.

2. The Keeper's Report disappears, and its place is taken by two Certificates. One is to prove that the student has completed six drawings; the other that he has attended the Course in Perspective.

Whether the disappearance of the Keeper's Report really meant any significant change is doubtful. The custom remained that the Keeper was present at the Council Meeting, when the students' work was being discussed, and that he gave some verbal report. Obviously he would still be allowed considerable weight, written report or no.

More interesting is the raising of the status of the Perspective Course. The work of J.P.Knight in lengthening the Course (see CM of 8th October 1842) had clearly been recognised. Something is said of Knight's method later.

Also noteworthy is the last paragraph of the new rules. It was now not enough to get into the Life School: the student had to ensure that he stayed there, by passing the annual examination. If he failed this he went back to the Antique Academy and had the entire process to repeat again.

CM of 26th November 1847 mentions that the work of candidates for premiums had been examined and that the following "were admitted to the competition" :

"	"	Historical Sculpture.	ditto.	Two in number.
"	"	Architectural Design.	Allowed four.	

In the class of Copies in Painting School.	All.	Three.
" Drawings from the Life.		Eleven.
" Models from the Life.		Two.
" Drawings from the Antique.		Twenty One.
" Models from the Antique.		Admitted Six.
" Architectural Drawing.		Admitted One."

This is a greater number than the entry in November 1844. This latter totalled 32: the one above totals 56. The former did not appear to reject any entries: the above does, and we cannot know what numbers were rejected.... So it appears that interest in the competitions was quickening, the more so when it is noted that the number of students admitted to the Schools in 1844 was 72, and in 1847 it was 49. The admission figures would, of course, be significant mainly for the entries to the competition which were sent from the Antique School. These, for the years in question are: 1844, 16; 1847, 27. Putting the matter another way: 16 out of 72 entered in 1844, and

27 " " 49 " " 1847.

This shows a considerable rise in the proportion of those entering.

Various material improvements were effected, and mentioned in Council Minutes of this year. CM of 30th March mentions ETTY's motion that "some method be adopted to carry off the foul air and smoke from the Life School, which under the present arrangement is most offensive and injurious to health". Council adopted this motion. Again, CM of 19th October 1847 states:

"Moved by Mr. Uwins and seconded by Mr. ETTY that Mssrs.

Mc Cracken be instructed by Mr. Herbert to procure an anatomical figure from Paris, recommended by him to be purchased by the Royal Academy."

Again, CM of 9th December 1847 ordered that the Master of Perspective be allowed to purchase "certain instruments required by him for demonstration before students in that class".

A further motion by Etty, of 19th October 1847, was to the effect that "the old system of admission to lectures by printed tickets be recurred to." This was carried. What the reasons for it were is by no means clear. At first sight it looks as if it might have been a measure to deal with crowded nights, when perhaps junior students might be using the seating intended for senior ranks etc.. When the small attendances of the public lectures are recalled however - mentioned frequently, for example, in the 1863 Report - this theory is inadequate. There, then, the matter must be left.

1848.

CM of the 21st January 1848 contains the resolution that at the time of the competition for the premium in the Life School the model will sit in the same position for twelve successive nights, and not for six as was the previous custom.

CM of 17th May 1848 sets out a petition from the students:

"President and Council,

Gentlemen -

We the undersigned students of the Life Academy and painting School having derived considerable advantage and profit from the study of the living draped model desire to express our gratitude for that benefit.

We beg also humbly to submit to your consideration the propriety of continuing that School during the Summer months, deeming it a matter of regret that such advantage should be lost so great a portion of the year."

(signed by nineteen students).

Council resolution follows:

"Order'd that during the summer months in accordance with the above Petition the draped model shall sit three times a week for three hours in the Life Academy from Twelve to Three o'clock p.m."

On 9th June 1848 J.C.Hook, the Travelling Scholar, requested permission to close the term of his study abroad "in consequence of ill-health, and also the disturbed state of the Continent". Permission was granted.

On 27th October 1848 the purchase of fourteen Donatello casts was ordered for the Schools, and on 14th December 1848 is a resolution in CM

"that Sir Richard Westmacott and Mr Wyon be instructed to make a selection of the medals and coins of Antiquity from the different collections open to them to supply Historical and Artistical information to the Students of the Royal Academy."

It is not clear what different collections were open to them.

In the previous year it was noted that the Keeper had obtained permission for painting from the living model to take place in the Painting School. It is difficult for us today to realise what a breakthrough this was, and the wrangle which followed this - as to which premiums should now be offered - illustrates the point. The CM involved are those of 14th December 1848 and 13th January 1849. The former reads:

"The following motion carried at the last General Assembly was then read -

'That it be recommended to the Council to consider the expediency of instituting a premium for a painting from the life in the Life School' -

which recommendation was adopted unanimously and it was further resolved that a premium shall be offered for a painting of a draped figure from the living model in the painting school - and it was further resolved that in future one medal only shall be offered for copies from paintings in the Painting School."

1849.

CM of 14th December 1848 is followed by that of 13th January 1849 which carries on the topic thus:

"Read and confirmed the minutes of the last Council. The minutes of the preceeding Council was also confirmed omitting the resolution offering a premium for a painting from a Draped Figure from the Living Model in the Painting School - and also the following resolution limiting the number of medals for copies from paintings in the painting School.

"The following form was agreed to be submitted to the next General Assembly, in accordance with their recommendation of the 9th of Dec. last:

'A Silver medal will be given for the best painting of a Figure from the life in the Life School -

N.B. The Candidates must bear in mind that correctness of Drawing combined with good color will be considered by the Council as indispensibly requisite in all works admitted to Competition - and that the premium will be adjudged where Drawing and Color are most ably displayed.

The size of the Figure to be not less than two feet.

Candidates for this premium must enter their names in the Keeper's book on or before the 1st of July - The Visitor will set the model for Twelve Evenings successively beginning on Monday the 23rd of July and again in another attitude on Monday the 6th of August.

Those students alone who are privileged to paint from the Life will be allowed to compete for this premium."

Looking at these two Council Minutes it can be seen that at the General Assembly Meeting prior to the Council Meeting of 14th December 1848, the 'moderns' carried the day - as is reported in the said CM of 14th December. They secured two premiums for painting from the life and reduced the medals for copied work to one. Then Council got to work on this recommend-

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Note facing p.58.

The views of Reynolds on the practice of copying.

Professor Quentin Bell has rightly pointed out that this sentence misrepresents the views of Reynolds on copying. Some clarification is therefore necessary.

In the Second Discourse Reynolds advised a method of selected copying, speaking of those who,

"confining themselves entirely to the mechanical practice, very assiduously toil on in the drudgery of copying; and think they make a rapid progress while they faithfully exhibit the minutest part of a favourite picture. This appears to me a very tedious, and I think a very erroneous method of proceeding... (the student) falls into the dangerous habit of imitating without selecting... he sleeps over his work..."

This attitude is quite clear. In seizing upon copying as an excellent practice, however, successive Academicians read less accurately into feelings expressed by Reynolds elsewhere. In Discourse Six, for example, he says:

"For my own part, I confess, I am not only very much disposed to maintain the absolute necessity of imitation in the first stages of the art; but am of opinion, that the study of other masters, which I here call imitation, may be extended throughout our whole lives, without any danger of the inconveniences with which it is charged, of enfeebling the mind, or preventing us from giving that original air which every work undoubtedly ought always to have... I will go further; even genius... is the child of imitation."

Imitation, for subsequent Academicians, entailed much copying, and it was in the spirit of this last-quoted section that copying was embraced. Certain it is that faithful copying was the practice encouraged by the Schools for decades, and it is this to which my sentence refers.

H.C.M.

-ation, and the work of the reactionary forces is apparent. By the new CM of 13th January 1849 the limiting of the medals for copying is cancelled and so is the offering of a premium for a painting from the draped figure of the living model. In other words the decision of General Assembly of 9th December is completely reversed....One can imagine the arguments that copying old masters was the accepted and traditional way of training a painter, that the Academy had always given emphasis to this, that Sir Joshua and all the others had always insisted on the value of this etc. ^(See note opposite) Further, they reasoned, if there has to be some recognition for painting in the Life Academy, then it must be made very clear that standards, especially those of correct drawing, are to be maintained. There must be no sloppy work, no gaining of effect by mere colour etc. And hence they added the "N.B." to the new regulation for the Silver Medal for the Painting from the Life.

The entire incident is illustrative of two things. First, of how difficult it was to get changes made in Academy practice. Secondly, it is an interesting example which shows where the real power lay. The smaller body (Council) was really more effective and powerful than the larger (General Assembly). In Council Meetings matters were thrashed out and executive decisions taken. General Assembly then acted as the 'rubber stamp'.

Not surprisingly a measure was soon introduced to ensure that students were kept up to scratch regarding the recently-granted privilege of painting in the Life School. CM of

9th February 1849 reads:

"It was moved by Mr Dyce and seconded by Mr Cope and resolved -

That every Student privileged to paint in the Life School in proof of his proficiency, shall produce in each year a painting from the Living Model, to be submitted to the first Council held in the month of February, which painting if approved shall entitle the Student to the continuation of such privilege."

A few days later and Council is showing that there is to be real implementation of the matter of CM of 17th December 1847:

"The first examination of Life Drawings submitted to the Council according to resolution of 17th Dec, 1847 having been appointed for this evening - the Council proceeded to the investigation when Eleven Draughtsmen and Two Modellers were required to produce satisfactory specimens within One Month otherwise their privilege to study in the Life School will be withdrawn."

Council looked at these second attempts later, and CM of 1st May 1849 reads:

"Proceeded to examine the Drawings of those Students who had been required by the Council to make supplementary Drawings for permission to continue their studies in the Life School, according to Minute of Feb 17 - when Six Draughtsmen, and the Three Modellers were passed, and Four Draughtsmen...were sent back to the Antique School."

(It is noted that another modeller had been failed between the two Minutes, for the second Minute referred to three and not two. HCM)

In February 1849 the Keeper was instructed to buy a lay-figure and draperies for the Painting School. He was to enquire about male and female lay-figures before purchase. On 24th February he was ordered to buy the female lay-figure.

In CM of 9th February 1849 is a reminder that the premises were becoming modernised:

"The Keeper having reported the inefficient ventilation of the Antique School, and the defective construction of certain water closets he was requested to lay before the Council at his earliest convenience the necessary plans and estimates for making the required alterations."

1850.

A CM of 27th February 1850 mentions the examination of life drawings, paintings and models in accordance with the resolution of 17th December 1847. Whether the students had been frightened into trying very hard, or for some other reason, "All were allowed to pass, being 17 Draughtsmen, 2 Painters and One Modeller."

For many years, since the Council decision of 17th November 1815, students for the School of Painting came from the Life Class. Thus there was a hierarchy of Antique School, Life School and Painting School. A CM of 9th March 1850 changed this however:

"...Pursuant to a notice of motion it was moved by Mr Cope and seconded by Mr Witherington and resolved -

'That Students in the Antique School, recommended by the Keeper, may submit to the Council a finished drawing from a Statue or Groupe, which drawing if approved of shall entitle such students to admission to the painting school to copy the old masters on the days when the living model is not sitting.'

A slight change is given to this by CM of 23rd March 1850:

"The following amended form of Mr Cope's motion was adopted -

'That Students of the Antique School who have made at least two finished drawings of a groupe or Statue, may submit, to the Council through the Keeper, in the usual way, a finished drawing of a groupe or statue, which drawing if approved of shall entitle such students to admission to the School of Painting to copy the pictures of the Old Masters on the days when the living model is not sitting.'

It can be seen that the difference between these very

similar wordings is the absence in the second of the Keeper's recommendation. It was the same kind of thought, it will be recalled, which appeared in the 1848 rules for admission to the Life Class from the Antique (see page 52.). Someone at this time must have been very anxious about the powers of the Keeper, and wished to make promotions as dependent as possible upon the decisions of Council. The other point which the Minute seems to make is the realisation of the importance of painting in its own right, that it should not only be something which followed on after all the drawing instruction and practice. This thinking was also in accordance with the letter from the Keeper to the Council, dated 30th October 1847, and already quoted.

The copying side of the Painting School continued to be very important, however, and CM of 2nd August 1850 speaks of Maclise and Hart going to Hampton Court to select pictures for use in the Painting School.

CM of 16th January 1850 states that the lay figure, selected by Mr Cope according to the CM of 24th February 1849, had been bought for thirty pounds.

The frequency with which the Travelling Students applied for a reduced term abroad has probably been noticed on reading the Council Minutes of these recent years. In this respect, then, the CM of 27th February 1850 is of interest:

"Mr Westmacott gave notice of a motion to consider the

the propriety of granting assistance to meritorious students in prosecuting their studies at home..."

It does not seem that this motion was discussed at this time, but it was in the next year, in 1851.

1850 was the year when Hume made another attack on the Academy in the House of Commons (See Appendix 1).

1850 also saw the death of Shee. A CM of 21st August 1850 gives the text of a letter from M.A. Shee telling of his father's death, and refusing the offer of a public funeral to be paid for by the Academy. Following closely upon this, George Jones offered to resign his Keepership. In the same CM, of 15th November 1850, Mr Cope gives notice of a motion "to re-consider the mode of instruction in the schools of the Royal Academy, and it was resolved that a Council be summoned especially for that purpose for Thursday next..." It is possible that the Keeper realised that he was going to be subjected to a harassing experience and that he preferred to resign before this took place.

CM of 21st November, six days later, is more explicit:

"Mr. Cope's notice of a motion to consider the mode of instruction in the Antique School was then discussed when the question being deemed of great importance the following proposition to be submitted to the next General Assembly was unanimously adopted viz.

'A question having arisen as to the advantage of re-modelling the duties of Keeper, the Council before proceeding to fill up that Office, invite the General Body to appoint a Special Committee to deliberate on the subject - and to report to the Council' -

It was further resolved that Geo. Jones Esq be requested to

fulfill the duties of the Keepership until the final arrangements are complete."

So, with the President dead, and the Keeper who had been with him for ten years almost out of office, the time was right for a drastic revision of the laws of the Schools, and this was to take place at the very beginning of the next year.

Sir Martin Archer Shee (1769-1850: President 1830-1850).

Enough has been said elsewhere of the great achievement of Shee in maintaining the independent status of the Royal Academy. Professor Bell has analysed the conflicting evidence of Shee's part before the Select Committee of 1835.¹⁹ Whatever the truth of all this there is no doubt that the Academy felt itself to be immensely in his debt. Council Minutes of 5th June, 14th June, and 20th August in the year 1845 have already been quoted, the last of which gave Shee an annual pension of £300. Shee, then, saved the Academy and the Schools which were part of it, but what else did he do for the students?

He took a full part as Visitor and his name appears very frequently in the Academy records as doing this duty, and what he stood for in his instruction is apparent on reading his Discourses. Seven of these - for the years 1831 to 1845 - were published by the Academy and a copy may still be seen in the Library there.²⁰

Shee's Discourses are written well and show a distinct literary turn. He was, of course, a poet as well as a painter and had published writings about art (Rhymes on Art, 1805: Elements in Art, 1809). Apparently his literary work had been praised by Byron, though the writer on Shee in the DNB considers this praise ironical. The content of the Discourses is traditional, following the course indicated by Reynolds. Shee's examples are straightforward and conventional. He tended to

be longwinded and one feels that his audience, especially the students, must have been restless long before he had finished. He frequently made the point that he was avoiding the ground covered by the normal Professors.

There follow the topics covered in the Discourses and finally, to give some indication of his style, some extracts:

Discourse of 10th December 1831. Deals with Reynolds and his teaching: West: Lawrence. Shee praises all three Presidents, but he is also soundly critical and quite fair. West, for example, is certainly not just 'whitewashed'.

Discourse of 10th December 1833. Much on Invention, as seen in the Poet and the Painter: Use of Colour; the Venetians: the wide ambitions and the mode of the Carracci.

Discourse of 10th December 1835. Deals with Taste: Poetry: Nature and her forms, leading to a consideration of Sculpture ("There is no excuse for carving meanness in marble, or fixing deformity in bronze"): the Greeks and the Elgin marbles: the Romans and Sculpture.

This Discourse is 31 pages of rather 'heavy going'.

Discourse of 10th December 1837. The position of the Royal Academy in society, and its achievements: the nature of Studentship: the National Collection: Nature in art: Criticism: the British School and a comparison with Foreign Masters. The disciplined nature of studentship in the Royal Academy as opposed to the mere facilities for working offered in the National Gallery.

Discourse of 10th December 1839. A survey of various leading Foreign Schools followed by an examination of the British School. (Some extracts from this Discourse given at the the end of this section).

Discourse of 10th December 1841. Generalisations in Art:

Hogarth and Historical Painting: Wilkie and his Art.

The greater part of this Discourse, an entire twenty pages, is given over to Wilkie. Shee describes a number of Wilkie's best known pictures in considerable detail.

Discourse of 10th December 1845. Examination of General

Principles. This Discourse contains a deal of repetition of matter in other Discourses - e.g. What Reynolds stood for; the purpose of Art etc..

The first extract deals with Reynolds, and appears in the 1839 Discourse (p.9):

"The genius of Reynolds broke like a sunbeam upon the darkness of his age. Not only did he eclipse all his competitors in his own province, but the light of his taste penetrated the whole atmosphere of Art, and appeared to diffuse new light and vigour through the most subordinate departments of his profession. The creations of his pencil, rich, glowing, and graceful, speedily superseded the cold and formal progeny that occupied the stage when he appeared, and, in a dull uniformity of feebleness, seemed rather to arise from a process of manufacture, than from the emanation of genius and taste. Uniting in his style the colouring of Titian, the grace of Correggio, and the vigour of Rembrandt, harmonised and modified to his own conceptions of excellence, and rescued from the tameness of imitation by a constant reference to Nature and Truth, he at once excited the surprise and admiration of his contemporaries, and established an ascendancy over his profession which has long outlived him, and stamped the impression of his taste on the character of British Art."

Of Rembrandt he wrote, in the same Discourse (p.3):

"In the Dutch School we find another necromancer waving his wand, with resistless influence, over all the circles of Art. The pencil of Rembrandt is a talisman that gives charm to everything it touches. He presents you with a magic mirror, in which the meanest objects become picturesque, deformity seems dignified, and vulgarity itself assumes a grace."

In this Discourse Shee analyses the strengths and weaknesses of British artists. He speaks, for example, of a mannerism tending to spring from Gainsborough, and he gives a very full tribute to Lawrence. Towards the end, p.28., he says:

"In urging the efficacy of care and pains, - the duty of precision and completion, - I would not cramp the pencil of genius in cold and technical restraint. What there is of negligent or incorrect in our practice, I would desire to reform; - what there is of mannered or meretricious, I would study to repress: but the change could not be considered an improvement, which would substitute the mechanical servility of vulgar toil for the graceful spirit of scientific imitation."

He finishes off, quoting Reynolds, with:

"Whatever is worth doing at all is worth doing well."

Of Wilkie, in the 1841 Discourse, he has this to say:

"In the Fine Arts there are no prodigies. The combination of mental and mechanical qualities which they require, does not admit of any miraculous juvenile achievement. The powers of imagination may perhaps spring forward to precocious maturity; but the instrument by which their creations are to be embodied, the executive hand, must be educated by a steady process, continued through years of patient toil. Wilkie was no exception to this general rule....What he looked at he saw: and what he saw he remembered...."

The above then gives some idea of the sort of lead the students were given by Shee. In brief it can be said that he considered his task to be that of elevating the minds of the students towards worthwhile art and to infuse in them some pride in British Art.

William Hilton (1786-1839: Keeper 1827-1839).

There is not much written about Hilton, and even less about his work in the Schools. The brothers Redgrave bewail this:

"It is a pity that, of one so talented and so well known to a generation of students - to whom we ourselves are indebted for so much friendly teaching - so few facts have been recorded." ²¹

But, having said this, they also produce very little about his work as Keeper! It is possible to build up a body of general fact, however, and from this to reconstruct something of the man and his work with students.

The curriculum vitae of his professional life is known. He was one who exhibited considerable talent early in life. At fourteen years he was apprenticed to John Raphael Smith, the mezzotint engraver, and he was subjected to a strict and accurate discipline in his art. Three years before he entered the Royal Academy Schools he was exhibiting at the Royal Academy Exhibitions. Sandby speaks of "a clever picture...the Banditti" exhibited there in 1803, and of his exhibit of 1804, "Hector reinspired by Apollo".²¹ After 1806 a number of classically-based works were produced by him, which

"works showed, not only his desire to restore the high historic style of painting, but that he possessed a truly poetic feeling; and that in the treatment of the subject he chose, he selected those only in which he could realise his own high and noble conceptions, and introduce the most beautiful human forms."

The Redgraves tell of his early successes at the British Institution, and that in 1810 he received a fifty guineas premium

for a subject from English history and another of £122. 10s in 1811. The Directors of the British Institution also bought for 500 guineas his "Mary anointing the feet of Jesus", but after this his luck turned, and he sold very little else. The Redgraves say:

"His father, who lived till 1822, probably continued to assist him with money, yet in his twenty-fifth year, and after producing so many fine works, he must have bitterly felt, gentle as he was in spirit, that he was neglected - his talent without reward." ²³

Of his painting his peers spoke highly:

"As a historical painter he excelled both in design and colouring; his pictures abound with beautiful forms and graceful action. His taste in composition was refined, his colouring harmonious and rich; his drawing was accurate, and his effects of light and shade true and effective: but his work was of too high a character to become generally popular, and the encouragement afforded him by a few judicious collectors, was far from adequate to his need or his merits." ²⁴

It is well to look at a severe critic of Hilton to adjust the balance. B.R.Haydon was such, and he always looked, to an unhealthy extent, upon Hilton as his rival. Haydon makes the charge that Hilton plagiarized a great deal, which fact he mentions also in his poetic scribblings:

"Here lies Mr.Hilton, as all men should,
Who stole whole groups, whenever he could." ²⁵

Elsewhere he writes:

"Here lies Hilton
As pale as Stilton.
He has no invention
At least of sufficient consequence to mention,
But lived in Theories
Past believing!
He stole so long & stole so much
Of groupes, faces, & figures in every touch
That Fuzeli our Keeper (to be brief)
Always called him 'The bold Thief!'" ²⁶

It seems likely, however, that Haydon had more respect for Hilton's work than he cared to admit even to himself. At several points in his Diary he lists Hilton with other famous painters, and thereby accords him honourable mention. An entry of 5th October 1837 indicates this grudging admiration:

"Went and saw Hilton's Picture - broad but chilly in color, but it was a good Picture & creditable to his talent." ²⁷

The picture referred to here was the "Christ Healing the Blind", painted for the Church of the Blind at Liverpool.

Two letters written by Haydon after the death of Hilton are revealing. The first is typical of Haydon's outpourings and is written to his wife. One wonders how many times she must have had to listen to the substance of it. An extract is given below:

"Poor Hilton is gone. All my life they puffed the poor fellow against me, and what has he done? Now they will puff him once more and for the last time. There is nothing mean men take such delight in as pretending great admiration for an inferior man in order to run down a man whose talents they cannot disprove. Hilton was a delicate, amiable, weak creature, who had no invention, and who pilfered from everybody living and dead. Fuseli used to call him the 'bold thief'. In my second picture I opposed him at the British Gallery for the hundred guineas prize, and I beat both Hilton and Howard who, by the way, the year before, had hung this very picture 'Dentatus', out of sight in the ante-room of the Royal Academy....

Hilton not only had no invention, but he did not draw finely. But the academicians pushed him against me just as they pushed Bird against Wilkie.... Yet I will be bound to say we shall have a huge hue and cry over poor Hilton, and we shall be told that the art has sustained an irreparable loss..." ²⁸

The other is more moderate, though the same message comes over.

It is written to Lord Melbourne:

"Your Lordship will see Hilton is dead; a good, but not a great artist. In early life his merits were over-rated by the Royal Academy in order to pit him against me, but I beat

him whenever we met.

I first beat him with my second picture for the hundred guinea prize at the British Institution in 1810. He had considerable power, but little originality of invention. He was not master of the figure, though he knew a good deal of it. His best work is in Chelsea Church, though without one original thought. As Keeper of the Royal Academy he will not be easily supplied. Eastlake is the only man fit to be his successor, classically, and as an artist."²⁹

After the death of Hilton later generations of painters thought less highly of his work. G.D.Leslie, for example, spoke of his early works as being "severe, classical, dry"³⁰. It seems clear, however, that like many another 18th and 19th century painter the evanescent nature of his materials did his reputation no good. The Redgraves comment:

"His 'Christ delivering Peter', conceived in the same spirit as Raphael's well-known work in the Vatican, was painted during his keepership, and having tempted no purchaser, usually hung in the Lecture Theatre. As students, we recollect it fresh and beautiful, the face of the angel finely conceived and grand in style. Alas! When we again saw it at the International Exhibition of 1862 it was a mere wreck..."³¹

John Callcott Horsley tells two stories which support this. One follows:

"At Hilton's death the students at the Royal Academy, who positively idolised him, had a meeting, at which we agreed to raise a subscription to purchase one of his unsold pictures, and to present it to the National Gallery as a token of our love and admiration for the artist....We bought one of his last works 'Sir Calepin Rescuing Serena', from Spencer's Faery Queen, and a truly beautiful picture it was. Alas!... after eight months of hanging on the walls of the National Gallery it showed signs of the fatal 'running' and though it was at once removed to the hospital for damaged works in that institution, and the utmost skill employed in its restoration, it turned out that nothing short of complete repainting would be any good, and then it would be impossible to exhibit it as the work of the man we desired to honour."³²

The 'running' referred to is of course the result of using the fascinating but highly dangerous asphaltum. Hilton also used other strange media, as Horsley tells.³³ Apparently when Hilton's 'The Finding of the Dead Body of Harold' came into the National Gallery as part of the Vernon Collection it was handed over to the skilful restorer Mr. Henry Merritt. He found mixed in the asphaltum a lightish-brown substance which proved to be mutton-fat. The colourman who was assisting said that in his poverty Hilton had often to use the cheapest materials possible and that in this case he had used the mutton-fat to adulterate the wax for his palette. "So," says Horsley, "Hilton's limited means led to an irremediable loss to art."

We know a little of Hilton's family life, his friendship with Peter de Wint who married his sister, and his pappy time living with them before he went into residence at the Academy as Keeper. He was married in 1828, but in 1835 the death of his wife was

"a severe affliction, (and) aggravated an asthma, from which he had some time suffered; naturally silent and pensive, he gave way to great depression, and never altogether rallied."³⁴

Placed as he was as Keeper between the ebullient Fuseli (discounting the very short tenure of Thomson) and the confident George Jones he must have been a very different character from both. The appointment itself was a boon to him for, as Sandby says

"notwithstanding his great abilities he would scarcely

have escaped suffering from poverty but for the assistance the emoluments of this appointment afforded him..."³⁵

Even though he had but little, however, he was generous. Haydon speaks of this, and adds "a more amiable creature never lived, nor a kinder heart".³⁶ The students gave him a gift of valuable plate, thus marking their "high sense of his services".³⁷ Certain it is that his colleagues on the Council appreciated him, wishing, as they did, that he take a leave of absence of six months and a gift of money. It also seems to be true that it was indignation at seeing Hilton's works unsold that caused Chantrey to leave his famous Bequest, and it was fitting that the first work purchased under it was Hilton's "Christ crowned with Thorns". G.D.Leslie reports that he had this information from his father.³⁸

Elsewhere the evidence of G.F.Watts before the 1863 Royal Commission³⁹ is recalled, and the statement that he left the Schools because there was no teaching whatever. In spite of this statement, however, Watts held a high opinion of Hilton. M.S.Watts tells of the occasion when Hilton had picked out the drawings of Watts as "being certain of a medal", and carries on to say:

(Watts) "remembered it as a thing of yesterday, and described it thus.

"When the result of the judging was known, and that my drawing had not been given the medal, I was much pleased by Hilton's coming across the room and whispering, "Never mind, you ought to have had it"; I liked that better than the medal." "⁴⁰

Watts believed that praise from Hilton was well worth gaining and he remembered with pleasure another occasion when Hilton assembled the other students round Watts' easel and told them, "That is the way I like to see a drawing done." "⁴⁰

Horsley gives another story concerning his student days, in which Hilton figured prominently. The story is worth quoting in full, for as well as telling something about Hilton it indicates the excitement felt by a youngster at the time of the medal distributions:

"William Hilton, one of the most excellent of artists and men, was then Keeper of the Royal Academy. I and all my fellow-students retain the most grateful recollections and profound respect for his memory. At that time the encouragement of living artists was small indeed, except in the case of one or two favoured ones, and Hilton being always devoted to the highest class of historical painting had a hard struggle for existence. He was most faithful in the performance of his academic duties, and showed great personal interest in the students, especially in those who were working hard and taking pains.

At this period I commenced a little mild exhibiting in the form of sending a small picture or two to the British Institution. One that is now in the Sheepshanks Gallery in South Kensington, called 'Rival Musicians', attracted Hilton's notice, and on the varnishing day he spoke to me in the kindest way about it, and said he looked to me to be a really successful artist. In the autumn of that year I joined the competitors in the antique school of the Royal Academy. I may mention that in the alternate years only one medal was given, and this was the 'one-medal' year, and the competition in those days was very keen and the competitors numerous.

On the night of the distribution of honours we were hanging about before we went into the great theatre where they were presented. The access to Hilton's rooms at Somerset House opened on to the great staircase, and when he came out to go up to the theatre, we all drew up and received him with the genuine love and respect we felt. As he walked hurriedly past us, and catching my eye, he said, "Well, Horsley, are you very anxious?" and when he passed on, the student to whom I had been talking said, "Well, now, Horsley, I am sure you have got the medal, the keeper would not have said that otherwise." Then came the anxious moment, for no one knew anything about the award till the actual moment of presentation came, when the successful candidate must be mentioned.....Our worthy President Sir Martin Archer Shee, P.R.A., had a very presidential aspect, for he always appeared in knee breeches and silk stockings at all Academy functions, duly groomed with full attention to shirt frills etc.. His voice was excellent, and delivery good.

So when it came to the moment that he said in solemn tones, "The medal in the antique is awarded to Mr"- then a long pause - "John" - my rival's name - another pause - "Callcott"- safe at last - "Horsley," I was greeted with genuine cheers of congratulation by my fellow students....I walked home with Thomas Webster...in the walk I never took my hand off the medal in its case, which I tightly clasped till I handed it over to my dear mother. She in the warmth of her heart offered me the varied contents of her larder, from which I was to choose my supper! Damson cheese was my selection; the simplicity of this choice amusingly illustrates my juvenility on the occasion. I was then approaching my fifteenth birthday." 41

To return to Hilton, the Keeper. There are no reports in the Minute Books of ill-discipline amongst the students, and one assumes from the kind of tributes quoted that they liked him so much that they would be unwilling to distress him by bad behaviour. Gentle, quiet, dedicated to his high art, and a talented practitioner - this is how he moved round the Schools.

A final comment is worth making on the example of his own work. This, it has been stated, was in the grand style, but there is evidence that later in life he was leaving the purist position, as propounded by Reynolds and practised by Barry. Hilton was, apparently, beginning to reflect the artistic thinking of his time, which was to flourish later in the century:

"Hilton's pictures...gradually became more florid in style, with a slight tendency to mediaevalism, such as was beginning at that time to find favour both with painters and architects. His art may be classed as something between that of West and the Westminster cartoons" (G.D.Leslie) 42

George Jones (1786- 1869: Keeper 1840- 1851).

Enough is written about Jones to give a fairly clear picture. Hodgson and Eaton tell the main facts of his life, though their account is almost certainly based on that of William Sandby. Both accounts are somewhat brief and are limited mainly to the facts of his artistic career. To gain an impression of the man, as he moved among the students and his brother artists, it is necessary to gather bits and pieces from many quarters. An attempt to do this follows.

George Jones was born in 1786, the son of George Jones the mezzotint engraver. In 1801 he was a student at the Royal Academy Schools, but he left to join the South Devon Militia and served in the Peninsular War. He rose to the rank of Captain in the Royal Montgomery Militia, serving under the Duke of Wellington, and (being one of the army of occupation in Paris in 1815.

Having finished his period as a soldier he returned to his art studies. In 1822 he was elected an Associate and in 1824 full Royal Academician. In 1834 he was elected to the office of Librarian and he supervised the removal of the Library to Trafalgar Square in 1837. Hodgson and Eaton, who ought to have known as well as anyone, state "the rearrangement of the books and prints was carried out by Jones in a systematic manner not hitherto attempted"⁴³. On 29th October 1839, when Hilton decided to accept the leave of absence which had been

offered to him in August, the Council asked Jones "to reside in the Academy and perform the duties of the Keeper for the present". After the death of Hilton, Jones and Thomas Uwins offered themselves for the post (CM of 3rd February 1840), and in the same meeting a letter of resignation from his post as Librarian was received from Jones. CM of 11th February 1840 states that Uwins has withdrawn his candidature and therefore Jones is elected.

Jones's early work had largely been paintings of street scenery, in continental and English towns. Later he turned to battle scenes, and later still he moved into battles-in-landscape and plain landscape. He also painted scenes from English history such as "The Passing of the Catholic Relief Bill", and "The Opening of the new London Bridge". He made several versions of the Battle of Waterloo. This picture was admired by the Duke of Wellington for "correctness and general effect". He also painted military engagements which took place in India and the Crimea. As he had not had the advantage of being present at these he worked closely, as he painted these battles, with the commanders and officers who had been there.⁴⁴

Several witnesses speak of his likeness to the Duke of Wellington and give versions of the following anecdote. It is here told by the raconteur Frith:

"I may say of Mr. Jones that he was chiefly known as a painter of military pictures, and in dress and person he so much resembled the great Duke of Wellington, that,

to extreme delight, he was often mistaken for that hero, and saluted accordingly. On this coming to the ears of the Duke, he said: 'Dear me. Mistaken for me, is he? That's strange, for no-one ever mistakes me for Mr. Jones.'" 45

D.G.Rossetti also - whom the Keeper would not have numbered among his bright pupils, for he never attained the status of a Life Student - refers in 1846 to Jones as "a rather aged painter noted as resembling, on a feeble scale, the great Duke of Wellington".⁴⁶ A number of other contemporaries comment on this likeness.

The highlight of Jones's career was the duty which came his way of acting as Deputy for the President during the last five years of the life of Sir Martin Archer Shee. Shee's ill-health had rendered this necessary. Frith, attending an Academy banquet during this period, recalled it thus. Frith's companion was Charles Turner, the engraver:

"We were both Associates, and consequently, in the most unfavourable positions at the table for seeing and hearing. I found the old engraver somewhat grumpy. Mr. Jones, R.A., in the absence of Sir Martin Archer Shee, was in the chair.

'Look at him, sir; look at him,' said the engraver: 'there he sits and here I sit (what an infernal draught there is through that door!). Why, I served my apprenticeship to his father. I remember this one, a boy, sir - a boy. I used to order him about, though I am not so much older than he is, for the matter of that. What was his father? Why, an engraver of course, or else how could I have been articled to him. Yes, he was a very good engraver too. You will find his name to lots of Sir Joshua's portraits.'" 47

There is no doubt, however, that Jones added dignity to such occasions. Towards the end of this section is given a

description by W.H.Hunt which more than bears out the point. It is also clear that Jones was aggrieved that he did not succeed to Shee, as G.D.Leslie tells:

"On account of Sir Martin Shee's bad health Jones had frequently to take the President's chair, and it was pretty well known amongst his brother members that he imagined himself as a likely candidate for the Presidential chair on the occasion of Sir Martin's death. He did indeed receive two votes, but there can be no doubt that the Academicians acted wisely in electing the scholarly and courteous Eastlake." 41

To make an excusable digression for the moment, how justified was Jones in his feelings about Eastlake's election? C.R.Leslie has something to add here. He tells that after Shee had died in the August the election of his successor was left till a later date as so many members were out of town. Leslie and others wanted the election of Eastlake, but the latter was unwilling. The influential Sir Edwin Landseer was at Balmoral and he sent to C.R.Leslie a note written to him by Colonel Phipps saying that it would be highly agreeable to the Queen and Prince Albert if Eastlake were elected.⁴¹ Landseer authorised Leslie to use the note as he liked. Leslie sent it only to Eastlake, who then decided to accept if he were elected. Leslie stressed that only Landseer, his brother Charles Landseer, he himself and Eastlake knew of the note before the election. He says:

"There were, of course, some persons dissatisfied with his election, as is always the case in every such event: and they and their friends affected to lament that the members of the Academy had been influenced in their choice by the expressed wishes of royalty".

Leslie had given notice beforehand that at the election meeting he would propose that the £300 voted to Shee would be continued to his successor. At the meeting this was agreed to without opposition. The votes were as follows:

Edwin Landseer, 1: Pickersgill, 1: Jones, 2: Eastlake, 24.

It can be seen that a good number of Academicians did not vote.

General Assembly Minutes of 23rd August 1850 tell that Jones was then in the President's chair for the last time. He had occupied it since 23rd June 1845, when Shee's letter of resignation was received. On the last occasion he occupied it the General Assembly Minute reads:

"Resolved that the Election of a President be deferred until the meeting of the General Assembly to be summoned for Monday the Fourth of November next."

Jones, however, did not attend on 4th November, for Sir Richard Westmacott signed the Minutes of the previous meeting, so the General Assembly Minute book tells. Jones henceforth kept away from Academy meetings, though his office of Keeper was to extend for some time after this. That he was hurt is apparent, and since he had served the Academy for more than five years as Deputy President he cannot be blamed for this. Redgrave speaks of his return - to the important meeting which decided that engravers should be entitled to the rank of full Academician:

"January 16th, 1853. Last Saturday week there was a meeting of the Royal Academy on the subject of the admission of engravers to the body; a very strong muster of members attended, especially of the elder ones, including Jones, who has kept away since Eastlake's election. Westmacott spoke first, as was proper, he having moved the adjournment

in July last. He was against the proposal; Hart followed in favour of it; then Grant made a long, clever, and gentlemanly speech against admission, on which he is very warm.

The President then said, in the most pleasant manner, 'The members will be gratified to hear Mr. Jones on the subject, as he has again come among us.' And a most remarkable speech he made. Were it not that one knows his real interest in the Academy, it would have been difficult not to laugh at some parts of it, owing to his theatrical attitude, one leg advanced, and his left hand in the bosom of his buttoned-up coat, just below the red waistcoat, which he wears because he is so like the Duke of Wellington. At one time he was completely carried away; he extended the hand that rested in his bosom, and, clapping it violently several times with the other, he said, 'He might well boast his loyalty, since his obedience to that duty had deprived him of his lawful right.' I can only suppose that he meant the presidency which he inferred - how falsely! that Eastlake owed to Court influence. Luckily, this was passed over in silence. At length, there having been long pauses between each speaker, and no one else rising, Eastlake got up, and in a speech worthy of all credit, set the whole in so clear a light, and answered all objections so cleverly, and carried the meeting so much with him, that I felt the motion would be gained, as eventually it was." 50

It is unfair, however, to make much of these reactions of an elderly man. Certain it is that Jones had considerable influence, respect, even affection during his life. Vernon, whose collection of paintings eventually passed to the nation, relied very much upon Jones's professional advice. Sandby says:

"Vernon's 157 pictures... (were) formed during twenty years under the guidance and suggestion of George Jones, R.A., who often introduced pictures to his notice, and persuaded him to purchase them on his recommendation." 51

Jones had the presence and ability to deal with Lord John Russell in the delicate negotiations concerning Trafalgar Square and the National Gallery, in 1850 (See Appendix 1).

Jones appears to have been on the best of terms with a number of his fellow-artists, and without jealousy in his professional dealings (the Presidency excepted). He arranged the sale of Wilkie's "Columbus" to Mr. Vernon, and received this tribute from Wilkie in a letter dated 17th November 1834:

"There is no friend whose mediation in arranging such an affair could be more congenial to me, from the fine spirit in which it has been proposed, than your own." ⁵¹

Sir Edwin Landseer appears to have liked him sufficiently to have done a sketch of him in the wellknown scribbling book of Mr. Wells of Redleaf, as Frederick Goodall tells.⁵³ With the talented Irishman, Mulready, he was on excellent terms, as is related below in the section dealing with Jones's work in the Schools. He was the friend of Sir Francis Chantrey, and after the death of the sculptor he wrote an account of his life, which was published in 1849. With the eccentric Turner he was especially friendly. In fact it seems unlikely that any Academician knew the famous landscape painter better, or was on more friendly terms with him.

Several letters exist from Turner to Jones. He usually wrote to him from his Italian journeys. The tone of these is very familiar. One such is dated 13th October 1828. Turner says:

"Tell that fat fellow Chantrey, that I did think of him, then (but not the first or the last time) and of the thousands he had made out of those marble ^(s)craigs which only afforded me a sour bottle of wine and a sketch; but he deserves everything which is good, though he did give me a fit of the spleen at Carrara." ⁵⁴

Three weeks later Turner is sending good wishes to Jones in his letter to Chantrey. In his "Recollections of Sir Francis Chantrey" Jones quotes an example of Chantrey having a joke at Turner's expense. When Turner was painting at Lord Egremont's he refused to open the door to any save his host. Chantrey on occasions imitated the step and the two raps at the door usually given by Lord Egremont, so that the door would be opened and the painter's work on the landscapes revealed.⁵⁵ In a letter to Eastlake in 1829 Turner says:

"I think there is a chance of your seeing Jones R.A. and Miss Jones in Rome - they start about Saturday next. Any kindness shewn to them will be mine to thank you for whenever we meet again."⁵⁶

On the evening when Constable was elected Royal Academician Turner and Jones called on him at Charlotte Street to give him the news. They stayed until one o'clock in the morning and, as Constable wrote later to Chalon, "parted mutually pleased with one another".⁵⁷

Three other stories of Turner and Jones show the easy relationship they enjoyed, and the complete freedom from professional jealousy. There is, to begin with, the story told by Jones about Turner's picture "Nebuchadnezzar at the mouth of the burning fiery furnace":

"One day... Turner asked me what I intended to paint for the ensuing exhibition. I told him I had chosen the delivery of Shadrack, Meshech, and Abednego from the Fiery Furnace - 'a good subject (said Turner), I will paint it also, what size do you propose?' - Kitcat. 'Well, upright or length way?' Upright. 'Well I'll paint it so - have you ordered your panel? - No, I shall order it tomorrow. 'Order two and desire one to be sent to me, and mind I never will

come into your room without enquiring what is on the easel; that I may not see it.' - Both pictures were painted and exhibited, and brother Academicians thought Turner had secretly taken advantage of me and were surprised at our mutual contentment little suspecting our previous friendly arrangement; they very justly gave his picture a much superior position to mine, but he used his utmost endeavours to get my work changed to the place his occupied and his placed where mine hung." 58

We are informed about this that Jones was "as usual, very modest about his work, but it had admirers, and one critic described his picture as one of the finest pictures of the poetic kind in the Exhibition." It was bought by Mr. Vernon and presented to the National Gallery in 1847.

The second story is related by Thornbury, to whom Jones told it. Shortly after Wilkie's death Turner asked of Jones whether anyone was going to commemorate it. Jones replied that he intended doing a drawing "on the deck of the vessel, as it has been described to me by persons present, and at the time that Wilkie's body was lowered into the sea." Turner replied that he would likewise do it, as seen from the coast. Both drawing and painting appeared in the Academy Exhibition of 1842. When Turner was charged by Stansfield that the sails were too black in his work he replied, "I only wish I had any colour to make them blacker." 59

The third story deals with the waggery on varnishing days, so beloved by Turner:

"Turner's two first oil-paintings of Venice were also in this exhibition. The larger - 'Bridge of Sighs, Ducal Palace and Customs House, Venice: Canaletti painting' - was only a small panel of 20 by 32 inches.... This picture was hung in the Exhibition next to a view of 'Ghent' by George Jones. Jones tells us that Turner joked with him on one of the varnishing days about the blueness of the sky in his

'Ghent', and threatened that if I did not alter it he would put down my bright colour, which he was soon able to do by his magical contrasts in his own picture'. Turner 'laughed at his exploit, and then went to work at some other picture'. Jones 'enjoyed the joke and resolved to imitate it'; he introduced 'a great deal more white' in his sky, which made the sky in Turner's picture 'look much too blue'. The next day, when Turner saw what had been done, he laughed heartily, slapped Jones on the back, and said he 'might enjoy the victory'".⁶⁰

It was not only with the great that Jones could be generous and without jealousy. T. Sidney Cooper, then a young artist, had reason to be grateful to him in 1834. Cooper's picture was intended to be hung, but due to some error no place had been left for it by the hangers. Jones took out one of his own to allow Cooper's to go in. Telling this later to Mr. Vernon he was told: "That was a kind and honourable act of yours, Jones, and I thank you, not only for the young man, but also for myself, for the picture is mine." Cooper recalls that when Vernon related this story later "we all drank 'Good health to Jones', exclaiming 'He's a goos fellow! He's a noble fellow!' Cooper adds, "I afterwards made Mr. Jones's acquaintance, and he was always agreeable and polite to me."⁶¹ Even Haydon, who had little opinion of the abilities of Jones as an artist (see below) gave him a grudging tribute by putting in parentheses after some critical comments: "The Keeper... so amiable in private life that one dreads to find fault..."

Finally, how did Jones appear in his work in the Schools? John Callcott Horsley says a great deal in this sentence: "When

dear old Stothard was taken to his rest a very different figure filled his office of librarian..." He then carries on to say something of the latter's likeness to the Duke of Wellington, and adds very little else.⁶² This was indeed the opinion of some — that there was not much in Jones. Haydon, hypercritical as ever, certainly shared it. Haydon had been particularly piqued in 1820 when the Directors of the British Institution had commissioned Jones to paint the Battle of Waterloo for 500 guineas. It is to this event that he refers in an entry of 27th May 1824:

"...said I, 'Why select Jones, a protege of Sir Charles Long?' 'Ah, there it is', said he, 'You object to Jones, and others would object to you.' 'If you wanted a Secretary,' said I, 'would you choose a man who could not spell?' 'No', said he. 'Well, Sir, Jones cannot spell in the Art, and the commonest observation can see it'.⁶³

This conversation was with Mr. Lambton. Elsewhere Haydon speaks disparagingly of "he who...believes with Lord Farnborough that Mr. Jones is the greatest Painter that ever lived..."⁶⁴ When Jones was a candidate for the Keepership in 1840 Haydon wrote in his diary:

"The last day of January, the first month in the year. I called on Wilkie, & we had a regular set-to. I asked him who was to be Keeper. I told him they were putting men forward who were supposed (to be) likely to send, whilst the real man was concealed; and I said if he be elected I'll be at the Academy again. 'Now don't,' said Wilkie, 'interfere in the Elections.' 'If Jones be elected I will.' 'Don't,' said he, with an entreating air.

No man is fit for it but Eastlake, & he is too timid. He is the only man to keep up the high feeling. If you elect a mere drawing-master, he will keep the boys down; if a Man of Poetic Views he will elevate them, and the feelings in

the Country are high, and whether the young Men are fitted for the feeling fast engendering will depend on the Instructor chosen. If the Academy do not elect a fit & proper person they will betray their trust. I alarmed Wilkie." 65

Whether or not Jones was the best man for the task he set about it with the thoroughness which he had already shewn in his work as Librarian. Sandby says:

"The better to qualify himself for his duties in the latter office, he travelled through a great part of Europe for the purpose of examining the foreign schools of art, that he might thus be enabled to improve anything which was defective in the Schools of the Royal Academy." 66

Once in office Jones began to exert a firm discipline. Frith gives a clear picture of Jones in this role. The students of his time greatly disliked Sir Edwin Landseer, and one of them had defaced a notice put up by him.

"Which of the students was guilty of writing the word 'Humbug' in large capitals across the obnoxious order I never knew, nor indeed did I know that it had been done before, till Mr. Jones, who was then Keeper of the Academy and head of all the schools, walked into the Life School with the order in his hand. He took his place with his back to the model, and addressed us thus: 'Gentlemen - I use that word in addressing you collectively, but there is one person amongst you who has no claim to the appellation - I hold in my hand evidence of vulgar insubordination. I am sorry to think that an act which must have been witnessed by some of you, was not prevented before it was perpetrated. I seek not, gentlemen, to discover the author of this insult, for if I knew him, it would be my painful duty to pursue him to his expulsion' etc." 67

G.D.Leslie speaks thus of Jones:

"This early military training, no doubt, helped Jones when he became Keeper in maintaining strict discipline in the schools. He was popular with the students and did all he could to imbue them with a sense of the dignity of their position." 68

That the Keeper had a rather wild lot of young men to

to cope with is apparent. W. Holman Hunt speaks of the student horseplay, and the behaviour as being "unbridled except for the half hour when the Keeper made his rounds"⁶⁹. Of the students, Frederic Stephens recalls:

"The late George Jones R.A. and Keeper of the Royal Academy, a crony of Mulready, told me that while the latter attended the Old Schools in Somerset House, one of the rough amusements favoured by the students was boxing, and that the men used to go down to the river-side and 'set to' with their tongues and fists against the bargees who frequented the 'Fox under the Hill'".⁷⁰

The brilliant young Millais was also a student at this time, and an account of similar high-spiritedness exists in his biography:

"Jack Harris, a burly and robust personage, a leader in all the feats of strength which then obtained in the Schools... because some workmen had left a tall ladder against the wall of the school, nothing would do but on one occasion Harris must carry Millais, clinging round his neck, to the top of the ladder. It so happened that just at the moment the door of the room slowly opened, while no less a person than the Keeper entered and took up his duties by teaching some students nearest the entrance. Discipline and respect for Mr. Jones... forbade Harris to come down the ladder, and his safety forbade Millais from letting go his hold. Doubtless the Keeper saw the dilemma. For, without noticing the culprits, he hastened his progress round the room and left it as soon as might be, but not before Millais was tired of his lofty position."⁷¹

Elsewhere Holman Hunt gives some account of Jones as a teacher. One cannot help feeling rather sorry for the unsuccessful candidate, as Hunt acknowledges. It seems out of keeping for Jones to be somewhat unkind in this way. One must conclude that perhaps this older student required some humiliating:

* "Before the momentous 10th December arrived, the paintings for the gold medal award were arranged on the walls of the Lecture Room. The only picture that stood in balance with Millais' was by a student of about twenty-five. The two works might be contrasted thus:- Millais' bore evidence of influence from the Etty cult of the day in being in 'round-hand' taste as to arrangement both of form and colour, and in its lightness of handling in the accessories and background. Here the discipleship might be said to stop; in other respects the picture showed wonderful thoroughness and honesty of execution. The other was an example of proud competition with Etty himself in his latest and most unbridled indulgence in a puppet-show display of the beauty of favourite pigments, all put on with showy bravure in sweeping brush-marks and palette knife plasterings. It was undoubtedly a dexterous counter-coinage, and some of the students believed that its ingenious fabricator would be the successor of J.C.Hook, the victor in the last contest. Mr. George Jones occupied the President's rostrum. When the decision that Millais was the successful candidate was announced, the works were commented upon by the Keeper with instructive frankness. He cautioned the young against the course followed by the imitator of the unequalled colourist of the English School, pointing out with much discrimination how Etty reached his pre-eminence only by a course of studies to overcome difficulties, and that this discipline continued for year, while any young artist emulating his present consummate power precipitately could only acquire a mere superficial dexterity - a handful of tricks doomed to failure and disappointment; in the work of the successful student in this contest, he said, the judicious would find qualities that promised not ephemeral, but lasting triumph. While I appreciated the tenor of these remarks I felt sympathy for the losing candidate in his painful humiliation." ⁷²

We also know that Jones tended to keep back students in the Antique School, in order to give them a good grounding.

The 1863 Report quotes the evidence of Eastlake on this:

"682..Mr Jones, during his keepership...was very careful to ensure the attendance of the students in the antique school as long as possible, in order that they might receive by that means a solid foundation in drawing."

It seems not impossible that it was to combat this tendency of the Keeper to hold back students in the Antique School that

* (The year in which this took place was 1847).

the Council Minute of 17th December 1847 was framed (see page 50). Students did have friends among the Academicians, naturally, and frequently such Academicians acted on their behalf in Council and General Assembly Meetings.

What were the contributions of Jones to the Schools in the way of ideas, improvements, changes etc.?

The facts, as revealed in Council Minutes which contain all changes howsoever insignificant, show that Jones had been Keeper for many years before he put forward any proposals at all. When he did stir himself he put forward two at the same time, in October 1847. The first was the proposed change in the concept and the practice of the Painting School (see page 48): the second the proposal to make a collection of Diploma pictures (see page 49). Out of the first of these came, in January 1849, the proposal that a silver medal should be given for the best painting of a figure from the Life in the Life School. As pointed out already, this was quite a radical change in outlook.

There were also some changes, or proposed measures, given in Council Minutes, which appear to be 'anti-Keeper' in some way. The first is the changes in regulations affecting the entry into the Life School of students from the Antique, in CM of 17th December (see pages 50-52). This was anti-Jones insofar as the Keeper's Report disappeared as a requirement. The second is a veiled attack on the Keeper's domain, which appears in CM of 27th

February 1850. The entry says: "Mr Cope gave notice of a motion to consider the inefficient state of the Painting School. In August 1850 Shee died; in November Eastlake was elected President; Jones immediately offered to resign, and at the same meeting whereat his letter was read Cope tabled another motion to consider the mode of instruction in all the Schools (see page 63).

An interpretation which appears to fit the facts follows. It may or may not be the true one: there seems to be no evidence outside the Minutes which bears on this.

Jones took over his office as Keeper in an efficient way. He travelled and sought ideas abroad, but once back in London he introduced no innovations, contenting himself with a comparatively smooth running of the Schools. In June 1845 Shee became so frail that he wished to resign from the Presidency, and from this point Jones became his Deputy. This may well have caused jealousy among his fellow-Academicians, and some criticism. In order to combat this Jones stirred himself into action in October 1847. But the critics remained, and the 'anti-Keeper' campaign continued, as related above. At the end it looks as if things were becoming very hot indeed for him. Politeness, respect and convenience however led members to request that he remained in office until the new laws of the Schools were produced. This he did, though it must have been a rather sad experience insofar as he must have felt, in some measure, that his own shortcomings had made the new laws necessary.

There seems no doubt, however, that whether or not his Keepership came up to the standards wished by a Haydon, or whether it retained an efficient standard throughout its length, Jones was on the whole liked and respected. Sandby says:

"He was so popular as Keeper, that one hundred of the students commemorated the close of the Academic season in 1845 by presenting him with an elegant silver Etruscan tazza, to express their gratitude for his undeviating kindness of manner, and his affectionate regard for their interests, progress and success." 73

W.H. Hunt re-echoes this thought when he refers to the Keeper as the "paternal-minded Jones". 74

It is apt to close this account of Jones by giving the impressions of two students. The first is W. Holman Hunt, who writes with the flair for detail which one might have imagined he possessed from looking at his paintings. (Perhaps someone, one day, will decide that Hunt is a writer as well as a painter!). Hunt describes the annual distribution of prizes on 10th December. He says the year is 1843, and indeed Millais did receive a Silver Medal in that year. It is also true that there is no discourse published among the collection of those by Shee, for this year. This is interesting, for it shows that Jones was deputising for Shee, sometimes, as early as 1843:

"When the clock was striking, all the students took their places in the lecture room. This was furnished above the dais with the copy of Leonardo's 'Last Supper'; Rubens' 'Descent from the Cross', copied by Northcote, was on the left, and some copies of Raphael's cartoons occupied the other walls. Attention to the masterpieces was but transient, for no eyes were long withdrawn from the door, where, by the curtain, stood the gorgeous porter dressed in scarlet. After a protracted time he put aside his saucy assumption of

indifference threw open the doors, and the procession entered, led by the stately Keeper, Mr. Jones (the President at the time being an invalid), while at his left hand walked a stunted gentleman, uninspiring in form, inelegantly dressed, and shambling in gait. Part of his ungracefulness was attributable to a big head, with somewhat large features, which, although not handsome, bespoke the right to be at home in any presence. Behind came some few, men of dignified appearance and bearing, Cockerell strikingly so, with white hair and black eyebrows, Leslie, Howard, and Ross following - all courtly-looking gentlemen. Next came Stansfield, Roberts, Webster, Mulready, who was then of perfect build and beautiful face, and MacIise, who was singularly handsome, of the same type as Byron, but more handsome, as an old gentleman who had known both in later days told me. Etty, with a great brow and modest deportment, though short and stout, looked distinguished. I turned again with curiosity as to his personality, to the inelegant but honoured member in front, who had stopped with the Keeper just in front of the rostrum. Mr. Jones could be seen bowing (he could not be heard by reason of the ovation), and with extended hands gracefully inviting the unknown one on his left to ascend and take the duties of the evening. He, however, merely shook himself like an unwilling child; being pressed further in the most courteous manner by the Deputy President he betrayed some irritation in his further gesticulation, his coat tails swept from side to side, and he brought the matter to a close by hurrying to a seat placed with its back to the audience. This was J.M.W. Turner. Mr. Jones waited to catch his eye, then bowed, ascended the chair, and commenced his address. Then the distribution of the medals followed, a function which seemed of eternal moment to the students. When it came to the antique school, the attention was breathless as the preliminary words were uttered slowly, and the name of John Everett Millais was given as the winner of the first prize. A moment's pause, and out of the press a slim lad with curly hair and white collar rose eagerly, and was handed from seat to seat till he descended into the arena, where, remembering his manners, he bowed, and approached the desk. As he returned, the applause was boisterous, occasioning some reluctance to advance in the less favoured competitor." 75

The second impression comes from an anonymous student. It is a lengthy poem, of which the stanzas which refer to Jones and some few of those which refer to activity in the Schools in his regime, are given here:

"Remember you the Antique School,
 And eke the Academic Stool,
 Under the tutorship and rule
 Of dear old Jones,
 Our aged military Keeper
 And medal-distribution weeper,
 For whom respect could not be deeper
 In human bones;

Whose great ambition was to look
 As near as might be like 'the Dook',
 With somewhat less of nasal hook,
 And doubtless brains;
 Who, I imagine, still delights
 To try and look the ghost, o'nights,
 Of him who fought a hundred fights -
 The Duke's remains.....

But to return - to go on talking
 Of those young days when we were walking,
 Towards the never-ending chalking
 From casts, or life -
 Days of charcoal stumps, and crumbs,
 'Double elephant', and 'Plumbs',
 Within the sound of barrack drums
 And shrilly fifes;.....

In silence let us gently sneak
 Towards the door devoid of creak,
 Which leads us back to the Antique,
 Where youth still plods.
 For now behold the gas is lit,
 And nigh a hundred brows are knit,
 Where miserable heathens sit,
 Before their gods

There from the Premier Charley Fox -
 That party with the greasy locks,
 Who vainly calls on long-tongued Knox
 To hold his jawings -
 Every back is archly bending,
 For the Silver Prize contending,
 This is the latest night for sending
 In the drawings.....

And now to times a little later,
 When first we drew upstairs from Natur',
 When we were passing that equator
 Of days scholastic.

When we nightly starv'd or fried
With bald pates glistening by our side,
And felt ourselves, with conscious pride,
Beyond the Plastic...." 76

So much then for Keeper Jones, and some glimpses of
student life in his decade of office.

Henry Howard (1769-1847: Secretary of Royal Academy, 1811-1847;
Professor of Painting, 1833-1847).

The figure of Howard was a familiar one to students over a long period, holding, as he did, the above two important offices. It was as Professor of Painting, of course, that he would have more direct effect on their thinking and practice, and also as Visitor over the many years he was an Academician. The accumulated effect of this must have been appreciable and it is therefore as well to look at Howard's contribution, so far as it can be assessed, at greater length.

It is difficult to find out much about the man himself. His son, Frank Howard, wrote a memoir of his father immediately after his death and this was published as a preface to Howard's lectures on Painting delivered at the Academy.⁷⁷ This memoir is, in his son's words, "strictly confined to Mr. Howard's professional career, and such circumstances as had any bearing upon it".

As a child Henry Howard travelled frequently to France with his father and became familiar with French language and literature. During adolescence he became increasingly interested in art as a professional career, and initially he was assisted by J.T.Smith, Keeper of the Prints at the British Museum. By him he was loaned prints which he copied most carefully. At seventeen years he was placed under the professional care of Philip Reinagle, R.A., who, in the opinion of Frank Howard, was

"one of the most versatile artists this country has produced". (He goes on to say: "Half the Ruysdaels, Hobbemas, Wynants etc. which are considered the gems of modern collections are by Philip Reinagle", who, at one stage in his life, assisted Ramsay in his Royal portraits). At this period Howard read poetry assiduously - Milton, Pope, Spencer, and Shakespeare. In March 1788 he was admitted a student in the Royal Academy Schools, and very soon distinguished himself. In December 1790 he gained the first Silver medal for the best drawing from the life, and the Gold medal for the best original picture from Mason's dramatic poem 'Caractacus'. Reynolds wrote about this picture thus to Lord Harvey:

"I had the pleasure of telling him when I delivered the gold medal, that it was the opinion of the Academicians that his picture was the best that had been presented to the Academy ever since its establishment."

Soon after this brilliant beginning Howard set out for the continent. A good deal of his son's memoir is devoted to this extensive journey, and he quotes much from his father's diaries. He visited the usual places - Milan, Parma, Florence, Rome⁷⁸ etc.. In 1792 he was working in Rome on Gesner's 'Death of Abel', for his travelling studentship picture. (Many years later, in 1847, this picture was exhibited at the British Institution, illustrative of some lectures on the Fine Arts, the theme of which was a "defence of the English School from the calumnies of the ignorant, or those prejudiced in favour of every thing foreign, as a specimen of what the students of those days were doing in comparison with those who are fondly called masters in the present day").

This picture was adjudged the best, though Howard was not granted the travelling studentship, since he was already having the benefits of foreign travel.

The diaries of Howard are filled with minute and careful observations of all that he saw appertaining to his art. Since he obviously used this material later in life, in his lectures, it is as well to give an example:

"The picture of Correggio at the Academy (at Parma) (is) the principal thing worth seeing there. The Madonna has a smile truly divine; the Magdalen exceedingly fine; the composition admirable. The only objections I can make are, that the Christ wants a little more dignity, and the angel attendant still more; this I disliked most in the piece; the countenance is even apish, if I see right, and the right leg of St. Jerome appears to be a little more extended than ease and nature would prompt, though it may make a more graceful line to the eye of the painter: perhaps it may be meant to be foreshortened: if so, it is ill done; but at any rate, the leg of the Madonna appears too short. I see nothing exceptional in the head of St. Jerome; the Christ has much of Parmeggiano in the head, the arm of St. Jerome meagre and not correctly drawn, the hand of the angel on the book rather too clawy. There is no effect of writing where it points; the little angel in the corner, with a cup, has a deal of character, but not very angelic. Mary Magdala is represented of the same age that she generally is when anointing the feet of our Saviour, thirty years after. I do not agree with the Abbe Goujenot (and he says with all true connoisseurs) that it would be improved if framed into an oval. The posture of the Magdalen would be tiresome were anyone to remain in it long, but it is natural, and not liable to M. Goujenot's objection; the bank advancing to the right makes her situation with respect to the Christ perfectly possible: the admired smile of the Virgin is made by drawing up one corner of the mouth only, and that a little lengthened; the cheek too is a little raised, which occasions the shadow under the lower eyelid to be rather strong on that side of the face, which he has judiciously chosen to be the dark one; five or six yards or more from the picture seems to be the best place for viewing it - the characters and situation of the figures are seen to more advantage; the lion, near St. Jerome, is rather small, but it is of great use in the composition." 79

This is dull stuff to read, and one example is quite enough

to show the way in which Howard tackled his foreign study.

In his six lectures on Painting Howard followed the pattern which had been set by his predecessors: introduction; basic principles of history painting relating to literature etc.; design; chiaroscuro; composition; concluding lecture drawing the preceding together. His lectures are lengthy, academic, thought-provoking. He uses knowledge like the above-quoted, which he had built up over the years. For example, on Correggio - since he has been quoted above - Howard has this to say:

"Correggio, though he had a much less intimate acquaintance with the figure, and did not excel as a draughtsman, has, however, in his large compositions, ventured on the boldest foreshortenings, availing himself of small models, made expressly for him, which he suspended in the air and copied. These contrivances may assist those who have science enough to employ them safely; but must be used with cautious attention to the perspective." 80

Howard was undoubtedly interesting in the examples he chose to present in his lectures. In speaking of colour, for example, he has this to say at one point:

"Various opinions have been entertained as to the relative situations which the different colours should occupy in a picture. Some have thought that the most perfect, or even the only model for this purpose, is to be found in the rainbow, and this was strongly insisted on by the president, West, who, in the later part of his life, had given much attention to this element of the art, and whose judgment at all times, well deserved consideration. According to him, the red should be placed on the side on which the light enters, then the orange, yellow, green, and so on; but this order, however agreeable, would, if always followed, inevitably give to all picture the same general aspect; as we find this arrangement, in Nature only, in the rainbow itself, and in a few accidental effects, we are, at least, entitled to doubt the necessity of adhering to it, on all occasions, and also to question if some of the fine pictures of the best colourists would have gained by being more in conformity with Mr. West's system..." 81

This then was the sort of instruction given by Howard - diligent, painstaking, and in accordance with the Reynolds-inspired traditions of the Schools. Of this instruction Sandby says:

"...(he) delivered a course of lectures to the students, which were remarkable for the views they take of art in its higher qualities, for the clearness with which the principles he lays down are explained and established, for the elevated sentiments he endeavours to instil into the minds of the students, and for the eloquence of the diction in which his instructions are conveyed." ⁸²

The other extant record so far as Howard is concerned is his testimony before the 1835 Select Committee. The ten pages of his evidence show him giving a very competent defence of the Academy position. He begins by confuting previous errors in evidence given and then ranges over the areas of students and scholarships; plurality of offices; exhibition procedures; membership; salaries of officers; the 1815 monument; finance; Academicians' membership of other artistic societies. The Academy position in 1835 was not easy to defend, and Howard certainly did his bit in his knowing answers. He was a very able seconder to Shee in this defence. ⁸³

It is a fact that there is scarcely anything written about Howard as a person. Three people of differing ages give some indication of their feelings, however, which indications are sometimes apparent in mere phrases:

T. Sidney Cooper shows how frightening Howard could be to a youngster. At the time Cooper was aged seventeen and was

seeking support to enter the Schools as a probationer. He had been told that a letter of recommendation was necessary and that this must come from an Academician. Not knowing where else to go he made his way to Howard's house. Here he was made to wait for about two hours, only to be finally refused:

"...he would not give me a letter to the Council, as he said he did not know me; and he opened the door and showed me out, with no further ceremony....I had not at all liked his face, which had a sour expression. He was altogether a disagreeable-looking man, with a hard, forbidding manner, and a carroty wig..."⁸⁴

Perhaps the impressions of a lad are scarcely fair, however, though the next one quoted equally gives an unfriendly impression also. This comes from Richard Redgrave. At the time he was a newly-elected Associate attending varnishing day. Howard stopped before his picture and told him, gruffly and without ceremony, that it was indelicate, and that he had better make it less so.⁸⁵ There is little more than this to the incident, but it does seem to indicate that even to an Associate Howard could be autocratic and discourteous.

The third impression is from Haydon, who was nearer in age to Howard. In a diary entry under 17th July 1826 he mentions meeting Howard, "who is a gentlemanly, clever fellow"⁸⁶. Elsewhere Haydon praises his ability as a painter, writing, "Howard's Head of his Daughter is an exquisite thing and I am glad Ridley Colborne has bought it."⁸⁷ This painting was exhibited at the Academy in 1824.

It is surprising that so little is written about one who was so often in the Academy and the Schools, and indeed that the

little which is written is sometimes conflicting. The following assessment of Howard was written by the brothers Redgrave, at much the same time that Sandby wrote his account, yet there are considerable differences:

"Howard will not be able to maintain a high rank in the English school. Distinguished in the outset of his career by the highest honours to be gained as a student, he fell short of the genius that will live. His works are graceful and pretty, marked by propriety, pleasing in composition; his faces and expression good, his drawing correct; but his style cold and feeble. As a lecturer he had little originality of thought; his matter wanted interest, and failed to catch the mind or impress itself upon the memory of the student. He is part of our school - a link in the chain - but he has not exercised much influence either by his pictures or his teaching. His life was uneventful - neither marked by great success nor by failure. He possessed the esteem of his profession." 88

Joseph Henry Green (1791-1863: Professor of Anatomy 1825-1851).

Green has a full entry in the DNB. Much therein is of no concern here - such things as his medical achievements and his connection with Coleridge as the latter's literary executor. Since he held the office of Professor of Anatomy for twenty-six years what can be said of his work with students?

The Professor had to deliver annually before the Academy six lectures in Anatomy "adapted to the Arts of Design". Only the first two of Green's lectures appear to have been published, in the issues of the Athenaeum of the 16th and 23rd December 1843. An examination of these has been made, and some synopsis follows together with extracts showing his style and content.

These two lectures seem very far removed from what one consider to be the brief of a Professor of Anatomy. Considering that they comprise one-third of the time spent lecturing they scarcely attain any point of contact with practical anatomy at all. They are free-ranging and vague, even more so than the lectures of the other officers, and they appear to be trying to inculcate a sense of beauty and to foster a mode of imaginative thought. This seems scarcely the task of the Anatomy Professor.

The first lecture is on "Beauty and Expression as the Elements of the Fine Arts". It ranges over considerations of the artist and the artisan: the realms of production - nature and man: Useful Arts: the task in the fine arts: beauty in the fine arts: the concept of beauty as a fountain, giving life

"without destroying the identity of form, impart(ing) variety without the sacrifice of unity": sense of the Beautiful in the Mind: the Constituents of the Mind; Will, Personality, Reason, Fancy, Understanding etc: the Senses: the Beautiful with reference to the physical world: the Artist in the garden - what he experiences: higher powers of the Mind - Raphaele and Buonarotti, pictures in the Vatican: the simple flowers - rose, snowdrop, violet, heartsease, forget-me-not: the nightingale: Beauty and Expression: Faculties of the Mind which move towards Expression: the value of Spontaneity - in the Poet, the Painter: Force and Passion, as seen in the Last Judgment: Expression in the human countenance: summary.

It scarcely does a lecturer justice to look at his work under headings like this. This however is not the point. What is intended here is to show the sort of ground he was covering. There follows an extract, from the end of the lecture:

"Take, indeed, any figure or representation of a native of Australia or of the Indian Isles, and you might apparently find in the brute-like degeneracy of the countenance an objection to my view. But it must strike every observant and reflecting beholder that this is a mere variety, and by no means the normal character of an original and enduring kind; not the representation of a genus, but an instance of casual degeneracy; not, indeed, confined to an individual, but yet characteristic only of a particular family, - a grape from the vine of humanity, that affords a specimen only of a blighted or abortive cluster, deprived of light and air, or with the stalk, that should have connected it with the trunk of the vine, bent, crushed, and the channels for the sap collapsed or obstructed. The essence or distinctive character of humanity gleams but dimly indeed, and confusedly, through a turbid medium, but yet it is sufficiently indicated to perceive that the differences from the portrait of a Milton, a Raphaele, or a Dante are all but so many evident declensions from the idea and character of man."

Green's second lecture deals with "The Conditions of Beauty in the Beautiful Object". The content of this one is equally removed from what might be expected. It covers: Inadequacies of treatises of Beauty, and defects of these: Elements of Beauty: Products and Design: the part of Intelligence in making a Product: Intelligence and Beauty: the necessary Unity of Qualities in a Work of Art: the Character of the Beautiful: Constituents of Objective Beauty: Symbols: the Straight Line in Beauty: "Forma": Symmetry: Proportion: intrinsic relations and combinations of mechanism (illustrated in architecture): the Vegetable world and Nature: the Rectilinear and the Curvilinear in Higher Forms of Life: Beauty and Expressiveness: the Human Form as an Ideal Standard of Form....

At this point it is noted, and almost at the end of the lecture, Green begins to touch upon his own subject...

Proportions and the erect stance of Man as compared with other Creatures: organic structure (in man "is the organ and instrument of a moral agent"): geometrical shapes in the human anatomy ("The elliptical figures which prevail in the head and trunk, and the cylindrical shapes of the neck and the extremities are but dimly perceived, and are made to relax and flow into every variety of sinuous and undulating line, of now swelling, now dimpling surface, rendered more animated in motion by an ever-shifting and infinitely varied play of forms, blended and united by the pliant tegumen, which at once hides and reveals the moving forces"): the balanced relations of the parts in man's frame:

Expressive outward Beauty linked with the Moral Will ("It is then by the fitness of his organisation for a harmony, and harmonies co- and sub- ordination of his powers, that man stands without rival at the head of organic nature, and the centre of that sphere of production, in which nature is artist and artisan"). His summarising remarks lead in to this final statement:

"in contemplating the sensible body (as we are bound to do) as the symbol and hieroglyph of the inward man, the Spiritual breaks forth, the husk drops off, and we acknowledge that the proper beauty of man is the impress of the Divine Image, in which man was originally made."

What was the impression of this sort of lecture on the students. Holman Hunt's evidence is quoted fully on page 118. His main contention was that "the lectures were always very interesting, but they gave no information whatever on anatomy practically". Eastlake had this to say about him before the 1863 Royal Commissioners:

"695. Is it not the fact that when Mr. Green was professor of anatomy, he being a man of remarkable eloquence, his lectures were highly attractive, even to persons not members of the Academy? - The attendance was not more numerous than it is now; I speak of lectures on anatomy. The lectures were repeated every year, varied no doubt as an eloquent man would vary them. I have heard them repeatedly, and have always admired them; but I can quite understand that many persons would not be interested in hearing even such lectures often."

There is some clear evidence however that Green did vary the content of his lectures quite considerably. It is evident that in earlier years he was more practical in his approach. His very first lecture was quite different from

that given in the Athenaeum, as we know from the entry in

Haydon's diary:

"Mr. Green, the new Professor of Anatomy in the Academy, commenced last night. As usual he affirmed the Greek Artists did not know Muscular Anatomy, because their medical Professors were so ignorant. This is no argument but for the degree; because the Medical men knew little, is that any proof that the artists knew nothing? Certainly not.

It is extraordinary how Professors established for the very purpose of instructing youth in the principles of Anatomy, should begin to deaden their enthusiasm by saying, "you must know it, because I am established to teach it," but yet the Greatest Artist the world ever saw didn't know it. What is the inference made by lazy youth...

Carlisle did the same thing. Do the Professors begin thus to ingratiate themselves with the Academicians, not one of whom now left knows the Deltoid from the Os calcis! It must be so.

Pliny & Pausanias, he said, proved it. I should like to know where." 91

(Entry of November 19, 1825)

Six years later Haydon is again becoming angry with Green over a practical teaching point. Within his diary is a cutting from an unidentified newspaper which states:

"The lecturer next entered into a particular description of the bones...In describing (the ribs) he took occasion to point out what he considered an anatomical error in all the antique statues he had seen. In the human skeleton the edge of the ribs from the lower end of the sternum, downwards, form a triangle, whereof the end of the sternum is the apex. Now in the works of ancient art, which had fallen under his observation, this portion of the figure was always delineated in an arched instead of a deltoid form. This studied deviation on the part of the ancient artists, though not consonant with nature, unquestionably gives width and grandeur to the chest; but this effect, obtained at the expense of truth, was attended with great disadvantage in the side views of such statues, in which the chest invariably appears too flat." 92

On this cutting Haydon characteristically enters:

"Trash. B.R.H. Boxers, wrestlers, all those who by violent

action require fierce & continual breathing, give the ribs such continual expansion as ultimately to force out the lower bones into a circle." (Entry of 19th November 1831)

Whatever the rights and wrongs of this argument it comes as something of a relief, having read the Athenaeum articles, to find that Green could be practical. Certainly, the airy-fairy stuff which he was later to give brought justified criticism against the Academy. It was felt - and expressed before the 1863 Commissioners - that such instruction was of use neither to art student nor artisan. For whatever reason, the dull academism of Green had come a very long way from the lively displays of prizefighters, jugglers, and guardsmen introduced by his predecessor, the showman Carlisle.⁹¹

Visitors in the Schools: Wilkie (1785-1841); Turner (1755-1851);
Etty (1787-1849).

There were, naturally, very many Visitors in the Schools during the Presidency of Shee. It is here proposed to say a little about three of the most eminent, so that some idea is obtained concerning their influence in the Schools.

Wilkie died first, in June 1841. He was a life-long student of art and, as is well known, completely changed his style of painting after a diligent study of collections at home and abroad. Spanish and Italian influences replaced his earlier Dutch style. His love of tone and use of the dangerous asphaltum are also well known. His thoughtfulness is evidenced by such stories as his placing Rembrandt's 'Woman taken in Adultery' among the brighter modern works, whilst he and other hangers discussed the contemporary style. 'Away with the black masters!' said they, to which he replied, 'If we are on the right road, then the greatest masters of the Italian and British schools have all been wrong.'⁹² The same thoughtfulness often appeared laboured and somewhat ridiculous. Typical of this is the story of him chuckling and repeating 'verra good' as he realised, hours afterwards, the significance of a pun.⁹³ His tall, ungainly figure, his indifference health, his seriousness and his conscientiousness - these are well recorded and illustrated. But what of him as a Visitor in the Schools?

Academy records show that he was five times a Visitor in the Life School and eight times Visitor in the School of Painting.⁹⁴ This adds up to an appreciable period as a teacher in the Schools. What might he have said in this capacity? Chapter V of the third volume of Cunningham's 'Life of Wilkie' gives a fair idea of this. It consists of a collection of Remarks on Painting,

"in which he was to embody all his own notions, speculations and experiences: he did not live to execute them to his wish; but unfinished as they are in some parts, and unconnected in others, they exhibit a mind which thought as truly as his hand had painted, - which founded all its speculations on observation and practice, and told artists how to work in the spirit of society. These Remarks have no resemblance to lectures wrought to classic pattern."⁹⁵

These Remarks comprise an Introduction; Section I, on the nature of the artist, genius, and the needs of society; Section II, on the Choice and Handling of Subjects; Section III, on Portrait Painting; Section IV, on Historical Painting; and Section V, on Perspective and Foreshortening.

Two examples are chosen from this, to indicate his thinking. The first is from Section IV, on Historical Painting:

"It is the power of gaining upon the attention of such a spectator as can be moved and riveted by the contemplation of a work of art, that gives the works of Michael Angelo this vast pre-eminence. They may have imperfections, much that is unexplained and obscure; but, for reflection and meditation - for fixing the mind upon the form and countenance of man, as an imaginary, reflecting, and responsible being, dwelling in the past, forgetful of the present, and perplexed with the future: they present a power scarce to be met with elsewhere in the whole range of art. Even the expression of his heads - the index of that world of memory which is passing within - has in it that idea of 'the burthen and mystery of existence' that seems to call for our

attention, while it eludes the precision of feature by which distinct thought is expressed."

The other example is from Section V, on Perspective and Foreshortening:

"(Perspective)...is a power, when once known, that can be learned and applied by every artist..... But with the power of perspective there is another art, which seems to have arisen or grown out of it - foreshortening. This is the perspective of curves: it cannot be applied by rule like linear perspective, but is dependent upon the eye and the knowledge of the artist... foreshortening, to be employed with truth and effect, must be the result of the genius of the master..."

This kind of advice and thinking would be very acceptable in the Schools. It is not the sort of thing that one would have expected from Wilkie: it seems too academic and scholarly for him. Throughout his Remarks he shows evidence of wide travel, application to a study of painters, and some drawing from literary men.

So much for the way in which Wilkie must have done his duty in the Schools. What of Turner in this capacity?

Turner, in spite of his unlikely exterior, was a deeply sensitive man. Moreover, he was an extremely regular attender at all Academy meetings and functions, and had been so for more than fifty years. He was a frequent guest at the homes of the rich and influential, and he was treated with respect wherever he went. His width of general cultural knowledge must have been considerable. His poetry, though it has received scant respect as an art form, was a striving for yet further expression... These thoughts must be placed alongside the many pictures of the

artist as he appeared - rough, crude, enigmatic - to his contemporaries. During his long life he had been a Visitor in the Schools very many times, and of course, he had earlier held the office of Professor of Perspective.

Richard Redgrave wrote a number of student recollections of him.

"In person Turner had little of the outward appearance that we love to attribute to the possessors of genius. In the last twenty years of his life, during which we knew him well, his short figure had become corpulent - his face, perhaps from continual exposure to the air, was unusually red, and a little inclined to blotches. His dark eye was bright and restless - his nose, aquiline. He generally wore what is called a black dress-coat, which would have been the better for brushing - the sleeves were mostly too long, coming down over his fat and not over-clean hands. He wore his hat when painting on the varnishing days - or otherwise a large wrapper over his head, while on the warmest days he generally had another wrapper or comforter round his throat - though occasionally he would unloose it and allow the two ends to dangle down in front and pick up a little of the colour from his ample palette. This, together with his ruddy face, his rollicking eye, and his continuous, although, except to himself, unintelligible jokes, gave him the appearance of...a long-stage coachman. In the schools his eyes seemed ever in motion, and would instantly spy out any student who was sketching his portrait - which we were all anxious to do on the margins of our drawings, but out of the many attempts none succeeded, for he knew, as if by intuition, when any one had his eye on him for this purpose, and would change his posture so as to preclude the chance of its being finished. Thus stolen likenesses of him are rare." ⁹⁶

How well equipped was the funny little landscape painter to do a duty as Visitor in the Life School? Redgrave answers thus:

"One thing is certain, that, when elected, his brother members believed in his power not only to draw the figure but to instruct others, since they repeatedly appointed him a visitor in the life school (a duty not usually confided to a landscape painter): and those who studied in the schools during his visitorship have testified to the valuable

assistance that he gave the students at those times. When a visitor in the life school he introduced a capital practice, which it is to be regretted has not been continued: he chose for study a model as nearly as possible corresponding in form and character with some fine antique figure, which he placed by the side of the model posed in the same action; thus, the 'Discobolus of Myron' contrasted with one of the best of our trained soldiers: the 'Lizard Killer' with a youth in the roundest beauty of adolescence: the 'Venus de' Medici' beside a female in the first period of youthful womanhood. The idea was original and very instructive: it showed at once how much the antique sculptors had refined nature; which, if in parts more beautiful than the selected form which is called ideal, as a whole looked common and vulgar by its side.¹⁷

What of the objection that Turner himself could not draw the human figure? Redgrave again defends him:

"It has been objected to Turner that he could not draw the figure; and the ignorant laugh at many of the figures which he has introduced into his landscapes, whilst others detract from the Academy teaching for the same reason. But Turner's sketches show that he was a most ready and able draughtsman, while his effort is rather to give the right treatment to his figures - the true effect of light and sun and air, their true keeping in the picture, and the indefinite mystery of sunshine upon them - than to define their forms or to complete their outline."¹⁸

The testimony of other artists as to the ability of Turner to instruct in the Life School appears in the evidence before the 1863 Royal Commissioners. Sir Edwin Landseer said:

"1260.....Constable was a landscape painter, and...Turner was a landscape painter, but they were the most invaluable visitors in the schools.

1261. Would you suppose that Turner was competent to point out any faults in a drawing which a student might commit? - I should think that no man could be more accurate in his observation, or more thoroughly grounded in the education of the artist, than Turner. I have seen him detect errors during the days when we met at the Academy, after the pictures were placed; and whatever he suggested was done without question, and it was always an improvement, whether in proportion or chiaroscuro or anything else. He was thoroughly grounded in everything, and without exception, I should say, the best teacher I ever met with."

Eastlake likewise supported this:

"580... I remember that when Turner was visitor in the life school he contrived to infuse new life into the practice of the students. The visitor may place the model according to his taste, and with any accessories he likes. I remember Turner placing the model upon a white sheet; it was a novel thing, but both draughtsmen and painters were delighted with the opportunity of studying a new effect. That was owing to a landscape painter having larger views than ordinary visitors.

581. Do you think that Turner, though perhaps one of our greatest landscape painters, was qualified to point out, we will say, defects of drawing, in a student in the life school? - The question is, what the students have to attend to, not merely the outline of the figure and the study of anatomy, but breadth of light and shade, the proper treatment of their work generally, and proportion, of which every experienced artist can judge. The students in the life school might be benefited by a teacher who did not confine their attention merely to form."

It is clear, then, that Turner as a Visitor was respected, and that his eccentric ways were successful. The final extract gives some idea of how strange was his mode:

"Turner's conversation, his lectures, and his advice were at all times enigmatical, not from want of knowledge, but from want of verbal power. Rare advice it was, if you could un-riddle it, but so mysteriously given or expressed that it was hard to comprehend - conveyed sometimes in a few indistinct words, in a wave of the hand, a poke in the side, pointing at the same time to some part of a student's drawing, but saying nothing more than a 'Humph!' or 'What's that for?' Yet the fault hinted at, the thing to be altered was there, if you could but find it out; and if, after a deep puzzle, you did succeed in comprehending his meaning, he would congratulate you when he came round again, and would give you some further hint; if not, he would leave you with another disdainful growl, or perhaps seizing your porte-crayon, or with his broad thumb, make you at once sensible of your fault. To a student who was intent on refining the forms before he got the action of his figure, he would thrust with the point of his thumb at the plate of the two nipples and the navel, and - very likely with the nail - draw down the curve of the depression of the sternum and linea alba, to show that pose, action and proportion were to be the first consideration. To another who, painting from the life, was insipidly finishing up a part without proper relation to the whole, he would - taking the brush from his hand, and without a word - vigorously mark

in the form of the shadow and the position of the highlights, to indicate that the relations of the whole should be the student's first consideration. The schools were usually better attended during his visitorships than during those of most other members, from which it may be inferred that the students appreciated his teaching." ⁹⁹

The third figure so very well known to students during the period was that of ETTY. Slowly he had attained his pre-eminence in his field. He had had to endure a seven years' apprenticeship to a Hull printer before gaining admittance to the Schools as a student, and once there his progress was so slow that he was generally referred by the other students as 'Poor ETTY'. This struggle left its mark upon him and made him into a friendly, tolerant and understanding Visitor. Years after he wrote, and no doubt frequently recalled Lawrence's assessment of himself:

"He said I had a very good eye for colour, but that I was lamentably deficient in almost all other respects." ¹⁰⁰

He had always drawn, from his students days, in the Life School and it is stated by Sandby, Redgrave and others that when he was elected a full Academician in 1828 pressure was put on him to give up this undignified practice. To this he replied that he would rather give up the new rank than the practice. The brothers Redgrave who personally recall his methods of working in the Schools have this to say:

"...almost to the end of his life, he was as constant in attendance as in the days of his studentship. In his studies in the schools he seemed to play rather than labour, so easy was his brush, and such beautiful colour seemed to flow from it, as if accidentally. This is visible in his studies merely commenced and laid in, as well as in those he had most completed. His practice was very simple. He usually drew in

his figure with white chalk or charcoal, on a raw millboard, which he then inked in and took home to prepare by merely rubbing size over it. The next evening in the school, he dead-coloured his study in the broadest and simplest manner, taking great care to mark in the relief of the figure from the ground at those points where it was visible in nature, by a close appreciation of the light and dark of the contrast; and these points he constantly kept in view, and renewed as he proceeded, only rubbing them over with some general uniting tint to form the background when the study was completed. These contrasts of dark upon light and light upon dark, or of flesh upon colour, of such value for relief and about which he was so careful, are still to be seen in most good studies from his hand; although it is to be regretted that few remain in an entirely genuine state - many having been altered and completed pictorially! for the dealers, by painters who lent themselves to such a practice.

He then proceeded to finish his studies by passing over the dead colour a glaze of some brown pigment (asphaltum in the early days, latterly we think bone brown), dashing in dexterously bold touches of lake in parts - in parts, ultramarine for greys, and then painting his white, slightly charged with Indian red, into the glaze; often with his scrubbing brush (he loved an old and well-worn hog tool) drawing in touches of pure madder here and there in the finishing, producing great brilliancy of effect in his studies; and by his dexterous execution, preserving a nicety of tone, beautiful pure tints, and very tender gradations..."¹⁰¹

Gilchrist writes further of the way in which he conducted his

Visitorship:

"As Visitor in the Life, Etty spared neither time nor trouble in fulfilling his part well. Saying but little he took great pains with the younger students; in the more advanced seldom bestowing more than an approving nod or pat on the back. - 'He rarely criticised my study. I have often wished he had,' says Mr. Frost; himself an indefatigable student, one who sat next to Etty almost every night in the Schools were open, for twenty years. Etty would occasionally give a little address, explaining the intentions of the Figure etc; at which he sighed and hesitated a good deal. For he possessed 'a flowing pencil, anything but a flowing delivery,' remarks the last-mentioned admirer...

The School invariably had good Models... and generally on the last night, 'a Treat', a complete picture set, as Flaxman and a few others had done before him: an unusual thing, which to the last used to make a great sensation among the students. 'In my time as a student,' relates Mr. MacClise,

'I have known him set three or four models together. Now it was a group of Graces; now a composition of two or three Gladiators. - Sometimes a dark man or tawny female was introduced, for picturesque contrast with a fair form of the same sex. Sometimes, a Manikin in armour was contrasted with the flesh; sometimes a child with the woman; or picturesque accessory of velvet or satin drapery, of rich texture and hue, - a deep-coloured curtain or couch.'¹⁰²

Finally, Goodall gives a picture of Etty in his old

age:

"It was then that I joined a Life School in St. Martin's Lane, which Etty used to attend, instead of at the Academy, as he was too troubled with asthma to mount the long flight of stairs to reach the dome of the much-abused building which now shelters the National Gallery, where the Life School was held at that time. I tried always to sit behind him and watch the result of two hours' work - it was miraculous. He had the gentlest voice and manner of anyone I ever knew, and was kindness itself in giving instruction to young artists, a considerateness of which I was only too glad to avail myself. He would come up a small flight of stairs panting for breath, especially on a foggy night; but no weather seemed to deter him from getting to his beloved Life School. It seemed the most difficult thing for him to breathe, but the easiest thing possible for him to paint."¹⁰³

Instruction in the Royal Academy Schools during the Presidency
of Sir Martin Archer Shee.

Such matter as comes in the Minutes of the Royal Academy concerning instruction in the Schools is rarely descriptive. Rather is it impersonal fact. It is interesting then to supplement this with the expressed opinions of those involved. An extremely useful source for such is the 1863 Report of the Royal Commissioners inquiring into the state of the Royal Academy. This will again be used at the end of the section dealing with the Presidency of Sir Charles Lock Eastlake, where it would seem, by date, that it more logically belongs. It is being used now however to give the opinions of some witnesses who were drawing on recollections of their own student days in the Schools, and were speaking of things which happened during Shee's Presidency.

In the evidence given by Holman Hunt it is clear that much is drawn from student recollections. Obviously also some of his thinking is of the period when the Commission was sitting. It is difficult to separate the two and, for the present purposes, such separation does not greatly matter. His evidence opens with direct recollection of work in the Schools in the 1850's:

"3025. Were you at any time a student at the Royal Academy? -
Yes: I passed through the whole course of instruction at the Royal Academy.

3026. Looking back to that period of instruction, are you satisfied with the system of teaching at the Academy? - No; I should object to it in several particulars.

3027. Will you state them? - First it seems to me that the instruction in anatomy is very incomplete indeed. There is a course of six lectures which are given in the evenings, and which were given at the time I was a student by Professor Green, a man of great distinction, whose lectures were always very interesting, but they gave no information whatever on anatomy practically; they went into the poetry of the subject, rather than into anatomy itself. The Academy, at the same time, gave an opportunity to students who wished to study anatomy profoundly, to attend the King's College course of lectures; but there the principal part of the information given was directed to internal anatomy, so that it was a very difficult thing indeed for the artist to make it of any use.

3028. What other defects appeared to you at that time to exist in the mode of instruction? - It seems to me an objection that the student was prevented from entering the life school till he arrived at an age at which in the natural course of things, it was impossible for him to continue the elementary part of his education any longer. It was a rule that no student should be admitted into the life school till he had gone through three years of study in the antique school. That seemed to me a great objection, because it did away with the opportunity which the students would otherwise have of comparing the living model with the antique. When the students got into the life school they were 21 years of age, at which period it is natural for them to wish to paint and exhibit original pictures. Therefore they never had the opportunity of seeing the antique with the feeling that men have who know in what it differs from the living model. There seemed to me also to be an objection to the manner in which the instruction in the life school was given. The visitorship was taken in rotation by different Academicians for the space of a month each, and the painters whom one valued most as instructors were not induced to come to the place very regularly, and the duty devolved upon those in whom the students had no confidence at all, and with a good deal of reason on one ground, viz., that many of them were not figure painters, and had never been figure painters. Without mentioning names, I could say there were at least four or five there who really had not done anything in figure painting to justify any feeling of respect on the part of the students.

3029. You are now giving your experience of the state of things at the Academy 14 or 15 years ago? - Yes. "

On travelling fellowships Hunt had this to say:

"3038. Would you desire to see any increase in the travelling studentships? - I do not think I should. I think that if one takes the list of the students that have obtained travelling medals, one finds a very small proportion of known names amongst

them. I can scarcely think that travelling in Italy at that early age is an advantage. I think late in life it may be.

3039. Later in life, however, you would find it interfere with professional pursuits? - Later in life it would depend upon the man himself. I think it might be beneficial to use the money that is spent in that way in giving opportunities, such as are given by fellowships in universities, in practising one's studies for a term of two years without being subject to the difficulties of getting a livelihood."

On the practice of drawing from the life he had this to say further on in his evidence:

"3075. (Viscount Hardinge). Did I understand you rightly to say that you thought that the students on admission to the Academy should at once be admitted to draw from the life? - Perhaps not immediately, but very soon after. I should leave it to their own discretion - perhaps immediately, for the student himself when he had any difficulty in drawing from the life would find that it would be necessary for him to draw from something fixed - and I do not think that it would be a privilege which would be abused. In France it is the habit of the students to study from the life much earlier than in this country, and I think that it gives a readiness of drawing which we do not generally possess.

3076. After the student had drawn, we will say, a certain time in the school of the living model, would you send him back to to the antique school, or would you make him draw from the antique and the living model in rotation? - I should be inclined to recommend that he should draw from both in rotation. I should leave it very much to his own discretion in the matter. The living model cannot remain all the day, from the difficulty of remaining long in one position; but if the life school were kept open in the daytime (it might be in the afternoon) the students might be drawing in the morning in the antique school.

3077. From your knowledge of the capabilities of students generally on their admission to the Academy, should you say that they were competent to draw at once from the life? - I think so, I think that they have advanced far enough to be able to make great use of the opportunity. I think the principal use of it would be in making them appreciate the antique and the life too more highly; they would go from the life and see what difference there was between the modern model and the ancient models, or the ancient form of treating the models."

The School of Painting, which it has been seen already was considered somewhat unsatisfactory, called forth the following comments from the artist:

"3080. Do you think that the school of painting is in a very satisfactory state? - I attended it very little myself, and I cannot think that men generally derive much profit from going through that school. It is generally filled by people who have been there 20 years. I do not know that they do not traffic in the pictures they paint. I do not remember any students who have turned out at all remarkable, or but very few, who have spent any time in that school.

3081. How long were you in the school of painting yourself? - I do not think that I painted there more than about nine or ten days. There was a copy by Geddes of a picture by Titian, called Sacred and Profane Love, of which I once attempted to make a little sketch. That I worked at a little in the painting school.

3082. It is optional with the students how long they shall remain in the school, is it not? - Yes.

3083. Do you think it desirable that the students should have the option of painting in the school a very short time? - I think that there should be no compulsory attendance at that school at least.

3084. Have you any suggestion to make with regard to the improvement of the painting school? - I cannot see any way of remedying it; it is a desirable school to exist, because it brings pictures from Dulwich College for the students to see; many students go in and see them though they do not copy them. In that way it is beneficial, and perhaps it is no disadvantage to those who have spent so many years there, because, may be, they would not do better without it; but I would have no compulsory attendance at that school."

Lectures by the Professors, an important part of Schools' instruction from the outset, were still an important part of the academic programme in the 1850's. In the very earliest days the Professor had to submit his lectures, under Section XLV of the Instrument, to Council for approbation, which approbation had to be given "in writing before the lectures could be read

in the public Schools." Council at this time did actually withhold approval and made suggestions and recommendations concerning the presentation of the lectures, though the practice was very soon dropped.¹⁰⁴ It is clear from the CM of 10th January 1771 that the public lecture was considered to be an event of considerable importance:

"Resolved, That forty chairs be placed & out of those twelve to be allotted for Strangers of Distinction & to be marked with the letter V the rest with the letters R.A.

That two Benches (with a Back Rail) to hold six each be provided for the Associates & marked with the letter A. That these Benches be placed behind the Seats for the Strangers.

That the room be opened five minutes before seven o'cl. That the Treasurer sit on the right hand of the President, the Keeper on his right hand, and the Secretary on the left Hand of the President."

However, Hunt's report shows to what extent, in reality, the lectures by the Professors had sunk:

"3085. I infer from a remark you made just now that you attach considerable importance to lectures? - To practical lectures. I do not feel that the lectures given at the Academy are valuable.

3086. Your opinion, as I infer from what you said before, is that the lectures as now given are not very valuable? - That is my opinion.

3087. In your opinion might not the Academy by a varied course of lectures, scientific, literary, and historical, but all having reference to art, supply a branch of instruction of great value to the whole body of artists and students in London? - I quite feel that that would be a great advantage.

3088. Do you think that that object would be better attained by the nomination of permanent lecturers, or by a system analogous to the system adopted at the Royal Institution; for instance, where lectures are delivered under the auspices of the learned body, but are given by any competent person selected for that object? - I should think that the system of selecting a lecturer would be the best system.

3089. Has it not been observed that the fact that the lectures of the Academy are delivered by gentlemen holding professorships for a long period of years, who in fact repeat over and over again the same course of lectures destroys the interest of the public and the students in those lectures? - That was my experience certainly.

3090. That might be obviated by a more varied choice of lecturers? - Yes, when I was there the attendance at some of the lectures was very small; at the lecture on sculpture, for instance, there was no more than one student attending besides myself, and the lectures were delivered to empty benches night after night.

3091. Do you infer from that a want of interest in the subject or a want of interest in the particular lecture given? - In the particular lecture given; the same lecture had been given for 20 years perhaps.

3092. Your opinion is that if lectures of variety of interest in connexion with art were given, under the auspices of the Academy, they would be very well attended? - Yes, and they would be very valuable."

The lectures in Painting also came in for a deal of criticism. Millais, another former student, had this to say to the Commissioners:

"1706.Lectures upon painting (attendance on which should be optional - at present I believe the students are obliged to attend them) I think are of no use. I think that practical lectures, such as lectures upon anatomy and perspective, are of use, but lectures upon painting, unless delivered by a painter who would be able practically to do something before the students, are of no use. I do not consider lectures on the different schools of painting to be of much use to the students."

G.F.Watts, at this time not a member of the Academy, was even more critical than Hunt of his own student days:

"3109. (Chairman). During the practice of your profession as an artist in London, no doubt you have had occasion to consider frequently the position of the Academy? - Yes, I have.

3110. Has it appeared to you that it might in any manner

be made more conducive to the interests of art than at present? - Certainly. In the first place, I think it might be the means of instructing students, which duty it seems to me to neglect altogether. I entered when very young, I do not remember the year, but, finding that there was no teaching, I very soon ceased to attend.

311. You ceased to be a pupil on that distinct ground, that the teaching was not, as you thought, satisfactory? - Exactly so; I thought there was no teaching whatever.

312. Did you try it for a long time? - No, a very short time, but long enough to satisfy myself that I could learn quite as much without attending the Academy, and with more ease to myself.

313. What were the principal points of defect that occurred to you? - In the first place, the absolute want of instruction. Then there was no test, no examination of the pupils.

314. Have you followed out the subject so far as to be able to say whether any of the defects which you then observed have since been removed? - No; I believe many improvements have been made in the Royal Academy; but I have not heard of any in the system of teaching in the antique school, where the pupils learn the beginning of art, that is to say the drawing of the human figure, which is most important of all.

315. You think the instruction in the antique school very important on that account? - Yes; but I think it is defective altogether, except in so far as it affords facilities by the possession of specimens of sculpture for the students to draw there; as far as I know, the keeper of the antique school does now, as he did then, merely walk round every day and point out a defect in a limb of the Apollo, for instance, saying that it is too long, or too short, or too much bent; but that would never teach the student to draw a limb from another figure. I think he should point out that particular fault, at the same time calling attention to the principles of proportion, and demonstrating the action of the muscles. I think the living figure should be constantly present, and put into various attitudes, so that agreement or difference between nature and the antique might be studied.

316. Do you mean that you would amalgamate the painting school with the life school? - No; but I would certainly teach the antique in combination with the living model. I would demonstrate the action of the limbs, and the use of the muscles from the living model in combination with the antique. It is impossible to learn much about the human form by merely drawing the figure in a set position.

317. You are aware that the system of the Royal Academy

in the different schools is to have a succession of visitors. It has been contended, on the one hand, that this secures to the pupil the advantage of the enlightenment of several distinguished painters one after the other; and, on the other hand, some persons maintain that a permanent teacher would give more fixity in his system of teaching, and be of greater benefit. Have you considered which of those two systems you would prefer? - I have hardly turned my attention to that, but perhaps a succession of visitors might rather be advantageous."

On the point of the negligible teaching in the Schools Eastlake made no attempt to deny; rather did he present this as a merit:

"552.at the same time it is to be remembered that the schools of the Royal Academy are not preparatory schools. There never was a time when there was much teaching, in the ordinary sense of the word, in the Royal Academy. The artists learn from each other; as Sir Joshua Reynolds says in one of his discourses, 'it is generally found that a youth more easily receives instruction from the companions of his studies, whose minds are nearly on a level with his own, than from those who are much his superiors; and it is from his equals only that he catches the fire of emulation.' I cannot imagine that any good would be done by a visitor or by a fixed teacher going round every five minutes to every student, and directing him about various minute details. The students would be more interrupted than benefited by such a system of interference."

The evidence of Millais supports this also:

"1666. As to the system of visitors, some persons have thought it might be better to have a permanent teacher in the different schools, instead of the monthly visitors: what is the result of your experience as a student; do you think you would have derived more benefit from a permanent teacher, or from a succession of visitors? - It appears to me that the advantage of a teacher is very small; the students gain more from one another. Some are superior to others, and those who are of inferior ability learn from those who are better than themselves. The teaching which they get amongst themselves is of infinitely greater use than that which they would derive from a teacher appointed by the Academy."

The system of visitorships had been regularly criticised during the nineteenth century by Haydon and others (see page 13).

J.H.Foley, R.A., looking back at his student days, made answer to

this:

"1964. As a pupil in the life school, were you satisfied with the system of teaching? - Yes, generally. With regard to my own profession, the instruction was less than I could have wished, owing to an insufficiency of sculptor visitors. At present a different system is adopted, one-third of the number of visitors being sculptors.

1965. Did you find advantage from that system of a succession of teachers, or would you have preferred a permanent one? - I would rather have a succession of teachers.

1966. You think that a pupil will derive more advantage from having eminent men in succession imparting to him their stores of knowledge? - Yes."

A. Elmore, R.A., is very definite in his support of the visitor system, and he also speaks in support of non-figure painter visitors in the life School. He says:

"3407. In short, I understand you to say, that you consider the present system excellent, and your opinion is founded on your having been a visitor in the schools every year since you have been a member? - Yes, and also on my experience as a student. I gained a great deal of knowledge from that very system.

3408. You attended as a pupil in the antique school, in the painting school, and in the life school? - Yes.

3409. Did you ever find any practical inconvenience from the possibility that may arise of a landscape painter being appointed as a visitor, who might not be able to give the requisite instruction in the branch of art he was called upon to preside over? - I cannot say that I ever found that, because it is a thing that seldom occurs, but I can imagine in the life school to appoint a landscape painter would be an injudicious choice; in the painting school it would not be altogether so injudicious. I remember two instances during the time I was a student: Turner and Constable were visitors in the life school.

3410. Did you find those gentlemen not fully qualified for the office? - Constable struck me as being qualified; Turner, I must say, did not seem to me to be qualified, except that he set admirable figures, but he took no very great part in the instruction of the students. That only occurred for two months during the time I was a student there.

3411. Does the visitor consider it his duty to go round to the pupils, and either encourage those who do well, or reprehend those who seem remiss? - From my recollections, as a student, I felt myself under great obligations to the visitors. I can only speak now to what I do myself, I endeavour to perform my duties as carefully as I can.

3412. Do you feel it is your duty if a student is remiss to admonish him? - Yes.

3413. And on the other hand to extend encouragement to those who seem to you to deserve it? - Yes, my plan is to go round twice every night and look every drawing carefully over.

3414. The system, as now administered, seems to you to work in a very satisfactory manner? - To the best of my belief, it does."

The evidence of William Mulready, R.A., is powerful on the matter of visitors. Mulready was described by the President speaking before the Commissioners as "the best and most judicious teacher which the Academy has had in his recollection" (para. 1484). He was a former student and by 1863 he had completed forty months duty as visitor in the life school and another forty as visitor in the school of painting. On visitors in the life school he has this to say:

"1527. Do you think that it would be desirable to disqualify landscape painters from teaching in the life school as visitors? - I think not. I think that it had better be left to the discretion of the Academy. Gainsborough painted landscape and portrait. Louthembourg painted landscape and the human figure; I remember him an effective visitor in the life school. Callcott was a portrait painter, then a landscape painter and marine painter, and in later years returned to painting compositions of life-sized figures. He knew that he was not an expert draughtsman of the undraped human figure, and, from a conscientious motive, avoided service in the school of the living model. Collins was a landscape and rustic figure painter; and he was, deservedly, a medal student in the life academy. R.R.Reinagle was a landscape painter, and the painter of some good whole length-portraits of men. He was a good teacher of a plain, straightforward style of painting. Remembering these men I do not think it would be desirable to disqualify

painters from teaching in the life school as visitors."

The above, then, are some of the impressions of those working and studying in the Schools. It will be seen that the main problems indicated here continued to exist for many years and various measures were introduced at times to solve them.

THE PRESIDENCY

of

SIR CHARLES LOCK EASTLAKE,

1851 to 1865.

Events taking place within the Academy and Schools during the Presidency of Sir Charles Lock Eastlake, 1850 to 1865.

1851.

The Special Committee appointed by General Assembly "to re-model the duties of the Keeper" was composed of: the President; Sir R. Westmacott; W. Mulready; C. R. Leslie; P. Hardwick; C. R. Cockerell; C. W. Cope; and P. MacDowell.

A copy of its Report appears in CM of 24th January 1851. At first reading it appears a muddled document, referring as it does to various topics in several different places rather than keeping all references to a topic together. On a more careful reading however it is seen that it is quite logical. Starting with the re-modelled duties of the Keeper in the Antique School it then turns to the rest of his duties. It goes logically from cause to effect throughout the Life School, the Painting School, Architectural Studies, Anatomical Studies, Travelling Studentships, Election of new Visitors and the work of the Annual General Meeting. Each topic leads out of the one before. It seems correct to transcribe the CM in its entirety:

"24th January 1851. The Committee appointed by the General Assembly on the 30th November last to deliberate on the expediency of remodelling the duties connected with the Office of Keeper and to report the result of their enquiry to the Council, first met on the 2nd of December; when after taking into consideration the nature of the actual duties of the Keeper, and also the present want of special teaching in Sculpture in the Antique School, they resolved

'That a more efficient system of instruction is desirable in the Royal Academy in order to carry out the original objects of the Institution.'

This Resolution, while it embodied the opinions of the General Assembly referred to, expressed also the spirit of the instructions communicated to the Committee, and pointed out the course to be pursued in this investigation. It was indeed soon felt that a change in the duties of the Keeper would more or less affect the arrangements in the Schools throughout the Academy, and the Committee conceived that they could best perform the task prescribed to them by considering the proposed change in one department in connexion with the general system of instruction adopted in the Institution.

The Committee having met repeatedly, and having carefully considered the questions with which they had to deal, are prepared to recommend:

That the Keeper be relieved from the duty of teaching in the Antique School in the evening.

That in order to provide instruction for the Students in that School in the evening, the System of Visitors be adopted.

That the Visitors be Painters and Sculptors. That the Painter Visitor should attend twice a week, and in reference to the assumed qualifications of the Curator hereinafter mentioned that the Sculpture Visitor should attend once a week.

Note. The Painter Visitors to attend specifically to the Instruction of the Draughtsmen, with liberty to answer any questions asked of them by the Modellers. The Sculpture Visitors to attend specifically to the instruction of the Modellers, with liberty to answer any questions asked of them by the Draughtsmen.

That a Curator be appointed to attend constantly in the Antique School morning and evening, to preserve order. Further it being desirable that instruction Modelling should be given to the Students in the Antique School in the daytime:

That the Curator referred to should be competent to teach Modelling in all its branches including modelling of ornament. And further, with a view to encourage a branch of Art connecting Sculpture with the ornamental details of Architecture the Committee recommend:

That a Medal be instituted for original ornamental Sculpture, to be awarded to the best production in that class of Art, as applicable to foliage, vases, plate etc..

The Committee observe that in the proposed new arrangement:

The Keeper would be eligible as Visitor to all the Schools.

The Committee are desirous that it should be understood that the proposed alteration in the Antique School is partly intended to relieve the Keeper from a too laborious attendance, but by no means to impair the dignity of his office. The Keeper will have authority over all the Schools as heretofore; he will continue to superintend the arrangements for the promotion of the Students from the Antique to the other Schools, and as the resident Head of the Establishment will continue to regulate all household details.

In considering the arrangements of the Life School, the Committee were of opinion that the present system of Visitorship requires some modification; and the principle which they are prepared to suggest is applicable to other Schools in the Academy. They think that Members qualified to serve as Visitors should not be considered ineligible every third year, since such a regulation has the effect of removing for a time efficient teachers, and thereby acts injuriously on the Schools. They therefore recommend:

That at every annual election of Visitors, five in each school shall go out by rotation; but to be eligible for re-election.

With regard to the Painting School, the Committee consider it inadvisable to admit Students to paint before they have acquired some rudimental knowledge of the management of painting materials; a similar condition they observe is enforced in all other stages of the Students progress. They therefore recommend:

That before a Student is allowed to paint, he should be required to submit to the Council a well attested specimen in oil colours of his own performance.

The Committee consider that it is a requisite to separate the School for the study of the Old Masters from that of the

Living Draped Model. The arrangement for the two in one room, a plan adopted in the first instance as a temporary experiment, having been found to occasion much confusion. The Committee recommend:

That, as the Miniature room affords considerable facilities for the purpose, the study of the Living Draped Model be carried on in that room under the superintendence of the Visitors in the Painting School, but that during the time of Exhibition the study be transferred to the Life School as at present.

Further, that Pictures be arranged in the Painting School (at present so called) to form a Gallery where Students duly qualified may have permission to copy, under the superintendence of the Visitors, assisted by the Curator of the Painting Schools.

The Committee further recommend:

That Medals for copies of Pictures be abolished, but that one or more Medals be instituted for the best studies from the Living Draped Model.

With respect to Architecture, the Committee considered that with the exception of the Professors Lectures, and the use of the Library of the Academy, the objects of Students in Architecture can be more effectually promoted in the Offices of practical Architects; but as a stimulus to the progress of Students in this branch of Art the Committee recommend:

That three Silver Medals be instituted in addition to those already offered in this class.

1. For Perspective Drawing applied either to a known building (exterior or interior) or to a design.
11. For a specimen of Sciography, that is, an Architectural subject tinted in Indian ink or sepia, exhibiting the scientific projection of shadows.
111. For an original finished drawing of ornament - applicable to Architectural decoration.

As regards Anatomy, the Professor having recommended to the Students the study of Anatomy from actual dissection the Committee suggest:

That a course of Lectures might be given on the dead

subject, the Council indicating the particular branches of Anatomy for such course of Lectures.

In considering the regulations respecting the Travelling Student the Committee were of opinion that some amendments might be introduced in the Existing arrangements. The Committee consider that the Travelling Student ought not to be sent forth an utter stranger in foreign lands, and it is therefore recommended:

That he be provided with letters of introduction to the Authorities resident in the various cities he may be advised to visit.

Further, It is thought advisable to reduce the period of Foreign residence from three to two years, and it has occurred that Students have requested the Council to permit them to return home before the time allowed by the present regulation has expired; moreover by the shorter period, the advantage of foreign travel will be opened to a greater number of deserving Students.

Further, as a consequence of this shorter period of travel it is suggested

That the Travelling Student be released from the necessity of sending to the Royal Academy during his term of absence an original work of his own performance; but that the Academy may have evidence of his industry that he be required to submit for the inspection of the Council the studies made by him during the two years of his foreign residence.

Referring to the contemplated changes in the Schools the Committee are aware that in proposing an additional list of Visitors they have added materially to the amount of business to be transacted at the Annual General Assembly of the 10th December, which is specially devoted to the declaration and distribution of Premiums besides the election of the Officers.

It is therefore recommended that the election of Officers with the exception of the President, shall take place on a day to be appointed between the 1st and 10th of December but that the result may be officially announced on the latter day according to the established custom.

In conclusion the Committee recommend that the serious attention of the Members of the Royal Academy be respectfully invited to the duty of instructing the Students. They submit that, in the eyes of the public, the utility of the Academy is intimately connected with the management of its Schools; that the efficiency of these Schools is at present more than ever an object of importance, and that the success of the system of instruction adopted in the Royal Academy mainly depends on the attention and exertions of the Keeper and the Visitors."

The Committee was thanked and the Report referred to General Assembly. Three copies of the Report were to be written out and sent to those members of the Council who were not on the Special Committee.

As will be realised, this set of resolutions attempted to tidy up several matters which had been a source of discussion for some considerable time.

The measures introduced into the Antique School and the emphasis given to sculpture requirements fulfilled a long felt need. The idea that a really good grounding was needed herein had long been expressed. Elsewhere it has been commented that the development of sculpture within the Schools was slow. A Chair of Sculpture had not been established until the appointment of Flaxman in 1810, although the numbers of sculpture students had always been quite high, even if not quite as high as the numbers of painter-students. Now better instruction was to be offered in the Antique School, and the proposed Curator was to be skilled in all three-dimensional techniques. Visitors to the Antique School were also an important innovation. The

system of Visitors had been decried by Haydon and others who appeared before the 1835 Select Committee. Haydon had been especially vociferous in his wish for simplification and wanted two keepers, one for the Antique and one for the Life School. How he would have stormed at this proliferation of Visitors had he still been living!

The Keeper, it is noted, is now again eligible to act as a Visitor, thus the CM of 18th January 1840 is rescinded.

Visitors to the Life School are freed from the ineligibility clause which operated every third year. It has been shewn that Visitors varied enormously in their contributions to the Schools, and this new measure was obviously a very good thing so far as the students were concerned. They could now have continuously ~~have~~ the services of a good teacher.

The functions of the Painting School had been disputed to some extent throughout its life since its inception in 1815.¹⁰⁷ It has been noted already that Jones brought in the practice of painting from the Living Draped Model, this and copying from the Old Masters to go on simultaneously in the same room (CM of 30th October 1847). A little later than this and the status of the two activities was being debated, insofar as the medals to be awarded in each was discussed (CM's of 14th December 1847 and 13th January 1848). Now it was decided that the two activities should exist separately, not cramped together in one room but each in its own place.

Concerning Architecture the view had been expressed by Cockerell and others at the time of the 1835 Select Committee that it was ill catered for by the Academy, and even the Academy Secretary had to concede this. The Royal Institute of British Architects had been founded in 1834 and by now there was obviously an "alternative road" for the training of young architects. Even so, there was always a good number of Architectural students in the Academy Schools; from the year 1800 they had consistently ranked next in number to the painting students.¹⁰⁸ Now, by this resolution, the Academy frankly acknowledges that it can do very little for architects, save to give some encouragement and recognition by granting medals. The training of architects, the Committee agreed, was to be done better in the offices of practising architects.

Finally, difficulties experienced over Travelling Studentships were to be resolved as far as possible. CM's of 22nd April 1837; of 18th March 1840; of 28th October 1842; and 6th June 1848 all showed the difficulties students were finding in completing the requisite period abroad. These examples are recent ones only, but there had always been this difficulty.¹⁰⁹ By this new proposition the period of residence abroad was to be decreased from three to two years, and moreover, the student was now to go out with arrangements made for his reception and contacts ready to help him. (See also p. 153).

CM of 10th March states that S. A. Hart and C. Landseer

have offered themselves for the vacant Keepership. Charles Landseer was elected. It seems that he was never much enamoured of the wish to live on the Academy premises, for CM of 29th April 1851 states:

"In Reference to existing laws of the Royal Academy 'That the Keeper be required to reside constantly in the Academy' it is hereby resolved that whenever the Keeper may be desirous of temporary leave of absence application for the same must be made to the Council."

Charles Landseer was again to make a request to live outside the Academy in CM of 11th November 1862.

CM of 16th August 1851 gives the rules regarding the new Curator of the Antique School:

"Resolved that the following regulations be adopted for the guidance of the Curator of the Antique School.

1. He will attend constantly and punctually in the Antique School at all hours of study.
2. It will be his duty in subordination to the Keeper to preserve order in the school.
3. It will be his duty in subordination to the Keeper to give instruction to the students in all branches of modelling and if desired by the Keeper to do so, to give instruction indrawing to such of the students as the Keeper shall indicate.
4. He will report all cases of improper conduct to the Keeper.

His salary shall be one hundred pounds per annum."

Following the resolution that the Keeper should again be eligible to serve as Visitor, the Librarian, Thomas Uwins, made a similar request:

"14th November 1851. Read a letter from the Librarian

requesting to be restored to the Rotation List for Visitorship in the Life School. The Secretary was ordered to communicate to the Librarian that the Council consider the application inadmissible in as much as it is incompatible with the regulations passed at the General Assembly on 10 Febry 1842 that the Library should be open Three Evenings in the week from 6 to 8 o'clock which regulation the Council deem it necessary should be carried into affect."

On 26th December 1851 Council received a letter of resignation from the Professor of Anatomy, Joseph Henry Green. He had held the office since 1825.

CM of 26th May 1851 records the expulsion of J. Powell, "a recently admitted student" at the request of the Keeper. He had "on various occasions acted in direct violation of the regulations of the Royal Academy".

The same CM contains a lengthy petition to the Queen asking if the "removal of Works of Art in the present National Gallery to a site better adapted for their provision" occurs, may the Royal Academy have the entire building at Trafalgar Square. The petition is of some 1200 words. It pleads lack of space as its main argument, the three points being:

1. that at present the Exhibition has to take place in the working rooms of the Schools, thus disrupting the latter;
2. that works are excluded from that Exhibition from lack of space;
3. that there is inadequate accommodation for the Officers of the Academy. For example, the Keeper's rooms are too small etc.

It is pointed out that the National Gallery site "would not be

at all too large".

CM of 16th July 1851 records further developments on this: Council has been informed that the Queen has passed over the letter to Lord John Russell, and therefore it decided that another letter should be sent to him. This added fresh arguments:

"...in reference to the observations on the Architectural school (This also had been mentioned in the letter to the Queen. HCM) I am directed by the Council to add that, whereas the Royal Academy was instituted for the promotion of Architecture, as well as painting and sculpture, it has been hitherto impossible from want of space, to fulfill the objects of the Institution with regard to that department of Art.

The Council respectfully invite your Lordship's attention to this circumstance, while they advert the expediency, now generally felt, of cultivating certain branches of Art, with a view to the improvement of taste in manufactures, a connection, more or less defined, may be said to exist between all the arts of design and the industrial arts, but it is perhaps in the elements of architectural decoration that such a connection is most apparent; the Council are the more desirous to point out the good that might result in this particular, if the Academy were provided with sufficient local accommodation, from having heard a desire expressed that a portion of the National Gallery should be hereafter appropriated to a school of design - In the opinion as to the expediency of the formation of Schools of design the Council fully and cordially concur, and they have the gratification of knowing that the very satisfactory progress of the central School of Design at Somerset House is greatly attributable to the superintendence of the establishment by some members of the Academy, for they respectfully suggest that, by increased facilities for instruction in the branches of art referred to, the Academy would itself cooperate in great degree with the purpose of such Schools. Again the precise situation of the National Gallery is not essential for a School of Design while it is of the highest importance for the Academy. - The Council cannot without consulting the assembled Academicians, venture to make any proposal affecting the Funds of the Institution, and they also feel that it would be premature to enter on such details now, but in the event of the whole of the building being appropriated

in the mode proposed by the Council, it might question whether the Academy could not contribute to the erection of a School of Design in some other locality..."

What an argument of convenience has suddenly been put together! Less than six months previously the Academy had decided that it could do little for architecture any longer. Now it decides that it cannot do its job properly without that art being given adequate attention. The argument may be summarised as follows:

1. There is no room for architectural instruction in the present building, and that to omit such instruction is to betray the trust of the original Instrument.
2. That Architecture is most important in the current ideas of Schools of Design.
3. That the Academy is in any case well equipped to do the work of Schools of Design, for it provides the teachers at the Central School of Design.
4. That the National Gallery site is not essential for a School of Design, but that it is for the Royal Academy. (This appears to be unsubstantiated in the letter. HCM).
5. That the Academy might 'make a deal' and contribute towards the cost of a new School of Design, provided it can have the Trafalgar Square site.

The only other CM of this year worthy of mention, rather from interest than for any other reason, is that of 25th October 1851:

"The Treasurer produced a policy of Insurance effected in the Phoenix Fire Office in the amount of £1,000, on the painting by Opie of the Death of Rizzio, belonging to the Common Council of the City of London, and lent by them for the use of the Students in the Painting School of the Royal Academy this season."

This is interesting on three counts. First, that the students are still studying Opie's work - a dark heavy style somewhat akin to seventeenth century Dutch painting. Secondly, it is the first recorded loan of a picture from such a source. Thirdly, it is the first example of a picture on loan to the Painting School being insured in this way, though it was some years before, in 1821, when it was decided to insure all the pictures in the Royal Academy for £5,000.¹¹⁰ (This followed the prompt action of an assistant porter in saving the whole lot from fire. He was rewarded by the payment of one guinea!)

1852.

There was some move towards ensuring better attendance of students at lectures by professors at the beginning of this year. CM of 10th January 1852 gives fresh rulings:

"The non-attendance of the Students in the lectures of the professors having been brought under the consideration of the Council it was resolved:-

That Students on their first admission into the Royal Academy shall be required to attend the lectures delivered by the Professors of the Academy for at least two consecutive years.

That no Student shall be eligible for admission to the Life School without a certificate from the Keeper of his having attended the lectures during one year.

That the more advanced Students be recommended to attend the lectures whenever their avocations permit, and

That Students attending the lectures be required to sign their names in a book kept at the door of the lecture room for that purpose."

A further CM of 13th December 1852 attempts to tidy up rules of the conduct of the Schools, in the excessively detailed way so often encountered in these Minutes:

"Ordered that in the Antique School the gas be turned down five minutes before Eight o'clock, as a notice to the Students that the School has closed, and further that the Curator do not leave until all the Students have departed."

New premiums were offered by the regulations set out in CM of 17th January 1852:

"Resolved

That the following new premiums be offered -

A medal for a perspective drawing in outline, applied either to a known building (exterior or interior) or to a design.

A medal for a Specimen of Sciography - that is an architectural subject tinted in Indian ink or sepia, exhibiting the scientific projection of shadows.

A medal for an original finished design for sculptured ornament applicable to Architectural decoration.

A medal for the best study from the living draped model. On a Kit Cat canvas size of life.

A medal for an original ornamental Sculpture as applicable to Friezes, vases, plate etc."

Further, CM of 21st February 1852 gives the resolution concerning medals in architecture, applying to students in that department:

"It was resolved that after the present year - All students in Architecture who may intend to enter into competition for any of the medals offered in the department of Architecture, will be required to produce a certificate from the Keeper of their having attended at least one course of lectures on Architecture and also the certificate of having attended a course of lectures in Perspective."

In this year is introduced an imaginative suggestion concerning the best of students' work. This is described in CM of 20th May 1852:

"It having been considered desirable to form a collection of the best drawings executed in the schools by the Students of the Royal Academy the following regulations in reference to this object are proposed and adopted -

Every Student of the Royal Academy who may desire to be a candidate for such distinction is at liberty to submit on a day to be appointed after the 10th of December in each alternate year - viz - the year in which the Gold medals are offered - a drawing, or drawings, not exceeding two in number, executed in the Antique School, or in the Life School of the Royal Academy, within the two previous years dating from the day to be appointed for the proposed selection.

Drawings which may have been offered in competition on the 10th of December within the two years specified, including drawings for which medals may have been awarded, may be so submitted."

The Minute carries on to say that the Keeper shall certify the work to have been done in the Schools, and that Council should then select a number of drawings to go before General Assembly. Any drawing deemed worthy of selection shall be bought for £5. Then,

"The General Assembly, after a lapse of time not exceeding two years, shall again inspect the selected Drawings and if, by the votes of the majority of the Members present any Drawing or Drawings in such collection shall be deemed of sufficient merit, such Drawing or Drawings shall be framed, and the name of the Student, and the date of the work with such further particulars as may be deemed desirable shall be inscribed on the frame.

The Drawings so framed and described shall be placed on the walls of the Royal Academy."

Professor Green had retired from the Chair of Anatomy at the end of 1851, after holding it for twenty-six years. (Some account of him is given on page 104). CM of 20th May 1852 introduces the new professor and his ideas. It also thanks the retiring one for his gift to the Academy:

"Mr Partridge the newly elected Professor of Anatomy was introduced to the Council, and explained the course of study he would recommend for the Students - advising, in addition to the usual lectures a course of dissections which he thought might (on application being made to the Council of King's College) be allowed to take place in the theatre of that Institution, the Students being privileged to attend, and also to draw from them. He also strongly recommended the purchase of a female skeleton.

Mr Partridge also informed the Council that in a letter he had received from the late Professor of Anatomy - Mr Green had intimated to him that he considered the various diagrams used by him in illustration of his lectures at the Academy, as the property of the Academy - The Secretary was therefore ordered to convey to J.H.Green Esq the thanks and acknowledgments of the President and Council for such a valuable addition to the means of instruction he has so liberally placed at the disposal of the Academy."

CM of 3rd July 1852 gives the information that King's College have given the necessary permission to the professor to use the lecture theatre for the dissections, and a further CM of 25th October 1852 rounds the matter off:

"The Secretary was requested to arrange with Professor Partridge the purchase of a Male and Female Skeleton to illustrate his lectures, and for the use of the Schools.

The Keeper was order'd to announce to the Students the new course of Anatomical Demonstration instituted at King's College under the superintendence of Professor Partridge."

Enthusiasm for this work was of no immediate avail in this year however. CM of 1st November states:

"The Secretary read a letter from Professor Partridge stating his inability to commence his course of lectures on Monday next the 8th Novr through severe indisposition, the letter being accompanied by a certificate to the same effect from Dr Budd. It was resolved that the Anatomical lectures shall take place in February next, the present vacancy in the Professorship of Painting admitting of such an arrangement."

The resignation of C.R.Leslie from the Professorship of Painting, which he had held for five years, appears in CM of 7th April 1852:

"Letter from C.R.Leslie resigning post of Professor of Painting due to ill-health. He was thanked for his lectures which have been so valuable for their theory, which have been illustrated in so interesting a manner by his examples, and by which all his hearers have so much profited."

(Some account of C.R.Leslie as Professor is given on page 232).

The status of the instructor in Perspective^{III} was again brought to the fore in CM of 10th January 1852. In October 1839 Knight had been appointed as Teacher in Perspective (see page 30) but it seems clear that by now he considered that

he had a right to the higher title. His case was no doubt strengthened by the fact that he had served the Academy well for five years as Secretary also. It would have seemed ungracious to have refused him, assuming his request to be a reasonable one. CM of 10th January reads:

"Letter of 1st Jany read, signed J.P.Knight (also Secy) pointing out that thoughts about Professorship of Anatomy lead him to point out the humble status of the Teacher of Perspective - a study which enters more generally into artistic operation, in as much as no department of Art can be said to possess its full amount of accomplishment without it....The Laws of the Institution...appears to degrade Perspective to have it represented as a Teachership alone - and it is therefore not surprising that the Students and others look slightly on a branch of Study which the Institution itself fails to honour... In claiming this honourable position, due to so important a study as Perspective, I trust I shall be understood as not seeking personal advantage but as being actuated by a desire to advance the honr of the Royal Academy."

Council resolved

"that duly considering the circumstances of the case it be submitted to the next General Assembly that Mr Knight be appointed professor instead of Teacher of Perspective."

General Assembly met on 10th February 1852, and its Minute reads:

"The Secretary having been requested to withdraw, it was moved by Sir R.Westmacott and seconded by Mr E.H.Baily and resolved - 'That the honourable title of professor instead of Teacher be conferred on Mr J.P.Knight for the very able manner in which he had conducted the school of perspective.' On the return of the Secretary the President communicated to him the above resolution, for which the Secretary expressed his grateful acknowledgments."

It is worth noting however that this title was conferred on Knight as an individual and it was not intended as a precedent for any future holder of the office of instructor in Perspective.

At the same time that Knight applied for the higher

status he had submitted a very useful work of reference (still to be found in the library of the Royal Academy). CM of 10th January refers to this; a book "containing general statistical accounts of members, students, medals, professors, visitors, councils" etc.. Knight was thanked for his "great labour, zeal and ability".

1853.

A Library Report appearing in Council Minutes of 26th November 1853 was drawn up by C.R.Leslie and Richard Redgrave. Generally, they approved of what they found, though they did recommend the selling or the changing of duplicate books. With a view to improving the appearance of the room they advocated a display of drawings, of such artists as "Stothard, Cheselden, Dance etc.", in frames above the cases of books.

They also drew attention to the state of the marble bas-relief by Michaelangelo, which had been presented in 1830 by Sir George Beaumont (CM of 14th June 1830) and was at that time valued by Christie for duty at £600 (CM of 17th November 1830). Evidently, as happened with other Academy treasures, it had been left in a state of neglect for a long time. They say:

"The state of the fine group by Michel Angelo - the gift of Sir George Beaumont - calls for some attention. It would perhaps be desirable to have it carefully cleaned, and when this has been done, we would recommend that it should be covered with a sheet of plate glass to keep it from dirt and smoke. This seems more particularly requisite in its present position immediately over the fireplace."

A month later the Report of the Committee on Casts, signed by W.Calder Marshall and Thomas Creswick, was recorded in CM of 24th December 1853. This Report expresses the wish that several things be done. It mentions the damage done to casts in the Schools due to their movement for exhibitions, and the the antique busts in the closet in the hall require painting. They carry on to say:

"On looking over the small statues in the same place we find that many of them are more interesting as curiosities than as Works of Art, we would therefore suggest that a selection should be made from them sufficient to fill the lower shelf, the others may be taken to the cellars or destroyed."

The casts in the Architectural room they considered excellent. Duplicate casts, such as the Fighting Gladiator; the Head of the Monti Cavallo Achilles; the Hermaphrodite etc, they suggested should be presented to some educational institution or changed. Some torso casts they thought should be painted and placed in the Antique School. They found a great deficiency of casts of hands and feet, and suggested replacements herein. They added - perhaps one of the first references that the mentioned establishment might be better off in any way than the Academy:

"We understand that the School of Design possess a good collection, may not some arrangement be made with them to obtain Casts from such as cannot be purchased in London."

Finally, they commented that the casts in the Life School were in a very dirty state. (It is interesting to note that at this period it was considered a good thing to have casts painted. HCM)

CM of 22nd October 1853 mentions that "a revised reprint of the Laws relating to the Students, incorporating all resolutions adopted since the last edition and exchanging such as had become inoperative" was laid before the meeting. The last printing of the Laws had been in 1842 (see CM of 26th November 1842), when 250 copies had been done. (There is now no copy of this 1853 reprint in the Royal Academy Library. HCM)

CM of 22nd October 1853 also gives the resolution "to reduce the term of studentship from Ten years to Seven". Originally the period of studentship had been six years, which was increased to seven years in 1792 and to ten years in 1800 (CM of 9th Feby. 1800).¹² The periods were, of course, years of eligibility. The longer the period of studentship the longer the privileges of the Academy were to be enjoyed and throughout the history of the Academy students regularly applied for an extension of studentship. Such an item appears, for example, in the previous year, in CM of 3rd July 1852:

"Students Burns and Withers applied for the annual renewal of privilege their term of Ten Years having expired - Granted".

CM of 5th July 1853 shows an increase in the powers of the Curator of the Painting School:

"Resolved that the Curator in the Painting School, subject to the superintendence of the Visitors, be directed to take under his charge the instruction of Students permitted to Copy from Old Masters - and that in consideration of this increased duty the salary of the Curator be fixed at £100 per annum, to commence Mdm 1853."

The Professorship of Painting had been vacant since April 1852, and a CM of 26th November 1853 states that R.R. Reinagle had offered his services. These were declined. Reinagle had been a very accomplished Academician painter who, in 1848 and at the age of seventy-three years, had exhibited at the Royal Academy a picture as his own which had really been painted by another, one Yarnold. This unhappy story is revealed in Council and Assembly Minutes: CM of 20th July 1848 states claim of Yarnold; CM of 22nd November following announces the

cessation of Reinagle's pension; CM of 14th August 1849 affirms that he shall be allowed £100 per year. This was followed by the rather interesting request from Reinagle that he be allowed to inspect the evidence (CM of 19th December 1849), which was refused. Whether or not this was considered the 'last straw', and that thereby he was questioning the integrity of the Academy, CM of the very next day gives the decision that his presentation teaspoons "be sealed up and no more used". Throughout the period of his disgrace the Academy continued to pay him substantial amounts of money, and it seems that by the year 1853 Reinagle himself considered the whole affair to be so far forgotten that he could offer to fill the vacant chair.

The year 1853 saw the apparent end of a long wrangle. CM of 24th January 1853 gave the text of the new ruling admitting engravers to the full rank of Academician. This text appears again, with an amendment by Cockerell, in CM of 31st January 1853. For years engravers had fought for this recognition. In 1812, for example, the Associate Engravers had memorialised the Prince Regent to admit them to the full rank of Academician, but no change was then made. In the following years the issue was frequently brought up, John Landseer, Associate Engraver, being a staunch advocate of change. Not till after the death of Landseer, in this year of 1853, was the change made....That even the new status was not acceptable, however, we find in the evidence of George Thomas Doo, R.A.E., before the 1863 Royal Commission. Mainly did he object to the fact that Academician

Engravers were listed separately, that there were only two admitted, and that it was virtually impossible for a landscape engraver to attain full Academicien's rank. Eastlake had pointed out in his evidence that there was nothing significant in the separate listing of Academicien Engravers:

"...when the law which raised engravers to the honour of Royal Academicians passed two Academicien Engravers were elected in consequence...; their names are printed distinct from the 40 to preserve the form of the original constitution, but to all intents and purposes there are 42 members of the Royal Academy; the engravers enjoy all the privileges of the ordinary members." (para.7)

The Royal Commissioners themselves however came down heavily on the side of Doo and the engravers:

"It is only since 1853 that Engravers have been deemed entitled to election as Royal Academicians. Even at present they do not appear to be regarded as full Academicians, but form a separate class under the name of Academicien Engravers, and also of Associate Engravers. We can see no just ground for their still forming any separate class. We think that such members of the body as are deemed entitled to that honour should be elected to the full rank of Academicians and Associates, and bear those titles in the same manner as the rest." (Report, p.xii)

This brief account of the position of the engravers has been inserted here since the status of these artists would certainly affect the students in the Academy Schools. Not only would engravers now be eligible as Visitors and Officers but their fuller recognition by the Academy might well have influenced the decision of a student who was leaning towards engraving as a possible career.

CM of 10th April 1853 contained a resolution recording the thanks of Council to the Secretary, J.P.Knight, for an index to the book he had presented the year before (see CM of

10th January 1852):

"...they desire to record in the most emphatic manner their thanks to the Secretary for having devised and superintended the execution of so truly valuable an Index."

A final item of interest in CM for this year concerns Varnishing Days. Since however it is a little removed from the running of the Schools it is placed apart in Appendix III

1854.

Regulations regarding Travelling Studentships came under discussion again this year. CM of 10th February 1854. states:

"Proceeded to take into consideration Sir Rd. Westmacott's motion of the General Assembly of the 17th Ulto. on the expediency of reducing the Term of the Travelling Studentship from Three years to Two. - which proposition being put from the chair was unanimously adopted.

And it was further moved by Mr. Pickersgill seconded by Mr. Landseer, and resolved that with respect to the duties to be performed by the Travelling Students it is considered expedient that each Sculptor should within the two years that he may be abroad submit to the Council a work of his own invention and execution as the Council may direct, that each painter and architect should within the period referred to be required to execute an original or other work as the Council may direct, on such conditions as may be thought advisable.

(sic)

It was also moved by Mr. Pickersgill, seconded by Mr. Cooper, and resolved, 'That it is highly desirable that good copies of fine paintings on the continent and good restorations of Antique Buildings should be made for the use of the Royal Academy."

It is clear from the first two resolutions above that the propositions made three years ago under CM of 24th January 1851 (see pages 132, 135) had not then been adopted. It had then been proposed by the Committee looking into matter relative to the Schools that the period of residence abroad should be cut to two years, and further, that the only evidence the Travelling Student should produce of his work abroad need be his studies. Only now, three years later, was the first idea accepted, and the second was ruled out. According to this Council Minute a definite piece of work was expected. It looks also, from the proximity of the third resolution, that some

Council members saw a cheap way of stocking up pictures, models etc. for use in the Academy by asking such students to do copies and reconstructions as their set work. This is only conjecture, but reading between the lines it looks as if it were likely.

It is often difficult to find out exactly when a change occurred in the laws relating to the Schools. There appears to be no further mention of the Travelling Studentship for several years. The next reprint of the laws of the Schools occurred in November 1861, and it is this reprint which is given in the 1863 Royal Commission Report, Appendix 13. By then the period is decided at two years abroad, the grant is laid down, and there is even the provision that the studies might be carried out in England. There is no mention of submission of work except in the case of architectural students who are "to be allowed a limited time to produce, in the Academy, an original design; the subject to be selected by the council". In the same Report Eastlake states in his evidence:

"503....I should state that the term allowed for the students sent from the Royal Academy was formerly three years; it was reduced some years since to two years, partly perhaps from the influence of that opinion as to the danger of allowing artists to remain too long in Italy."

There are indications that students were becoming somewhat lax regarding rules in this year. CM of 25th February 1854 reads:

"It was ordered that Students not having obtained medals in the Life School, who have not submitted studies for the annual examination on this Evening, are hereby required to comply with the Law, within one month from the present date, failing which they will no longer be allowed to study in the Life School."

Another example appears in CM of 11th November 1854:

"A complaint having been made that Students are in the habit of entering the Schools late in the Evening, to place their names on the lists of attendance, without studying, the Visitors are requested to remove the attendance book at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 o'clock."

And, as a reward for diligence, comes a suggestion from the recently-appointed Professor of Anatomy in CM of 19th December 1854:

"Read a letter from Professor Partridge, suggesting that certificates and premiums might advantageously be offered to students for diligent attendance at the anatomical demonstration class at King's College - When it was resolved - That such students as shall regularly attend the demonstrations in Anatomy at King's College, and shall satisfy the Professor of Anatomy of their having duly profited by the same, shall be entitled to receive a certificate from the Professor, and that he be required to give such certificates at his discretion accordingly."

Casts are mentioned in Council Minutes of 11th November and 22nd November 1854. The first CM decrees that there should be purchased casts of a leg and an arm "being casts from nature", for the use of students in the Life School. The other CM records that Cooper and Marshall shall select casts from the Life School to be painted, and that Cockerell shall make a selection of architectural casts for the same purpose. Enthusiasm to paint casts was apparent also in CM of 24th December 1853. (The whim to paint casts appeared periodically. In the 18th century the Academy had the casts painted, the idea was unacceptable in the early 19th century, and now in the mid-19th century it was fashionable again. The Editor of the Annals of the Fine Arts wrote feelingly about the practice, in 1816:

"One great cause that the present Academy casts are so injured is that they used to be regularly painted like the balustrades

of a staircase, thus the delicate markings were filled up and the figures ruined." ¹¹³ HCM).

Under CM of 11th November 1854 the Keeper reported the "imperfect ventilation of the Antique School" and the Treasurer was ordered to "inspect and rectify the same".

Custom dies hard. A CM of 11th November 1854 also orders the purchase of a two-hour glass for use in the Life School.

CM of 25th February 1854 records the resignation of C.R.Cockerell from the Chair of Architecture. Nothing further is mentioned of this however and the Professor must have been prevailed upon to stay. He did not resign until 1859.

The same CM moots the idea of outside lecturers speaking in the Royal Academy. It is suggested that extra lectures, even short courses, might be given in addition to the lectures of the Professors. This idea came up for discussion over a considerable period of time. Witnesses before the 1863 Royal Commission spoke of this. Such were Dyce, Millais, Tite, and Holman Hunt. Hunt, for example, answered thus:

"3087. In your opinion might not the Academy by a varied course of lectures, scientific, literary, and historical, but all having reference to art, supply a branch of instruction of great value to the whole body of artists and students in London? - I quite feel that that would be a great advantage.

3088. Do you think that that object would be better attained by the nomination of permanent lecturers, or by a system analogous to the system adopted at the Royal Institution; for instance, where lectures are delivered under the auspices

of the learned body, but are given by any competent person selected for that object? - I should think that the system of selecting a lecturer would be the best system."

CM of the 9th June 1854 decided upon the form of certificate which should be granted in future to the Travelling Student:

"The following form of certificate for the Travelling Student was submitted by the President and adopted.

'Royal Academy of Arts, London.

These are to certify that at the distribution of prizes at the Royal Academy on the ____ of December 18__ the Gold Medal was awarded to _____ for _____ and that at a subsequent competition he was elected to the Travelling Studentship for the usual term, as being well fitted to profit by the advantages of foreign study.

This certificate is intended to recommend him to the notice and assistance of Directors of Academies and Institutions connected with the Fine Arts, and to procure for him such facilities as may be requisite to promote his professional studies.'

This certificate to bear the seal of the Royal Academy and the signature of the President and Secretary."

1855.

CM of 15th January 1855 reads:

"The Secretary laid on the table a Book being the commencement of a permanent record of the working condition of the Academy Schools, containing an annual general register of attendance of Students in the various schools and at the lectures."

This was clearly a follow-up from the general slackness shewn by students during the previous year (CM's of 10th February and 11th November 1854). (There is no trace of this now among the R.A. possessions. HCM). The CM was followed by another:

"It was moved by Mr. Cooper, seconded by Mr. Lee, and resolved - That the names of all Students who have received or who may hereafter receive medals in any class shall be recorded - such records being framed and placed in the Schools of the Academy."

During this year Returns from the Academy were again asked by Parliament. CM of 13th July gives the text of a long letter sent back, which referred to the situation of 1839 and ends with the hope that:

"Your petitioners, fully confiding in the wisdom and justice of your Honourable House, most respectfully express their hope and trust that your Honourable House will be pleased to rescind the order of 21st of June last."

It is clear that the Keeper, Charles Landseer, was rather idle. Mention will be made of this later. There are three entries of this year which appear to be in support of this. CM of 17th April 1855 reports his request to not be present in the Exhibition Rooms during the arrangement of the pictures. This, of course, need not indicate laziness, but the next minute quoted seems to show that members of the Council were keeping an eye on him even

though the second part gives the assurance that nothing personal is intended herein:

"Resolved. That whereas the Keeper of the Royal Academy is the general inspector of the schools, the special teacher of the Students in the Antique School, and the authorised superintendent for the purpose of maintaining order throughout the Establishment, it is desirable that according to long established custom of the Academy, he should be, as far as possible, present at the lectures delivered in the Royal Academy with the exception of the lectures or lessons in perspective.

Resolved. That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the Keeper with the assurance that such Resolution has no reference to any supposed neglect on his part, but that it is intended only to embody as to regulation a practice which has hitherto depended on usage."

The above CM is of 13th July 1855.

The third CM is of 22nd December 1855 and is clearly a considerable rebuke to the Keeper. He was asked to enforce the rules about hours of opening; the times allotted to probationers for admission as students; and times allowed to students when candidates completing works for premiums. He was, further, to be told that:

"it is the unanimous decision of the Council that such resolutions should be strictly enforced, together with all other Laws and Regulations which can tend to promote order and discipline among the Students, more especially as the Council have had frequent occasion to remark that there is at present a want of such order and discipline, and that the restoration of due decorum in the Schools must depend on the exercise of the Keeper's authority in constantly and rigidly enforcing the laws, taking care to report to the Council any infringement of the same which his authority may not be sufficient to correct."

Two resignation of Schools' officials occurred this year. CM of 9th July 1855 records that of the Curator of the Antique

School, Mr. Woodrington: that of 3rd November notes that of Thomas Uwins from the Librarianship. CM of 4th August 1855 states that James Loft has been appointed Curator of the Antique School.

Assembling a collection of the best drawings done in the Schools by students had been discussed at some length in CM of 20th May 1852. Although these resolutions were adopted by Council it seems that little was done to put them into practice. CM of 15th January 1855 repeats the resolution, as a fresh measure:

"It was further moved by Mr. Cooper, seconded by Mr. Herbert and resolved -

That it is desirable that a selection of the best drawings executed in the Royal Academy by the Students, should be preserved in the Academy -

That drawings which may be considered eligible shall be purchased by the Academy at the price of Ten Pounds per drawing, and that the number so purchased shall not exceed two in each year -

That students who may be desirous of submitting drawings for the above object shall be required in the first instance to obtain the certificate of the Keeper, or of the visitor for the time being, that the drawings so submitted are their own performance -

That such drawings, examined by the Council shall if approved by them be submitted to a General Assembly for their final decision, at such times as may be considered convenient -

That medal drawings shall be considered eligible as above."

CM of 27th April 1855 records the returning from the Life School to the Antique School of three students whose drawings were not satisfactory.

CM of 9th July 1855 authorised the Treasurer, on the authority of a note from the Secretary, to assist students in sickness. They should normally receive £5, and not more than £25 per year

1856.

Following upon the clear rebuke from Council (CM of 22nd December 1855) CM of 9th January records that the Secretary read a letter from the Keeper, accompanied by a medical certificate, stating that he was under the necessity for rest and change of air from a long-continued indisposition. He requested leave of absence for this purpose. The Secretary was then asked to continue to perform the duties of Keeper, as apparently he had been doing since 15th November 1855, and leave was granted to the Keeper.

Having therefore officially got rid of the Keeper for a time the Council decided to take some action on the state of the Schools. CM of 9th January continues:

"The Council having taken into consideration the state of the Schools in the Royal Academy, Resolved -

That it is expedient that measures should be taken to give full effect to the existing arrangements and if necessary to make additional arrangements in order to provide the most effectual instruction in drawing and to maintain proper discipline in the Schools of the Royal Academy, -

Resolved, that with reference to the department of Architecture it is desirable that some means of affording to the Students in that department, direct and sufficient instruction in the rudiments of architecture, and the Studies connected therewith should, as soon as possible, be adopted -

Resolved further, That considering the importance of these subjects and the duties which at the early part of the year must devolve upon the Council, it is expedient that a Committee of Members of the Academy be appointed to deal with the questions affecting the schools generally - and that with this view, the Council recommend, subject to the decision of the General Assembly of Academicians, that the Committee shall consist of the following members..."

The names which follow are those of Mulready, Dyce, Cope, Richard

Redgrave, Sir C. Barry, C.R. Cockerell, P. Hardwick, P. MacDowell, the President and the Secretary. This was the start of the Schools Committee. It was to exist for the next eighteen years and was to be extremely active at some times and quiescent at others. It was finally disbanded by General Assembly on 9th July 1874. In its later years its most active member was Frederick Leighton. Frequent references will henceforth be made to this Committee.

CM of 21st January 1856 extends the leave of absence of the Keeper to the vacation to enable the Committee to "mature their investigations".

The Secretary appears to have carried out the work of the Keeper efficiently. CM of 5th March 1856 thanks him for a "timely exhibition of authority" in suspending a student, one Hy. Crowley. The Secretary agreed with Council that in view of Crowley's "persistent letter acknowledging his error" he would be merely reprimanded. On 14th March the Secretary laid before Council the Book of the Students' Annual Attendance (see CM of 15th January 1855), giving attendance "in the different schools and at the lectures". On 25th March Council supported him by decreeing that of five drawings and one model from those applying to continue their studies in the Life School only one drawing should be passed. As a result of this extra work and competence in doing it the salary of the Secretary was raised from £330 to £400 by CM of 25th March 1856. The same Council meeting ordered the Secretary to recall the Keeper from his

leave of absence. It appears that he did not return however, for the CM of 3rd July 1856 reports that the Committee reporting on the Schools has asked if the "temporary arrangements with respect to the duties of the Keeper might not be continued until their report on the state of the Schools." The Council agreed to leave the existing arrangements.

CM of 26th May 1856 reads:

"The Secretary produced the report of Professor Partridge on the attendance of students at the Demonstrations and Dissections provided for their instruction at King's College during the Winter 1855-6 accompanied with certificates to the following students who have particularly distinguished themselves by their attention and intelligence."

Five names follow. (The standards seem rather odd ones ^{on which} to base the granting of certificates. HCM).

The work of a Travelling Scholar is highly praised this year. CM of 17th July 1856 mentions a letter of thanks from this recently-returned student, Richard Norman Shaw, and gives the comments of Cockerell and Hardwick on his work. This expresses "our entire satisfaction at the diligence, talent and ability displayed by Mr. Shaw in the production of these drawings". The drawings were then examined by Council who said, "The Council highly appreciate the industry and taste evinced by Mr. Shaw in the drawings submitted". The Council then carries on to make the suggestion that photography is used:

"...the Council being of the opinion that such Drawings would be of great service both as records of interesting buildings, and details, and as a stimulus to Architectural Students - The Treasurer is requested to ask Mr. Shaw whether he will consent to a selection of such Drawings being photographed

for the use of the Royal Academy, on the understanding that they would not be published without his sanction - and it was further resolved, that it would be desirable to make it a condition in future that the Academy might at its discretion require photographs of any studies made by the Travelling Scholars on the above conditions as to publication."

CM of 2nd August follows up:

"The Treasurer was authorised to appropriate £50 to the purpose of photographing a selection of the Drawings made by Mr. Richd. Norman Shaw, in accordance with the resolution of last Council."

This is the first time that the Council suggest that photography is used for this purpose, and it is noted that the amount of £50 put by for the purpose is a considerable one. By 1859 (see CM of 29th January 1859) there was a "photograph committee".

CM of 13th November 1856 gives a long rigmarole about Turner's will - it had often been mentioned in recent Minutes - and then states:

"It was resolved that in conformity with the will of the late J.M.W. Turner a medal to be called 'Turner's Medal' equal in value to the Gold Medal now given by the Royal Academy be awarded for the best landscape painting at the Biennial Distribution."

The conditions of competition, design of medal etc. were referred to a future meeting of the Council. (Other references in CM's about this time are those of: 21st February 1857; 9th November 1857; 5th June 1858; and 6th December 1859). The design for the medal was to be decided by open competition.

The same CM of 13th November 1856 states:

"Resolved - That it is to be recommended to the General Assembly, that all Elections to Professorships be limited to a period of Five years, the professor to be eligible for re-election."

CM of 21st November 1856 gives a change in room usage. The Antique School was to be used by the Life School; the Painting School was to become the Antique School; the middle room was to be used for the Painting School.

CM of 21st January 1856 attempted to assist those engaging in the competition for modelling premiums:

"Much inconvenience having arisen to Student Modellers in casting their models for premiums, it was resolved for this year to try the experiment of keeping the models wet until after the competition."

These are the only matters which bear directly on the Schools during this year. The CM of 5th March 1856 is worth quoting however for it was a threat to the Academy and its Schools. Secondly is it of interest in that it seems inconceivable that such a bill could have passed the second reading in the Commons:

"In consequence of a Bill having passed the second reading in the House of Commons giving power to a Company to purchase the Building of the National Gallery, Royal Academy and adjacent Buildings for the purpose of erecting an Hotel, the President was requested to draw up a petition to be heard by Counsel against the proposed measure, in case on enquiry such a petition should be deemed adviseable, the Members agreeing to meet on Friday next to affix their names to the same."

Nothing else is heard of this, so evidently the powerful friends of the Academy managed to smother it.

1857.

CM of 9th January 1857 reveals the start of a matter which was to occupy the government, the Academy, and a considerable number of interested people for several years. The Minute notes that the Treasury had submitted a letter and plans

"showing extensive alterations proposed to be carried out by the Government in the Building, whereby a suitable room for the Exhibition of Sculpture would be provided, and which were considered by the Council to offer many advantages to the Royal Academy."

A full copy of the letter is transcribed in the Minutes. (The 1863 Royal Commission deals thoroughly with this matter, and some account is given in Appendix V).

The Turner Medal was again discussed during this year. CM of 21st February 1857 gives the decision that "the medal would be more fittingly prepared if some member of the Academy prepared a design to be copied by a die engraver". This rescinded the decision of CM of 13th November 1856, that it should be open to competition. The sculptor E.H. Baily was then invited to undertake the design. However, Baily's work was not acceptable and CM of 9th November 1857 states that his second design was also refused and that he has been asked to submit his account. Baily was past his best work at this time, of course: he was now 69 years old.

A number of copies by Etty came up for auction early in the year and a party of Academicians signed a petition

addressed to the President to the effect that the Academy should purchase them. Cope, Augustus Egg, Mulready, Thomas Webster, F. Stone, S.A. Hart and J.C. Horsley signed this, and the Academy allotted 500 guineas towards the purchase. The pictures were two after Veronese and two after Tintoretto which it was hoped to obtain. Altogether there were eleven copies. CM of 11th March tells that all eleven were put together however and the price was therefore too high for the Academy.

Sir Richard Westmacott, Professor of Sculpture, had died in 1856 and his post remained unfilled. CM of 30th June 1857 gives the text of this letter from his son:

"27th May 1857.

Dear Sir,

As no-one appears disposed to offer himself for the vacant professorship of Sculpture I feel it a duty I owe to the Academy to say my services are at the disposal of the Royal Academicians if they think me competent to fulfil the duties of the office. Will you oblige me by bringing this before the Council, as it may probably be convenient to come to a decision on the subject at the ensuing General meeting,

I am etc.,

Richard Westmacott."

The offer was accepted, and approved by the next General Assembly.

The same CM gives the report of Professor Partridge and mentions the five good students he had selected for special mention. Also, this CM mentions the cast of a tiger which is still in the Academy Schools:

"Ordered that the Treasurer do pay to Mr. Julius Franz of Berlin the sum of 105 Thalers for the cast of an anatomised

Bengal Tiger, forwarded by him by order of the Council."

In view of the fairly constant agitation regarding the position of Associates, and also that of lecturers, the CM of 9th November is of interest. In this mention is made of the fact that R.J.Lane, A.R.A., had offered a lecture on "Emphasis and Accent" to be given to the students. This was accepted by the Council and the Secretary was asked to arrange a time for it. The precedent was queried, however, in CM of 27th November 1857.

There is evidence that now the Academy was beginning to look after its pictures and treasures. A CM of 21st February notes that the Diploma works have been cleaned. 68 of these were sent to the Manchester Exhibition of Art Treasures, and were insured for £25,000. (CM of 11th March 1857). Copies of the Raphael cartoons and Rubens' Descent from the Cross were also loaned to the Crystal Palace Company and insured for £1,500 (same CM).

1858.

After some considerable time working on the matter the Committee on the Schools reported on the position of the Keeper. CM of 5th June 1858 reads:

"Read a draft of the Keeper's duties, as drawn up by the Committee on the Schools - ordered to be laid before the next General Assembly together with the report."

(See CM's of 9th January and 3rd July 1856).

In July 1858 occurred another attack on the Academy in the House of Commons and as a result of this the President recommended the dropping of plans under discussion, in a CM of 8th November 1858. Mainly did this work concern two matters - the work of the Committee on the Schools and the general consideration of a Retired Class of Honorary Members. (The latter had been proposed by Hardwick at a Council Meeting of 15th March 1858. They were to number four, all of whom should be over 65 years of age). The President suggested that these should be withdrawn from the agenda of the General Assembly "since the whole future of the National Gallery " etc was under discussion. (See Appendix V).

Notice of the fresh trouble is given in CM of 24th July 1858:

"The President announced that in consequence of certain statements made in the House of Commons on the 13th Inst the Officers of the Academy acting under legal advice had placed in the hands of Lord Derby and Mr. D'Israeli all documents relating to the Income of the Royal Academy of the Apartments it now occupies - To which a very satisfactory answer had been received from Lord Derby. Vide G.A. 27th July."

The letter from Lord Derby is also given in Appendix V.

Medals occupied Council occasionally during this year. Evidently after Baily had been asked to submit his account (CM of 9th November 1857) the design for the Turner Medal had been open to public competition. Since only one design had been submitted, however, Council decided - on 5th June 1858 - to invite designs from Mulready, Maclise and Dyce. It is interesting that all three were painters: no sculptor was invited, presumably since it was felt that Baily had let the sculptors down.

More medals were to be authorised under CM of 18th December 1858:

"To raise the character of the silver medals awarded in the intermediate years, and to stimulate the exertions of Student candidates for the same -

It was resolved that the General Assembly may award First Class medals to work which may be deemed by them deserving of such distinction - which first class medals shall carry the same Privileges and shall rank of equal honor, to the First Class medals awards at the Biennial Distributions."

The Keeper and, presumably, the Professor of Anatomy, had been working on further mechanical aids to study, for CM of 18th December 1858 reads:

"On the recommendation of the Keeper, specimens of the improved method of articulating the Elbow and knee joints of the Skeleton were ordered to be provided for the use of the Schools."

No doubt this would have caused the students some amusement, for their standing joke with the Keeper, according to Stirling, was to say, "Mr. Keeper, I hope the patella is better today?"
(See p. 209).

The last time the Keeper had worked on this sort of contrivance

was recorded in CM of 22nd November 1854, which reads:

"The Keeper was requested to consult with the Professor of Anatomy on the construction of a contrivance to exhibit the muscles of the living model to illustrate the lectures."

This completes the entries from the Council Minutes for this year which bear directly upon the Schools, but there is one rather quaint CM which may be worth quoting for its incidental effects on the thinking of students:

"The following resolution was proposed and adopted -

'In consequence of the Scarcity of female portraits offered for exhibition this year, and the deficiency of interest caused thereby - that Mr. F. Grant be requested to favor the Council by withdrawing one of his male whole length portraits and replacing it by a female whole length portrait, should he have such a picture in a sufficient state of forwardness for exhibition.'

(A pure shot in the dark as to why this happened - it is no more - is that the ladies may well have been swept up by photography. Photography may well have been the 'in' thing, and oil-painting neglected for the season. Whatever the reason, it is certainly a remarkable thing that the Academy Exhibition should be deficient in female portraiture. HCM).

1859.

Very little occurs in Council or General Assembly Minutes for this year concerning the Schools.

CM of 29th January 1859 is the first to mention the move proposed for the Academy to the present site at Burlington House. The CM tells that the President had seen the Chancellor of the Exchequer who pointed out the by now familiar danger that if the building should be done at public expense "he could not guarantee that the Academy would be free from the interference of Parliament or of future governments". Council agreed unanimously to accept the proposed site and to erect a building from the funds of the Academy.

In April of this year there was some interesting correspondence between the Royal Institute of British Architects and the Royal Academy. This revealed the way the architects were thinking. It seems more logical to deal with this when discussing in a general way the events of the Presidency of Eastlake. (See also Appendix VI).

CM of 29th January 1859 also refers to the work done by the "photograph committee" which had just taken photographs of Raphael's drawings for the Library to the amount of £32 .14s. (The wording here is vague. It is not clear whether the committee merely spent the money, or whether in fact members did some of the photographic work). The work of the photographic committee had last been mentioned in CM of 2nd August 1856.

CM of 6th December 1859 gives the information that the design for the Turner Medal had been approved and subsequently executed. Maclise had designed it: L.C. Wyon had carried out the design. Maclise had declined a charge (CM of 11th January 1859) and therefore was presented with a "piece of plate".

In the CM of 6th December 1859 N.C. Lupton, the first winner of the Turner Medal, was told that gaining this did not make him eligible to compete for Travelling Scholarships.

CM of 25th November 1859 mentions the request of the sculpture students to have a £10 premium as had already been offered to the draughtsmen. This the Council said it would consider further. Extending the number of medals had been proposed in CM of 18th December 1858.

1860.

Undoubtedly the most far-reaching event affecting the Schools which took place in this year was the admission of female students. This will be discussed with the general events of Eastlake's presidency. Suffice here to quote the CM of 3rd August 1860:

"In reference to the fact that one of the probationers recently admitted to the Antique Schools is a young woman it was proposed and resolved -

'That young women students be placed in communication with the Housekeeper and be especially recommended to her -

'That the Keeper be requested to see that the strictest propriety be observed in the Antique School with reference to such students and that they be instructed to refer to him in case of any difficulty."

J.P.Knight resigned from his Chair of Perspective, which was entered in CM of 11th April 1860. Some account of him, and the office, is given on page 212.

CM of 7th June 1860 sets out details for the post of Curator in the Life School. ^{* See below} He was to be a sculptor, who should have the task of teaching students at all times when there was no Sculptor-Visitor present. The Sculptor-Visitor should supercede him, should there be one present. The Curator should receive notice from Visitors intending to absent themselves from duty in the Schools. (Such absenting Visitors should forfeit half their pay for one hour's absence; the whole pay for two hours' absence). The main task of the Curator should be to

* This appointment was not made — see p. 250, Chas. Landseer's evidence, para 992. It was made in 1866, see p. 296.

concern himself with the teaching of the modelling students, except as specified already when his duties could be extended. He should see the pose of the model remained unaltered, and should maintain order. His duty was also to prepare monthly reports, in which task he should confer with the Visitors. (Presumably these reports should be partly on students and partly on conditions etc in the Life School. HCM). He should assist generally in the management of the Schools. (Herein CM uses the word "Schools'", therefore one supposes the plural is intended, and that the Curator should assist in a general way in all the Schools. HCM). He should not be absent without the permission of the current Visitor. His salary should be £100 per annum. This was clearly an extension of delegated authority, and was a logical outcome of the developments inaugurated under CM of 24th January 1851 (see page 128 et seq.)

Regarding premiums there were two items in CM's of this year. CM of 11th January 1860 gives the information that only two drawings were submitted for the £10 premium, and that these were "not considered of sufficient merit to submit to General Assembly and were withdrawn accordingly". This refers to the new premium begun in 1859.

CM of 7th June envisaged a new sort of premium, one based on literacy. This was clearly linked to the contemporary thinking, on which more will be said later. Illustrative of this is the recommendation in the 1863 Report:

"We think that all candidates for admission into the Schools

Note, facing p.177.

* Compulsory attendance at lectures.

The issue here is not clear at all. Millais, three years later, was clearly of the opinion that lectures were still compulsory. (See 1863 Report, para 1706, given on page 122 of this thesis). And Millais, as an Academician, ought to have known. Further, in 1873 the matter was still being discussed, that students found "a hindrance the present regulations as to compulsory attendance at lectures to Students desiring to compete for Premiums and for advancement in the Schools" (see page 335).

It is odd, because the Council decision appears clear enough, and the matter had been referred to it by General Assembly so that it could make a decision. HCM.

See also p.141 and CM of 1852 which brought in compulsory lectures again.

of the Academy should be required to pass an examination as a test of their general education, the standard of such education to be fixed from time to time by the Council..."¹⁴

The CM then, says:

"Having taken into consideration the questions referred by the General Assembly of the 31st Ulto. in reference to the Report on the Schools it was resolved -

'That the Council consider the proposal to institute a premium for the best precis of the Lectures of the season to be inexpedient, but that the compulsory attendance of Students be no longer enforced!'"

The General Assembly Minute to which this CM refers is of 31st May 1860. The proposal therein was made by Richard Redgrave "on the expediency of instituting a medal to be offered for the best precis of the lectures of the season". As is seen in the CM the idea was abandoned, but it is significant that it was being considered at all.

The other very significant thing coming in the same CM is the fact that compulsory lectures were now to be abandoned. It rather looks as if the Council not only thought that this sort of lecture was quite finished, so far as value to students was concerned, but also that not even such a measure as Redgrave proposed would save the compulsory lecture. It is significant that in the whole of the section on the recommendations of the 1863 Report lectures are not mentioned at all. Originally, however, very great store had been set by them. (See page 120).

There is interest of a wider significance in CM of 5th April 1860:

"Read a memorial from Mrs. Louise Gann, superintendent of the Government School of Art for Females, 37 Gower St., W.C.

begging assistance from the Academy in aid of said school as the Government grant being withdrawn the school must be closed unless placed on a self-supporting basis.

It was resolved that the sum of Fifty pounds be granted in aid of the Government School of Art for Females."

Presumably, this School was hit by the incoming 'payment by results', which was to bedevil all education for several decades in England. It is somewhat surprising, however, that at a period of considerable expansion a school of the stature of this one should be closed. Some idea of the expansion taking place is given in the following:

"...in the evidence given before the Select Committee of 1864...Cole was able to point to enormous administrative achievements. There were ninety Art Schools teaching about 16,000 students, while art teachers in schools for the poor... were educating 70,000 children." ¹⁵

The help that the Academy was prepared to give this school threatened with closure it was not prepared to repeat in a new venture. CM of 16th June 1860 reads:

"Read a letter from the Chairman of the Committee of the proposed School of Art Lambeth, inviting the subscription of the Royal Academy towards the erection of the necessary Building for the said school -

The Secretary was requested to reply that the Royal Academy could not entertain the application."

CM of 21st December 1860 contains the following:

"A letter was read from John Jackson, Student, requesting to be supplied at his own expense with impressions of the medals awarded to him in 1834 and 1835 but which he had unfortunately lost -

The request was not acceded to, but the Secretary was authorised to supply him with a neatly written certificate stating the fact of such awards."

The CM is interesting. It could mean that the loss was entirely

a personal matter and that the student wanted these medals for sentimental reasons. It could equally well mean, however - and the wording of the minute regarding the certificate seems to indicate so - that the medal had a currency value, perhaps in the obtaining of jobs.

CM of 23rd August 1860 records a "meeting of Council specially convened for the consideration of the Plans prepared for alterations in the Royal Academy and National Gallery." CM of 5th September 1860 tells that Council has considered the subject of keeping the Schools open during the alterations. The plan was to close the Library and make the approach to the Schools through the Library. The Keeper and Treasurer should make such further arrangements as they thought fit. Academy pictures should be insured and the plate should be given into the charge of Drummonds the Banker. CM of 7th December 1860 tells that during the alterations the "middle room to be fitted up as a temporary Life School"etc.. All this preparation however was of no avail. The plan fell through. The Derby-Disraeli government fell in June 1859, and the incoming Ministry of Palmerston and Gladstone looked at these plans; Various meetings took place, which are fully reported by Eastlake in his evidence before the 1863 Royal Commission. (See Appendix V). Eventually, in Eastlake's words, "Another mode was devised for increasing the space in the National Gallery", and the completion of the original design was abandoned.

1861.

Nine months after the resignation of J.P.Knight from the Chair of Perspective no Academicians had offered themselves as candidates. Therefore, CM of 23rd January 1861,

"Resolved to recommend to the General Assembly to invite candidates from among the Associates and afterwards to Artists generally, for the Teachership of Perspective."

Once again, therefore, this office was relegated to the rank of a Teachership. CM of 25th July 1861 reported that the Teacher of Perspective had been elected, when H.A.Bowler defeated G.B.Moore and John Sparkes. The same CM defined his duties,

"two nights a week, beginning the first week in November, and continuing till the close of the Schools in March - the salary to be sixty pounds."

After the dropping of the plans by the government at the end of 1860 it was apparently decided by the Academy to appoint a committee to make some suggestions as to the future use of rooms. CM of 5th August 1861:

"The recommendation of the Committee appointed at the last meeting, viz -

that the centre compartment of the new Sculpture Room be devoted to the Antique School - the new North Room to the School of the Living Model, and the West Room to Architecture and perspective were agreed to - and Mssrs. Landseer and Smirke were instructed to make the necessary arrangements for properly lighting the same."

This CM gives a confused idea. It seems to imply that there had already been some considerable alteration of rooms. It is quite clear from Eastlake's evidence however (see Appendix V) that nothing major had taken place at all.

CM of 26th November 1861 states that the newly-arranged Students' Laws have been completed, and that sufficient copies are to be printed for distribution to members generally previous to confirmation. These laws appear in the 1863 Report and are transcribed in Appendix VIII of this thesis.

The arrival of female students in the Schools in the previous year led to thoughts of what they might be allowed to do in Schools which offered studies from male and female nudes. Clearly, the mid-19th century was no time for daring decisions however and it was a very long time before the female students were permitted to do such. They were allowed to do some things however, as CM of 18th December 1861 shows:

"On the question of admitting Female Students to the School of the Living Draped Model, it was resolved that the qualification which is deemed sufficient to admit a Student to draw from the Life, shall be deemed sufficient to admit a Female Student to draw from the Living draped model."

CM of 5th July 1861 reads:

"It is proposed to open the Exhibition of the Royal Academy by Gas light, at a reduced price of admission, during the latter part of the season, for the benefit of those persons who from their occupations may be prevented visiting the exhibition during the day."

This measure was to be passed forward for General Assembly to ratify.

1862.

CM of 25th January 1862 contains the item:

"Miss Herford having submitted drawings - according to resolution passed on the 18th of Decr 1861, and the drawings being approved by the Council she was admitted to the Painting School to draw from the living draped model."

This is the first mention by name of the first female student. The registers tell that she was Anne Laura Herford, aged 29 years, admitted a student probationer in painting in December 1860, and sponsored by T.Heatherley. It seems likely that Heatherley ran a school of drawing for ladies, for the name appears often in the registers as the sponsor for female students.

Although Appendix LX is devoted to some account of female students it is perhaps of interest here to point out how the first one managed to gain entry. The 1863 Royal Commission tells:

"1007. (Chairman). How long have they been eligible? - I think three years. The way in which they were introduced was rather singular. We have a printed form which we require to be filled up with the name, age, and residence, and so on, of the candidate. One of these printed forms was filled up with only the initials of the Christian name; so that when the drawing was shewn, it was judged entirely on its own merits, without our knowing it was by a lady, as it turned out to be. It was then found that there was no law against the admission of female students."

This evidence was given by the Keeper, Charles Landseer.

An amusing mix-up is evident from CM of 26th February 1862:

"George Slater, the successful candidate for the Gold Medal in Sculpture, given last December, applied to the Council to know whether obtaining that premium would entitle him, being a Student of the Antique School only, to enter the

Life School without submitting the usual Model and Drawings required by the Laws -

The Council declared that the higher honor included the lesser honors, and that George Slater was therefore privileged to study in the Life School, without going through the forms otherwise required."

It can be seen from the Laws (see Appendix Vlll) that this error ought never to have taken place, and that the fault lay entirely with the Keeper that it did.

Evidently the error had caused a closer consultation of the rules for CM of 11th November 1862 states:

"Two students, candidates for premiums, but not having complied with the regulation requiring their previous attendance at an entire course of instruction in the Class of Perspective, on the ground of having already acquired a competent knowledge of that branch of study -

It was resolved, that if on examination they shall satisfy the Teacher of Perspective as to their proficiency, such certificate shall be submitted to the General Assembly on the 1st of Decr, whose decision shall be taken as to whether the works of such candidates shall be submitted or not in competition."

(See Appendix Vlll again)

CM of 25th January 1862 gives the information that portions of the human skeleton and certain anatomical plates were to be purchased for the Antique School.

In August and November of 1862 the Keeper was again requesting permission to reside outside the Academy. CM of 11th November says that the Council see no reason "to alter their resolution of 2nd August last". (See CM of 29th April 1851, page 136).

The Council had forgotten its own ruling this year, as

CM of 11th November 1862 relates:

"The Secretary was instructed to issue Notices in the usual form, inviting Members to offer to become candidates for the professorship of Sculpture, vacant by the new law - Section 111, Art 13 - Candidates to send in their names on or before the 1st of December, the Election to take place on the 6th of December.

And it was agreed that the said law limiting the appointment of professorships to the Royal Academy to a period of Five Years, having been overlooked by the Council when the notices for the courses of lectures in Painting and Anatomy for the season were distributed, the Council on becoming aware of the informality, have confirmed the course of lectures advertised for this season and remit the subject to the General Assembly for Consideration."

The new law was passed by Council on 13th November 1856 (see page 165 of this thesis).

Periodically events are mentioned in the Minutes which link up the Schools to the outside world of education. Such is CM of 31st March 1862:

"Read a communication from the secretary of the Science and Art Department, South Kensington, enclosing the form of Certificate the Board would recommend to the Council of the Royal Academy, to be required of Probationer Candidates in Architecture -

The Certificate as recommended was adopted by the Council, and the Secretary was instructed to acknowledge the receipt, and adoption of the same, with the thanks of the Council."

Although compulsory attendance at the lectures by the Professors was ended in 1860 (see page 177) it is clear that every effort was still being made to make them successful. CM of 22nd December 1862 says that tea and biscuits will be provided for the lecturer, Academicians, and the friends of both.

Several CM's in the early part of 1862 were concerned with the proposed evening opening of the Exhibition (11th January; 25th January; 26th February; 18th March; 21st April). Letters were sent to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury on the dangers from crowds and fire, police arrangements etc.. The Exhibition was to be open three evenings per week, 7.30 to 10.30 p.m., and the catalogues should sell at 6d. each. Lighting by gas and added ventilation requirements also concerned the Council and the committees involved.

Honorary Retired Academicians were again discussed in this year. They had last been mentioned in CM of 8th November 1858 (see page 170). CM of 21st April 1852 gave the approval of Council to the idea. The main facts were that the Academicians desiring to be admitted into this new class should apply to the Secretary. Council should then consider their cases and recommend those selected to General Assembly. They should receive a pension of £100 per year; retain the title of Royal Academician; be invited to the private view, Academy dinner, soiree, and varnishing days. They should not, however, serve as visitors or as members of Council or General Assembly. Works sent in by them to the Exhibitions might also be rejected. Mainly, and immediately, would this class affect the Schools insofar as some of the older Visitors would be removed. The 1863 Royal Commission approved of the system:

"We desire to express our approval of this regulation, by

which Academicians in the decline of life may make way for others more fitted for active duty, while retaining themselves the rank and distinction to which they are well entitled, as well as a share of the emolument which they may be considered to have fairly earned." 116

1863.

CM of 23rd January 1863 sets out the subjects for the Premium Competitions. These appear regularly in CM's but have not ^{always} been quoted herein for there is in them a tendency to sameness. Since none has been quoted for a number of years however, it is as well to give the conditions for this year. They are:

- "In Historical Painting. The Trial of Abraham's Faith. See Genesis c.XXII v.1 to 14.
- In Historical Sculpture. A Competition for the Deluge. A group in the round to consist of three figures.
- In Architectural Design. A Hall and Staircase, leading from the ground to the principle (sic) Floor, suitable for a Royal Palace.
- The Turner Gold Medal. An English landscape.
- Silver Medal in Painting School. In lieu of the Living Draped Model. For the best copy from the Virgin and Child by Vandyke. See Dulwich Collection.
- For the Silver Medal in Architectural Drawing - A section of St. Stephen's Church, Walbrook."

CM of 14th May 1863 states:

"It was moved by Mr. Webster, seconded by Mr. Pickersgill, and resolved unanimously,

That no more Female Students be admitted to the Academy at present."

The Council kept its word in this, for no fresh women students came until the year 1868. The reason it gave for this decision appears in Appendix IX.

The efficacy of the wording of the new Students' Laws was challenged again, successfully, as is told in CM of 24th November 1863:

"Letters from two Students were submitted, claiming admission

to the competition for premiums in the present year on the ground that they had been misled by the obscure wording of the law excluding all but Students serving their first term of Studentship from such competitions -

It was resolved that notwithstanding the usual practise (sic) in such cases, the request of the said students should be acceded to this year, but that the wording of the law should be so modified as to render misunderstanding in future impossible - to which end a notification to that effect should be appended to the annual notice of premiums offered in competition."

CM of 21st December 1863 mentions that a further two female students were admitted to paint in the School of the Living Draped Model. These were Catherine E. Babb and Gertrude Martineau. ^{* See below.} Both were painter-students, and both had been sponsored by T. Heatherley. (According to the Register of Students the correct name ought to be Charlotte Elizabeth Babb. HCM).

The same CM of 21st December 1863 gives an account of indiscipline in the Antique School:

"The Secretary read a report from the curator complaining of the great insubordination of the Students in the Antique School, especially naming W.G. Leather and R.L. Aldridge as the chief offenders -

The Keeper concurring in the complaint of the Curator, stating that he had found all remonstrance on his part to be in vain, claimed the assistance of the Council in the matter -

It was resolved that the students W.G. Leather and R.L. Aldridge be suspended from their privileges as Students for Three months - and not to be restored except on petition, apologising for their past misconduct - Notices to this effect to be posted in the Hall and Antique School.

The Keeper was instructed to convey to the Curator the approbation of the Council on his efforts to maintain order in the School under his care."

* (Note. Gertrude's Martineau's permission was perhaps withdrawn, for she appears to have been given this permission again in July 1864. See p. 191. HCM).

Some CM's of this year deal with competitions. That of 6th February 1863 resolved that

"there shall be but one silver medal offered in the class of Perspective, to be awarded to the best outline drawing, together with a specimen of sciography on a separate sheet of paper."

CM of 24th February 1863 considered the time to be allowed to students in Architecture who were candidates for the £100 Travelling Fellowship. ^{* See below.} It was decided that their drawings should be produced from 1st October to 7th November. CM of 24th March 1863 determined that the works from the candidates for the Travelling Studentship in Painting should be judged by the General Assembly in July. The student elected decided to use the new privilege of the 1861 Laws:

"3rd August 1863. A letter was read from P.R.Morris, the recently elected Travelling Student, requesting permission to avail himself of the new regulation vide Students Bye-laws Section V, Art 4 whereby in particular cases the Council may exchange the Travelling Studentship to a Home Allowance, to enable the successful Candidate to pursue his studies at home - Granted."

At the Council Meeting of 14th May 1863 Professor Partridge offered himself again for the chair of Anatomy, under the new five-year rule.

There was some difficulty in finding a new Professor of Painting. The office had been held by Solomon Alexander Hart since 1854. CM of 27th July 1863 states:

"The Secretary reported that there were no candidates for the Professorship of Painting. It was therefore resolved to recommend to the General Assembly to invite the Associates to become candidates as Lecturers in Painting, according to the precedent in the case of Mssrs Smirke and Scott."

* ("Fellowship" given in CM's, but evidently "studentship" intended. HCM).

CM of 14th November 1863 follows this up:

"The Secretary stated that he had, according to his instructions, issued circulars inviting the Associates of the Royal Academy to offer themselves as candidates for lectureships in Painting but that there were no candidates -

It was resolved that the directions of the General Assembly having been duly carried into effect as regards the vacant professorship, and the proposed Lecturerships - pending further instructions the course of lectures on painting be considered in abeyance for the present season."

The Committee investigating the Lighting in the Life School reported on 14th November 1863. The members were

"requested to continue their experiments with the view to afford better light for the Sculptor students and to prevent the inconvenient Heat complained of by the Draughtsmen."

On the materials side of things Professor Partridge recommended the purchase of a new male skeleton in CM of 4th December 1863. This was granted.

CM of 26th March 1863 contained the request of Mr. H.A. Bowler, the Teacher in Perspective, that his name be printed with those of the professors, in the annual catalogue. This was granted.

Finally for this year, it was resolved under CM of 8th June 1863 that the arrangements for the evening Exhibition of the Academy should be the same as last year.

1864.

Under the laws governing the Students there were two moves during this year. The first concerned the Library. CM of 22nd December 1864 states that 90 students petitioned that the Library hours be changed. Therefore it was resolved to open it

"on Monday Mornings from 10 to 3 o'clock as heretofore, but that there should be Four Evening attendances in each week - viz. Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday between the hours of 3 to 4 o'clock."

As the other matter runs on into the beginning of 1865 it is left until the end of this section. This makes for easier reading.

Under minor matters of Students the two suspended by CM of 21st December 1863 appealed against their suspensions. Aldridge sent his letter of apology in January, which was accepted and he was allowed to return. Leather sent his in May, and it was likewise accepted.

CM of 4th July 1864 tells that Gertrude Martineau has been permitted to paint from the Living Draped Model. Thus she had gone as far as she could, being a female student, for working in the Life Class was debarred from her.

On the working of students in the Life Class there is a rather interesting Minute of Council of 22nd December 1864:

"On consideration of the proposition of Sir Edwin Landseer submitted to the General Assembly of the 10th Inst it was resolved that as a general principle it is desirable that

the Model in the Life School should be undraped, and that any partial concealment for considerations of decency would rather tend to attract attention to what might otherwise pass unnoticed - It appears to the Council that the particular objection suggested by a needless fidelity sometimes observable in drawings, is a question rather of taste than of morals, and they are therefore of the opinion that the objection should be met by recommending and requiring the Visitors to dissuade Students from bestowing unnecessary attention on unimportant parts, especially when decency suggests this being passed over."

The indelicacy referred to is obvious. The polite and evasive choice of words to get round it is in accordance with a prudish age.

A change in the Curator of the School of Painting occurred in this year:

"9th January 1864. Read a letter from Mr. H.J. Le Jeune A.R.A. resigning the appointment of Curator in the School of Painting held by him for 15 years, and stating his willingness to serve till the closing of the Schools in March next. The Secretary was instructed to convey to Mr. Le Jeune the expression of regret with which they accept his resignation - and at the same time their high approval of his long and zealous services."

CM of 26th May 1864 announced the appointment of his successor, William Holyoake. The voting was Holyoake 3; J.A. Vintner 1; Marshall Claxton 3; F. Pickering 0. Holyoake was elected on the President's casting vote.

Under CM of 22nd December 1864 female students L. Starr and E. Martineau were admitted to paint from the Living Draped Model. Louisa Starr deserves special mention for she was to gain the Gold Medal in Historical Painting in 1867, the first female to gain such an award.

Under CM of 26th November 1864 H.W. Pickersgill resigned

from the Librarianship.

It is evident that the effect of the publication of the 1863 Report of the Royal Commission held up transactions of the Academy. This becomes apparent in the next two CM's quoted.

CM of 14th June 1864 says:

"The Council having considered the present position of the Royal Academy were of opinion that as part of the business of the Academy, including the elections of Members has for some time been in abeyance it would be desirable to communicate with Sir C.B.Phipps, in order to ascertain Her Majesty's pleasure with reference to the recommendations of the Academy in reply to the Report of the Royal Commission and the President was requested to write to Sir C.B.Phipps accordingly."

CM of 24th July 1864 contains a transcript of the letter of 23rd June which was returned to the Academy:

"(Private)

My dear Sir Charles -

There is very considerable difficulty attending an answer to your letter of 15th Inst.-

The Queen as you know has always admitted the claim of the Royal Academy to make direct personal reference to Her Majesty - In this instance however the questions at issue have been enquired into by a Royal Commission appointed in compliance with an address from the House of Commons, and the Report of that Commission has by Her Majesty's command been laid before both Houses of Parliament - The power of interference of the legislature appears to have been thus, to a certain extent, allowed, and their opinion to have been sought. -

Under these circumstances the Queen can only act upon the advice of Her responsible Ministers, as it would evidently be most undesirable for Her Majesty personally to give the President of the Royal Academy an answer, which might be moved for in Parliament, and for which there would be, in that Assembly, no person responsible -

Under these circumstances I have, by the Queen's command, referred your letters to Sir George Grey, and he will eventually

prepare an answer to be submitted for the Queen's approval.

In the meantime a notice of motion, with regard to the Royal Academy has been given by Lord Stanhope in the House of Lords, and I understand a similar one will be brought before the House of Commons by Lord Elder. Sir George Grey is of the opinion that it will be better to delay the Answer from the Queen until the issue of these motions shall be known.

In the meantime it appears to him that there can be no difficulty in the Royal Academy carrying on their current business according to their own rules, which are still in force.

Sincerely yours,

C.B.Phipps."

From this letter it was,

"Resolved that it be recommended by the Council that the General Assembly proceed with the Elections, as adjourned at the meeting on the 29th of January last."

Finally for this year is the CM referred to at the beginning of the section. This was CM of 22nd December 1864:

"Took into consideration the proposition submitted by Mr. Coke at the General Assembly of 1st Inst. to repeal the clause debarring Students under 20 years of age, unless married, from the study of the nude female model. -

Mr. Cooper, seconded by Mr. Mac Dowell, moved the rejection of the proposition, but on show of hands the motion was lost.

Mr. Weekes seconded by Mr. Frith then moved the repeal of the limiting clause, which motion on show of hands was carried."

So it looked as if after 95 years this conservative ruling was removed. Present at that Council meeting were: President; Secretary; Treasurer; C.Landseer; A.Cooper; H.Weekes; P. Mac Dowell; F.Goodall; W.P.Frith. However reactionaries were not so happy to see the ground lost, as is apparent in the beginning of 1865.

1865.

The matter of regulations affecting admission to the Life School was carried forward into this year. CM of 10th January states:

"Mr. Boxall expressing regret at his unavoidable absence from the last meeting of Council, called the attention of members to the inexpediency of the resolution then adopted, repealing the clause 'debarring students under 20 years of age, unless married, from the study of the nude female model,' and moved that such resolution be rescinded, and that the original clause be retained - which being seconded by Mr. E.M.Ward, was carried with only one dissentient."

Present at this meeting were new members. The full meeting was: President; Secretary; Treasurer; W.Boxall; E.Cooke; J.E.Millais; H.Weekes; F.Goodall; S.Cousins; E.M.Ward; P.Mac Dowell.

It is interesting that there is scarcely a mention of this ruling in the whole of the vast 1863 Report. Hunt implied in para. 3028 that the age of starting to work from the life was too late. Watts (para. 3223) and Newton (para. 4392) agreed that study of the antique and the life should be simultaneous, and seem to imply that they consider the age clause rather silly. Newton (para 4401) however seems to regard the clause as immutable and carries on his argument on the assumption that it is. Newton says (para 4392):

"...I consider that the first mistake is, making the students study the antique without reference to the life."

The Librarian objected to the new hours, as fixed in CM of 22nd December 1864, and therefore by CM of 27th November 1865 they reverted to those of the period before December 1864.

CM of 13th December 1865 reports that the Curator, Mr.

Loft had complained of the insubordinate conduct of a student Edward Sharp. Council decreed a suspension for three months, but the Keeper asked that this be changed to a sharp reprimand (at CM of 18th December 1865) and to this Council concurred. (Almost certainly the wording here - "a sharp reprimand" - was one of Charles Landseer's puns. HCM).

A slight change in the award of premiums is given in CM of 6th February 1865:

"To equalize the conditions to competitors for the annual Ten Pound premium, it was resolved that the premium should henceforth be offered alternately to the Antique and Life Schools."

CM of 13th December decrees that the posts of Professors of Painting and Architecture be advertised to Members. H.J.O' Neil offered to give lectures in Painting for the present season, which offer was accepted. He was to be paid £10 per lecture.

CM of 6th July acknowledges with thanks the work of the Secretary and Registrar in drawing up a complete catalogue of Academy possessions. (This is still in the Royal Academy. HCM).

Among these possessions appeared another concession to modernity, mentioned in CM of 25th January 1865:

"It was moved by Mr. Weekes seconded by Mr. Millais and ordered that a proper clock be purchased for the use of the Life School."

Eleven years ago the last hour glass had been bought (see page 156).

The last two CM's which are quoted for this year show

the political bargaining which was going on over the new site for the Academy. Provided the government got its way in the matter of the Associates the Academy could have a free site!

CM of 15th June 1865 gives the text of a letter from William Cowper of the Office of Works concerning the two possible sites "either the Southern side of the Court Yard fronting Piccadilly, or the Northern side of the Garden fronting the Street called Burlington Gardens". The letter goes on to comment on the constitution and regulations of the Academy, stating that Her Majesty's Government consider that the number of Academicians should be,

"raised from 42 to 50 - and that of the Associates from 20 to 40 - and that the latter will have an equal share with the former in the election of the Royal Academicians of of(sic) Associates".

CM of 18th December 1865 gives the text of another letter from William Cowper, dated 18th November. This is a long letter, the gist of which is to offer the site in Piccadilly "gratuitously - the gift of this site would be equivalent to the grant of a considerable sum of money" provided that the Academy would agree on the position of the Associates. The letter carried on to say that the Commissioners

"recommended that the Associates should be members of the corporate body, and should jointly with the Academicians constitute the General Assmblly and should be increased to the number of 50 -"

The observations of the Academy, the letter goes on to say, contain objections to this recommendations and suggest as a counter proposal that the Associates should be unlimited in

number and have no voice in the proceedings of the General Assembly, no right of voting, and should receive nothing more than the illusory compliment of being allowed to nominate candidates for the rejection or acceptance of the Academicians.

"Upon this question the Government concur with the Report of the Commission, and not with the observations of the Academy, and they consider the enlargement of the constituency, and the admission of some of the younger artists to a share in the Elections as of Primary importance, although it may still be a question for consideration whether the relative proportion of the numbers of the Academicians and Associates be altered or retained - The Government have accordingly been authorised by Her Majesty to require previous to the grant of a site such modification of the constitution of the Academy as to secure the object above mentioned. There are other points on which alterations are desired but they are of less importance than this one, and I am prepared to say that if I receive shortly an announcement on this subject that is satisfactory, the site in Piccadilly will be let on a long lease to the Academy."

The letter finishes with sincere wishes that a settlement will be reached and gives the assurance that this will not be a precedent

"for any future interference on the part of the Crown or of Parliament with the affairs of the Academy, and I desire that any change which is now made shall be by the willing and independant (sic) action of the Academy."

Council decided to recommend to General Assembly that it received these conditions, stressing the points made in the last quotation above.

In the midst of all this Eastlake died, on 24th December 1865.

Sir Charles Lock Eastlake (1793-1865: Librarian 1842-1844;
President 1850-1865).

"...it is but seldom that my engagements will enable me to join in your festive dinner. I have, however, on this occasion made it a point to do so, in order to assist at what may be considered the inaugurative festival of your newly-elected President, at whose election I have heartily rejoiced - not only on account of my high estimate of his qualities, but also on account of my feelings of regard towards him personally. It would be presumptuous in me to speak to you of his talent as an artist, for that is well known to you, and of it you are the best judges; or of his merits as an author, for you are all familiar with his books - or, at least, ought to be so; or of his amiable character as a man, for that also you must have had opportunities to estimate; but my connection with him now for nine years, on Her Majesty's Commission for the Promotion of the Fine Arts, has enabled me to know, what you can know less, and what is of the greatest value in a President of the Royal Academy - I mean that kindness of heart and refinement of feeling which guided him in all his communications, often most difficult and delicate, with the different artists whom he had to invite to competition, whose works we had to criticise, whom we had to employ or reject." "7

So did the Prince Consort speak at Eastlake's inaugural dinner as President, thus signifying the fullest approval of the highest social levels in the country.

"One feels the want to empty one's head a little now and then; latterly, especially, those ideas that have been stirred up in me by the perusal of fragments in the theory, philosophy, of art etc, by Eastlake, which gave rise in me to some powerful feelings. At the first onset I was amazed and bewildered at the quantity and great versatility of Eastlake's acquirements, a man who has yet found time to cultivate his art with success. I was filled with regret and mortification when I looked at myself and considered how little I knew..." "8

So wrote Frederic Leighton in a letter to his mother in November 1852. Thus one sees how the bright student looked upon the President.

"Some of the meetings have been most agreeable, their harmony being greatly enhanced by the admirable chairmanship of Sir Charles Lock Eastlake. He was most happy at Saturday's dinner in his memories and quotations. When not joking himself he seemed thoroughly to enjoy the fun and the jokes of others. He has a keen sense of the ridiculous, and likened Creswick's face, writhing under the puns of Knight, to the contortions of the Laocoon..." 119

So spoke Redgrave, a contemporary of Eastlake, when describing a Council dinner.

These tributes show something of the talents and acceptability of Eastlake. A very great deal more could be written about his achievements to the fine arts generally, about the distinctions and honours of his life etc., but all that concerns here is something of the impression he made on the students in the Schools. Indeed a book could be written about his evidence before the 1863 Royal Commission in itself. Of the 557 pages of evidence compiled 102 pages are those of Eastlake alone. Besides him there were 45 other witnesses. His writings were extensive for a practising artist. Many of his contributions were collected up and published under the title of 'Contributions to the literature of the Fine Arts' in 1848. He compiled a scholarly work 'Materials for a History of Oil Painting' which was published in 1847. There were other works also. Such industry and learning could not but fail to impress the students, and many must have shared the thoughts of Leighton. It is well, however, to look briefly at some of his literary compositions which we know definitely that the students heard - his Discourses to the students and Academy at the annual prize-giving ceremonies of 10th December.

The topics and headings of his six Discourses are given below:

Discourse of 10th December 1851: Importance of Drawing and Form: Proportion: Action: Architecture: Anatomical Structures: Influences of Art on Wood-Engraving, and the difficulties of working on Large Surfaces. The Discourse is full of references to the arts and learning generally.

10th December 1854: Rules of Art and Academies in the Object of Drawing and the Practice of same: distinct and indistinct painting; Extremities of Figures: Joints of Figures: Concealments - the deliberate concealments of portrait painters like Titian and Van Dyck: illustrations from Leonardo and Raphael: the Implications of Concealment for the Sculptor.

10th December 1855. Distinctness, and Viewing a work from a Distance: laboured distinctness: Compositional principles: Types of Composition as illustrated by Rembrandt; by Leonardo: altar-pieces: Raphael and the Cartoons: pictures to be viewed from below: perspective in depth.

10th December 1857. On Character in Art (harks back a deal to the theme of distinctness): Colour (returns to principles of selection): Illusion: Qualities divergent from Nature: Size: Light and Shade: The Effects of these on Colour: Dutch Masters: Freedom of Execution: the modern 'unpicturesqueness'.

10th December 1859. Poetry and Painting - Illustrations from Homer and Dante; Shakespeare; Milton: how effects are gained, illustrated by quotations. (This Discourse is abstruse, and its practical applications to the artist are difficult to see. HCM).

10th December 1863. Vicissitudes in the History of Art: Morals and Truths: Effects of the Literary men on the Artists: the work of the Caracci ending in mannered imitations of Michaelangelo and Raphael: Guido and his silvery style of painting - he took up a hint offered by Annibale Caracci concerning the painting of Caravaggio: Working by Opposites (a light treatment instead of a violent effect): Illustration from Rembrandt - that he took up a contrary style in order that he might not have to vie with the style of Rubens: Titian's methods compared with those of Rubens as seen in the latter's detailed sketches: Great Colourists: 'alla prima' painting, as practised by Sir David Wilkie.

Clearly the above cannot mean very much to a reader without reference to the Discourses themselves. Perhaps two extracts

may show how he treated different themes. The first is from the 1851 Discourse, and is a technical piece of instruction:

"The proportions of form, and the relative force of light and shade, may be accurately observed, and completely rendered, without looking beyond the object proposed to be imitated: as regards those qualities, it is sufficient if the work be consistent with itself. But if the general color (sic) of the object is to be truly represented, it is necessary to look beyond that object, since the colour is what it is chiefly by a comparison with what surrounds it. Hence, if the study of form can by any possibility be prejudicial to that of colour, it can only be so when the form is studied imperfectly - when the Student is not sufficiently in the habit of directing his attention to the whole effect of the object. It is, I repeat, in the larger relations, that Proportion and Action - the sources of beauty, and of grace or energy - are to be chiefly studied: no accuracy of detail, without this general truth, can insure either the one or the other; and an attention to these attributes best prepares the Student for seeing a quality of a still more comprehensive kind; it is this training which will prove useful to the future colourist."

The second extract is illustrative of examples based on his considerable knowledge of painters and painting:

"A Venetian writer relates that when Henry III of France made his triumphal entry into Venice in the year 1574, the principal Venetian painters lent their assistance in decorating that part of the city through which the king was to pass. The time allotted them was short, and they were obliged to work with rapidity; the work however seemed sufficiently ready for the occasion, when, on the very morning the procession was to take place, Paul Veronese found to his dismay, that he had omitted a figure in the spandrel of a temporary triumphal arch. The ladders and scaffolding had all been removed and the oversight appeared irreparable, when Tintoret, who is described by the same writer as a little man, scarcely five feet high, seized a pike from one of the guards, and having fastened a brush to the end of it, presently completed the figure."

In a word, the Discourses of Eastlake were more

more scholarly than those of Shee before him. On the whole they are good solid stuff for prospective artists, with sensible allusions to artists and their works. There are interest-pockets, as in the second example quoted above, but on the whole they must have proved heavy-going for students. They are really too difficult for verbal delivery; stiff enough even for reading. The Discourses of Shee were more literary, but their content was in line with the Reynolds traditions. Eastlake exhibits a more original mind, but his Discourses - although shorter than those of Shee - must have been more of a labour to listen to.

Frith wrote of the speeches as follows:

"Eastlake's speeches were learned, eloquent, and - what was a great comfort - never too long. They somewhat lacked the brilliancy to which we are accustomed at the annual dinners now, and there was an air of studied preparation which was not so skilfully hidden as it is in the hands of Sir Frederick Leighton; but it was oratory, and not simple speech-making; and it richly deserved the compliments that were often paid to it by those who knew best what true oratory meant.

Eastlake was a man of a somewhat cold and reserved manner, self-contained and dignified; but, on the whole, very popular with his brother members. His conduct in the chair, whether at the banquet or the council table, left nothing to be desired." ¹²¹

A very full account of the prize-giving in Eastlake's time is given by H.S.Marks. It is of the year 1861, when, it is noted, Eastlake did not deliver a speech. Nevertheless, the account appears to re-capture the atmosphere of the occasion:

"The different works are hung in what is known as the Middle Room of the Academy, thus eclipsing for a time the diploma pictures which are placed there. Pictures and drawings are distinguished only by numbers, so as to

avoid any suspicion of partiality on the part of the judges. There is a loud and busy hum of conversation and much gesticulation among the students as they discuss the merits of their brethren's work and speculate on the result of the Council's decision. Naturally the pictures attract the greatest share of attention, and if two R.A's should stop for a moment in front of them eager listeners press forward to hear any remark they may drop.... After a time one of the porters, radiant in scarlet gown and silk stockings, summons the students to the room appropriate to the delivery of the prizes....The boarded walls are painted dull red, suspended on their surfaces are one or two copies of Raphael's cartoons, Rubens's 'Descent from the Cross' and Da Vinci's 'Last Supper'. The room is longitudinally divided into two compartments by a wooden barrier. The floor of the lesser is covered with red baize; on a raised dais, extending the whole length of the room, are placed two rows of chairs, that in the front for the Academicians, that in the rear for the Associates. In the centre of all, there is a table covered with crimson velvet, and a gilded chair for the President: the whole forming a very imposing and stately background for the ensuing ceremony. On the other side of the barrier plain wooden benches are fixed at gradually ascending heights, and these are nearly filled with students and probationers, who seek to while away the tedium of the interval which must elapse before the arrival of the President and the members by strenuous endeavours to turn the place into a bear-garden. Pellets of bread and modelling-clay are thrown about, zoological imitations, more or less successful, are attempted; some ingenious youth has brought down a cheap mouth-organ, with which he emits sounds such as those which a cow in the last stages of consumption might be expected to utter; nor is that method of whistling through the fingers, so successfully practised by the 'gods' of a transpontine theatre, altogether unheard. These and other playful tricks are accompanied by an incessant stamping of feet and a clattering of walking-sticks and umbrellas. The red-gowned porter occasionally opens a door a few inches and makes remonstrative signs, but without effect, and when he enters for the purpose of removing the centre panel of the barrier so as to allow the medallists a free passage to the presidential chair, the applause with which he is greeted is something tremendous. On one of the benches I observed four female students (the Academy has lately opened its doors to the fair sex), who crouched together, looking rather scared by their first introduction to the humours of a 'gold medal night', and who must have retired from the scene with splitting headaches. And now the folding-doors are thrown open, and in come the R.A's and Associates, headed by Sir Charles Eastlake in plain evening dress and wearing the Presidential chain and badge. Loud and long applause greets their entry, followed by a breathless silence, when, after all are duly seated, the President proceeds to

make a few prefatory remarks on the character of the works submitted, and congratulates the students on the general advancement they have made. In two cases, he said, honours would not be awarded, neither of the landscapes being considered worthy of the Turner medal, and the paintings from the nude figure fell short of the average. Then in clear tones and measured style, Sir Charles proceeded to enumerate the successful candidates...Every ear was on the stretch, and it was not difficult from nervous trembling of the hands and facial twitchings to discover some who had been playing for the stake. 'In historical painting, the gold medal, the discourses of Reynolds, and other books, have been awarded to Mr. Andrew Brown Donaldson.' The Trial Scene, then, is successful after all, and its painter (a son, I believe, of Professor Donaldson, the architect) emerges from the crowd and passes up to receive the prize, given with a kindly smile from the President, a storm of applause bursts forth from the excited students. Mr. George Slater obtains the gold medal for the best historical group in sculpture, and Mr. T.H. Watson for the best architectural design. The same ceremony is repeated some dozen times, and the decisions of the Council, judging from the enthusiastic demonstrations each announcement, give universal satisfaction. The list of prizes being gone through, the President lingers as if, according to custom, he were about to deliver a short address, but excuses himself on the ground of previous ill-health and his numerous and pressing duties, and so, with a few brief words of encouragement and incentive to the excitable audience, the proceedings terminate." ¹²²

Charles Landseer (1799-1879: Keeper 1851-1873).

The Keepership of Charles Landseer extended throughout the Presidency of Eastlake and well into that of Grant. Since it lay mainly in that of the former, however, some account of him is inserted here.

He was the second son of John Landseer, the engraver - the elder being Thomas and the youngest Edwin. He was instructed first by his father and later was a pupil of B.R.Haydon, who is reported to have taken much interest in him. In 1816 he entered as a student at the Royal Academy Schools. Thus it can be seen that he had a good grounding as an artist. His paintings are now rarely seen, but as assessment is given by William Sandby:

"...he was well grounded in the technicalities of painting; and in all his works he has shown carefulness in composition, and proved himself a good colourist....In the pictures he has painted he has paid great attention to all the accessories and details, studying propriety in costume and character, and giving a general effect which is harmonious and pleasing. They are mostly taken from scenes in domestic history, or the works of the poets and novelists, and are deservedly popular." ¹²³

Such works are 'The Meeting of Charles I and his Adherents before the Battle of Edgehill'; 'Clarissa Harlowe in the Spunging House' (from Richardson's novel); 'The Temptation of Andrew Marvel'.

How did he shape as Keeper in the Schools? The answer seems clear from the sources of information as are available - not very well. Council Minutes for 10th March 1851 tell that the

choice lay between Solomon Hart and Charles Landseer and, according to the Richmond account given later in this section the Academy had lost herein before it started!

It seems that Landseer was never very enthusiastic about his work as Keeper. CM of 29th April 1851, immediately on his appointment, indicates that he never wished to be resident in the Academy at all (not that this fact in itself proves anything: it is, however, a pointer):

"In Reference to existing laws of the Royal Academy 'that the Keeper be required to reside constantly in the Academy' it is hereby resolved that whenever the Keeper may be desirous of temporary leave of absence application for the same must be made to the Council."

It seems that he always hankered after living out (see p. 183) for he made later requests to this effect. More significant than this, however, are the rebukes which Council administered to him at times. CM's of 13th July and 22nd December 1855 have already been quoted (see pages 158,9) and commented on, as has the forming of the Committee on the Schools which was set up immediately the Keeper went on a sick leave (see p.162) in 1856. This Committee kept him out of the way until it had finished its work (CM of 3rd July 1856: see p. 164). From this point the Committees on Schools continued to be active throughout his Keepership, as is apparent in the text dealing with CM's in this thesis. (It can well be argued, of course, that this activity would have taken place in any case, and that it was the logical outcome of all the educational thinking and agitation which

gather^{ed} momentum throughout the 19th century and which was especially vociferous around 1861 with Robert Lowe's payment by results regulations). CM of 5th June 1858, for example, sets out the duties of the Keeper as drawn up by the Committee on the Schools (see p. 170). The impression which certainly comes over, as the CM's are read, is that the Committee did all it could for the Academy Schools though at the same time it troubled Landseer as little as possible. It was undoubtedly very active, and increasingly so towards the end of Landseer's Keepership (see CM's of 11th December 1871 and 14th May 1872 in text). It seems likely that a forthright Keeper of the calibre of, say, Fuseli, would have told this Committee to go away and leave him in peace to get on with his job. The Keeper still had, as was recognised before the 1863 Royal Commission, "the general superintendence of all the three schools" (para 946), and it certainly seems that Landseer did not mind the Schools Committee doing his work for him.

Charles Landseer's evidence before the 1863 Royal Commission is used freely elsewhere, for it is a useful synopsis of the position in the Schools generally. Therefore no further mention is made of it here.

To complete this brief sketch of Charles Landseer some extracts and reminiscences are given. The first is from the recollections of Richmond, and since it runs on to mention Hart as well the portion relating to him is also given:

"I have said we were taught nothing. That is absolutely true. The 'Keeper', Charles Landseer, brother of Sir Edwin, was supposed to 'come round' once a day and examine the accuracy, or the reverse, of our drawings. He fulfilled the letter of the law. In list slippers, which shuffled over the boards in a most uninspiring fashion, he slipped in and slipped out, having perhaps criticized one portion of our drawing, usually the knee-joint, which may, or may not, have been the only portion of the human frame of which he had obtained some knowledge. The patella, he announced invariably, was too high or too low, too much, or not enough, defined. This became a standing joke amongst the students, and they were all ready to enquire, with assumed anxiety, 'Mr. Keeper, I hope the patella is better today?' Whereupon a scrutiny would follow, and then the solemn pronouncement, 'Still a little too low', or 'Still a little too high' in accents of profound wisdom. That was all his teaching! But he was the source of many an admirable caricature by Walker, and I was supposed to mimic his staccato manner to a 'T'.

Charles Landseer was a punster, an accomplishment happily not now in fashion. Sometimes his brother, Sir Edwin, paid us a visit, but we got no more out of him than out of Charles. Solomon Hart (how ever he came to be a R.A. no one knew) also occasionally shuffled in on his fat Semitic feet. Perhaps to a degree that was highly comical, he would discourse on the biceps muscle, as Charles Landseer had just done on the knee-joint. He was Professor of Painting, and under his gloomy pedantry we had to sit listening to platitudes culled from books on Art, delivered in a mumble as if his mouth had been full of pudding. He was a terrible lecturer - quite terrible - and had it not been for his ridiculous pomposity, his lectures would have been unspeakable tragedies. We caricatured him all the time, applauded the more he mumbled, and thanked God when he closed his manuscript and shuffled out of the lecture-room....Good Heavens! They feathered their nests with odd birds indeed! The teaching at the Academy in my time was beneath contempt, the wonder was that the students did as good work as they did under the circumstances." 124

These then were the recollections of William Richmond, of the year 1857.

There are frequent references to Landseer's punning. Frith recalls such. In the 1843 exhibition damage was done to the eyes of a beautiful small 'Portrait of a Gentleman' by Corbet of Shrewsbury. Frith carries on:

"It was observed by that born joker, Charles Landseer, that the destroyer of the eyes in Corbet's picture was most likely a schoolmaster in want of pupils! 'Another such joke as that and we will all vote for your expulsion,' said one of a group of Academicians standing by." ¹²⁵

Redgrave recalled a similar anecdote when Landseer was asked if he knew the address of Herbert (of the School of Design).

Landseer replied, 'Oh, he lives in Crocker's furniture van' - Crocker being universally employed at that time to move the painters and their pictures. ¹²⁶

Punning was a characteristic of the Landseers: apparently, for we are told by Millais that Sir Edwin also practised the art. Redgrave elsewhere gives a vivid picture of Charles indulging in his pastime. He is speaking of the year 1853:

"Hanging at R.A. by Creswick, Grant and Charles Landseer. Creswick, at the council dinner, was very tired and groaned over the unending puns of Charles Landseer and the Secretary, and the total inability of Grant and Calder Marshall to understand them. In the intervals of council business, a pun or two would still break out, and call forth more sighs from poor Creswick. During the dinner a discussion arose on the respective merits of Harrow, and the President upholding Eton and the great men it had produced. 'And yet,' said Grant, 'Peel was educated at Harrow; and then consider the poets - Byron was a Harrow boy,' 'Yes,' chimed in Landseer, 'and Burns was a plough-boy' - a groan from Creswick. 'There,' said Eastlake, 'You have furrowed Creswick's brow again,' upon which Knight added, 'Aye but you have had your share in it.' I do not wonder at Creswick being tired, for he has had all the work, and his colleagues have smoked and joked. I went up just before the completion of the miniature room, and found Grant and Landseer smoking, while Creswick was ordering the carpenters in their work, and I was saluted with the following well-worn riddle: 'I say, Redgrave,' was the first greeting, 'do you know why that carpenter is uglier than Creswick? Give it up? Because he's a deal planer!' with a puff from a cigar in conclusion. And this sort of work and gibe, the business on one side, and the idleness on the other, runs through the day, and through the hanging month." ¹²⁷

This is about all we now know of Charles Landseer, though

G.D.Leslie makes mention of physical characteristics

which add a little:

"Charles Landseer was slightly deaf, very good-natured, and an inveterate punster. He had not anything like the ability of Jones in maintaining discipline amongst the students, and it was during his reign that curators were first appointed to keep order in the Schools; they had to be present during the whole time the students were at work in them.

In the Antique School, during the first years of Landseer's Keepership, the students were rather a disorderly lot, boyish pranks of all kinds being freely indulged in. Charles Landseer had a peculiarly loud staccato voice, which one of the students could imitate to perfection; it was impossible, when hearing this imitation, not to believe that Landseer was in the room. One day Landseer came in suddenly whilst the imitation was still going on, and for a short time the Keeper's voice was heard in two places at the same time." ¹²⁸

G.D.Leslie finishes his comments on Charles Landseer with

the sort of remark that it appears most would agree with:

"I cannot say that I received much benefit from the few corrective remarks which Charles Landseer made on his daily rounds in the Antique School, though I learnt a good many things from my fellow students..." ¹²⁹

John Prescott Knight (1803-1881: Professor of Perspective
1839-1860: Secretary 1847-1873).

The active connection of J.P.Knight with the Academy and its Schools extended over the very long period of 34 years. Since most of this fell within the period of Eastlake's Presidency it is fitting to deal with him now.

The facts of his life are known from Sandby's account.¹³⁰ He was the son of a celebrated comedian and after an education in a private school he became a junior clerk in the office of a city merchant. The firm becoming bankrupt Knight decided to take lessons in drawing from Henry Sass, and in colouring from George Clint. In 1823 he entered the Academy Schools and, after gaining success at the British Institution he was elected an ARA in 1836 and a full Academician in 1844. His painting was mainly in portraiture and he painted many presentation portraits for public institutions. One of his best portraits was that of Eastlake. He also painted fancy-pictures. In 1839, whilst still an Associate, he was elected Teacher in Perspective, and in 1847 he was elected Academy Secretary. William Sandby, his contemporary, spoke of his 'faithful discharge of duty...his integrity'.

What can be said of Knight as a teacher in the Schools? Council and General Assembly Minutes provide a certain amount of information.

After the scandal of Turner's lectures in Perspective, which matter was even brought before the 1835 Select Committee, Council decided to tighten up the regulations of the Perspective lectures. CM of 14th June 1839 reads:

"Resolved that the Teacher of Perspective be required to deliver twenty lessons in the Academy during the season and that his Allowance for the same be Fourty(sic) Pounds."

Under CM of 15th October 1839 is the information that Knight was appointed to the post unanimously. It is evident from the next relevant CM that he was building up the course:

"8th October 1842. Read a letter from Mr. J.P.Knight ARA, the Teacher of Perspective, stating his mode of proceeding in the School, and suggesting the expediency of extending the number of evenings devoted to that study in the Academy -

Resolved that Mr. Knight's proposal be adopted and that ten additional lessons be given in the School of Perspective before Christmas in each year and that the remuneration of the Teacher be increased in the same ratio. Passed nem con."

CM of 9th December 1847 authorised the Master of Perspective to purchase certain instruments required by him for the purposes of giving demonstrations before students. The final reference in CM has already been quoted (see p.145). This is CM of 10th January 1852, wherein Knight made his claim, successfully, that his post became a Professorship. Clearly this was in recognition of several years of effort in his teaching post.

Apart from his work as Teacher and Professor of Perspective Knight was very influential in the Schools and in the Academy generally in his capacity as Secretary. Just how powerful was that influence comes out, for example, in the evidence of Dyce before the 1863 Royal Commission:

"4123....I meant to say that there was formerly a great disinclination to allow of any change from the established order of things. This tendency to resist amendment was fostered by what I consider a defect in the constitution of the council, namely, the predominance of three of its members, the president, treasurer, and secretary, who constitute a sort of permanent committee of management; being always members of the council..."

Council Minutes are scattered throughout with examples of affairs in which the Secretary was concerned, and influential. CM of 10th April 1853 (see p. 151) and CM of 10th January 1852 (see p. 146) refer to the book he drew up which gave much information about Academy affairs. CM's of 5th and 14th March 1856 thank him respectively for his efficiency as acting Keeper and for his work in drawing up the Book of the Students' Annual Attendance (see p.163). CM of 22nd October 1853 mentions that the President and Knight had had audience with the Queen on the new status of engravers. Or, again, CM of 9th January 1856 gives the fact that the Secretary was a member of the newly-formed Schools Committee (see p. 163). These are but some of many examples.

There is also an extant collection of the opinions of Knight on various matters appertaining to his work in his recorded evidence before the 1863 Royal Commission. Initially in this evidence he was asked about the position of Associates before the questions centred on the Schools. First of all he was asked about his own teaching, and then about the system of visitorships:

"2210. Have you had opportunities of making yourself

acquainted with the teaching in the schools? - I held a class as teacher and professor of perspective for 21 years in the Royal Academy. My plan was in a class to work before the students, making every student work the diagram or lesson; and I would go from student to student and give advice wherever it was required, explaining the matter over and over again till he thoroughly understood what I required of him. I also took the duty of keeper for some months when he was ill.

2211. As I understand you, the class in which you taught in the way you have now explained was a class by itself, and did not form part of any of the three schools? - No, it was a class in itself.

2212. And in a separate apartment? - In a separate apartment.

2213. Have you ever at any time acted as visitor in either the life school or the painting school? - Yes, I have acted in both as visitor.

2214. Are you satisfied with the system of teaching? - I think there cannot be devised any better system of leading the young men than that of the visitorship, if the visitor is determined to do his duty.

2215. You prefer the system of visitors changing periodically to that of a permanent teacher? - I think the system of visitors is highly beneficial to the student, inasmuch as it brings him in contact with different minds in succession, and it therefore prevents him from falling into mannerism, and from imitating a single master.

2216. You would ascribe importance also to the recent change by which sculptors in their turn are appointed visitors? - Yes; of course, as we have sculpture students, we ought to have sculpture visitors specially for them. I think that was a very beneficial arrangement.

2217. Do you remember the date of that alteration? - It only came in full operation in the present year; not that sculptors were excluded as visitors before, but it was a chance whether they were elected or not. Nine visitors were elected, but the law did not specify that a certain number should be sculptors; now three out of the nine must be sculptors."

Next Knight was asked about the level of work produced in the Schools and his answer draws an interesting comparison with the past:

"2218. What do you think of the present state of drawing in the schools. Have you had occasion to examine the drawings of the students, so as to be able to form an opinion? - I have seen some of the drawings. I think that the drawings in the life school are better than they used to be when I was a student in the life school, and I think that the drawings in the antique school, taking our best students, are as good as they have been at any time."

Knight was then asked about other aspects of the Schools - travelling studentships, the training of architects, and the school of painting. Since his evidence on these is being quoted elsewhere in this thesis however no further mention of it will be made in this section. After dealing with the Schools his evidence then runs over several more pages concerning the Academy generally.

There is not a great deal more that can be said about Knight. Three glimpses of him are found in the autobiographies of Frith and Marks, however, and these follow. The first recollection is of H.S.Marks and refers to the year 1861:

"On the morning of the 'opening day', during the two or three hours that were allowed to outsiders for 'varnishing' or retouching (we left at eleven and the public was admitted at noon), I went up to J.P.Knight, the Secretary, who was flitting from room to room, wearing an old straw hat, in which he always appeared at such times, to ask if I might now venture to put my name or 'inscribe' it as a candidate for the Associateship. 'Certainly', he said, 'but don't make the mistake they all do, of fancying you will be elected immediately.'"¹³¹

Marks was elected ten years afterwards, and of this he writes:

"When making the round of calls which the newly elected one made, and still makes, on the Academicians, I asked Mr.Knight if he remembered the question I had asked him on the morning of that opening day. He did not, but told me of a fact I

had forgotten. 'You asked me,' said he, 'if you should take to caricature rather than painting, and I advised that, though you might make more at caricature, it would be better in the long run to fly at higher game.'....

Knight was the teacher of perspective. I went through the course of lessons under his tutorship, and, in common with all the students, liked him for his bright, cheerful, kindly nature. He made friends of us all, and was full of fun and joke. He called me 'Punch' once when I was drawing grotesque figures on the margin of the paper on which I should have been working out the problem of the evening." ¹³²

CM of 30th April 1849 tells that the Secretary, Knight, was unable to attend Council meeting "due to a violent assault by Richard Evans, painter". At this meeting Council decided to apply to Marlborough Street Police Court for a warrant to bring Evans before the Magistrates. Frith tells the story in full. Evans had been the assistant of Sir Thomas Lawrence and, on finding not a single one of his pictures in the exhibition he was angry. Frith says:

"Where,' said the furious Welshman to the porter, 'is your blanked Hanging Committee?'

'The Hanging Committee, sir?' said the affrighted porter; 'the gentlemen - the members, sir, are all in the galleries varnishing the pictures, sir.'

'Bring one or two of 'em down here,' said Evans, as he stood in the hall grasping his cudgel; 'Fetch 'em, sir, fetch 'em! I should like the whole lot!'

'Oh, it's against orders, sir, I couldn't do that; but here comes Mr. Knight the secretary; perhaps he will do for you?'

'Do for me?' muttered Evans, as he ground his teeth. 'I'm more likely to do for him.'.....

Evans was a big man; Knight was a little one, but with a courage beyond his size, for he said: 'I can give you every information, Mr. Evans; I was one of the Hanging Committee, and the reasons your portraits were rejected exists in the pictures themselves: we did not give them places because we did not think them deserving of --

Knight remembered nothing between the utterance of the above and his return to consciousness..."¹³³

According to Frith the Academicians determined either to get legal justice, or, perhaps even better, to get "Baker the model, who was a pugilist, to thrash Evans within an inch of his Welsh life." They opted for the law and Evans was fined about £20. Frith carries on to say this about Knight:

"...our former secretary, J.P. Knight, R.A., was somewhat of a wag; I may add that, without being conscious of it, he had also a manner that was, occasionally, a little provoking: and at such times as that of his interview with Mr. Evans, it may have added somewhat to the irritation of the rejected one. This much in excuse for the assault."¹³³

The other story Frith tells of Knight is as follows:

"On another occasion Knight was tackled by Mr. X, who considered himself the *creme de la creme* of the Academy—the very head and front of the institution. Wherever Knight was, he played first fiddle, and it is but justice to say that he played it very well; but the responsible positions, rightly or wrongly assumed, bring with them heavy responsibilities; and when Knight was on the Hanging Committee, he had to bear the brunt of attacks from members as well as outsiders..." On this occasion he was asked...

'What the devil do you mean by hanging my picture next to that blazing thing of Turner's, that takes all the colour out of it? You have taken good care to keep your own portraits surrounded by innocent things. Let me tell you, Knight, that I am not to be treated in this way, for I consider myself the 'figure-head' of this Academy.'

'So you are,' said Knight; 'the most useless part of the ship.'¹³³

G.D. Leslie has a little to say on Knight, his teaching, and student behaviour in his classes:

"...Though still called Professor, Knight did not lecture in the ordinary sense of the word, but gave a series of practical lessons during the winter evenings to classes of between thirty or forty students. He executed a drawing himself as an example, the students crowding round on all sides; they then took their seats at long tables and made drawings

from the example set, Knight afterwards going round inspecting and correcting their work. These lessons were given in what was called the North Room in the building in Trafalgar Square; it was not a very large room, and a few extra students were accommodated in the adjoining West Room.

Knight was a good-natured and indulgent master; his knowledge of perspective was very thorough, and he had the art of explaining things in a lucid manner, and I am sorry to say we frequently took advantage of his amiability by indulging in all sorts of noise and practical jokes. His drawing board was in the North Room, and when he wished the class to assemble round it he gave a tapping on it, with his ruler; this weapon he called his bell, and occasionally when he was away attending to the students in the West Room, some student would tap with his ruler exactly in Knight's manner, upon which the whole class, including those in the West Room with Mr. Knight himself, would come rushing up to the Professor's empty chair. On occasions of this sort we generally received a mild reproof, as, of course, it would have been quite impossible to discover the culprit.

Once, however, a practical joke of a more serious character took place which led to considerable trouble. These perspective lessons were held in the evening from six to eight. Knight was Secretary at the time, and when there happened to be a Council meeting on one of these evenings, Knight would leave us at a quarter to eight in order to get the necessary books and papers ready for the Council-table. The members of the Council usually have tea or coffee served in an anteroom before commencing their business at eight o'clock; on these occasions, to save time, Mr. Knight's tea was brought up for him to the class-room. Of course, though we were left thus for the supposed purpose of finishing our work, hardly any of us ever did so, but packing up our things went off at once. But one evening, after Mr. Knight had so left us, when we started to be off, we found the door locked on the outside. There was a bell in the room and some of the students began to ring this. The porter... answered the bell, but could do nothing as the keys were not in the door. As a matter of fact one of the students had departed, locked the door after him, and thrown the bunch of keys, as he left, behind the colossal cast of the Hercules which stood at the foot of the staircase. The imprisoned students continued ringing violently and incessantly. At length the ringing was heard in the Council Room below, and Mr. Knight himself came up, but having no key he, too, was quite helpless. Charles Landseer... was away, but eventually his bunch of duplicate keys was found and we were at last liberated. Mr. Knight was, of course, very much put out about the affair, threatening to withhold the certificates

of attendance from the whole class, unless the culprit came forward. The student eventually owned up, and saved himself from the disgrace of being expelled by voluntarily resigning his studentship, and I have never seen or heard of him since.

For myself I may say that I derived very little advantage from the forty lessons I had in Mr. Knight's class, chiefly because they all depended on measurement. My father gave me a few simple lessons in perspective before I entered the Academy Schools, and I have found them quite sufficient for all purposes ever since...¹³⁴

So much for the few glimpses of Knight that remain.

Redgrave in his memoirs gives an entry from the diary of his father, written in 1874, in which he looks back over his three years service on the Council and speaks of it as a period of quarrels, in which Cope and others had supported him well. Out of these, he says, had come the resignations of Keeper Charles Landseer and Secretary Knight.¹³⁵ Redgrave is referring to such matters as that of CM of 11th December 1871, wherein he asks that the Secretary be a non-Academician, a man of scholarship, and one who should combine the office with that of Librarian. Indeed, he is referring to the whole of the proceedings which the very active School Committee was stirring up at this time. CM of 14th May 1872 gave the report of Cope's Committee on Academy re-organisation and this recommended that the Secretary should be a non-Academician and a gentleman of some scholarship. He should not be Librarian however: that office should be added to the duties of the Registrar. On Knight's retirement a lay Secretary was chosen (Frederick Eaton) out of 107 applicants (see CM of 17th June 1873). Reading between

the lines of what Frith wrote and which is already quoted, and the following extract, it looks as if Knight had been sufficiently powerful to be resented:

"From the beginning of the Academy, in 1768, till the resignation of Mr. Knight, the office of secretary had always been filled by an Academician. The Secretary had no vote, but he could speak as long as he pleased upon any subject in general assembly. The position also gave opportunities for patronage and influence, which were liable to be abused. Then, again, the labours became so onerous...by a resolution of the whole body a lay secretary was chosen." 136

Visitor in the Royal Academy - William Mulready 1786-1863.

There is no shortage of biographical material about Mulready. Frederic Stephens, J.C.Horsley, the brothers Redgrave, Frith and others give anecdotes of his humble Irish origin, his early marriage, his magnificent physique and athletic prowess, his liking of attending famous trials, his love of children, and his four "wild Irish sons", all of them fighters and artists like himself. Story speaks of his kindness to struggling artists. Here however we can only be concerned with the man as he appeared as a Visitor in the Schools.

He was undoubtedly the most familiar figure among the Visitors during the Presidencies of both Shee and Eastlake, and as he died during the office of the latter he is dealt with here. There were, of course, many Visitors during the period but above them all is Mulready. He is, as it were, a sort of Visitor Extraordinary, acknowledged as such by all. He had, in fact, been a Visitor ever since his election as Academician in 1816. Mention has already been made of his experience (see p.126), and of him Eastlake had this to say to the 1863 Royal Commission:

"...The best person the Commission can consult is Mr. Mulready. I consider him the best and most judicious teacher the Academy has ever had, in my recollection. I consider him the best judge of the merits of drawing in this country...as a competent judge of the merit of drawings of the human figure I think he is unsurpassed." (para. 540).

Stephens tells of "Mulready's nights" at the Academy and of how the students looked forward to them, and he recounts the moves to persuade him to accept the Keepership. Of this he says:

"...if the Royal Academy had succeeded in making him 'Keeper'...they (the Schools) would surely have been crammed with pupils. The office was pressed upon him, and it was at one time hoped he would accept it; such was not the result, however, probably because - independently of claims which had precedence - he believed that in the Royal Academy a Visitor was nearly as serviceable as the Keeper. From February 1816, when he became an Academician, to the day before his death Mulready was an unfailing 'Visitor' and faithful member of the Council." ¹³⁷

The brothers Redgrave give a full account of the changes in the techniques of his art, his colours, media etc.. They speak of his magnificent draughtsmanship and his practice of drawing careful cartoons in black and red chalk preparatory to starting a picture. This practice was a forerunner of his wellknown Academy Studies, and it is revealing to have some account of how these famous drawings were done. When one has read the following one can understand why these studies were so accomplished, highly finished, and generally valued:

"The process by which they were executed is interesting to artists; they were mostly produced in the Life School of the Royal Academy... The model heedfully disposed, he began with great delicacy and care to draw the outline in charcoal, and with that extreme rapidity which might be expected from long practice; secondly, the outline was finished with red chalk; and, thirdly, by means of a fine point, an even tint of the same material was carefully spread over the whole of the space included by the outline: when rubbed gently with the finger, a rag, or piece of paper, this produced a peculiar pink tint which distinguishes the drawings; the broader shadows were next worked in with red chalk and rubbed down as before; the lights on the figures were produced with bread; finally, black Italian chalk was employed over the darker parts, and to give the grayish tints which afforded the appearance of painting to these studies, and rendered them so solid in modelling, so acceptable to artistic eyes. With this material the whole was finished..." ¹³⁸

Of the whole process, it would "probably give a total of about fifty hours".

This has been quoted to illustrate the kind of example that Mulready set the students. Not only were these studies an example within the Academy but the Department of Science and Art purchased several which "were used in schools of art throughout the land". From these it was

"...hoped that students will not merely copy the manner, but be led to imitate the deep study by which such excellence was achieved." ¹⁴⁰

Mulready's activity went on to the end of his life.

Richard Redgrave had this to say in a diary entry of 11th November 1857. (He has made a mistake in the age, for Mulready was then seventy-one years old):

"I believe Mulready is seventy-three, and yet there he is, hard at work at the 'Life', like any young student. He is not only attending as Visitor, and drawing at the Royal Academy, but he is one of a party who meet three times a week at Ansdell's for studying from the life. He showed us, the other day, some pen-and-ink studies he was making at the rate of one per night. Cole asked him to dinner the other week, and he excused himself because it was his night at the drawing class. 'I used,' he said, 'to draw rapidly in pen-and-ink; but I find I have lost some of my power. I used to be able to draw half-a-dozen hands carefully and correctly in an hour. Now I find I can't do that. I must restore that power; I must get it up again!' This at seventy-three." ¹³⁹

Enough has been quoted of Mulready by his contemporaries. This brief account, however, is fittingly ended by letting Mulready speak for himself, and this is done by giving extracts from his evidence before the 1863 Royal Commission.

"1487. You have been a visitor in both the schools? - Yes, when I was elected, and I have served for other men who, from illness or other causes, have been unable to attend. Since 1816 my months of duty have been about eighty; forty in the school of the living model, and forty in the school of painting

1493. Did you find that the students in general were disposed to profit by your instruction? - Almost uniformly. I really think I never met with anything unpleasant or to be reprimanded, in the case of any young man, above two or three times in my life. ...

1496. You think that an intelligent student might obtain more advantage from the separate excellencies of successive teachers than from having a single and permanent teacher? - I think so. I have quite made up my mind about the thing, but I am conscious that I should be likely to be in a minority upon the question. I think the body of the Academy would be rather against me upon this point....

1521. (Viscount Hardinge). You stated that it is not the duty of the visitors to go round to each student during the time that they are painting from the living model, but only when called upon? - The law does not require the visitor to go round; it is left open to him to do it or not. He is to give instruction, and he does that as he pleases.

1522. And you also stated that you thought it your duty to go round to each student and give advice and suggestions. What is the general practice among the visitors? - I can only tell you my own practice as a visitor. My own practice as a visitor in the Academy is, after setting the model in a position for the student, to see that they are all paced, and then I sit down amongst them and draw, as they do, from the model, taking a position in which I can see what is going on. As a matter of duty, I go to those who seem to me to be most in want of my advice or instruction; and whether I think they are in want of my instruction or not I go, if called upon by them. There are students to whom I do not go, and I do not think I am failing in my duty in not going to them, if I see they are going on right. That is my own practice; what the practice of other men is I do not know. ...

1524. Do you teach the students to paint from the living model all the deficiencies which are inherent in it, or do you ever suggest to them that it would be desirable to idealize and refine it? - I suggest to them the absolute necessity of beginning by following the model closely and getting its characteristics truly drawn in outline; then, if I think there is anything very imperfect in the model's form, I say that I think it is very imperfect, and I even try to show the students how that imperfection arose in the figure, whether it was the original formation of the infant, or whether it resulted from the practice of the model's profession; and I also endeavour to show the students how far such a deviation from perfection being characteristic, it would in certain classes of art be a proper feature to make a point of. That is the way in which I would treat the point of imperfection

in a model. I should also tell the students, if they had but lately come from the antique to the life school, not to be governed entirely by their recollection of the antique and its purity of form when they have the model before them, but to think of the model's differences from that class of antique to which it naturally belonged. I might, if the student were very intelligent, say to what extent he might venture in a figure which was Apollo-like, to lean perhaps a little more than the model did towards the Apollo Belvidere, and so on; and only when he was going too far, and seemed to be too much governed by the ideal figure in his recollection, I should check him and say that that would lead to mannerism, and I should point out to him that if in our schools our students learnt to draw the Apollo by heart, and so made every model of that character an Apollo, we should be like what other schools have been at some periods of their existence, a mannered school. ...

Mulready was then asked several questions about his opinions regarding English Art in the contemporary setting (paras. 1534 to 1551), and it is interesting to look at what he said. Having illustrated at some length the worth of the English School as compared with the Continental he makes the point that improvement in the former is of comparatively recent origin. Having explained this he answers questions on the modern trends, with especial reference to Pre-Raphaelism. The relevant parts of the evidence follow:

"1538. The improvement, you think, dates from the commencement of the century? - Yes, the commencement of the improvement.

1539. Has this improvement in the drawing of the English school which commenced at the commencement of the century, in your opinion, gone on continuously and progressively, and is it still continuing? - I think that at this moment we may be threatened with a taste that has hardly respect enough for the antique.

1540. That is to say, it looks too much to nature and not sufficiently to the antique, or not to that combination of the two of which you spoke? - It does not look too much to

nature; you can hardly look too much to nature - but it looks too much to deviations from beautiful forms and to irregularities. There is now too great an indifference to beauty.

1541. That is to say, that though there is an adherence to nature, that adherence is not to nature's best forms, but shows an indifference to beauty and a want of power of selection? - I think that a class of artists are now working who have been disgusted with the conventional to such an extent, that they have a pride and glory in showing that they are above beauty.

1542. It is a rebellion then against conventionalism? - Yes, it may be so called, but I have no quarrel with them.

1543. Is not it more than that, is it not likewise a rebellion against a loose system of work, and are not those men apt to fall too much into the other extreme of a too close copying of nature without looking at the principles upon which nature herself appears to work? - Yes. The rebellion is raised against something more than conventionalism in representing human form; they war against that sort of emptiness that is sometimes called breadth.

1544. Sir Joshua Reynolds in his lectures having said that men might paint before they could draw, do you not think that that led to a looseness of drawing on the part of the English school which lasted for many years? - I have not a clear recollection of that passage in the discourses of Sir Joshua, but I believe some of our weaker artists have drawn encouragement from that great colourist's shortcomings.

1545. Do you anticipate that eventually a very fine English school, perhaps a finer school of painting than any which we have yet seen, will result from this rebellion against loose work, and against conventionalism, when it comes to be toned down and tempered? - I have repeatedly said, both in and out of the profession, that a very fine school may rise from the movement now taking place amongst us.

1546. In your opinion what the Pre-Raffaellites want, is, instead of being laughed down, to be guided? - Certainly, they should not be laughed down."

There is here shown, in the thinking of the best teacher of the Schools, an agreeable tolerance, kindness, and liberality of outlook. The young warlike Mulready who wanted to fight

Strowger on behalf of his aggrieved fellow-students has mellowed.¹⁴¹ Moreover, he has a tremendous sense of loyalty to his alma mater - an influence also which he no doubt passed on to students - as is seen in the following:

"1557 (Viscount Harding). Have you any suggestions to make for the improvements of the schools, or do you think them in so satisfactory a state as to be incapable of improvement? - I have none to make here. I have a very strong sense of obligation to the Academy, having received my education there, and having the Academy alone almost to thank for my education in art. The obligation which I have signed to support the honour of the Academy, as long as I remain a member of it, is never forgotten by me, and I think the proper place for suggesting improvements in the Academy is as an Academician in my place there. It is not that I would hesitate a moment in answering a direct question upon any point, but I would decidedly prefer doing my duty there in stating what I might consider an improvement to stating it here, if you will forgive me for saying so. I think it my duty constantly to think what would benefit the Academy, not to forget anything that would seem to amend it, even in a point in which I might think it perfect, to consider it again and again, and let the Academy have the benefit of my opinion upon it."

This simple testimony, when the institution was under such heavy fire, must have warmed the hearts of Academicians. There is one further bit of information relevant to the numbers attending his life classes which is useful to have, for the overall statistics which are extant do not give the individual picture:

"1559. Have you any further suggestion to offer as to the Royal Academy? - There is an impression in the Academy itself amongst the members that the School of the Living Model is not so well attended by the students as it ought to be; some men even think that hardly any attention is paid by the students to that branch of their study. I can only answer for my own experience in the Life Academy as to the attendance of students. I have got here a list of the attendance of students in the School of the Living Model and in the School of Painting for the last year, 1862, in the months I attended - one month in the School of the Living Model, and one month in

the School of Painting, giving the average attendances and what models sat in the schools, distinguishing the male and the female models. There is a wrong impression existing upon this point in the Academy, as well as out of the Academy, which this list will go to correct. I was a visitor in the month of October from the 20th. In the first week of my visitorship 24 students attended, there being 112 attendances, and the nightly average was 18; in the second week, there were 23 students, 103 attendances, and the nightly average, 17. It was a male model that sat in that fortnight. The third week 20 students attended, and there were 74 attendances, making a nightly average of $12 \frac{2}{3}$. The fourth week shows a falling off - 18 students, 61 attendances, and 10 as the nightly average. Now, that is very low, but there is an impression prevailing...that three, four, or five, is about the average, and that it frequently happens that there are only one or two. There is a wide difference between that impression and the fact. I am glad to have an opportunity of correcting a mistake that might do little credit to the students and some discredit to the Academy.

1562. With regard to the attendances, there are restrictions when the female model sits which do not hold good when the male model sits, are there not? - Only as to age. In the school of painting, in the first week, the daily average was 9, in the second week it was only $5\frac{1}{6}$, in the third week $6\frac{1}{6}$, in the fourth week 7. That is in the school of painting by daylight, when it may be assumed that the students are otherwise employed, and only a small number have to seek nature out of their own painting rooms."

There seems little doubt that here Mulready was attempting to defend his beloved Academy, for it is clear that the attendances of other classes when other visitors were on duty were lower.

Maclise, for example - and he was popular with students and Academicians alike - reported to the Commission:

"1361....I confess, that of late years, as far as the attendance of students is concerned, I have not been satisfied at all, and I believe the members of the Academy know that very well. They have tried various ways to popularize the school, and I have often been disconcerted when I have gone down there and spent sometimes three hours, to find there were only three or four students assembled."

The evidence of Mulready ends with a statement which explains

why he had become the Visitor Extraordinary:

"1564. (Sir E. Head). I think I understood that you yourself are in the habit of drawing when you attend the life school? - I have from the very first moment I became a visitor in the life school drawn there as if I were drawing for a prize."

Other Academicians familiar to the Students in Eastlake's
Presidency.

No other Academicians were as familiar to students at this time as the foregoing. It is perhaps as well, however, to look briefly at some others.

Sir Richard Westmacott.

For many years (1827-1856) Westmacott was the Professor of Sculpture in the Schools, and in this office gave annual lectures. He was also a familiar Visitor and Council Minutes indicate, from the frequency of his attendance, that he was always interested in the Academy and the Schools. Of his lectures Hunt was not flattering in his comments, pointing out that scarcely anyone attended and that the same lectures had been given for twenty years (see p. 122). He had, of course, a most successful and distinguished professional career - see DNB, Hodgson and Eaton, Sandby etc.. An assessment of this is given by Sandby, who, after pointing out that public recognition was granted to him by granting him the supervision of the Townley marbles in the British Museum, says:

"...His imaginative works were exceedingly graceful and chaste, poetic in character, and classic in feeling; and will be regarded as among the best of their class produced by modern English sculptors. He followed the old Roman artists in their purity and simplicity of style, approaching almost to severity, rejecting all superfluous ornaments, and endeavouring even in his imaginative subjects to be natural rather than ideal..." ¹⁶²

Hodgson and Eaton, writing somewhat later, are less reverent:

"Westmacott executed many poetic works, all more or less in the style of Canova. He also helped largely to further

encumber our cathedrals with examples of the large pseudo-classic monuments to departed worthies so much in vogue at that time..." 143

Of his lectures to students Sandby gives a resier picture than that given by Hunt:

"His lectures, which he continued to deliver annually till 1854, evinced that he was a man of extensive reading and sound judgment. In them he set forth, in simple yet forcible language, the knowledge he had acquired by the study of the antique, and by the truth and earnestness of his discourses, rather than by any display of eloquence, he gained the attention of the students." 144

G.D.Leslie says of him:

"Compulsory audiences are not always attentive, and the greater part of the students in my time passed the weary hour in sketching likenesses of one another or of the lecturer himself, who, no doubt, imagined they were industriously employed in taking notes of his discourse. I remember during old Sir Richard Westmacott's lectures the signal for applause was given whenever he stopped to drink water; sometimes, however, something he said raised a really genuine though faint sound of applause, whereupon the dear old man instantly took water from sheer force of habit." 145

So far as his teaching went he stood for the same things as his predecessor Flaxman, for whom he had the greatest regard.

In one of his lectures he said:

"...The greatest of modern sculptors was our illustrious countryman, John Flaxman, who had not only all the fine feeling of the ancient (which Canova in a degree preserved) but united to it a readiness of invention and a simplicity of design truly astonishing. Though Canova was his superior in the manual part and high finish, yet in the higher qualities, poetical feeling and invention, Flaxman was as superior to Canova as Shakespeare to the dramatists of his day." 146

C.R.Leslie.

Leslie was throughout his life an active member of the Royal Academy. He was genuinely concerned about such matters as the election of the right man as President (see p.80),

or the efficient working of the Schools. Eastlake, for example, quotes Leslie as a staunch upholder of the system of Visitors:

"551. ...The argument used, for example, by the late Mr. Leslie, who was extremely attached to the present system of the Royal Academy, was, that the young students are by means of it brought into contact with some of the most eminent artists of their day, and he was wont to adduce his own experience to prove that it might be beneficial." 147

Elsewhere in the 1863 Report, in paras 2260 and 2262, Knight spoke of his conviction that students ought to be painting early in their training (see p.263). Leslie expressed the same view to Richard Redgrave, when speaking about the art education of his son, Robert Leslie:

"...his son Robert was now drawing at Cary's School, and he said that he thought young artists remained too long drawing before they began painting. 'I would have them,' said Leslie, begin to paint early, to accustom their eyes to truth of colour. Colour is a rare and difficult thing to attain excellence in, and the study of it cannot be too soon begun; those masters who have drawn too long from the antique have ever been deficient colourists, such as Guido, Raphael, and Poussin." 148

Almost certainly the influence of a man like Leslie must have been strong in persuading the Academy to persevere with the Painting School and to introduce elementary courses later (see CM of 13th December 1867 etc.).

As well as seeing the students as a Visitor Leslie was Professor of Painting from 1847 to 1852. His son, G.D.Leslie, wrote of his work thus:

"His lectures were always very well attended, not only by the students but by great numbers of the members and their friends. Apart from their own intrinsic merit as vehicles for instruction, he made them very attractive by covering the wall behind him with fine examples of the Old Masters, the beauties of which he would point out and explain. He used to obtain the loan of these works from their owners.

The labour and care he bestowed on these lectures considerably injured his health, and he resigned from the professorship in 1852. The lectures themselves were afterwards published under the title of 'A Handbook for young Painters', a work which has retained its popularity, a re-issue of it having been published quite recently." ¹⁴⁹

This work was described by Sandby as

"...the result of the observation, reflection, and experience of a painter of ...skill and ability...interesting not only to the painter, but also to the student of the history of art in England." ¹⁵⁰

The career of Leslie is fully described by Sandby and others, and mention is made of his fairly extensive writings. These matters do not concern us here. An interesting postscript however - since Westmacott and Leslie have both been looked at very briefly - is to read C.R.Leslie on Westmacott:

"The gigantic bronze cast in Hyde Park is an equal disgrace to the taste of the nation. Will it be believed by posterity that Flaxman was living when Westmacott was employed to waste the brass of the cannon captured by the Duke on the cast from an antique figure that could not, in any way, be made to allude to any event in the Duke's history? The action of the figure is that of retreat. And then the bad taste of casting the figure without the horse, and of putting a shield on the upraised arm, when the action of the hand proves that that arm could not have held a shield!" ¹⁵¹

William Dyce.

There is no shortage of material on and by Dyce, and it is not proposed to go into that here. As would be expected, he was an interested Visitor, and a tribute was written by G.D. Leslie. Since Leslie is here speaking as a student it is included:

"...from the Visitors in the Life Class I received many most useful words of reproof and encouragement which kept their place in my mind for long afterwards. For Mr. Dyce and

Mr. Cope I felt great respect, for the interest they took in benefiting the students by their advice was evidently genuine and sincere." ¹⁵¹

Leslie's account now leaves Dyce and goes over to the student behaviour with which he was on this occasion concerned. It is sensible to give the account as it stands, however, for it is revealing in several ways.

"I remember that while Mr. Dyce was Visitor for the month during which we were making our drawings in competition for the silver medal, the model, old Christie, failed one evening to make his appearance. Mr. Dyce waited for nearly half an hour, at the end of which Christie at last came, but so totally drunk that he had to be turned away. Mr. Dyce told us that we might stay on, and work at our drawings if we liked, though he did not recommend us to do so, and then took his departure. In a very few moments pandemonium not unnaturally set in; the students began pelting one another with pellets of modelling clay, which rendered work absolutely impossible. From this they proceeded to a game of cricket. There was an old bat among the school properties, which had been used by some visitor for a pose; a ball was made by rolling up a lump of modelling clay, and a wicket was put up on the throne. No fielding was required as the ball, when hit, invariably stuck to the bat from which it was picked off, rolled up, and returned to the bowler.

The fun became fast and furious, ending in a sort of dramatic performance, the students dressing up in any odds and ends they could find in the property box. I remember in particular one student, who dressed himself up as a housemaid, with a broom, a dust pan, and a pail of water; the water was spilt all about the throne, the chalk marks, on which Christie's feet ought to have been, were entirely obliterated. When the performance was in full swing, little Bob the porter suddenly appeared and proceeded at once to take our names down, whereupon one of the students promptly turned out the gas and we, scrambling over the porter and one another, made our escape.

The next evening on my arrival I found Mr. Dyce sitting looking rather grim, old Christie standing in his pose, and the students very silent. Mr. Dyce, who knew me personally, asked if I had been present the night before, to which I, of course, replied in the affirmative. He seemed dreadfully put out, remarking that we were a wretched set of boobies, that could not be trusted, that he should report us to the Council, and that probably the medal would be withheld.

But Mr. Dyce was a gentleman, and the next evening he made

a little speech to the students, saying that he was sorry for what he had said the night before, for on thinking the matter over he felt that it was his own fault for having left us (his duty as Visitor being to remain in the room whilst the students were at work), and that either he should have stayed with us or else at once sent us away. We all liked Mr. Dyce; he was one of the best Visitors I was ever under. He had a remarkably correct eye for drawing and possessed an intimate knowledge of the technique of painting, about which he liked to talk to any of the students who took an interest in the matter. Dyce was one of the first of the Academicians to appreciate the sincerity of the Pre-Raphaelites in their endeavour to set art free from commonplace conventionalities and to revive the study of truth and nature." 153

Instruction in the Royal Academy Schools during the Presidency
of Sir Charles Lock Eastlake.

As has been seen already in the content of the Council and General Assembly Minutes for the period, much took place in the Schools in these years. Perhaps the most significant change of all was the admission of female students to the Schools.

Admission of Female Students to the Royal Academy Schools.

By the 1860's there were, of course, schools of art for females. Mention has already been made of one - the Government School of Art for Females, run by Miss Gann - on page 177. Ladies managed to obtain entrance into the Academy by a ruse, as Charles Landseer stated before the 1863 Royal Commission (see page 182). (There was indeed no reason against their admission, and I have discussed at some length elsewhere the rather interesting way in which the ladies 'missed the bus' in this respect. HCM). Anne Laura Herford was the first female admitted, in December 1860. Appendix IX shows the numbers of admissions each year.

CM of 14th May 1863 then decreed, by a unanimous decision, that there should be no further female students admitted 'at present'. No reason for this is given in the CM but the explanation appeared later in the Royal Academy Report of 1867, quoted below. The female students who were already in the Schools

appear to have been proceeding satisfactorily. Miss Herford, under the new Council ruling of 18th December 1861 (see p. 180) was enabled to draw from the living draped model in the Painting School (see p. 181), and the others were not far behind her in their training.

CM of 14th May 1863 caused a reaction elsewhere. A Memorial was drawn up by the "Undersigned Female Students at the South Kensington and Other Art Schools". This was a printed leaflet, signed by 23 women - two of which ultimately became students at the Academy: Jane Humphreys and Charlotte Monro. It appears to have been written in June 1863 after the exclusion clause took effect. It states:

"In the month of June 1863, two Female Students of the South Kensington School of Art sent in to the Royal Academy drawings executed by them for the purpose of competition with a view to obtain entrance to the Schools of the Royal Academy as Students.

That by a resolution of the Council it was, however, determined that their works should not be submitted to competition, and that no more Female Students should be admitted into the Schools of the Academy.

That your memorialists complain of the resolution and seek to have it reversed."

A tactful, crafty argument follows, which speaks of the higher talent of men etc., but asks finally for nothing more than "a fair field and no favour".

The Academy Report on the Schools for 1867 has this to say on the matter:

"The admission of Female Students to the Schools of the Royal Academy dates from December 1860. The abolition by the Council of the exclusiveness as regards sex, which from the foundation was the custom, though not the law, of the Institution, led to

numerous applications for admission; but it was found impossible, with the restricted space, to accommodate the number that applied, and consequently the Council limited the admissions to thirteen. As those admitted have with one exception passed through the course of study in the Antique School, and qualified themselves for the School of Painting, the female students were desirous that the vacancies then created in the Antique School should be filled up; and with this intent a Memorial was presented to the President and Council, praying that the rule excluding, 'for the present', any addition to the number of female students might be so far relaxed as to allow of others entering as vacancies occurred in the thirteen. This request was acceded to, and anticipating the period at which the term of seven years studentship would lapse, and the vacancies actually occur, three probationerships were opened to female candidates at the competition in July." 155

Hence, by a CM of 2nd April 1867, the entry was re-opened to females, and the gaining of the Gold Medal by Louisa Starr in December of the same year must have seemed to the ladies and their champions a glorious justification for their fight for artistic equality. Apparently Miss Starr was given a tremendous acclaim at that prize-giving ceremony.

Meanwhile the other female students were passing through the Schools in the normal way. CM of 21st December 1863 admitted Catherine Babb and Gertrude Martineau to draw from the living draped model in the Painting School, and by CM of 14th May 1864 Louisa Starr, Edith Martineau and Kate Aldham were likewise admitted. Thence (see Appendix IX) their rate of entry increased.

"English Female Artists", written by Ellen C. Clayton and published in 1876 is very useful in giving some account of lady artists at this time. Of these she mentions as having achieved distinction several former students of the Academy.

These were: ¹⁵⁶ Laura Herford^a; Helen Paterson^b; Mary Backhouse^c; Louisa Starr^a; Mary S. Tovey^e; Alice Elfrida Manly^f (presumably the entry in the register of Celia. HCM); Eleamor Manly^g; and Margaret Thomas.^h

In the 1880's Frith was able to write:

"...now they are almost equal in number to the male students, from whom they constantly carry off prizes....My position as visitor, or teacher, in the higher schools has brought me into contact with numbers of lady students, whose admirable studies from the life have often surprised and delighted me; and in the Antique School I have seen drawings by mere girls that could not be surpassed..." ¹⁵⁷

(This account of the female students has extended beyond the Presidency of Eastlake, for it seemed more logical to finish it here. They continued to fight for equal privileges for many years, one of the main ones being that of drawing from the life, undraped. This they finally obtained, in 1893, but the draping of the male model was carefully set out in regulations. He was to wear bathing drawers, then a light material measuring 9 feet by 3 feet was to be wound round, the whole secured by a leather strap! HCM). ¹⁵⁸

Architectural Training.

During the period there was frequent discussion and investigation as to whether or not the Schools should offer fuller architectural instruction. Such, of course, was envisaged in the original Instrument of the Academy, and it was a source of agitation down the years that it had not been carried out.

At the outset of Eastlake's Presidency, in 1851, the Special Committee decided that additional architectural instruction was not really possible (see p. 135). Six months later, for political reasons as it were, the argument was reversed (see p. 139). The Schools Sub Committee of 1856 considered the matter again and decided that better architectural teaching should be offered (see p. 162 and Appendix VI). Regarding this however J.P.Knight said that Sir Charles Barry as he presented the treatise declared, "I am perfectly aware that this cannot be taught in the Academy" (1863 Report, para 2239). The Royal Institute of British Architects, believing that the Academy was finally to be given a more commodious home made various suggestions as to the training of architectural students and the status of the architect (see Appendix VI). Later still, ⁱⁿ CM of 13th March 1862, there was at least official recognition of the Academy as a training establishment for probationer architects, insofar as the Department of Science and Art sent the Secretary a specimen form (see p. 184). Hence the matter was constantly in and out of discussion.

Evidence quoted before the 1863 Royal Commission, and it is voluminous, brings the picture to date at the end of Eastlake's Presidency. Some of this follows:

J.P.Knight was asked what had been, and might be, done by the Academy. This however was barely scratching the surface, as can be seen when this evidence is laid beside that of knowledgeable architects:

"Have any of the suggestions made by those architects been adopted since that time? - Yes; the annual travelling studentship is adopted, and comes into operation this year for the first time. The architect takes his turn with the painter and sculptor for a travelling studentship for two years; but independently of that two years' travelling studentship the Academy now offers an annual travelling studentship for architects."

(The reference is to the memorial given in Appendix VI. HCM)

"2243. I think that Mr. Gilbert Scott in his evidence rather complained that the architectural students were required to go through the same examination for admission to the antique school as painters and sculptors, and he seemed rather to suggest that it would be desirable that the Academy should modify the probationary test in favour of architectural students. Have you any opinion to offer upon that point? - That question has been brought before the councils of the Royal Academy when architects have been present, and it was considered that two classes of students working in the same school, one advanced in knowledge of the figure, the other having acquired no such knowledge and experience, would have an evil tendency.

2244. Might you not have a special school for architectural students, with a professor of architecture at the head of it to give instruction to the students in modelling and also in drawing the figure and in drawing animals, which it is very desirable for architectural students to learn? - Such an arrangement would be very advantageous to architects there can be no question, and would obviate that difficulty of studying in the same school with the painter students."

Gilbert Scott was asked if he would desire "an architectural school ... in the same way as there is now the life school and

the painting school". To this he replied that he should (para 2162). Hardwick, in his evidence, commented:

"1596...A school of architecture would be very serviceable if we had room for it. The reason we have never had a school of architecture has been the want of accommodation in the building; it was so at Somerset House, and it is so at Trafalgar Square."

Later in his evidence he adds the thought that he does not think it greatly matters now that the Academy does not cater for architects, for they cater for themselves with their comparatively recent institution:

"1620. ...For the promotion of architecture, and for the tuition of students in architecture, I should say it would be much better to let them form their own institute, and instruct students as they are trying to do now, than to have a larger Academy.

1621. I thought you stated some time ago that you regretted that there was no school of architecture in the Academy? - I have regretted it, but I do not so much regret it now, when there is a school of architecture established by the architects themselves. At the same time I should be very glad to see a school of architecture in the Academy; but it can only be to a limited extent, and in art only, not in science, whilst both can be taught in the Institute of British Architects."

Beresford Hope, whose evidence is truly imaginative and seminal, answered the question fairly also:

"4232. Would you desire to see special instruction in architecture given in the Royal Academy, or would you be satisfied with general teaching, as for instance upon perspective, the acquirement of which is necessary for architectural students, in common with students in other branches of art? - I do not think you can carry special teaching in architecture in the Academy beyond a certain point, because so much of it is professional and technical rather than artistic; but still I should like to see architecture put in a more prominent position at the Academy, both in its teaching and in its exhibition. I would have more prizes for it, and especially the exhibition of architecture in the Academy should be put on a more satisfactory footing than it is now. I may state that the architectural portion of the exhibition of the Academy has for some years been so very unsatisfactory

that a free architectural exhibition was originated about seven or eight years ago, and which is continued annually in Conduit Street. A great many eminent men, even Royal Academicians, send their drawings there, and it is regarded now as the architectural exhibition of the year."

Hence Hardwick, Beresford Hope, and others have put their fingers on the real difficulty - that of offering truly artistic and technical instruction in the Academy. But the last word comes from W. Tite, then President of the Royal Institute of British Architects. His evidence is very full, and much to the point:

"2512. In what way then do architectural students in general obtain the rudiments of their knowledge? - I may describe the course I followed in my own case, which is the course generally pursued by architectural students. I was articled to an eminent architect for six years, the time at the present moment is somewhat reduced, it is now more generally four years; but at that time it was universally six. During those six years I had every opportunity of acquiring a proficiency in drawing by becoming a student of the Royal Academy. The architectural students of the Royal Academy have every opportunity afforded them for the study of drawing, not architectural drawing, but drawing from the figure and from the antique to any extent they please; and between the period of the establishment of the Architectural Students' Society, in 1817, and the establishment of the Institute of Architects, in 1836* the Academy did all they could, at our instance, to give us facilities for access to their library, and to provide us with opportunities for acquiring ability to draw. We learned architectural drawing and practical architecture in the offices of our masters; and we learned drawing from the figure and general drawing in the Academy. Then, the Academy offers prizes which are objects of great emulation among architects, and in that manner a regular architectural education is obtained, that is to say, the teaching of drawing is obtained to any extent you please in the Royal Academy, and the teaching of practical architecture is learned in the office of the master in whose care you are placed.

2513. Then there is no special or technical teaching of architecture in the Royal Academy? - No, there is not; they have not the means of doing it; it must be done in an office; it must be done under conditions very unlike those of the teaching of drawing, or the teaching of painting, or the

*This is an error in his evidence. The correct year is 1834. H.C.M.

or the teaching of sculpture. It wants large boards and squares, and large means which I can hardly imagine an institution like the Royal Academy could enable the students to avail themselves of. At the bottom of all proficiency in architectural study is doubtless great facility in drawing. If a man cannot draw well he can never be a good architect, and if he can draw well by hand, mechanical drawing follows as a matter of course. ...

2515. You do not, then, think it desirable that in the Academy teaching there should be any new special class founded, or any other provision made for the special teaching of architectural drawing? - No, I do not see how it is to be done, architecture branches out into so many pursuits; in the first place, a young man ought to have a good education as a mathematician, and in the next place, in the office into which he goes he must learn practical architecture; he must see buildings going on; he must study practical mechanics to a great extent, that is done during the day. To learn practical architecture effectually it must be learnt in the office where the work is constantly going on; where the working drawings are actually made by which the workmen execute everything. That can only be learnt in the office of the architect.

2516. You think the Academy at present does as much as it can be fairly expected to do for the teaching of architecture as one of its branches? - I think so. I might add that the lectures of the Royal Academy on architecture have always had a great interest for me from my earliest days, and they have been well done..."

This then summarises the position so far as the Academy and its architectural instruction was concerned to 1865.

Rules, Teaching, and Practice in the Schools.

Regarding the above it seems best to use almost to the full the evidence of the Keeper, Charles Landseer, as given to the 1863 Royal Commission. This evidence makes a fuller source of information than were mere rules quoted. The question-and-answer form gets to the heart of the matter. Even so, the order of the evidence is not all that it could be for purposes of clarity - topics dealt with are returned to later. Therefore, though the following preserves the broad form and sequence of the evidence, where it seems logical to bring items together under a heading this is done. A system of headings is also used, for clarity, though such do not appear in the Report itself.

Admission of the Probationer and the gaining of full Student status.

909. Will you describe to the Commission the mode in which students are admitted to the schools? - In the first instance, those who wish to become candidates for the first step, that of probationer, send in a drawing from a cast of an antique statue. These drawings are first submitted to me, and if I think them sufficiently good, I lay them before the council. But the admission depends upon the council.

910. You have the power of keeping back any drawings which you do not think sufficiently good to lay before them? - Yes, I keep back those which I do not deem of sufficient merit to give the applicant any chance of admission.

911. Suppose a candidate is approved by the council, what happens next? - He is then admitted as probationer, and he is called upon to make a set of drawings in the antique school. The former practice was, to require the student, besides making a drawing from one of the casts selected by me, to make also separate drawings of the skeleton, and an

anatomical figure, which they did from a skeleton which we have, and a cast of an anatomical figure. But latterly that practice has been somewhat modified, and the new practice now is this:- They first have to draw the antique figure, and within the boundary of that, they have to draw an anatomical figure, with all the muscles, and also a skeleton; so that it calls upon them to expend a little more thought about it than would be required in merely copying the skeleton or the cast of the anatomical figure, because they have to adapt the drawing of the muscles and of the skeleton to the particular view that they may have chosen of the antique figure. I ought to add, that these drawings are to be made within three months of the time of admission as probationer. Candidates are admitted twice a year, viz., on the 28th of December, and on the 28th of June.

912. Was it considered by the council that requiring the candidate to make the two subsequent drawings within the outline of the first would give a better proof of his capability? - That was the motive for making that alteration.

913. When did the alteration come into operation? - I think in 1860. I might add that since that time we have provided much more ample means of enabling the probationers to make these drawings. We have a variety of diagrams and tables, and also separate parts of the skeleton in the school, so that they can adapt them to the position they want.

914. Is there any limitation of age at which students may be admitted? - No."

Now the point is reached at which Landseer is dealing with -

The privileges of Students.

"915. Supposing these three drawings to be approved by the council, the probationer enters upon his course? - He is then admitted as a student for seven years, with all the privileges.

916. What are these privileges? - He may attend the lectures, that is now made compulsory. Then he has the privilege of free admission to the exhibition. I think formerly he had only four admissions, but for the last thirty years there has been no limit. Besides that he has the privilege of competing for the various medals, and if he is successful as a competitor for the gold medal in either of the three classes of painting, sculpture, or architecture, he has the chance of being sent abroad for two years. He has also the privilege of gratuitous admission to the Zoological Gardens, The society very kindly accords to the students printed tickets

which I sign on the wish of any student to study in the Zoological Gardens; and he has free admission to the Armoury at the Tower.

917. As I understand, all teaching in the Academy of whatever kind is gratuitous? - It is.

918. Has the period of seven years that you have mentioned always been the period fixed by the Academy? - It was formerly ten years; now it is seven years. The change came into operation in 1853.

919. During the seven years the student continues to pursue his studies according to the rules of the Academy? -
- Yes. I might add perhaps that if he is successful in gaining a premium in the first class, it gives him the privileges of a life student.

920. What are the privileges of a life student? - He can make use of either of the schools, and he has free admission to the exhibition for the whole of his life."

Admission to the Life School, and conditions therein.

"921. Supposing a student in the antique school desires to become a student in the life school, what is required of him in order that he may obtain that privilege? - He used formerly to have to make merely a drawing of any of the casts in the school which he chose to select, and a drawing of the size of nature of a hand and foot. Now, besides that, he has to make what is called a time drawing, that is to say, he has to complete a drawing in twelve sittings of two hours each, to show that he is fit to be admitted to the life school, where the model, instead of being fixed, as in the antique school, sits only for a limited time. Besides his time drawing, he has to draw another figure, which he may take his own time about. He may make it as perfect as he can.

922. And if the council should not consider that he had obtained the requisite proficiency, they would delay his admission to the life school? - Yes.

923. Supposing the probationer admitted as a student, how soon afterwards, supposing him to be fully qualified, may he be admitted to the life school? - As soon as he has made the necessary drawings.

924. There is no limit of time? - No.

925. Supposing that a student did not give these proofs of capacity till nearly the close of his seven years course, he

would have little time to study in the life school? - He would have little time to study in the life school.

926. Both schools are closed to the student when his period of seven years expires? - If he has given proof of his diligence in attendance, then, by application to the council, he can have the privilege of annual renewal for studying in both schools, but the legal period has expired at the end of the seven years.

927. There is a limit of age in the life school, but only in the life school? - Yes, that is only as respects the time when the female model is sitting."

Attendance of the Keeper, and the nature of his office.

"928. What is the amount of attendance which you give to the antique school; do you attend at every sitting? - I make a point of going through the school every day at the morning sitting, and every evening at the evening sitting, going round each student. In the antique school there is a curator under me who is continually there. ...

937. Do you find the office of keeper interfere very much with your professional avocations? - To a certain extent it does.

938. Is it held for life? Yes."

The Curators.

"930. You are not there all the time? - I am not continually in the school.

931. Is the curator, your subordinate officer, constantly present? - Yes.

932. Who appoints that curator? - He is appointed by the council. The present curator in the antique school is only the second curator in that school we have had; formerly there was no curator.

933. Is there a curator in each school? - Only in the antique and in the painting schools.

990. (Viscount Hardinge). What is the special duty of the curators, are they appointed more with the view of keeping order in the room than anything else? - Principally with that view, but they are also expected to be competent to give a certain amount of instruction.

991. But they are not Academicians or Associates? - No; they are not members of the Academy. In the painting school I think there were two of the curators who were associates, Mr. Drummond and Mr. Oliver.

992. Is there any curator in the life school? - No; because in the life school the visitor is always present. In the painting school the visitor is not always present; he is only expected to attend twice in the week, 2 hours at each sitting, and on the other days the care of the school is in the hands of the curator."

Schools: hours of opening.

"929. What are the hours of attendance? - In the morning from 10 to 3, in the evening 5 to 8. In the life school it is from 6 to 8 in the evening, in the winter season: from 5 till 7, by daylight, in the summer season. In the painting school for copying the old masters it is every day from 10 to 4; and, included in that school, is the living draped model school, the model sitting for three hours three times a week."

Students' attendance.

"934. Is it open to a student to attend the morning sittings and not the evening sittings, or vice versa? - It is optional with the students to attend both sittings or not, but there is a record kept of his attendance.

935. If a student were to appear in the morning sittings, but remained there only half-an-hour, would the record of his attendance be the same as that of another student who had remained there the whole five hours? - Yes.

936. Might it not be desirable to have a record kept showing the number of hours attended by each student, so that a student who might not have stayed more than half-an-hour should not be recorded in the same class as one who had remained all the five hours? - It would be very difficult to keep such a record.

999. Do you suppose that any of the students, while going through their course at the Academy, support themselves as artists? - Many of them do."

An extensive part of this evidence relates to the offices of the Visitors, and how their duties compare with those of the Keeper. This is now examined:

The Visitors and the Keeper.

"939. Will you explain exactly the relative positions of the keeper and the visitors? - There are two visitors, one in the painting school and the other in the life school; they are considered the masters of the schools, and they have the general superintendence of the schools. It is part of my province to recommend models for the schools. I, in the first instance, examine the models, and, if I approve, I recommend them to the visitors for the time being.

940. Who actually selects the model? - It is left to the visitor. We have a book containing the names of the models. If they are known already to the visitor he makes his own selection. If there is a new candidate as a model I generally send that candidate to the visitor; it depends upon him whether he chooses to select him or her, as the case may be, or one of these he is already acquainted with.

941. Who sets the model, yourself or the visitor? - The visitor. Formerly the keeper was eligible for election as a visitor, but now it is not so. I never interfere with the visitor; it is left entirely to him, and he is considered the master of the school during his time.

942. The visitors are the superior officers in the life school and the painting school respectively? - Yes.

943. You are the superior officer in the antique school, there being no visitor in that school? - Yes.

944. Suppose a student in the antique school misconducted himself you would have the animadversion of his conduct, and if a student in the life school or the painting school misconducted himself the visitor would have the animadversion of his conduct? - I should expect that the visitor would, in the first instance, report it to me, and if I thought it sufficiently serious I should report the circumstance to the council. I am considered to have the general superintendence of the schools, but I should never interfere with the visitor while he was in attendance.

945. You would have authority if he were not present? - I should. I have occasionally had to take the place of the visitor when, from some accident, he has been prevented from attending. It is my duty to take his place, unless he appoints somebody else on the list of visitors.

946. It appears that you have the general superintendence of all the three schools, and that there are visitors in two of these schools. What is the precise reason why there should

not be a visitor in the third school, the antique school, also? - The use of the visitor is to set the position of the models in those two schools, and as the antiques are already fixed there is no occasion for that.

951 (Lord Elche). Will you explain to us a little more clearly your relative position as regards the visitors in the different schools. In the first place, in the antique school you are uncontrolled, nobody interfering with you, and you are responsible to the Academy, by the nature of your appointment, for the whole of the teaching in the antique department of their schools? - Yes.

952. You say that you have the general supervision of the whole of the schools, that is, the other two branches. In what does the nature of your supervision consist, except as you have told us in selecting the model, which model is not chosen by you, further than being placed by you before the visitor, for his approval? - I should say that my office is to see that all the duties, both of the visitors and of the models, are punctually performed.

953. You consider that in those other schools of which you have the general superintendence, you are responsible for the proper performance of the duties of the visitors? - Yes.

954. In that case, then, the visitors cannot be said to be your superior officers in those two other departments, can they? - I do not interfere with their teaching. They are masters of the situation while they are there.

955. What do you mean, then, by saying that you are responsible for the visitor's performance of his duty? - To see that he is there.

956. If the visitor does not come, do you report him, and to whom do you report him? - I do not know that I have ever had occasion to report any visitor, because he generally appoints some other person. If he finds that he cannot attend, he generally himself selects one on the list of visitors; but, in case he neglected to do that, I should go into the school myself, and take his place there. If it happened to be the first night of a new figure, I should then set the model, and I should remain in that school as long as the visitor was absent.

957. When you say that a visitor who cannot come selects a person to take his place from the list of visitors, by that do you mean a member of the Academy who has previously served the office of visitor? - No. I mean a visitor selected from the list for that year.

960. Do you go round with the visitor when he is giving his instructions and examining the drawings of the students in the life school? - No; I do not interfere with him while he is there.

961. Are you present while the visitor is there? - No.

962. As I understand you, you are merely there at the commencement of the sitting to see that the visitor comes, and to be ready to supply his place when he does not come, but further than that you have no authority over the teaching in the life school? - No.

963. So that you cannot judge whether the instruction given by one visitor is condemned by the succeeding visitor or the reverse? - The Royal Academy select the men whom they think most capable of teaching in that school, and the greater part of the members are eligible. The visitors are chosen by the general meeting for rotation during nine months of the year."

We are now moving into another topic -

Instruction by the Visitors: arguments for this type of instruction.

"958. Does that system of constantly changing the superintendence of the school by the visitors succeeding each other every month work well? - There is a great difference of opinion upon that point: some persons think it would be desirable to have a constant teacher in the life school, because they fancy that one visitor may recommend one system and give one sort of advice, while another may give the contrary, and that therefore the chances will be that the student might be undetermined as to the course he should take. Others think that the present system has an advantage, and that a constant teacher in one particular method might lead to mannerism and an academic style.

959. Have you any objection to give your own opinion upon that point? - I am of opinion that the change of teachers is advantageous both in the painting school and in the life school.

964. Might it not very readily occur that, supposing each visitor spoke out freely as to his own views on the best method of painting, the visitor in the month of January might criticise and find fault with, and suggest a different system from the system which his predecessor had sanctioned

and approved? - I think that there is much less chance of that in the life school than in the painting school, because what they have to do in the life school is to point out faults in drawing, but in the painting school there may be different methods of preparing the work; one visitor may think that the first process of painting should be done in a different way from another visitor, so that there is greater latitude in that respect in the painting school.

965. Even in the case of drawing might not one visitor think that a particular limb was in drawing, while his successor might think that it was not in drawing? - Such a case could not arise, because it would be another drawing, and another model when the succeeding visitor came in.

966. Does each student finish his work in the month, and is there always a fresh model with a fresh visitor? - His work is generally finished in the week. The model sits for six consecutive nights in one attitude, and the students, whether modellers, draughtsmen, or painters, have to complete their work within that time. I think that latterly there has been a disposition to extend the time, which is optional with the visitor.

967. As I understand you, at the commencement of each visitor's month, the students begin with a fresh work, so that there would be no criticising by one visitor of the work done under another. The only difference which might arise would be that the succeeding visitor might possibly teach in a different manner, he might have a different system and might take a different view of the way in which the figure should be drawn, from the preceding visitor, but he would not have an opportunity of criticising the work submitted to the previous visitor; is that so? - The Academy do not desire to insist on any particular method in drawing. For instance, some students may prefer beginning their drawing with the stump, putting their shadows in with the stump and working over it with the point, or they may do it entirely with the point. These are matters left entirely to the option of the student.

968. One of the objections raised to the system of successive visitors is, that either they do ~~not~~ criticise or do not like to criticise the works which have been approved of by preceding visitors. Have they that opportunity or not? - They have not that opportunity, because they are fresh drawings.

969. But it might occur that the succeeding visitor might teach the same student on a totally different system from that on which he had been taught by his predecessor? - Yes; he might teach him a different mode of drawing or colouring.

970. Even in the matter of drawing the human figure, I

suppose it does not follow that every visitor of the nine, who are selected for the year, is equally conversant with all the details of anatomy and the drawing of the human figure? - No, I should think not.

971. (Viscount Hardinge). Is it not one of the defects of the present system, that you have in one month an experienced artist as visitor, like Mr. Mulready, and that in the succeeding month you may have a visitor who is by no means so well qualified to impart instruction? - All I can say in reply to that is, that we can only select the best men for the purpose out of the list.

972. Does not that objection hold good against the system; the inconvenience of having a very efficient man succeeded perhaps by a landscape painter? - A landscape painter would not be put on the list.

973. Is a landscape painter ineligible? - Occasionally there have been landscape painters appointed visitors; but generally speaking the members choose out of the list those who are the most fit men for the office. If, for instance, an architect's name were on the list they would not choose him."

The questions then centred round the work of Turner and Constable as visitors before the Keeper was asked his opinions about an alternative method of instruction:

"978. (Viscount Hardinge). Do you not consider that these are objections which might be fairly raised against the present system of instruction, and objections which would tell in favour of having one, or we will say two, permanent professors, instead of having visitors month after month? - I have already given my opinion in favour of the present system; I think that variety of teaching on the whole is beneficial to the school.

979. (Lord Elcho). Mr. Mulready's powers of teaching you admit to be unrivalled. Which should you consider to be the best for the students, that the services of such a person as Mr. Mulready should be permanently retained, instead of his only attending in his turn for a month as visitor, or that you should have in operation the system which you now have of visitors in succession? - Perhaps if you could secure the services of such a teacher as Mr. Mulready it might be better, but you cannot have a man of his eminence to undertake such an office."

Now the questions turn to the difficulty of obtaining good permanent teachers:

"980. Why cannot you have a man of his eminence? - As it is, the visitors find it irksome to attend night after night for a month; it is a tax upon them with very indifferent pay.

981. That is to say, the present system of visitors, with very moderate salaries, does not secure the very best teaching that can be got in the Academy? - I think you must offer a very high salary to a man of such eminence as Mr. Mulready, if you expect him to sacrifice his time entirely, and to attend night after night in the school."

Finally, on the matter of visitors the Keeper explained how they were selected and how they might decline to serve:

"982. You have spoken of a list from which the visitors are chosen. How is that list made up? - The council make out a printed list, and those obviously unfit for office are not included in that list. Architects would not be put on that list.

983. Is any person so put down on that list, if chosen, obliged to serve as visitor, or is it a matter in which a Royal Academician has his choice of serving or not, as serves his purpose best? - He is at liberty to refuse; if he declines the office, after having been chosen, he generally assigns some reason; for instance, Mr. Maclise, who has served the office very frequently, gives the reason that his time is so much occupied in the Houses of Parliament that he finds he cannot devote himself to the duty, and he has requested to be omitted.

984. Then the serving as visitor is not compulsory, and an artist may give as his reason for not serving as visitor that his time is fully occupied in his professional engagements. Is that so? - Yes.

985. Then does it not naturally follow, that when artists can give these excuses, the office of visitor comes to be performed by those artists whose time is not fully occupied in their professional engagements? - I think that the instances in which they do decline are quite exceptional. It very seldom happens that any visitor who is appointed declines to serve.

986. (Chairman). As a matter of fact, may an artist who is requested to act as visitor, plead private engagements, as well as public ones in the House of Lords? - No; I never heard that plea made.

987. The plea which you have heard has had reference to some public duties, such as the frescoes in the House of Lords;

but you would not consider it an admissible plea that an artist, say a portrait painter, had numerous commissions to execute? - Certainly not."

The practice in the Painting School.

"993. In the painting school have there been any alterations lately adopted in the mode of instruction? - The only one which I remember is, that the students are expected, before they begin painting, to make drawings the size of nature from the living draped model.

994. They copy pictures in the painting school, do they not? - Yes.

995. And they also paint from the living draped model? - Yes, the model sitting for three hours at a time, three days a week.

996. Are those pictures which they copy old masters? - Yes, principally from the collection at Dulwich. One of the conditions upon which the pictures were deposited at Dulwich was that the Academy should have the privilege of having some of them for the students to copy."

The previous training of students.

"997 (Mr. Reeve). Do you know anything of the previous training of the persons who present themselves as candidates to be students? - There are several schools about London, that at South Kensington, for instance, at which they may have acquired a knowledge of drawing.

998. Have you remarked any improvement in the qualifications of the candidates of late years as compared with what they were formerly? - As far as my memory serves me, I should say that the standard of merit is higher now than it was formerly."

There is a great deal of evidence in the Report concerning the above issues. Perhaps most disputed of all was that of the desirability of appointing full-time teachers in place of the Visitors. Before leaving the topic the opinions of certain leading Academicians are given.

The influential Sir Edwin Landseer was in favour of the existing system of Visitors:

"It has been thought by some persons that disadvantage results from the present system of having the visitors changed each month, and that a better system would be the appointment of a permanent professor for that purpose; have you formed any opinion about that point? - I do not see that any good would result from such an alteration. I do not see that it would improve the mode of teaching. I think rather the contrary; there is no such thing as teaching, in point of fact. You give your students models to copy from, and they occasionally ask questions of the visitor, but the visitor is not occupied in absolute teaching during his sitting there." (para 1228).

To the same question Mulready made reply:

"1495. ...I do not feel sure that a director for the draughtsmen and painters, and another director for the modellers, for the whole year, would be quite so good a mode of teaching the students as the present mode of electing nine Royal Academicians to attend the schools monthly in rotation. It is easy to understand the argument in favour of appointing a permanent director, and I think such a plan would be likely to be very popular, and to be regarded as the best mode of teaching, but, for myself, I doubt it. I think there is an advantage in the students hearing diverse opinions enunciated from a succession of men who have arrived at the excellence in their profession that the visitors at the Academy have arrived at. I think that the contrariety in the opinions and the practice of men who have been long in the profession would not do the harm to the students that certain persons imagine."

On the working of the present system he had this to say:

"1497. Has the system of a succession of visitors worked well in practice, as far as you have noticed it? - I think it has worked very well. Never having seen the other system in work I cannot compare them, but I am not inclined to expect much from a single director, unless you had such a director, as, I am afraid, you could not remunerate sufficiently, a man of adequate power, whose professional engagements would be such that you could hardly make it worth his while to direct the students. You are more likely to get nine of the cleverest men for that purpose to attend a month each, than you are likely to get the best of these men, or even the worst of them, to give the whole nine months to such instruction."

Putting the contrary case was Maclise, himself a very experienced

Visitor who was probably second only to Mulready in the times he had done the duty (see para 1360):

"1366. ...I daresay your Lordship has heard already that it has been considered by some that a number of visitors is good in this respect, that there is a constant variety in the advice given to the students, by which a tendency to the evil of mannerism may be corrected; while others take exactly the contrary view, and say that one opinion interferes with the other. There are two parties in the Academy entirely differing upon that subject. In endeavouring to improve the system in the schools I have often thought it would be desirable to have a permanent teacher, such as there is already in the preparatory school of the antique, and also that the students might have occasionally the advantage arising from the supervision of visitors. I may add that a variety of advice is not so likely to be given in the life school as in the school of painting, where considerations of the ground, colours, and processes of painting may suggest it.

1367. These, then, being the advantages and the disadvantages, your judgment inclines to according the preference to the system of permanent teachers? - Certainly it does."

Maclise clarifies his suggestion, proposing that the best of both worlds might be gained, later:

"1446. If you had a permanent professor, would you confine his duties simply to superintending the schools, and occasionally giving a suggestion here and there to a student? - That is what I would contemplate, and which is already the system in the antique school, there being a permanent teacher in that school. I once brought the proposition before the Academy to appoint a permanent professional teacher in that school which I have the greatest acquaintance with, and then allow the visitors to attend that school occasionally. I proposed such a measure, but my proposition was not adopted."

The different nature of the Visitor in the Life Class and the Visitor in the Painting School is brought out several times during the Report. Mulready is quoted on this already (see p.225). Charles Landseer in his evidence (para 992) stated that the Visitor in the Painting School is only expected to attend twice per week, two hours at each sitting, whereas the Life Visitor is in constant attendance. Moreover, the Visitor in

the Painting School was not expected to instruct students, but rather to supply information on request. This at least is how some of the Academicians interpreted it, and how the ruling can certainly be interpreted. The relevant parts of the original abstract, which had been added to as need arose (there had not been a Painting School in 1768, for example), show the difference between the Visitors in the Life Academy and in the School of Painting:

"Section 23.visitors of the life academy....their business shall be to attend, one month each...to set the figures, to examine and correct the performances of the students, and give them advice and instruction."

"Section 25.visitors of the school of painting...to attend, one month each, twice a week, for two hours each time, to set the draped model, to superintend the progress of the students, and afford them such instruction as may be necessary."

Clearly, the Visitor in the Life School had more obligations, though even here a weight of opinion expressed in the Report was towards leaving the students alone as much as possible. MacIise's evidence, as follows, summed up the feeling of many Academicians:

"1445. One or two previous witnesses have informed the Commission that, in their opinion, the visitors ought to be regarded more in the light of visitors purely than as teachers; that the students should be left as much as possible to themselves; and that the teaching should amount to this, that occasional suggestions should be given to them, and nothing more. What is your opinion as to that method of teaching? - That is an opinion I have given myself on that subject in the Academy; I approve of the suggestion."

Another matter on which opinion was divided is dealt with by MacIise:

"1448. At present the visitor very often takes up his palette and paints from the living model, and he may occasionally get up from his seat and go round to the students, making one or two suggestions and then going back to his canvas. Instead of occupying himself in his work during the sitting might it not be advisable that he should confine his efforts entirely to the superintending the studies of the students? - There is a great difference of opinion about that matter. I have myself felt, every member who has attended that school has felt, that there might be such a thing as too great interference, with the progress of the student in embarrassing him with too much attention, and interfering with his own progress, and men hesitate to inflict too much advice upon the students. It has been thought by very accomplished members of the Academy attending the life school, that the students should have the advantage of seeing their method of painting, while others have taken exactly the opposite view, and say that the artist who visits that school should do nothing himself but attend and go round to every student in the school and criticise his work. I rather incline to that plan of not embarrassing the student, but still giving him a fair amount of advice."

Worthy of mention here is the comprehensive scheme for the reorganisation of the Academy, proposed by Edward Armitage. He submitted the draft of this to the Royal Commissioners after he had been called as a witness. His system is based on the French plan. The letter to the Commissioners and the accompanying draft plan are given in Appendix X. The draft is, as can be seen, worked out in great detail, though some of his ideas would not have been acceptable in England at this time. For example, he wanted a compulsory period of four years residence abroad for holders of studentships (Section XVIII) at a time when the Royal Academy was finding considerable difficulty in getting students to go abroad for much shorter periods than that.

(Edward Armitage was elected an Associate in 1867, Academician in 1872, and Professor of Painting in 1875. Reference is made to the Armitage Prizes, begun in 1877, on p.358).

The School of Painting.

The School of Painting was generally under review in these years. Mention has already been made of the proposal of Jones in 1847 to have painting from the living draped model as well as the copying of old masters in it (see pp. 47-49). Again, in 1851, the Committee on Schools made recommendations (see pp. 130/1). In the previous section brief mention of it was made in the evidence of Charles Landseer (see p.257). Eastlake made a quick review of these ^{events} before the Royal Commission:

"576. With regard to the school of painting, I see it is stated in the laws that the school 'is intended to provide facilities for the more special study and practice of the art of painting.' How are these facilities afforded? - There are two modes in which the study of painting is promoted; one is by copying from the old masters, the other is by painting from the living draped model. Some years since the study of painting was restricted to copying from old pictures, and premiums were offered for it; some members of the Academy discountenanced that practice, and the other system was introduced of painting from nature. I should say, from my experience, that the change has not been beneficial; most of the students are not advanced enough to profit by painting from the living model, and consequently their productions are not so satisfactory as could be wished. It would be desirable, I think, to confine them longer to copying from pictures by the old masters. At the last distribution of premiums there were several candidates for the prize offered for paintings from the living model (draped), but no medal was given, there being no work sufficiently good; this year a premium is again offered for the best copy from a Vandyck."

The fullest account of the School of Painting given in the 1863 Report appears in the evidence of J.P.Knight:

"2254. Do you think that the school of painting is in a satisfactory state? - The school of painting, I should say, is the most unsatisfactory school in the Academy.

2255. Will you give your reasons why you think so? - I think that the too early admission of the students to the

more attractive use of the brush and colour makes them careless as to drawing.

2256. That rests with the council, does it not? - Yes, I am giving merely my own opinion. Other Royal Academicians differ widely with me, thinking that the student cannot too soon acquire the power of the brush. My feeling is, that a young man goes to the brush before he has acquired the power of drawing a determined outline. The consequence is, that the drawing which is shown in the school of painting is very defective indeed. It seems as if they had gone into that school with the impression, 'Now we may leave drawing behind.'

2257. How would you propose to remedy such a state of things? - By making it a reward to the most advanced students to be allowed to paint.

2258. Would you leave it with the council to decide? - Certainly, I think that the council are the best judges of that. At the same time I would desire to say, that many of the members of the Academy are totally opposed to me in this. Since the year 1851 a medal has been offered for the best painting from the living draped model, which was calculated to excite the students to some degree of emulation; and it was stated also that the drawing would be looked upon as one of the great requisites in the work to be produced; but these works have been so defective in drawing, and so very poor in colouring, that this year the council have thought fit to withdraw the medal for the best painting from the living draped model; substituting for it this year a medal for the best copy of a painting by Vandyke.

2259. Might not the permanent director, if you had one, decide whether a student was fit to take up his palette or not? - He could recommend a student to the council.

2260. It appears that the majority of the council rather favour the course which you disapprove of, namely, that the students are permitted to take up their brush so soon? - Yes; it was the opinion of Mr. Leslie, a very high authority, that we kept the students too long at drawing in the Academy: and since that system has been adopted of so readily admitting the students to the painting school our school has fallen off in drawing.

2261. Do you mean the school of the Royal Academy, or the British school generally? - The school of the Royal Academy.

2262. (Lord Elcho). How long has this change been in operation? - It was introduced in Mr. Leslie's time, about twelve years ago, and for three or four years the medal has been refused to that class altogether, in consequence of the inferiority

of the works.

2263. For^{the} twelve years the system has been in operation you notice a falling off, and for the last four years, in consequence of that falling off, the medal has been refused? -
- I do not say four years consecutively, but for several years it has been refused.

2264. In consequence of the falling off? - In consequence of the poorness of the specimens produced."

Generally then, Academicians were not happy about their Painting School. A final comment can be supplied from Redgrave's testimony. He wonders why students use the School at all:

"1032.The painting school is not quite so good as it might be, but I cannot conceive that any students would trouble themselves to comply with the requirements for admission to it, when the National Gallery is open to them without those requirements. They have better examples for copying there than they have in the Royal Academy, and they do not care to come into schools where there are restrictions."

Travelling Studentships.

Mention has already been made of the changes in the Travelling Studentships (see pages 153/4). Redgrave gives some indication of the thinking around the time of the changeover when he recounts a conversation at the Academy dinner of 1853:

"In a few days we are to have a discussion over the travelling studentship. There seems much doubt whether three years abroad are really beneficial to young students. Peer Smith was not benefited by it, except in having three years of comparative ease and comfort, resting from his hard life, before he came home to die. Hook only stayed two years, and then felt homesick, and so returned. A long time spent abroad is apt to make a man somewhat of an unsettled vagabond. He returns, feels restless and aimless, and, unless some new tie fixes him, he starts off again and again, following a rambling, wandering course of life, never again settling into actual work." ¹⁵¹

(George Smith was the Travelling Student in Painting in 1831, mentioned severally by Redgrave, pp 24-26. J.C.Hook was the Travelling Student in 1846. CM mentioning the termination of his period abroad is given on page 55. W. Sandby gives an account of his life. HCM)

It is noteworthy that the value of the Travelling Studentship was attacked, as above, on two counts - that it was a very doubtful benefit to study; and that it could be a major unsettling experience. Eventually the change was made to reduce the term of residence abroad to two years, or even to hold the Studentship in England, a Certificate was given which should act as an introductory-testimonial and some attempt was made to look after the student (see p. 157). The first claim to have the allowance for home study is mentioned in CM of 3rd August 1863 (see p.189).

Eastlake, in his evidence before the 1863 Royal Commission,

expressed that general doubt:

"502. ...There has always been in my time a difference of opinion among members of the Academy as to the utility of foreign travel for artists, particularly painters. I am myself of opinion that if the period of a painter's study in Italy be much prolonged it may be prejudicial to him. I entertain no such opinion with regard to sculptors or architects; but I do know that in some instances eminent artists have objected even to sculptors studying abroad for a considerable time. I know that Sir Francis Chantrey was of that opinion."

Eastlake answers questions on this topic in the Report, paras 499- 527, giving details of awards, intervals when Studentships not awarded - usually due to wars on continent, etc..

The evidence of Knight is useful as a summary of current thinking on the matter:

"2219. You are aware of the system of travelling studentships; do you think it desirable, if the funds would admit of it, that there should be a larger number of travelling studentships? - From my observation I am inclined to say that I think the travelling studentship is more frequently an injury to the student than a service. I am speaking specially of my own department of painting. The French Academy send their students abroad for five years, and the students are required every year to send home a specimen of their progress, and from what I have seen of such specimens I should say that their early promise has not been realised. In fact, taking generally the students sent from Paris and our own students, there are very few indeed who seem to benefit by it. I think it is a mistake to send a student abroad to study the great works of the old masters, when they have not shown that they possess the power to appreciate those works. I think it would be infinitely more beneficial to artists to travel later in life than so very young as a student. That is my opinion; I do not put it forward as the opinion of any person but myself. Sculptors and architects are of course highly benefited by travelling abroad, because in this country we have not such fine collections of sculpture and such wonderfully fine specimens of architecture as a student would meet with at every point in his travels. I have an interesting folio with me containing some specimens brought back by our last travelling student, who has just returned, and at our council a few nights ago he submitted these specimens.

2220. What opportunities have you had for observing what

you just now mentioned, namely, the deterioration which you think you saw in the works sent home from Rome by the French artists? - In examining the works of such students at the Academie des Beaux-Arts.

2221. Have you examined them year by year? - I have had several opportunities of examining them. They are retained by the Academie des Beaux-Arts, and the alteration is seen from year to year, and my impression was they were rather deteriorating than advancing.

2222. (Mr. Reeve). Are you aware that it has been the custom of the French Academie des Beaux-Arts to direct their architectural pupils to restore some of the ancient buildings of Rome? - Yes.

2223. I believe they have, as a matter of fact, restored almost all the ancient buildings in Rome? - Yes.

2224. Have our pupils done anything of a similar kind? - Such has been under the consideration of the council, but they have left the student to select his own work.

2225. The student does nothing in the nature of architectural composition, but merely makes sketches of the buildings he meets with? - Merely sketches from objects which take his fancy as a matter of study.

2226. (Chairman). You are not, then, of opinion that if an artist fails to show an appreciation of the works of the great master, the proper course to take is to send him to a place where he can see these works to perfection? - I cannot understand any uneducated person, or any person who does not know what he wants, choosing the right thing. You might as well place precious stones before a man who did not know what they were, and tell him to pick out the most valuable; he would not know them, whereas an educated eye could pick them out at once. So it is with fine works of art; young men, not aware of their deficiencies, do not know how to supply them from these great galleries.

2227. Your argument would seem to have great weight as against sending uneducated or half-educated artists to Italy. But supposing that an efficient test were applied as a condition of obtaining such a privilege would your objection then exist? - I do not know how that test could be applied. If a sufficient test could be applied, of course there would be an end of the difficulty. At the Academy we apply the best test we can, which is to require the students to produce with a certain period a work to show their ability, and if that work were something really fine, which we cannot expect from such young men, it

would perhaps then be obvious that the student might acquire some good by studying the works of the old masters; but I do not remember any instance of that wonderful talent being displayed in the works produced by the students.

2228. Would your objection be met if there were one able professor of painting on the spot who could direct and guide the pupil as to the works to be studied, and who could watch the progress he made? - There is no question that continuous instruction to him would be of great benefit, but our students have not that opportunity, there is no one there to direct them.

2229. If, according to a system such as has been suggested to this Commission, there was a resident professor who should be placed at the head of a sort of branch of the Royal Academy of London, to instruct and to guide the pupils who came to Italy, would not that afford in some measure a system which would meet the objections you have stated? - It would go a great way towards it, but still, though that system is adopted by the French Academy, I do not see that it is productive of any great advantage there; it does not seem to develop (sic) any great good in the French students, but of course it would be infinitely better than leaving them as our students are to wander about among these fine works without advice or guidance.

2230. Have you ever had an opportunity of pursuing your own studies in Italy? - No; it is only of late years that I have visited Italy, and I feel convinced that as a young man I should have failed to appreciate the grand works which riper experience enabled me to understand and admire."

The suggestion to have a permanent teacher resident in Rome was frequently discussed by witnesses, and the Commission made a final comment on the matter in their Report (Introduction). It was no new thought. Eastlake's evidence (para 514) quotes extensively from the letters of Sir Thomas Lawrence on the subject, from 1822. CM of 11th March 1826 relates that the Academy had donated £50 to the English School at Rome. A letter from the sculptor Gibson, written from Rome in 1860, is extensively quoted from. In this he mentions the interest of Sir Robert Peel in 1844 concerning the possibility of government

assistance for students travelling to Rome (para 507). This letter contains an impressive list of nations supporting such students in Rome. Other artists, like Roberts, supported the idea of a Rome Academy unequivocally (paras 1130-1132).

The rules regarding the Travelling Studentships are given in Appendix VIII of this thesis.

A final question - and a somewhat important one - remains. How interested were the students in gaining the Travelling Studentship? How strong was the competition for it? Eastlake answered this:

"520. I presume that if such a fund were provided for that purpose, there would be no want of highly qualified students who would be desirous to avail themselves of these privileges? -Such is my belief."
(for that purpose' refers to the setting up of a branch of the Royal Academy in Rome. HCM)

"521. Do you find the travelling studentships, as they now exist in a limited degree, the subject of eager competition? -
-Yes.

522. So far as you have seen, you would have no difficulty in awarding a much greater number, if the funds were sufficient, and if the rules admitted of such an extension? - That is my decided opinion."

This would seem to be a change from earlier years when, it seems, there was no great competition for Travelling Scholarships. Later, Eastlake gives the actual numbers interested:

"632. Have you many competitors for the travelling studentships? - Taking the last two or three occasions, the average number of competitors for gold medals has been in painting four; in sculpture six; and in architecture four. I should explain that recently the Academy has also determined to give a travelling fellowship of one year to architects for other premiums gained in the Royal Academy."

Current thinking: the Academy Schools and the Art Schools.

It is not within the scope of this study to discourse at length upon this topic: nor, however, can so important an aspect be entirely neglected. Clearly, these wider trends - initially towards industrial training from the schools of design and later towards the wide-spread training of art teachers for the schools from South Kensington - were in the minds of many important and influential folk at this time. Professor Bell in Chapter XIV of 'The Schools of Design' gives an admirable synopsis of these developments, making an analysis of facts, motives and personalities. He shows how the pressure towards art teacher training was well under way:

"Cole believed, and was able to show in practice, that although it may be hard to provide designers for industry it is comparatively easy to make art masters, always provided that the standards required of the teacher are sufficiently low.

This being the case it was clearly unnecessary to employ expensive artists to teach schoolchildren. Any teacher with a slight degree of ability who was ready to take a course at his local Art School could, with a little assiduity, become a certificated teacher and thus augment his salary. So long as he kept his class up to South Kensington standards he would receive further rewards. It will be appreciated that this system of carefully graded incentives gave the authorities a strong and intimate control over all the art teaching in elementary schools throughout the country." ¹⁶⁰

This, then was an important aspect of art training which was gaining momentum at the end of Eastlake's presidency:

"By that time (1864) Cole was able to point out enormous administrative achievements. There were ninety Art Schools teaching about 16,000 students, while art teachers in schools for the poor, one of the most important products of the new regime, were educating 70,000 children." ¹⁶¹

Since the all-pervading influence of Robert Lowe was abroad, and payment by results was the order of the day, it was inevitable that public opinion should weigh the Academy Schools against the national system. In clarifying how the Schools shaped against this system the evidence of Redgrave is informative. It is so clear that it will require very few words of explanation: from it emerges the status of the Academy Schools and 'the rest'. To the question of what part the Schools should play in the emerging system Eastlake was in no doubt:

"619. (Mr. Seymour). Have the Academy ever considered whether it would be advisable to establish schools in connection with the Academy throughout the country? - That question has never been considered. I am not prepared to say that it would be desirable, considering the field already occupied by the department of science and art in connexion with the establishment at South Kensington.

620. May there not be art students of considerable ability in some of the large towns, such as Edinburgh or Manchester, who might be benefited by having schools nearer to them than London? - In Edinburgh there is an excellent school belonging to the Edinburgh Academy; and with regard to the provinces generally, the students of the Royal Academy are very much composed of artists who come from the country.

621. Do I rightly understand that your theory would be that the Royal Academy School should merely be a school for a superior class of artists who have already passed through preparatory schools? - Yes."

To the more acceptable suggestion, one should have thought, of whether the Academy wished to come to terms with the cream of these schools, South Kensington, Maclise was equally clear:

"1402. It has been suggested to this Commission that, inasmuch as the Royal Academy take the certificates of the South Kensington schools as an admission to the class of architects in the Academy, so in like manner it might be desirable that

in the antique, the life, and the painting schools a certificate of a student at the South Kensington schools having attained a certain degree of proficiency there should gain admission for that student, without further probation, as a student in the Royal Academy. What is your opinion with regard to that? - I do not think that it would be desirable; I think that members of the Academy would be unwilling to acknowledge such interference; they would still like to estimate for themselves the proficiency indicated by the student's drawing or other work, and I do not see anything undesirable in their being called upon to give an opinion as to the merits of work presented for advancement in their own school."

Clearly, many Academicians would side with these two opinions.

Mulready also, claimed no knowledge of the outside system and was not interested in it (paras 1552/3). Redgrave, however, belonged to both camps: in both he was very knowledgeable and his evidence is of especial value:

"1010. What is the position which you occupy at South Kensington? - Inspector-general of art schools, and referee in art matters generally.

1011. How long have you held that office? - In 1852 I was appointed art superintendent; and that office was gradually merged into that of inspector-general. The inspectorship of the schools was under me in 1852, but I was called inspector-general about 1857. Altogether I have been connected 15 years with the Government schools of art; first at Somerset House, then at Marlborough House, and now at South Kensington.

1012. As far as teaching goes, your experience at South Kensington extends over 15 years, but in the Academy to only two years? - I have been a member of the Academy 10 years, and a student 10 years, and therefore I know all the schools well; but I have only been a visitor over two years.

1013. Since you have been connected with these two systems of teaching, as pursued at the Royal Academy and at South Kensington, the Commissioners would be glad if you would explain to them the principal points of difference between the two? - The Government schools are from the first more elementary than those of the Royal Academy; they begin from the earliest point, teaching children, indeed, in parish schools. They are principally occupied now in training art-teachers;

and the teaching has an ornamental direction. I should say that the teaching at South Kensington would principally terminate where the Academy would begin; that is to say, that after having trained the student to a point at which he would be qualified to enter the Royal Academy, from his having acquired a power of drawing, painting, or modelling, the instruction then given is quite in an ornamental direction, preparing designers for manufactures.

1014. You would consider one as a sort of preparation for the other? - It is not necessarily a preparation for the other; but it is so far a preparation, that our student, after having been trained, perhaps four years in the school, would then be in a condition to enter the Royal Academy. The Academy, within the last two years, have regarded our certificated students, trained to give architectural teaching, as having arrived at the standard at which they would admit a student into the Royal Academy as a probationer in architecture, and they do admit students, so trained, as probationers. If they did so as regards the modellers and painters, they would find that our students would be about equal to the students who enter the Royal Academy for these branches. ...

1015. ...There are, I think, at the present time, about 420 general art students and about 50 students in training for masterships.

1016. Into how many schools or classes are they divided? - They are not classified in the South Kensington School, except into male and female schools. Our system is entirely based upon examinations, and we divide our teaching into six groups, at the end of each of which ~~six~~ groups the student undergoes an examination. For the architectural certificate of which I spoke just now, he takes what is called our first certificate, which is the commencing certificate for all training masters, and then he is entitled to study and be examined for his certificate in architecture. When he has obtained that, he would be qualified to enter the Royal Academy as an architectural student. If he is practising for a painting certificate, he takes our first certificate and our second certificate, and then he is qualified to study for a certificate of figure drawing; when he obtains that he would be fitted to enter the Royal Academy as a painter. This is called our third certificate. Before any student can take the first certificate, before he is allowed to be examined for a mastership at all, he must have made these drawings (exhibiting ten drawings). If these are considered satisfactory, he is then allowed to come up for examination by papers, and passing that examination he obtains the first step towards a mastership; he can take charge of a school of art, indeed, where the teaching is very elementary. Having passed the first examination he has to make a drawing such as this before he can get an architectural

certificate (showing an architectural design). This may be from an object in the museum, or he may measure and draw a given public building. He has then to answer certain questions in architecture, and in four days to make drawings of a building for a given plot of ground.

1017. Appreciating the beauty of these drawings, the Commissioners would desire to know whether these are exceptional, or whether they may be considered to represent fairly the work of the higher class of students? - My directions were to send an average set of the drawings that are required for the various certificates, and they seem to have been complied with. After the student has obtained the second certificate, he may go in for a figure certificate. These are the drawings he makes when he goes in for a figure certificate (producing another set of drawings). In drawing from the antique, after the student has made his drawing he is required to analyze it anatomically; the skeleton is placed within the outline, and afterwards the muscles, from the best information he can get, and all the parts of the skeleton and muscles must correspond with the different points of the figure.

1018. (Mr. Reeve). In that respect the system is the same as that of the Academy? - The Academy has adopted this system.

1019. In architecture you have a second certificate, and that second certificate is taken at the Academy as a sufficient qualification for a probationary student in architecture? - Yes.

1020. I gather from you that the same system does not prevail in the Academy with regard to your certificates in painting? - It does not at present, but nevertheless there is a steady flowing into the Academy of our students, perhaps four or five every year, who, trained to this point, get into the Academy. After the student has made these drawings he has to pass a paper examination, and to make a 'time painting'. Here is one from objects set up to paint from. That is four hours work (exhibiting a painting).

1021. (Viscount Hardinge). Would you think it desirable that the Academy should admit as probationers students who had got a certificate of a certain class? - I think it would be consistent that the Academy should accept as probationers those who have obtained our third-class certificate.

1022. (Lord Elcho). From your knowledge of the schools of the Academy you consider that your third certificate is fully equal to the standard of the probationers? - Yes; rather more than equal. I can speak to that because I know the drawings that admit candidates as probationers.

1023. Do you carry your students any further than that? - Yes; but the teaching then takes a purely ornamental direction.

1024. You have a life school, have you not? - Yes; we do not allow the female nude model to be set in our schools, but the students draw from the male model and from the female draped model."

It can be seen from this evidence that the system at the South Kensington Schools was very clear-cut and organised. It appears to have been more so than that at the Academy. Moreover, it is evident that the Academy had been influenced by the ideas and practice there. Redgrave's answer in para 1018 shows that in respect of that matter the Academy followed South Kensington. It is also clear that Redgrave, and the Commissioners also probably (see para 1017), considered that the Academy ought to accept more of the qualifications of the South Kensington Schools, in other areas but architecture. His evidence now turns to the position in the country generally:

"1027. (Chairman). What is the state of the instruction in the art schools in the country? - These students, trained as I have shown, become masters in the country, and they produce much the same results as those you have seen, in the country schools. There is a minute before our Board, which no doubt will be passed, that there shall be no training at South Kensington for our first certificate, but that this part of the work shall in future be done in the country, the students coming up merely for examination. I name this to show that the teaching in the country schools is approximating to that in the London school. I should say that our system differs from the system of the Royal Academy in one thing, and that is, the continual test examinations. The students are from time to time brought up to examinations, which they cannot shirk, and which we find that they mostly go through satisfactorily. We take our standard so accurately that they all come out with something like the same amount of training. I do not mean to say that we make geniuses, but we give them a thorough knowledge of the reading and writing of art. ...

1029. (Chairman). I deduced from one of your earlier answers that you regard South Kensington teaching as in great measure preparatory to the teaching of the Royal Academy, rather than

as competing with it? - I do not regard it as preparatory to the Royal Academy. I do not think that it is competing with it. I think that it gives the student about that amount of instruction which would admit him to the Academy, though we do not look to his going to the Academy.

1033. You have suggested several improvements in the last few years to the Royal Academy? - I have been on a committee where many suggestions were made, and that committee endeavored to carry out those which were best.

1034. How many, in fact, have been carried out? - A good many. There have been a good many changes within the last two or three years in the schools. I should say that the Royal Academy does not seem to me to have any objection to make improvements in its schools; but it is not so easy to make improvements in the Royal Academy schools as it would be in our Kensington schools, because there, having arrived at a conclusion that it would be better to try any new procedure, the Board is easily moved to do so; but a body of artists are not so easily moved to change."

On the costs of the relative establishments Redgrave had this to say:

"1053. Do you know the cost of the students in the Royal Academy? - Dividing the sum which has been spent in the schools by the number of students, I understand that it costs about £15 a year for each student. The student is admitted for seven years. Take it that he attends on an average four years, that makes £60.

1054. I think that you stated that in your schools at South Kensington it costs £8 - Yes; and it takes four years to get up to the stage at which the student would be admitted into the Royal Academy.

1055. Does the £8 pay the expenses? - Yes.

1056. Does it pay the salaries of the inspector and the master? - I think it pays all school expenses, and even leaves a margin towards the expense of training teachers. Those students, not being trained as masters, pay their own expenses; that is to say, anyone who comes in and pays his fees fully for his art education; the masters in training do not pay."

The questioning then goes back to a comparison of the two establishments, their functions, and government payment:

"1060. To what do you attribute the fact that so small a

proportion go from the South Kensington School to the Royal Academy? - The students at South Kensington do not come there to be artists; they come to get a good general art education. Our functions are not to create artists, but to educate the whole country as far as we can in art, in order to cultivate public taste and thus improve the national manufactures.

1061. Do you not think it desirable that your school at South Kensington should, to a certain extent, be a normal school for artists, preparatory to the Royal Academy? - I do not know why the Government should pay for the training of artists in any way. Our duties are to train men as art masters, and as designers for manufactures. We especially avoid training artists. We cannot prevent our students going into the Academy, but it is not our business to train them for that purpose.

1062. Have you ever traced the progress of your students in the Royal Academy; have they done well in its schools? - I think that, in one or two instances, they have done very well indeed, but I have never traced them particularly. There is one now in Rome who got a travelling studentship as a sculptor.
...

1079. (Mr Reeve). Do any students of the South Kensington Schools attend the lectures of the Academy? - Some few, not many.

1080. Are any lectures on subjects connected with art given in your schools at South Kensington? - Yes, we have had various lectures; we have always lectures on anatomy going on; we have lectures, and usually more art lectures than they have at the Royal Academy.

1081. Are they well attended? - Very well attended; our students know that they must attend them in order to pass at the examinations.

1082. Do you think that if lectures were given at the Royal Academy on subjects connected with art, by men of talent and eminence, they could be rendered attractive to persons in the metropolis taking an interest in art? - I should hope so. My own feeling is, that these lectures should not be given to the students of art only, but that they should be given to everybody appreciating them."

Such then were the main points of comparison brought out in Redgrave's evidence.

Miscellaneous thinking concerning the Academy and Schools.

Various other aspects of the Academy and Schools are given some prominence in the 1863 Report. These are collected together in the following.

Desirability of permanent arrangements, better buildings etc.

Several witnesses spoke of this, and a deal of relevant matter is collected together in Appendices IV and V. It is necessary only to add the comments of one frustrated witness, who can sum up the feeling of many others. MacIise is therefore quoted on this:

"1397. Have you any suggestion to make with reference to any improvement in the schools beyond that of a permanent teacher instead of visitors? - As to that, I may say that the Academy labours under a serious difficulty. Every room is in a constant state of change during the year. Take the school with which I am most conversant, that is, the life school, the inconvenience in that school is very great. The location is constantly changed; it is sometimes placed under the dome, sometimes it is downstairs. There is no idea of permanence attached to that or to any of the schools. It would be most desirable to have such a situation as need never be changed, and also such a situation as would not require the schools to be closed during certain months of the year in exhibition time. Sometimes in that same room, which is much too small, I may say, for the objects for which it is intended, there may be two schools; you will have the life school, and painting from the head there, and perhaps you will also have in the school students copying a picture, and then some other object of study; the students of sculpture have no special accommodation. I think that that is very unfair to the pupils, and puts all kinds of difficulties in their way."

Fees.

Much discussion was then taking place as to whether or not Academy students should be required to pay fees. Elsewhere

art students were having to pay such fees. Redgrave gave the South Kensington position on this:

"The teaching at the Royal Academy is gratuitous, how far is that the case at South Kensington? -It is only gratuitous with regard to those students who are going to be trained as masters, to teach art in art schools. As to them it is not only gratuitous, but Government pays them from 5s. to £1 a week during the time they are in training. The other students not only pay, but pay in varying degrees; they pay sufficiently at South Kensington to defray the whole of the expense of their instruction. They pay £8 a year, or £4 a session, there being two sessions a year. We consider that that pays the whole of the expenses of the school, as far as they are concerned..." (para. 1015).

Eastlake, Tayler (para 3756), and others believed that the Academy should continue to offer free instruction. Eastlake said:

"531. The teaching is gratuitous, is it not? - Yes.

532. Do you think that advisable?- I think it is. I admit it is a question, but it is my opinion that it has worked well in the Royal Academy.

533. You do not think that it would be more appreciated if something were required to be paid for the instruction given? - I am attached to the present system in the Academy; having been a student myself - having had the gratuitous advice of such men as Fuseli, Flaxman, others, among those who gave instruction in the Academy at that time, I have reason to appreciate the liberality of the system."

Harding was clearly in favour of the students making some payment:

"3703. ...I think there should be a permanent professor, and I think the professor should be paid by the students themselves. I am myself averse to the students receiving their education gratis. I do not think any advantages are gained by it. I do not see any reason why an artist should not as well pay for his education as a student in any other profession..."

Redgrave expressed the doubts felt on this point by a number of artists and others:

"1092 (Mr. H.Seymour). Do you think that the instruction

in the Royal Academy should be gratuitous? - I have sometimes thought not. I think people value that for which they pay.

1033. Do you think that if payment were required, it would have the effect of deterring students from entering? - Yes; I have known many poor students who have afterwards arrived at eminence, who would hardly have been able to pay fees. ...

1096. You have not found the system of fees has checked students from coming to the South Kensington Schools? - We have varied fees in our schools. Though a student could not afford to enter the South Kensington School, he could enter one of the local schools in London, for instance, the Endell Street School, where for 6d. a week he has the right to claim instruction of the same nature.

Finally, the Commissioners made the recommendation (quoted in the next section) that "some moderate fees should be required".¹⁶²
p288.

General Education.

On this topic of general education for the students various opinions were given. Much discussed was the desirability of having a test of general education before acceptance as a student. Redgrave and others had an open mind on this:

"Would it, in your opinion, be possible, in the schools of the Academy, to establish anything like a general educational test as one condition of admission, so as to elevate the character of the pupils? - I once thought so; but I am afraid that it would deter a great many artists from entering. I have thought that an educational test would be a good thing, but art power is not dependent upon general education.

1064. Has an educational test ever been suggested to the members of the Royal Academy? - I may have spoken of it.

1065. Did you find that it met with much support? Not with much support. It would be a great thing if our students took better means for finishing their general education.

1066. You would at once admit that it would be a great advantage to the student if he could combine general educational knowledge with the knowledge of art? - I have not a doubt of it; but, if you enforced the educational test you might deter some of the best artists from entering the Academy who would not pass in general education, and would not care to do so. For instance, Gainsborough would not have

passed in general education; even as a draughtsman he would probably not have got into our Academy at present, and yet he was one of the first artists we have ever had in England. Art power is very different from drawing power."

Phillips, Hunt (para 3063), and others considered that there should not be an educational test before entry - since that might exclude some potentially good candidates - but that it was certainly the duty of the Academy to provide opportunities for this for the students it had accepted. H.W. Phillips answered as follows:

"2750. (Lord Elche). Would you propose that the Royal Academy should establish a standard of general education, up to which standard they should themselves educate their students, or that when a man presents himself for admission as a student of the Royal Academy, the standard should be applied to him as a condition of his admission as a student? - I think it ought to form part and parcel of the course of education of the Academy.

2751. You do not think it would be better, as regards a foreign language and English literature, that instead of their being taught in the Academy, a test of a certain standard should be applied to the candidate on his application for admission, leaving it to him to acquire that knowledge whenever he pleases? - I think I should prefer the education being given by the Academy.

2752. When you say literature, do you mean literature as connected with art, or literature generally? - I mean literature generally. I would have that part of the Royal Academy course.

2753. (Viscount Hardinge). Would you have the students examined in these branches in the same way as they are now examined in anatomy after a certain period? - Yes, my object is to raise the education of the artists of the country. You will never raise the character of art in this country till that is done..."

Later he was pressed as to the practicality of this:

"Do you think a student would have time and zest to pursue his drawing and painting conjointly with his other studies in the Academy? - If you look to all the really great artists of antiquity, they were men of great attainments and

cultivation, and they must have had time and energy to acquire them." (para 2786).

"2812....I should be content with any system which was based upon the principle of the necessity of a higher education... My only object is to bring forward, as prominently as I can, the general feeling among artists as to the extreme desirability of increasing the general standard of education in our profession."

Completely opposed to this was the thinking of such men as Layard (para 3282) and Lord Taunton. The latter spoke against such a test as follows:

"3982. ...I should be sorry to see the principle of examination applied so as to exclude any candidate. We know that there have been remarkable instances of very uneducated persons rising to a great eminence in art; at the same time, no one can feel more strongly that I do the importance of artists having a large and liberal education....I cannot but think that the elevation of mind and cultivation given by a liberal education must be the utmost importance in forming a great artist."

The greater number of witnesses however were in favour of such an admission test. Blaine (para 2959), Watts (para 3143), Harding, Storrar and others were of this thinking. Harding, for example, said:

"3681. ...There should be, I think, an examination of the young man; that they should not merely look at his drawing and determine whether he is fit to be introduced....moreover, seeing that the young man is to exercise an intellectual art, he at least ought to have had some scholastic culture. Those persons whom I have taught with the most effect are those who have received such an education. It is quite astonishing what a marked difference I have found..."

Storrar also concluded a very lengthy answer on this by:

"3379. ...I cannot help thinking that it would be a desirable thing if the Academy could secure some such test of mental culture as has been recognized by the heads of other professions. I cannot imagine that a man would be a worse painter from having undergone good mental training. Leonardo da Vinci was not a worse painter because he had a very cultivated mind; and if we had more painters of cultivated minds we

might, perhaps, have a better chance of having more Leonardos." On this matter the Commissioners recommended such a test (see next section).

Future role and status of the Royal Academy.

Of several, there were two major ideas envisaged in the 1863 Report regarding the future role of the Academy. The first was expressed by several witnesses and was the hope that the Academy might develop into an institution similar to a university. Ruskin was on this theme - "I would have the Academy education corresponding wholly to the university education" (para 5095). He amplified the point in para 5099, envisaging a system which Lord Hardinge described (para 5107) as "a sort of central university to which young men from other institutions should be sent". Phillips also spoke of introducing "a system of university fellowships", to be more purposeful than the existing travelling studentships. To obtain them the students should come up to "a certain standard of mental cultivation" (para 2753).

The second idea, hinted at by some but expressed with clarity and exactness by Beresford Hope, envisaged a much fuller role for the Academy as an influential and advisory body, a powerful central regulating influence outside government control. It is well to look briefly at Beresford Hope's evidence to see exactly what he had in mind.

"4208. ...The art movement having of late years taken various developments requires some central regulating influence. At present there is a strong movement going on which I need not allude to further, the effect of which would be to place that central regulating influence under the direct and unchecked control of the Government, and make it in fact a simple department of the state. I conceive that that consummation would be very dangerous indeed in its influence. While it is well that whatever Government attempts on behalf of art should be more systematically and better regulated than at present, it would be fatal if this were to lead to free opinion and free work being subordinated to bureaucratic authority. Some body that should be elected by the artists and lovers of art, and which should be independent of the changes of administration and political undercurrents, would, I think, be the proper body to supply the central influence. I conceive the Royal Academy occupies the position which such a body might fill; and that when it was founded, 100 years ago, it was intended, according to the ideas of those times, to fill these functions. Since its foundation fresh art movements and a wider perception of art have arisen, and many fresh branches of art culture have sprung up; and it seems to me that the Academy ought to go with them and occupy in relation to the art world the position it was intended to occupy, when it was founded 100 years ago."

Lord Taunton and others had expressed dismay at the thought of the Academy being any further under Government control (Taunton, para 3965), but they had not gone as far in their reasoning as Beresford Hope did above. It is very clear on reading such an account as that of Professor Bell ('The Schools of Design') to see exactly what Beresford Hope was driving at when he speaks of Government interference.

So far so good, but what should this "central regulating influence" do:

"4227. (Chairman). You would desire to see the Academy with such changes as it might be proper to introduce form a sort of consultative body, without the counsel of which the Government should not undertake any important work? - I would; and also a consultative body for other institutions. For instance, I will take the question of architecture, on which I have bestowed particular attention. There is an institution

called the Royal Institute of British Architects, which applies itself partly to artistic matters and partly to professional matters - such as the question of payments, the relation of surveyors to architects, per-centage, and so on. If there were such a consultative body as I suggest, which would assist them in the purely artistic part of their profession, it would strengthen that Institute. The same would be the case with respect to the Institute of Civil Engineers. If there were a body like the Royal Academy that could advise on such questions as the bridge across Ludgate Hill, which is an engineering matter, but which brings in artistic considerations, I think it would be very desirable."

The Academy could well also, in his opinion, fulfil its role in the proposed university, and be a focal point for learned societies:

"4228. ...There are several societies which might with advantage be affiliated to our Royal Academy. Mr. Cole started the idea of an art university a year or two ago. That proposition did not find much favour. I think it would not have answered at all as he proposed it, but we might have an art university of which the Academy should be the senate and regulating body, who might give diplomas, and might tie together all associations that chose to put themselves into affiliation with it."

The last quotation from Beresford Hope shows the visionary quality of his mind. He has been speaking of the South Kensington middle of museum, art schools etc., and in the following passage he sets out a clear alternative system which has a surprisingly modern ring to it:

"4244. (Lord Elcho). You would have a distinct management of the schools and of the museum so far as the directors go; would you have them both under Government? - Yes; my idea has always been that there ought to be a department of the State, which should combine the artistic half of the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education, and the artistic half of the Board of Public Works. There should be, in short, a Minister of Arts and Works: as it is, the Chief Commissioner of Works is powerless, because he is simply subordinate to the Treasury. The Vice-President is also subordinate to the Lord President. In the meanwhile the

efficient superintendence of art is incomprehensively divided between these two semi-ministers. I would have a substantial department of art, with a first-class minister at the head of it, perhaps not quite so high as a Secretary of State, but a first-class cabinet minister, who should stand on his own legs and represent the artistic side of the Board of Public Works, and the artistic side of the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education. A Parliamentary Under-Secretary, of the calibre of the Secretary of the Poor Law Board, would have to be constituted to take charge of the purely scholastic duties of the actual 'Vice-President', in subordination to the Lord President, who would be reinstated as the real minister of education. When this department of arts and works has been created we shall then want to keep the new minister in check by a central regulating body for the various art movements of the country, which should be independent of the Government of the day. This central body I should look for in the Royal Academy, enlarged and strengthened. In the third place, we should have to constitute the British Museum of mediaeval and renaissance art, which is now under the thumb of the Committee of Council, under some responsible board (answering to the trustees of the British Museum) who should correspond with though not be subservient to the new department."

So much for the vision of a friend of the Academy. When one sees how little became of this idea in the decades that followed one is acutely aware of how the Academy missed an opportunity. There was the chance for it to gain whatever ground it had lost during the first half of the nineteenth century. The vision was there, the Commissioners were favourable in their final assessment, all that was needed was the fire within. But while Landseer and Knight punned, and the sporting Grant took over, the opportunity was lost.

The recommendations of the 1863 Royal Commissioners which referred to the Academy Schools and Teaching.

The evidence from the 1863 Report which has been given extensively in this section is summarised in the Introduction to that Report. This is the summary of main recommendations. Since it has seemed more sensible to keep the section together, as it is given in the Report, it now follows:

"D. Teaching.

Notwithstanding the great liberality which the Academy has shown in its system of gratuitous teaching, the number of eminent pupils who have been trained by it, and the manner in which artists of high distinction have devoted their time and attention to the schools, we are of opinion that the system of teaching hitherto followed in the schools cannot be considered as having been in all respects satisfactory.

In many respects this defect, as well as others, is clearly to be ascribed to want of space. Thus it is want of space, and no other reason, which has caused the schools to be closed at the very period of the year when their opening would be of the greatest importance and value. Supposing sufficient space to be provided, we are clearly of opinion, as indeed the members of the Royal Academy themselves (seem) to be, that the schools should be open throughout the year, with the exception of such times as may be set apart for vacation.

But besides these defects, for which the Academy is in no degree responsible, there are some others which are shown to be such, as we think, by experience derived in the course of years. We recommend that the present system of instruction, as superintended by the Keeper in the Antique School, and by Visitors alone in the Life and Painting Schools, should be abandoned. We think there should be a General Director of the Schools, not necessarily a member of the Royal Academy, who should receive a salary sufficient to secure the services of a first-rate teacher.

On the system of Visitors there has been a considerable diversity in the evidence that has been laid before us. Some witnesses contend that by the change of Visitors from month to month the students are enabled to obtain the views of several men of eminence in succession, and to derive new lights

from that very alteration. Others again lament the want of a fixed and positive direction in the course of study. According to the opinion that we have just now expressed, we consider the appointment of a General Director of the Schools absolutely indispensable, and also that there should be competent and well-paid instructors at the head of the different departments under the Director.

We think that whatever advantages have hitherto attended the system of Visitors might in a great measure be still secured by the appointment of a sub-committee of the Council, which should visit the schools from time to time, reporting to the Council as to the progress that had been made, and making any suggestions that they might consider requisite.

We think that all candidates for admission into the schools of the Academy should be required to pass an examination as a test of their general education, the standard of such general education to be fixed from time to time by the Council. We would recommend that a third (that is the highest) class certificate of the schools at South Kensington in connexion with the Department of Science and Art should be accepted as a sufficient qualification for admission into the schools of the Academy.

Considering the largely increased advantages which the students would enjoy under the schools as remodelled in the manner we propose, we do not think it unreasonable that their instruction should be no longer entirely gratuitous, but that on the contrary some moderate fees should be required. We should desire, however, to confine these fees to narrow limits, so as not unduly to press on persons of limited means.

But although we propose that the teaching in the schools should not as heretofore be gratuitous, we think it desirable for the assistance of students with limited means that scholarships or exhibitions should be established to be awarded to candidates who may show the greatest proficiency in the preliminary examinations, or display the largest amount of knowledge and the most decided progress in art at the end of the first year of their course, or at any other period that the Council may from time to time appoint. It should be an indispensable qualification for such exhibitions that the candidates should satisfy the Council that without this pecuniary aid they could not pursue their studies in the schools of the Academy.

We recommend that the Council should have power to grant admission into the schools to honorary students at an increased rate of payment without requiring them to comply with the preliminary regulations prescribed for ordinary students; such privilege of admission being designed for established artists

and others who may desire to take advantage of the teaching of the Academy without the necessity of undergoing its test-examinations.

We think that there should be periodical examinations of the students, to test their progress in Art in the schools of the Academy.

That the works of the students should be annually exhibited at such time of the year as might be considered most suitable, and that this exhibition of their works should be duly notified to the public, and that there should be a public distribution of all the Academy prizes.

That chemistry, as applicable to art, should be taught, and that there should be a chemist and a laboratory attached to the Academy - colours and vehicles for painting being submitted to practical tests, and variously and publicly exposed to the action of the atmosphere, light, and time: and that the results should be carefully registered, made generally accessible, and published in the annual report of the proceedings of the Academy.

It cannot be said, as we conceive, that the present system of travelling studentships, as carried out by the Academy, has worked well, the number being far too small to have produced any practical effect. It appears to us that instead of these a certain number of Art-fellowships, so far as the funds of the Academy may properly allow, should be annually competed for, and that the examinations should be conducted by the Council, assisted by the Director of Schools. That these fellowships should be held for a term of years, the object being to assist students in the study and practice of Art at home and abroad; but that all fellows should be required annually, during the tenure of their fellowships, to submit for the inspection and satisfaction of the Council, one or more specimens of their work in the branch of Art which they cultivate.

As connected with this subject, we would desire to call attention to the views of Mr. Gibson, as embodied in a letter which is cited by Sir Charles Eastlake in his evidence, and which had already been produced by our Chairman, on the 8th of June 1860, in the House of Lords. Mr Gibson has pointed out that all the principal nations in Europe, except England, send pensioned students to Rome to study sculpture, painting and architecture. The French Academy and the Naples Academy, he says, have professors to overlook the students; all other students are watched by their ministers. England, on the contrary, has neither any such branch academy nor yet the authority that would be exercised by any recognized diplomatic

agent at Rome. The opinions which we have heard from other witnesses are by no means unanimous upon this subject. It might, however, seem desirable that the Royal Academy should, its funds permitting, establish a small branch academy at Rome, so far as regards, at least, the permanent residence of a professor, for a fixed term of years and at a sufficient salary, who should have a general control of such travelling students of the Academy as might at any time desire to pursue their studies in that city, where the concourse of artists for study is certainly much greater than in any other city of the world.

A reference to Mr. Armitage's letter, which will be found in the Appendix, will show the system of teaching that prevails in France, and seems to us well worthy of consideration on several points by artists in this country."

The students.

Much of this section has covered instruction in the Schools in an impersonal way, therefore it is concluded with another extract from the recollections of H.S.Marks. In this he shows the state of affairs existing before the changes effected by the entry of females into the Schools:

"The average R.A. student of forty years ago was rougher in manner, poorer in pocket, and of humbler social status than he of today. The admission of women to the schools has undoubtedly done much to refine and civilise him. For instance, quarrels ending in stand-up fights would not infrequently take place; the students were left entirely without control or supervision during the absence of the Keeper from the Antique School for hours at a stretch. A curator was appointed in my time, Mr. Woodington, who never left the school during working hours, and was held responsible for peace and order. This at once made a change for the better. But on the evening when medals and prizes were awarded, in the interval between the students taking their places in the lecture-room and the filing in of the Academicians with the President at their head, the fun and noise were fast and furious, and, unawed by the presence of 'the forty', the students' behaviour was so contumacious that they did not hesitate to express disapprobation if the honours were not awarded to their satisfaction. A notable scene of this kind occurred on the evening of December 10th, 1857, the first time the Turner gold medal was given. Henry Moore was among the competitors, and, in the opinion of a large majority of the students, the one who would take the medal. So sure were we that Moore would come in a easy first, that we could hardly believe our ears when the name of the prize-winner was read out, a name that was not Moore. There was dead silence for a moment or two, to be broken by a storm of hisses from a malcontent and rebellious band. Strange that the earth did not open to swallow us up. The Academy maintained its dignity, and very wisely took no notice of conduct so mutinous and reprehensible. Events proved that the judgment of the students was not so far out, however questionably expressed. 'The whirligig of time' brought its 'revenges'. Henry Moore was twenty-eight years later elected A.R.A. and became R.A. in 1893.

The incident related above happened so long ago as to be nearly forgotten. I hope, therefore, I may be forgiven for reproducing some lines written at the time:-

Epigram.

In grave debate the R.A.'s meet; -
 'Invention, feeling, we ignore
 Colour and nature - nonsense! stuff!
 For Heaven's sake let's have no Moore!'

That the student was poorer and of humbler social position in my time was evidenced partly by the fact that not more than two or three, in the antique school at least (I never got into the 'Life'), were possessed of a dress suit. The medal-nights were not the stately affairs they are now. It was not till the reign of Sir Francis Grant that the members, even, at his suggestion, appeared in evening-dress, to add to the dignity of the distribution. There were no ladies then to contribute grace and colour to the ceremony; and as to the students having a champagne-supper afterwards, to which they invited the President and those members who had served as visitors in the schools, such an idea was never dreamt of, and would have made some of the older presidents turn in their graves! The only suppers then were among the students themselves at some neighbouring public or chop house, where the meal was humble and inexpensive, with steaks and porter in place of dishes and champagne." ¹⁶³

G.D.Leslie points out something which is not apparent from official records etc., concerning the types and relationships of the different students. Even at the time of writing his book, within the 20th century, he says, "Of the Architectural students I know very little." Going back in time, to the period now being examined, he says:

"In my time the painters and sculptors worked side by side both in the Life and the Antique Schools, from the same models and from the same casts. I liked this arrangement, and often did a bit of modelling myself. We saw little of the Architectural students except at the annual distribution of prizes on the 10th of December. We painters and sculptors used to think them rather magnificent beings, and perhaps affected, in contrast to them, a Bohemianism of our own." ¹⁶⁴

On female students he also has this to say:

"When female students first found their way into the Academy Schools there were amongst them some who were well advanced in years - veterans, so to speak; they did their best and were most painstaking and diligent, but somehow or other they

were not successes. For what particular reason I do not remember, but let us hope it was a good one, and uninfluenced by any partiality on the part of the members, and age limit was fixed for the admission of all students, and very shortly after this the elderly female student disappeared from the Academy Schools. It was rather cruel, but I believe the Institution benefited by it." ¹⁶⁵

Leslie's book is, of course, a rather newsy, gossipy affair, and is not always to be taken as factually sound. This is a case in point. If an analysis is taken of the ages of the female students who entered between 1860 and 1863 inclusive (see Appendix LX) it can be seen that four only of the fourteen were aged 26 years or more; that one was 16, two others respectively 18 and 19 years; and that the average age of the group was 22.8 years. Scarcely veterans! That they may have seemed so is another point!

Under the general consideration of the students comes their environment, and G.D. Leslie's impressions are useful in this. He is speaking of the two different homes of the Schools, and the comparison can logically come into the text at this point:

"...The removal to Burlington House from Trafalgar Square certainly gave a lot more elbow room for the students and their teachers, but history has shown that lofty and splendidly appointed studies are by no means the only places in which the highest and best results are obtained.

The Schools in Trafalgar Square, crowded and inconvenient as they were, had many advantages over the new and spacious rooms at the back of Burlington House. The situation alone was more lively and inspiring. Trafalgar Square has been called 'the finest site in London'. The Nelson column, the fountains, King Charles on horseback, the Percy lion with his outstretched tail over old Northumberland House, St. Martin's Church with its bells, the barracks at the back, with their soldiers and their bugle calls, and, above all, the National

Gallery with its priceless treasures absolutely next door - all these things formed a most invigorating environment for a young artist. In front of the building on a pad with little wheels, a cripple with no legs who, although he could not possibly be the same that Charles Lamb described as 'a fragment of the Elgin marbles,' must have succeeded to the practice soon after Lamb's friend, wheeled himself along before our eyes and united us to the London of the past. Nat Langham, the pugilist, kept a public-house at no great distance, where some of my fellow-students were in the habit of taking lessons in the noble art of boxing.

There was a sort of charm, too, in working in the dome in the roof; we could sometimes get out from it on to the roof itself, the view from which was free and invigorating. Taking it all together there was an air of cheerfulness and busy life about the whole place which seems to me to be entirely lacking in our new abode in Piccadilly.

The Schools at Burlington House in the basement are entirely secluded and remote, away from the bustle and life of the streets. Quiet and well lit as they are, they always seem to me rather depressing in situation...The gloomy corridor along the length of the schools rooms...has a dismal effect on my spirits which not even the chatter of the pretty girls in their white pinafores can dispel. Whether or no the character of the place has any influence on the spirits of the students I cannot say; they always seem cheerful enough when I visit there, but surely not quite so lively as the boys I remember in Trafalgar Square..."¹⁶⁶

THE PRESIDENCY

of

SIR FRANCIS GRANT,

1866 to 1878.

Events taking place within the Academy and Schools during the Presidency of Sir Francis Grant, 1866 to 1878.

1866.

CM of 5th July 1866 reports that the newly elected Travelling Student had asked to pass the first year of his studentship in England, which was granted (See CM's of 3rd August 1863; 2nd July 1867 etc).

Under the same CM the Report of the Committee on the Schools was read. The 1863 Royal Commission had recommended that the system of Visitors should be discontinued. In the Council discussion which followed The Schools Committee's Report it was moved by Mr Cope, a member of that Committee:

"That the system of visitors be continued, subject to certain modifications, viz.

That there shall be a Curator in each school, qualified to teach the branch of study pursued in that school - viz. painting, drawing, sculpture or architecture -

That his duty shall be to attend during the whole time the school is open; he shall be subordinate to the visitor for the time being, and shall carry out the system of instruction recommended by him. -

That the duty of the visitor shall be to place the model, to attend not less than four times in each week, and that he shall look over and correct the performance of each student, but that he is not required to remain in the school after such duty is done. -

That the payment of the visitor be increased to two guineas for each attendance in the Life School, and to three guineas for the School of Painting. -

That the curators be appointed by election if possible from among the advanced Students.-

The Salary is to be £70 per annum. -"

Regarding the School of Painting the following was decided:

"That no student be permitted to paint from the Model, until he has submitted to the Council a specimen of painting in Monochrome from the Antique, done in the Antique School, together with a study from a head, or part of a figure, from a fine picture by an old master -

In case the visitor should be prevented from fulfilling his duties, he shall apply to some visitor on the rota of service for the year, to act for him, but should no visitor on the rota be free to undertake such duties, the visitor shall then apply to the Council, who shall nominate a visitor to act as his substitute."

Apparently it was not possible to appoint Curators from advanced students for CM of 6th November 1866 gives resolution to advertise in the 'Times and other Newspapers' for a Curator in the Life School. This should be:

"...tenable for two years - Candidates to be Gold Medal students, and not under Twenty-five years of Age."

CM of 6th December 1866 tells that there were eight candidates for the post but that the competition lay between R.S.James, painter, and S.F.Lynn, sculptor, and

"...a previous vote having been taken that a Painter was more desirable than a Sculptor in that office, Mr. R.S.James was unanimously appointed."

Further,

"It was the decided opinion of the Council, that a Sculptor Teachership should be instituted as soon as possible, for instructing the students in modelling, in the Antique and Life Schools, or in whatever school modelling may be practised by Students."

The 1863 Royal Commission had concerned itself much with the Associate class. (I have drawn so much from that Report that I have not made mention of this so far. Since, however, the

composition of that body as envisaged by the Commissioners would affect the entire running of the Academy and the Schools I give below the relevant extract from the Commissioners' recommendations:

"On careful consideration, however, we have arrived at the conclusion, supported by other evidence, that the Associate class, so far from being either abolished or reduced, might be far more advantageously extended. We think that its extension under such rules and provisions as we shall now proceed to explain, would be most valuable as introducing a large amount of youthful talent into the Academy, and as connecting that institution more thoroughly than is the case at present with the whole body of artists beyond its walls.

We would therefore propose that the number of the Associates of the Royal Academy should be increased at once to fifty, with power to fix at any time hereafter a larger number, with the assent of the Crown.

We think, however, that this Associate class should not, as the one now existing, be debarred from any control or jurisdiction in the affairs of the Academy. We propose, on the contrary, that the Associates should be members of the corporate body and jointly with the Academicians should constitute the General Assembly." Introduction, p.x.

HCM).

CM of 9th March 1866 bore on this matter:

"Read a letter from the Hon W. Cowper addressed to the President in answer to the last communication from the General Assembly of the 24th Ult^o - approving the proposed indefinite character of the Associate Class as to number, but not approving the limitation of that class as to the privilege of voting. Ordered that the letter of the First Commissioner be submitted to the General Assembly."

The CM then says that the number of Academicians was discussed, and the motion was carried that there should be no increase in the present number of 42. The proposal was then carried that the number of Associates should be fixed at a minimum of twenty, and asserting that the term 'indefinite' did not mean a materially enlarged number but "merely that deserving outstanding

artists could be incorporated". (See pp.197/8).

CM of 30th July 1866 takes this matter a little further. It follows a discussion of the Burlington House site. As has been seen already the Government's offer regarding that site was dependent upon some adaption^{at} in the Academy's constitution.

"The Secretary read his draft of the resolutions recently passed by the Council on the new Constitution of the Associates, and in regard to the Visitorships, which was approved and ordered to be submitted to the General Assembly.."

By the new ruling the Associates were given the right of voting at the elections of both Associates and Academicians. Thus that clause which was regarded as being "of primary importance" (see letter of page 198) was complied with. (CM of 8th June 1866 also set out the details of the new Associates, stated the minimum number of twenty etc.).

One other item of very general interest occurs in CM's of this year. This was the request from the Secretary of the Australian Society of the Arts to have any duplicate casts etc. for this newly-formed society. The request was granted. The reference is in CM of 5th July 1866.

1867.

Although there had been for many years committees which had given attention to the Schools and Academy Library it is significant that in the lengthy 1863 Report there is scarcely a mention of the Library. Eastlake summed up feeling about it in his evidence -there were only two other witnesses who spoke very briefly indeed on it - in para 692:

"It is also to be remembered that the library of the Academy is accessible to the students - unfortunately they do not avail themselves of it much - but there is a good collection of books for them to study. At the same time, I must say that I question the importance of what is called the intellectual training of students in art. I agree with Payne Knight, who once observed, 'By far the greatest obstacle to what are called students of genius in painting is forming too exalted notions of their art as an effusion of mental energy, and too humble notions of it as connected with practical dexterity.'"

However, for whatever reason, it was now given something of a boost (see also CM's of 24th July 1868 and 25th April 1870).

CM of 6th March 1867 says:

"Read the report of the Librarian on the condition of the Library during the years 1865 and 1866, shewing an addition by purchase and presentation of 24 works to the Library, and at the same time representing the great deficiency of useful works enquired for by the students, and recommending that some means should be adopted, either by Annual Grant or otherwise, to meet the wants of the Library.

It was resolved - that the Librarian be requested to furnish the Council with the list of such works, from time to time, as he may think necessary for the Academy to possess - and further - that the Treasurer be authorised to hold a current sum not exceeding Twenty pounds at the disposal of the Librarian who shall be authorised to purchase at his discretion, any work or works that may accidentally be offered to his notice at a time when consultation with the Council may oppose inconvenient delay, and which he may consider it desirable to have in the Library. All such purchases to be reported to the Council at the meeting next ensuing."

The female students of the Academy petitioned Council to re-admit females (excluded since 14th May 1863):

"26th March 1867. The President submitted a memorial addressed to the Council, from the Female Students of the Academy, praying that the rule excluding 'for the present' any addition to the number of Female Students already admitted, may be so far relaxed, as to allow vacancies occurring in that number to be filled up as they occur.

Resolved that the memorial stand over for consideration at the next meeting of the Council."

"2nd April 1867. In further consideration of the memorial from the Female Students of the Academy, read at the last meeting, it was moved by Mr. Westmacott, seconded by Mr. Horsley and resolved, that the request of the memorialists be acceded to ..."

This took effect on 18th June 1867, when Council resolved that "three probationerships should be open to females at the next competition".

The opinion had been expressed by witnesses before the 1863 Royal Commission that instruction in the Antique School was somewhat barren insofar as it was not related to the living model (e.g. see para 3115 of evidence of Watts, p. 123). CM of 15th August 1867 takes up the point:

"Mr. Westmacott gave notice of motion at the next meeting of Council embodying the recommendation of the Committee on the Schools (1863) on the advantage to the Students, to compare the nude model with the Antique in instruction."

This was followed up in CM of 13th December 1867:

"On the motion of Mr. Westmacott, on the advantage the students might derive from a comparison of the Nude Model with the Antique Statue as a mode of instruction, a resolution was passed authorising Mr. Westmacott to communicate with the Keeper, and in conjunction with him to put his recommendation to practical experiment, and to report to the Council."

There is one reference further to this. This appears in the

Royal Academy Report of 1868, Section VII, The Schools. This merely says:

"In furtherance of the object of increasing the efficiency of the teaching in the Antique School, it was proposed to give the students the advantage of comparing the nude model with the Antique in instruction. The recommendation has been entertained by the Council, and its value is now being tested by practical experiment."

CM of 13th December 1867 said this of trial drawings:

"It was moved by Mr. Cope and resolved, that all Test drawings, in proof of ability, shall be executed without the advice or assistance of Visitors. -

It was moved by Mr. Westmacott seconded by B. Marochetti and resolved, that before Probationers shall receive their Students Ticket they shall make a drawing, in outline or any other mode of an Antique Statue, from memory, and that the quality of this trial Drawing, together with the finished Drawings, to be submitted to the Council, or judges they may appoint, shall determine their admission. This trial Drawing to be made in the Academy, and in the presence of the Examiners."

There were rapid second thoughts on this proposal, for CM of 20th December 1867 reads:

"It was moved by Mr. Cope seconded by Mr. Horsley and resolved - that instead of the recommendation adopted at the last meeting on the Test-memory drawing - that the Council shall elect two members of the Royal Academy who shall together with the professor of Anatomy and the Keeper, be considered as Examiners of Candidates for the Life School, and they shall set such papers on Anatomy and provide such tests in drawing or modelling, as they may think necessary, and that such examiners be remunerated for their labour."

It appears from the next CM quoted that Council were becoming a little apprehensive about the conditions of the Travelling Studentship. The Rules (see Appendix VIII) are clear enough in their statement that the Travelling Studentship could be held for study in England. Perhaps the decision

in the following case was adverse to the student because he wished to change his plan in mid-course:

"2nd July 1867. Read a letter from S.F.Lynn the last elected Travelling Student praying to be excused going abroad in the Second year of his Travelling Studentship, as he had been allowed by the Council in his first year on the ground (of the) check it would be to his prospects in giving up certain commissions with which he had been entrusted -

The Council considering that such permission would establish a bad precedent, and would be virtually annulling the Travelling Studentship, declined to comply with the request, trusting that he would be able to fulfil the engagement entered into - but, if not, the Council conceived it would be but just to the Class standing next for competition, to proceed to fill up the vacancy occasioned by his inability to avail himself of the advantage of Foreign Travel."

Lynn then tried again, and it is clear from the CM that he had applied to the law itself for justification. One cannot but feel on reading that law that he had every right to make his request:

"5th August 1867. A second letter from Mr. S.F.Lynn praying to be excused from going abroad in the second year of his Travelling Studentship, according to Law regulating that matter was read, and discussed, when on a vote being taken, the decision declining the request, at the meeting of Council on the 2nd of July was re-affirmed - At the same time a strong opinion was expressed as to the necessity of revising the Law on Travelling Studentships, so as to prevent future misunderstanding."

Since his appeal had failed Lynn resigned his Travelling Studentship. This was recorded in CM of 5th November 1867.

It has already been mentioned that the Painting School was much criticised in 1863, and the following CM was an attempt to improve it:

"13th December 1867. After a general discussion on the Schools, during which a letter from the Curator in the Painting School was read, it was moved by Mr. Cope, seconded

by Mr. Lewis and carried - That a class shall be instituted in the Painting School, for the purpose of instructing the junior Students in the first Elements of Painting, from casts or fine ornamental objects, before being permitted to paint from the living draped model."

The matter of election of Visitors was again brought up at Council meeting of 13th December 1867:

"Sir Edwin Landseer begged to propose that the Election of Visitors, to attend as Teachers in the Schools belonging to the Royal Academy, should be given up, in favour of the principle in use of appointing members to serve on Council - viz - that Members shall take a duty by rotation -"

A decision on this matter was postponed until Council meeting of 27th March 1868.

The Perspective instruction also came under fire in CM of 13th December 1867:

"Mr. Horsley having read a letter addressed to him on the subject, drew the attention of the Council to the alledged(sic) inefficient teaching at present followed in the Class of Perspective - After some discussion the question was postponed to the consideration of the next meeting of Council."

The next meeting was exactly one week later, and the CM is as follows:

"Mr. Horsley submitted a draft of instructions to the Master of Perspective, on the mode and amount of instruction to be given to the students of the Academy, distinguishing between the requirements of Painters and Architects - leaving the Student to decide as to the amount of instruction as he may deem necessary in his own individual case."

Under various miscellaneous provisions for this year was the authorisation of payment of three guineas per day to members of the arranging Committee for Exhibitions, and four guineas to Members of Council assisting with the Exhibition (CM of 26th March 1867). Under CM of 20th April is the noting

of the three nominees to go to the International Exhibition in Paris. These were: C.W.Cope, for Painting; R.Westmacott, for Sculpture; J.C.Hersley, for Miniatures and Watercolour Drawing. Another interesting item of a general nature - and certainly on a development which would affect all artists and students - is that of 17th May 1867:

"The Secretary read a letter from Mr. J.M.Carrick stating that his Father Mr. Thos Carrick the well known miniature painter, for many years an Exhibitor at the Royal Academy, had been ruined professionally by the introduction of Photography - and was now from advancing years and increasing insecurity in pressing and distressing circumstances, and appealing to the Council for any help that it might be in their power to afford him." X (See note, p.305).

Lastly for this year was the rather surprising letter from the Governors of Alleyn's College at Dulwich, given in full under CM of 20th December 1867. In this is stated that the Governors have resolved:

- "1. That the Governors being Trustees of the Collection of Pictures left to this College are not authorised to allow any pictures to be removed from the Gallery on loan or for any other purpose except reparation.
2. That the custom of lending pictures to the Royal Academy be discontinued, and that the Council of that Institution be informed of the decision of the Board -
3. That an arrangement be proposed to the Royal Academy by which their pupils may have one day in every week to study in the Gallery subject to such rules as may be laid down by the Governors."

The above is stated to be an extract from the Minutes of the Board. To this the Secretary of the Academy was instructed to reply, as follows:

"Sir,

I am directed by the President and Council of the Royal Academy of Arts, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter

of the 17th inst - conveying the Resolution of the Governors of Alleyn's College that the custom of lending pictures to the Royal Academy be discontinued. -

The President and Council regret that the Governors have thought it necessary to withdraw a privilege, which has been enjoyed for so many years with such advantage to their Students -

I am further directed to say that the President and Council consider it unnecessary to avail themselves of the arrangement proposed in Resolution 3 - as the distance of the Gallery from London would render it of no value to their Students.

I am , Sir,

Your Obedient Servant,

John P.Knight."

There was a further development in this situation, given under CM of 11th February 1868.

* For some account of the development of photography at this time see T.S.R.Boase, English Art, 1800-1870, pp. 317-9.

HCM

1868.

Following the CM of 6th March 1867, which asked for money for the Library, was another of 28th November 1867 which authorised a list of books the Librarian had submitted. CM of 24th July 1868 records the offering to the Librarian of £100 "to his disposal" using his "discretionary power".

A certain Rudolph Blind who was to cause a deal of trouble in the Academy was admitted as a student by CM of 8th January 1868,

"...but a report of the improper conduct of Mr. Blind during his probationership having been read, it was resolved -

that the Keeper be instructed to inform Mr. Blind that on the first repetition of such insubordinate conduct being reported to the Council he will be summarily dismissed from the Academy -

It was further ordered that a letter be written by the Secretary to Mr. Blind embodying the above resolution - and that the resolution be posted in the Antique School by order of the Council."

Whether or not Blind was one of the leading spirits behind the following is not now known, but it seems likely in the light of subsequent events:

"13th March 1868. Read a document, signed by the Keeper and two other members of the Academy, complaining of the disorderly conduct of certain students, named, during the lectures recently delivered by Professor Geo. G. Scott, and calling on the Council to take such steps as shall prevent such disturbance in future. -

The President undertook to visit the schools accompanied by other members of the Council, and to espouse with the students on such unbecoming behaviour, hoping thereby to prevent any recurrence of such complaint."

Council considered on 24th May 1868 a petition submitted by Westmacott.

"...from the Superintendent, Teachers and Students of the Female School of Art -praying for assistance towards defraying the debt incurred in purchasing the Freehold of the property in Queen Square, hitherto leased to them for the purposes of the School, - and also to enlarge the sphere of usefulness of the Institution. - It was moved and resolved that the Treasurer pay to Mrs. Louisa Gann, the Superintendent of the said school, the sum of fifty pounds."

There was another request from a Travelling Student in CM of 18th June 1868:

"Read a letter from Mr. H. Spanton, recently elected to the Travelling Studentship in Architecture, stating that his engagements precluded the possibility of his availing himself of Foreign Study at the present time, and asking permission to postpone his departure to a more convenient Season. -

The request for postponement was not allowed and the Secretary was instructed to refer him to the Laws on the subject."

Sir Edwin Landseer's proposal of December last (see p.303) was brought up again before Council meeting of 27th March 1868:

"After much discussion on the motion of Sir E. Landseer on the 13th of December last to appoint the annual visitors to the Schools by Rotation instead of Election -

Mr. Westmacott moved and Mr. Maclise seconded the following resolutions -

1. That the Visitors to the Schools be appointed to serve by rotation.
2. The order of appointment to be the date of Election as Members.
3. That Associates be constituted eligible to serve as Visitors.

The first resolution was carried by 4 votes - no hand being held up to the contrary.

The second resolution was carried by 5 votes - and

The third resolution was carried unanimously -"

Though this CM carries on with another matter it is more logical to pursue this item to a close, in CM of 3rd April 1868:

"In reference to the appointment of Visitors by Rotation instead of Election, as adopted at the last meeting, it was moved and resolved that the third resolution should now be affirmed to be submitted to a General Assembly, but that the First and Second resolutions be deferred for further consideration."

Thus a further extension of the duties and privileges of the Associates was secured, in accordance with the expressed wishes of the 1863 Royal Commissioners (see p.297).

Council meeting of 27th March 1868 also considered further the proposition of Cope re. examinations(see p. 301):

"Mr. Westmacott then brought forward for consideration the motion of Mssrs. Cope and Horsley of the 20th of December last, proposing to appoint a Board of Examiners to test the qualifications of all candidates for admission to the life School etc. - After due consideration there appeared to be so many difficulties in the way of such appointment, that the motion of Mssrs. Cope and Horsley was declared inexpedient. But as a modification of such motion it was moved by the Secretary, seconded by Mr. Richmond and resolved unanimously -

That a Committee of two Members, elected by the Council, shall be appointed together with the Keeper, to examine all Drawings, models etc. offered by candidates for admission to the Life School, to eliminate works unworthy the consideration of the Council, and to report on the merits of the works to be afterwards submitted to the decision of the Council."

This facilitation to selection was soon to be put into practice.

CM of 14th May 1868 reads:

"The number of works offered for probationerships, and by Students for examination of Council being in unusual excess - Mssrs. Maclise and Westmacott were deputed as Committee of the Council, together with the Keeper and the Treasurer, to examine, eliminate - and report to the next meeting of Council, their judgments on the works so offered, to facilitate the final decision of the Council, - and that as such Committee they be paid two guineas each for their labour. "

A special meeting of Council was summoned on 19th May 1868, to consider "certain matters relating to the Schools".

The CM explain:

"The president stated that the meeting had been summoned on the motion of Mr. Westmacott... and called on Mr. Westmacott to bring forward the propositions prepared by him on the subject. - Mr. Westmacott thereupon read sundry resolutions affecting the system of Visitors, suggesting several improvements - and also on the discipline of the schools - which being generally approved, were adopted by the Council for further consideration and discussion. -

The appointment of a General Director of the Institution with Masters teaching in all the schools, according to the report of the Committee on the Schools, printed in 1864, in reply to the Royal Commission appointed to enquire into the position of the Royal Academy in relation to the Fine Arts - having been mooted it was resolved that a meeting of Council specially to consider that report should be summoned for Tuesday the 26th May."

CM of 24th May continue:

"The Secretary read that portion of the 'Observations of the Members of the Royal Academy of Arts', in reply to 'the Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the present position of the Royal Academy' - in the year 1864 - on the matter of Teaching in the Schools of the Royal Academy - respecting the appointment of a General Director of a Committee of the Schools - and of Masters in the separate Schools -

After considerable discussion the matter was referred to another meeting for further consideration, along with Mr. Westmacott's resolutions of the last meeting."

Another Council meeting took place on 18th June 1868 when

"...after much discussion they were again referred back to him (i.e. Westmacott) for further amendment, and a Council was summoned for Friday the 26th Inst for special consideration."

CM of 26th June 1868:

"Mr. Westmacott's resolutions on Visitorships etc. were then read, and the preamble having been adopted by the Council it and the resolutions were referred to a Conference Committee to consist of Mssrs. Westmacott, Maclise, Knight, Cope and Redgrave previous to submission to a General Assembly to be specially summoned for...14th of July."

CM of 11th July 1868:

"Mr. Westmacott's resolutions on Visitorships and on the Schools were again read and ordered to be submitted for consideration to the General Assembly of the 14th Inst."

The affair now continues in General Assembly Minutes, of 14th July 1868:

"The resolutions on the Visitorships and on the Schools as ordered by the Council for consideration at the present meeting, were then read, and after considerable discussion, were allowed to remain over for further consideration."

There was apparently no mention of the Schools at all at the next meeting of General Assembly, on 28th July 1868, but the matter is returned to in GA Minutes of 16th November 1868:

"The resolution of the Council of the 3rd November recommending the immediate adoption of Associates as Eligible for election as Visitors was read, and being put from the Chair, was carried, nem.div. Mr Redgrave placed on the table certain questions on the attendances of visitors; - Replies ordered!"

The meeting continued on 25th November ~~25th~~, 1868, and

"The Secretary placed in Mr. Redgrave's hands the answer required by him on the attendances of visitors."

Presumably, the last meeting also passed the CM of 23rd November 1868:

"Resolutions to repeal the law regarding Visitors, requiring that they should consist of Six Painters and Three Sculptors were passed and ordered to be submitted to the General Assembly."

It is interesting that there appears to be no further mention anywhere of Westmacott's proposals of a General Director. It appears that that idea was allowed to die: it was not even formally 'killed' by a rejection by either Council or General Assembly. The various items concerning Visitors are summed up in

Annual Report from the Council for 1868:

"The appointment of a General Director of the Institution, with masters teaching in all the Schools, according to the Report of the Committee on the Schools etc. was suggested. A proposal that the Visitors should be chosen by rotation instead of election, and that the appointment should be according to the date of their election as Members, did not meet with the approval of the body, but a unanimous assent was given to the Resolution that Associates should be considered eligible (sic) to serve as Visitors, and in the event of an elected Visitor being unable to fulfil his duty a supplementary list of Visitors was provided to serve as substitutes, the selection from this list to be made in the order of a priority of marks received on the day of the election of the Visitors, no Visitor being qualified to serve two month's (sic) in the same year."

Two professorships lapsed in this year. CM of 14th

May 1868:

"The Secretary stated in reply to the notices issued by the Council inviting Members to offer themselves as Candidates for the Office of Professor of Sculpture lapsed after a period of five years according to Law - Sect iii Art 13 - the only candidate for that office, in addition to the late professor Rd. Westmacott R.A. who is by that law declared eligible for re-election, is Hy Weekes R.A., and for the professorship of Anatomy the only candidates in addition to the late professor Rd. Partridge Esq. are John Marshall Esq. and Richard Barwell Esq. - It was ordered that the vacant professorships should be filled up at the next General Assembly."

The result was that Henry Weekes was elected to the Chair of Sculpture, but that Professor Partridge was re-elected to the Chair of Anatomy.

As a sort of stage two in the developments between the Academy and the Dulwich College comes the following Council Minute. Dulwich College had shown an unwillingness to co-operate in the previous December (see p.304). The Academy now demands its rights to inspect the pictures:

"..(The Act of Parliament of 25th August 1857, para 111 is quoted)...Provision shall be made to the Governors, with the sanction of the President and Council of the Royal Academy for the preservation and custody of the collection of pictures and other works of Art bequeathed to the College by the respective wills of Sir Peter Francis Bourgeois and Margaret Desenfans..."

Under this Act the President and Council ask the Governors of Dulwich College when it will be convenient to examine the collection. Nothing further to do with the Dulwich College appears in the Council Minutes until 1st June 1875.

[The following text is extremely faint and largely illegible due to fading and low contrast. It appears to be a continuation of the document's content, possibly detailing the actions of the Council and Governors following the 1875 date mentioned in the previous block.]

1869.

By CM of 6th February 1869 it was resolved that the payment of the model in the Draped School should be increased to 2s 6d per hour instead of 5s for the whole sitting.

CM of 6th August 1869 reads:

"It was agreed to purchase such casts of the frieze of the Parthenon as may be required for arrangement, with those the Academy possesses, on the north wall of one of the Antique Schools."

By CM of 22nd January 1869 it was decided to admit all four female students "who had passed at the last examination, when there was but one vacancy". This was resolved "in consideration of the extension of the schools in the New Building".

The expulsion of the student Rudolph Blind was decided upon at Council meeting of 6th February 1868 (see p.306). Appeals followed from him and from his father, but by CM of 23rd March the matter was closed:

"The Secretary was instructed to express the sympathy of the Council in the anxiety of the Father, but declining any further consideration of the question."

The female students of South Kensington appear to have been indiscreet in a request they made this year - at least, so it appears from CM's:

"20th May 1869. Read a memorial from certain Female Students of the South Kensington Life School, praying for admission to the Royal Academy Exhibition - postponed for further information."

"1 June 1869. On resuming the consideration of the memorial from the female Students of the Kensington Life Schools, the

president read a letter addressed to him by Mr. Redgrave on the subject - to the following effect.-

1st. Mr Redgrave strongly objected to the adoption of the memorial, as irregular, and as interfering with the discretionary powers of the Masters in awarding special privileges to students, - and as being mischievous to the students themselves.-

2ndly. Being assured of the liberal intentions of the Royal Academy towards Art Students - he proposed that the privilege of free admission to the Royal Academy exhibition might be beneficially awarded to the students of the Kensington students (presumably 'Schools'! HCM) under the following limitations - viz -

To Gold and Silver Medal Students. 30 in number who have in competition obtained such premiums in each year. -

To such National Scholars 25 in number annually drafted from the provinces on the ground of proved merit and who have obtained the Scholarship of £50 for two years to enable them to pursue their studies at the Kensington Schools and Museum.

These two propositions were approved and acceded to unanimously, and the Secretary was instructed to communicate with Mr. Redgrave inviting such further suggestions as would advantageously carry such propositions into effect."

An official letter followed:

"8th June 1869. Read a letter from H. Cole, C.B. on the part of the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education, thanking the President and Council on their liberal acceptance of the propositions submitted by Mr. Redgrave, on the subject of placing Season Tickets for the Annual Exhibition at the disposal of the authorities for the use of the National Scholars and of the Gold and Silver Medallists of the Schools in connexion with the Science and Art Departments South Kensington."

From this point the name of Leighton is constantly appearing in connection with the Academy Schools:

"8th June 1869. Mr. Leighton brought under the notice of the council the insufficient arrangement in the Painting School, where the Students attending are so numerous that it is impossible for more than one half of them to study from the

one model as at present provided, and he moved that the Visitor might be allowed to try the experiment of dividing the school room by screens, so that two models might be set at the same time. - Agreed to."

A little later in the year and Leighton was making suggestions for the Schools:

"28th October 1869. Mr Leighton brought on his motion respecting the necessity of affording increased facilities to the Students of the Royal Academy and with a view to effect this object gives notice of the following Regulations which he proposes should be established in the School of the Living Model.

- 1st. That a Model should sit in the Painting School daily.
- 2nd. That the Model on the alternate days shall be undraped.
- 3rd. That the hours of sitting should be extended to Five o'Clock.
4. That a Professor of the practice of Sculpture be appointed."

It is strange that no comment of any kind follows this in the Minutes. The next meeting carries on however:

"4 November 1869. Mr Leighton obtained leave to withdraw his motion of which he gave notice on the 13th July 1869 'with a view to afford increased facilities to the Students' and to substitute in lieu of it a scheme which he submitted in which were embodied suggestions for an improvement in the organization of the Schools of the Royal Academy: Times of attendance: Vacations: Classes: Study of Drapery; Visitors: Modes of Study: Teachers in Architecture and in Sculpture and other departments of Art: Discipline, comprehending within its scope the application of these studies when once pursued - to be developed under the supervision of a Committee of Education, selected from among the members of the Royal Academy, with the view of fostering and guiding the Student in the practice of the more elevated directions of his Art.

The Scheme was adopted by the Council and a General Assembly was ordered to be convened for the 22nd proximo to which the consideration of it is to be referred."

CM of 24th November 1869 approved the scheme of lighting

in the Life Schools which had also been proposed by Leighton.

CM of 3rd August 1869 records the request of Frank Holl, Travelling Student, to be released from the unexpired portion of his Studentship. A vacancy was therefore declared in the Travelling Studentship in Painting.

Professor Partridge presented a favourable report of students' progress to Council meeting of 18th December 1869.

1870.

Following the raising of the payment for models (CM of 6th February 1869) the auditors objected. Their second objection appears in CM of 26th November 1870:

".. object to the high terms of payment paid by the Academy for models in the draped and the undraped Schools."

(This is rather surprising when it is remembered that between 1821 and 1832 the female model was paid a guinea a night, and the male model a half-guinea! I have gone into the matter of payment of models at some length elsewhere. HCM)¹⁶⁷

The Library received a substantial grant this year, recorded in CM of 25th April 1870. £300 was voted by Council to this purpose. (See previous CM's of 6th March 1867; 24th July 1868).

Fifty tickets for the Exhibition of Ancient Masters held at Burlington House were sent to the authorities of the Science and Art Department to distribute to their good students, under CM of 10th January 1870. (See CM of 8th June 1869).

Another request for tickets for this Exhibition came from the Bloomsbury School of Art, and the Mistress of the School (Miss Gann) was sent 24 tickets, under CM of 17th January 1870.

Action was taken on Leighton's proposals (see CM of 4th November 1869) under CM of 31st January 1870:

"Proceeded to make arrangements necessary for the appointment of Teachers in the various Schools in accordance with the vote of the General Assembly of the 3rd of January last.

A Teacher in the Art of Painting, Preliminary Class, who

is to devote all his time to the duties of his office. That £200 per annum be the Salary of such an Officer.

A Teacher in Modelling. To attend from ten until one o'Clock, every day, in all the Schools.
That £100 per annum be the Salary of this Officer.

A Teacher of Architecture to attend in the evenings between the hours of six and eight o'Clock.
That £150 per annum be the Salary of this Officer.

The Council authorize the Registrar to put into execution the new Regulations in the Several Schools of the Royal Academy agreed to by the General Assembly, aforesaid, of the 3rd January."

Further thinking about these appointments is apparent in CM of 28th February 1870. It is seen, for example, that later thoughts are that it would be desirable if the Teacher in the Preliminary Class were to practice his art:

"The consideration of the Schools was resumed.

The appointment of a Teacher in the Preliminary Class of the Art of Painting - to be made experimentally, for one year, at a salary of Two Hundred Pounds. - Permission to be given to this Officer, to pursue his profession in the Schools after he shall have performed his duty of instruction to the Students in Painting in the practical part of their Art.

Candidates for this office to forward to the Council specimens of their ability as tests of qualification on or before

The Teacher of Modelling. That in regard to Clause 4 Mr. Loft, the present Curator in the Antique School, be approached to afford the preliminary instruction on the Art of Modelling, for the current year, in the various Schools of the Royal Academy in which Sculpture is studied.

That the Salary of the Curator in the Painting School be increased from £100 to £150 a year in consequence of additional duties that will have to be performed by him arising out of the new regulation which increases the terms of his attendance.

Clause 6th. That consideration of the Teacher in Architecture was postponed until the architects appointed for the purpose (Messrs Smirke and Barry) have made their Report.

Clause 7. Mural Painting. Agreed. That at the next meeting of Council, the members of it be prepared with a list of Themes - Suggestions for designs adapted to the requirements of mural decoration and that the Registrar be ordered to send invitations to the members of the Royal Academy, to afford instruction on Mural Painting - to state:

That the Council will be glad to know whether in regard to Clause 7 they are inclined to aid the Royal Academy in the furtherance of the Resolution of the General Assembly of the 3rd Jany 1870." X See end of section.

CM of 24th April records the unsatisfactory conduct of a student:

"Read a letter from Mr. Richd S. James curator in the Life School, complaining of the insubordinate conduct of Alexdr. Grahame, Student, in forcibly introducing strangers into the Life School during the hours of study, notwithstanding the printed laws to the contrary, and in defiance of the Curator's urgent remonstrance - Ordered - The the said Alexdr. Grahame be suspended from all privileges of Studentship for the remainder of the current year, and to be admonished that any further act of insubordination would be invited by expulsion from the Schools of the Royal Academy."

The Travelling Student of the year, Mr Wiles, asked to spend one of his two years in England. This was granted. (CM of 10th January 1870).

The Keeper defended the Curator in the Antique "in contradiction of certain charges for want of attention" at Council meeting of 28th February 1870.

At Council meeting of 24th April 1870 the resignation of Mr. Holyoake, Curator of the Painting School, was received. In view of this the consideration of the candidates for the Teachership was deferred. By CM of 6th June 1870 Mr. George Harris was elected to the elementary teachership on a six months

probation, and "the Keeper and the Treasurer were instructed to make suitable arrangements for the new school of Preliminary Instruction."

By CM of 5th July 1870 Mr. Richard Phane was appointed Teacher of Architecture, at a salary of £150 per annum.

At the same Council meeting were received Richard Redgrave's proposals that the Council should consist of the President and twelve members instead of the existing President and eight. Mainly here was his argument that good young men tended to be lost to the Council, for, having done their initial service thereon they would be unlikely to serve again for ten years. Leading out of this discussion came the following concrete proposal:

"The Council further suggest that at the annual Election of Visitors, three of this number be set apart for election or nomination, to constitute a School Committee, whose additional duty should be to inspect the working of the Schools and to report thereon to the Council, giving account of general discipline, and suggesting such matters as pertain to improved modes of instruction, as they may think beneficial to the Schools.

This Committee of Visitors to report at least once in each year to the Council."

There were fourteen candidates for the Curatorship of the School of Painting, and of these Mr. Millington was elected (CM of 8th November 1870).

The recently appointed Curator in the Preliminary School of Painting presented to Council at its meeting of 26th November 1870 "recommendations as to the mode of study to be carried on

in that school." This was ordered to be carried into operation. CM of 9th December 1870 continues:

"It was moved by Mr. Leighton, seconded by Mr. Elmore and resolved, that the new laws relating to the preliminary class shall come into force on the 1st of January 1871. That the examination of Studies for admission to the Painting School shall take place quarterly instead of Half-yearly as hitherto, and that all mere chalk studies in the Painting School be disallowed."

The newly-formed School Committee showed that they intended to get on with the task, in the CM of 15th December 1870:

"It was moved by Mr. Leighton, seconded by Mr. Elmore, That Each Member of the School Committee be furnished with a full written copy of the Laws and regulations of the Royal Academy so far as they refer to the system of Teaching. -

That the members of the School Committee shall at stated intervals visit all the schools without exception, and satisfy themselves, that such laws are strictly put into practice - and that they shall embody in a report the result of their investigation and submit the same to the council, once in each year at a period to be appointed."

Under the same CM R.S. James, Curator in the Life School offered himself for re-election, his two years having expired, and was unanimously re-appointed.

Under various miscellaneous items appearing in CM of this year was an entry of 6th June 1870 which supported the Female Artists' Fund by a donation of £50.

The Royal Academy was asked by the Secretary of the Annual International Exhibition for 1871 if it would allow to be sent to that Exhibition examples of "students' work done for medals". Under CM of 8th November 1870 a refusal was sent, on the grounds that as this was the biennial year, in which only

second class medals were offered and worked for, the quality would not be as high as in a gold medal year. CM of 9th December 1870 however revealed a change of mind, and it was resolved to send a "set of £10 Premium drawings mounted and framed".

CM of 30th November 1870 informs that better facilities are being offered to students:

"It was ordered that provision should be made in the Painting School for the students to wash and cleanse their studies, presented in that school."

* CM of 23rd March 1870 informs that Mssrs Armitage, Cope, Dobson and Wells had replied to the circular and offered instruction and superintendence in Mural Painting. Each had volunteered his aid.

1871.

CM of 10th November 1871 reports that

"...an application from Mr. Macbeth that the usual regulations with regard to the admission of students should be relaxed in his favour was refused."

Another appeal for a privilege is given in CM of 24th November 1871:

"Read a memorial signed by seven students, who had completed their period of seven years studentship requesting to be allowed the privilege of painting from the Nude in the Life School, in the Evening hours of Study, as was heretofore the practice -
- the opinion of the Council being generally in favor (sic) of granting the request of the memorialists it was ordered that the memorial together with such opinion be submitted to the School Committee for consideration."

CM of 18th December granted the permission:

"...the School Committee agree to request of 24th November, allowing such students to paint in the evening Life School, where the rule of the Academy only permit drawing. -
The Committee are of opinion that such permission may be granted to Students whose term of seven years has expired, and who during that term had passed into the Upper Painting School."

The Committee ask for a notice explaining this change to be posted in the Life School.

The School Committee turned its attention in this year to the matter of Travelling Studentships, its findings being reported under CM of 27th October 1871:

"Read the following recommendations of the School Committee on the subject of Travelling Studentships which had been referred to them by the Council for consideration.

1st. That as increased facilities for study, as well as direct teaching are now provided within the walls of the Royal Academy for Students in Architecture, and as the architectural students (themselves) are not desirous of being

too long detained from their immediate professional engagements, the two years travelling studentship gained by competition among gold medallists be abolished, & that the Annual Travelling Studentship alone continue to be awarded.

2ndly. That the Competition for Travelling Studentships in Painting or Sculpture confined now to gold medallists only, be in future thrown open to the whole body of students of not more than 10 years standing as Students, and who shall have passed into the Upper School of Painting.

- The first of these recommendations was agreed to - the second was also agreed to with the addition of the words 'and shall have gained any medal.'

Another suggestion was also agreed to: viz. That any travelling student who shall wish to return home, before the expiration of two years, shall not be entitled to claim his salary from the Royal Academy beyond the period of his residence abroad."

The School Committee asked that their findings be printed in the Laws of the Academy, under CM of 29th May 1871:

"Read a letter from Mr. Leighton requesting (on the part of the School Committee) that the resolutions of the Academy on the improved system of instruction in the Schools should be embodied in the Laws. These resolutions were then read and with some slight modifications were ordered to be amalgamated with the present laws, and the whole to be printed for the use of Members and Students. It was further resolved that the Visitors in the Schools of Painting be required to attend not less than twice in the school of the draped model, and twice in that of the nude model, the payment of the Visitor to be three guineas for each attendance, which is to last for not less than two hours."

The School Committee appear to have obtained a copy of the existing Laws, before the above-mentioned meeting, only with difficulty. Leighton had asked for such a copy (see CM of 15th May 1871), stating that

"...it is impossible for them (the Committee) to proceed with their work, until they are in possession of an officially

sanctioned copy of the laws and regulations which relate to the Teaching of Students in the Academy."

It had been five months even before this that Leighton had applied for such a copy (see p. 321); and before the School obtained its copy Council had to summon a special meeting to consider its letter of request (see CM of 15th May 1871).

One can almost feel the friction between the energetic, driving School Committee and the older, staid Council as the Council Minutes are read. The writing was on the wall, even at this stage, that there would be an eventual rift between the two. Meanwhile, however, the School Committee pushed on with its work. CM of 17th July 1871 records more of its activity:

"Mr. Leighton's letter from the School Committee was then considered, & the recommendations for the purpose of providing a remedy for the present inadequate accommodation in the Painting Schools were adopted, and it was resolved:

1st. That the lectures be in future delivered in the room originally destined for the purpose.

2ndly. That the Upper Painting School be held in the room now used for the lectures; and

3rdly. That the Preliminary Painting School be held in the room now occupied by the Upper Painting School, but only until such time as more complete arrangements can be effected;

and it was also resolved that the School Committee should superintend the details of initial arrangement, the Treasurer being requested to carry out these alterations during the next recess."

A matter frequently discussed by witnesses before the 1863 Royal Commission was the desirability of appointing a Professor of Chemistry. The Commissioners eventually recommended this (see p. 289), and in 1871 such a post was advertised. CM of 17th July 1871 gives some details:

"Considered list of names, qualifications & testimonials of Candidates for the office of Professor of Chemistry, and as these were very numerous, in order that every member should be fully informed as to the qualifications of the candidates for whom they were about to vote, it was resolved:

That the names & testimonials of the Candidates should be printed & that a copy should be sent to every member before the day of election."

General Assembly Minutes tell that there were eleven candidates, and of these Frederick S. Barff was elected. Barff had indeed been in touch with the Academy on the matter before it was decided to throw the office open to public competition. He was Assistant Professor of Chemistry at University College. As Professor of Chemistry at the Royal Academy he was paid £150 per annum and had to bear the cost of experiments himself. (See CM of 3rd June 1871).

The Keeper was dissatisfied with the system of rotation of Visitors, as CM of 12th June tells:

"Considered a letter from the Keeper complaining that the present regulations with regard to the rotation of Visitors in the Schools are not satisfactory, and that he wished to be relieved from the duty of communicating with Visitors, in order to supply the place of those not able to undertake their duty, and recommending that the old system should be re-adopted by which the visitors should themselves be responsible for providing substitutes when not able to attend. The following amendment to the law was then proposed.

'Any Visitor unable to serve in the Schools in his appointed month shall be considered responsible for providing a substitute from among the Visitors who have not already served, or failing them, from the supplementary list, according to the order of their election, & he shall report to the Keeper accordingly. No Visitor to exceed one month's service in each school during the year."

It seems as if the Council was considering the Schools on its own account, i.e. disregarding the work of the School

Committee which was going on at the same time. Indeed the following CM can be regarded as a criticism of the School Committee, an implication, as it were, that it was not getting on to the things that really mattered:

"The state of the Schools was then discussed, & as the present arrangements do not altogether satisfy the Council, & with a view to possible modifications or changes, it was resolved:

The Mr. Millington be informed that his services will not be required beyond the present year. The President undertook to confer with the Keeper.-

-The increased scale of payment to Visitors in the Upper School of Painting to commence next year." (CM of 19th June 1871).

Student indiscipline was reported in CM of 19th June 1871:

"On a representation by the Keeper & Visitors that the work of a student in the Upper School of Painting was unsatisfactory, the Student was sent down to the Preliminary School; & the request of Mr. Truby for an extension of the privilege of study was refused, his attendance & Conduct not having been satisfactory."

Similarly, in CM of 7th August 1871:

"The names of some students in the Upper School of Painting having been (informally) reported by Mr. Millington & the Keeper as unfit to study in that school the question was referred to the School Committee for enquiry and decision."

The proposals to consider the suggestion of a General Director of the Schools appear to have been quietly forgotten (see p. 310), but there was evidently some strong feeling that the office of Keeper was unsatisfactory as matters then stood. Therefore the office was considered by Council at the end of 1871. It can be seen that some of the changes, in fact, make the

office closer to that of the formerly-envisaged Director. CM of 11th December give the details of the proposed changes:

"It was moved by Mr. Redgrave, seconded by Mr. Hook, and carried - 'That the Keeper shall be an Academician, but non-resident. -

'That the Keeper shall be relieved from the duty of Teaching in the Antique School, but shall be responsible for the Teaching in that School, and for discipline in all the Schools, as being the representative of the Academy therein.-

'He shall see to the proper attendance of Visitors, Lecturers, Monitors etc. - and shall report any shortcomings to the Council. -

'He shall have charge under the Council of all duties connected with the Students. For further details of the Keeper's duties see Draft plan.'

It was further resolved that the Keeper being non-resident shall be provided with a studio with an Ante room in the Building - and further - that he shall be appointed for a period of five years, by election of a General Assembly, but shall be eligible for re-election - and that he shall have no seat in Council during his tenure of office.

Mr. Wells moved as an amendment -That the Keeper should have a seat in the Council, but without a vote. Amendment not carried."

This matter was next discussed at Council meeting of 14th May 1872.

Under CM of 29th May 1871 the revised scale of payment to models was affirmed. Later in the same Minutes is mention of an instructive idea, which was not accepted:

"A letter was read from Mr O'Neil A.R.A. offering to present a drawing, to be placed in the Schools of the R.Academy, and suggesting that other Members should be invited to contribute drawings for a similar purpose. The Council while thanking Mr. O'Neil for his offer do not think it advisable to adopt his recommendation."

1872.

At the beginning of the year the female students were campaigning again. CM of 9th January 1872 reads:

"Read a memorial signed by 22 female students of the Academy requesting the Council to establish a separate School under given restrictions, where female artists should have the advantage of studying from the nude model, as is afforded to the male students in the Life School.

The request of the memorialists was declared inexpedient and unanimously declined."

Under the same CM is the resolution that members of the School Committee shall receive ten shillings "for each attendance as in ordinary committee".

Also under the same CM is the entry telling that the School Committee report was read

"...strongly recommending the appointment of a Professor or Teacher of Sculpture, for the direct and exclusive teaching of modelling to the Sculpture Students - in a school to be set apart for that purpose - and the Council fully concurring in the above recommendations Mssrs. Weekes and Marshall were requested to examine the proposed arrangement in all its working details, and report to the next meeting of Council."

At the Council meeting of 23rd January 1872 Weekes and Marshall reported as follows:

"Gentlemen -

Having according to request taken into our consideration the part of the report submitted to the Council by the School Committee relating to the teaching of Sculpture, the general purport of which we thoroughly approve, we beg to offer the following simple suggestions for carrying it into practice -

That the present Upper Life School, now not occupied in the Evening, be set aside for two hours - from 6 to 8 p.m. in the

winter and from 5 to 7 p.m. in the summer, for the purpose of modelling from the life.

That the necessary series of living models be provided for that purpose -

That a curator be appointed from among the older students to keep order. - That we do not think it possible to procure, at a reasonable salary, a sculptor of sufficient standing in his profession, who will undertake the entire charge of teaching, and we therefore recommend that 5 Sculpture visitors be elected annually, who shall each serve twice during the session, or even oftener, in case of illness or other causes preventing any of them from undertaking the duty; but in every respect on the same footing as the present visitors: -

Should this plan be adopted no Sculptor would be required to serve in the existing Life School. - With the exception of some slight preliminary preparations, no further alterations need be made or expenses incurred."

Further discussion took place on the matter at the Council meeting of 21st February 1872:

"On resuming the discussion of the Sculptor Teachership it was moved by Mr. Weekes, seconded by Mr. Wells,

That a Sculptor visitor be appointed, who shall attend twice in each week during the Session, id est - once in the morning, and once in the Evening, and shall visit all the Schools, - and on occasion of the prize offered for Sculpture, shall set the model for the figure. - Carried.

It was further recommended that a Sculptor and an Architect be added to the School Committee."

The new members are named in CM of 7th May 1872:

"The School Committee plus Mr. Marshall for Sculpture and Mr. Street for architecture ...were empowered to examine and give judgement on the probationers and students works and to report the result of their decisions to the Council."

CM of 14th May 1872 gives the report of the Committee on Academy re-organisation (Mr. Cope's)

"and the resolutions of the Committee were put seriatim from the chair as follows -

One the Keepership.

1. That the Keeper shall be an Academician. Carried.
2. That he shall reside in the Building of the Academy. Carried.
3. That he shall retain the Teaching in the Antique School, and shall be responsible for the conduct and discipline of the Schools generally. Carried.
4. That he shall be relieved from the labor (sic) and responsibility of the mere Household supervision, which duty shall devolve on the Registrar, or other Officer.
5. That the Keeper shall be elected for a term of Five years at the end of which term he shall be eligible for re-election. Carried.
6. That on every declared vacancy the Keeper shall be elected by the General body, from a list of Members recommended by the Council - Carried.
7. That the propriety of retaining the Keeper in office shall be made the subject of a vote, at the expiration of each term of five years - The assent upon a Ballot of two thirds of the members of a General Assembly shall determine such re-election. - Carried."

It can be seen that some decisions of CM of 11th December 1871 are reversed above. These are:

2. that he shall be resident in the Academy;
3. that he shall retain teaching in the Antique School.

There is no mention in the above CM of 14th May 1872 of his supervisory duties as regards visitors etc., nor of his having or not having a seat on the Council.

This CM also has an entry on the nature of the Secretary, which has already been quoted (see p.220).

The School Committee made another suggestion in June 1872. Since this involved costs the Committee was careful to include an estimate of such, for it had been rebuked earlier in the year

by the auditors:

"It was ordered that Officers of Departments shall obtain estimates for every matter recommended by Committee or by Council, to be approved by Council before being acted on. -

This resolution was moved on reading the Auditors' report on the last Xmas quarters accounts wherein a sum of £1044.14.1 for alterations in the Building had been carried out on the recommendation of the School Committee without any previous estimate for such expenditure having been submitted to or sanctioned by the Council." (CM of 13th February 1872)

It does read like a bit of 'empire-building' by the School Committee, which received a snub from the Council. However, in CM of 4th June 1872 the Committee was careful:

"Mr. F. Leighton on the part of the School Committee submitted a draft plan for an improved background for the model in the Life School, together with an estimate of costs. - The proposed plan being considered cumbersome, and involving unnecessary expenditure, Mr. Smirke was instructed to devise a plan by extension of wall supporting draperies, for the said purpose, and to submit an estimate of costs before carrying the same into effect."

This also reads like a snub! Not only did Council dismiss the plan as being 'cumbersome' but it asked Smirke to devise something else, and moreover, implied that he could get on with it, having submitted the estimate. If this is so then there was to be no consideration, side by side, of the two plans - Council's decision was already made and Smirke's plan was accepted.

A reprinting of the Rules and Bye-laws was ordered by Council at the meeting of 4th June 1872.

Travelling Studentships, under discussion in October 1871, were again an item at Council meeting of 18th June 1872:

"After discussion of the proposition on the question of competition for the Travelling Studentships, in Painting and in Sculpture, submitted to the General Assembly on 22nd March last and referred back to the Council for further consideration, the following resolution was moved and adopted, to be again submitted to the General Assembly - That -

Competition for the Travelling Studentships of Painting and of Sculpture shall be open to all students during their term of seven years studentship, as in the case of the Gold Medal Competitions of the Royal Academy."

The same CM dealt with proposals for the Day School for Sculpture:

"..on the subject of direct Teaching of Sculpture, the following amended resolution was moved and adopted to be submitted to the General Assembly -

That a Day School for Sculpture be established in the present Life School, which shall be open three days in the week, from Ten till Two o'clock, for the study of the nude and draped model -

That five Sculptor-Visitors be appointed for two months each, who shall attend twice a week, and who shall give instruction to all Sculptor Students in the Royal Academy."

There was not sufficient demand for this scheme to get going, as CM of 19th November 1872 tells:

"The Secretary reporting that the Proviso carried by the General Assembly of the 26th June last added to the Council recommendation on the subject of direct Teaching for Sculpture Students viz.

'That a notice shall be placed in the Academy, announcing the intention of opening a school in the ensuing year for Modelling from the Life in the round, under Visitors being Members of the Academy, but that such School shall not be opened unless at least Six Students shall signify their wish to enter for study' - had been duly posted as ordered and that the names of Four Female Students only had been entered as desiring to attend. -

The Council thereupon declared the original scheme to be withdrawn, and in its place the following resolution was proposed and carried viz.

'That at the Annual Election for Visitors to the Life School,

not less than two shall be Sculptors, and one of the Sculptor Visitors shall set the model for the Premium Competition in the class of Sculpture."

Under CM of 16th July 1872 the School Committee had a suggestion regarding the Curatorship of the Painting School:

"Sir Francis and Gentlemen -

I am instructed by the School Committee to make known to you the fact that owing to the prolonged and it is feared most critical illness of Mr. Millington the Upper Painting School has been for now six weeks almost entirely deprived of the control of its Curator. I say 'almost' because Mr. Millington has during that period attempted to resume his duties but without being able to continue their discharge. - I am further to ask whether the Council have been able to consider a suggestion made some time back by the Committee that the Curatorships of the two Painting Schools be merged into one, in the hope of obtaining an Artist of more calibre for the post than it is to be hoped for with the divided salary now given, and the present general rise in the cost of living. - The proposal is one which the Committee urgently solicit your attention.

I am etc.,

Frederick Leighton."

The Council reply was:

"It was resolved that the resolution of the School Committee be adopted, and that the School Committee be invited to enquire for, and recommend to the Council such persons as they may think best qualified for the office. - The salary to be £200 per ann rising."

CM of 17th December 1872 tells that 17 had applied for this Curatorship of the Painting Schools. This number was reduced to five, out of which John Ballantyne was elected for a period of three years.

CM of 9th August 1872 informs that Cope's five years in office was completed, but he was asked to continue as Professor of Painting.

The students requested a relaxation of the rulings regarding compulsory attendance at lectures under CM of 5th November 1872:

"Mr. Frith read a letter addressed to him by Mr. Horsley on the hindrance the present regulations, as to compulsory attendance at Lectures, offered to Students desiring to compete for Premiums and for advancement in the Schools. -

As the matter involved the discipline of the Schools, as well as the interests of the students, the letter was referred to the School Committee for consideration."

(See CM of 7th January 1873).

Discussion was still going on (CM of 15th November 1872) on whether or not the new Secretary should also be Librarian. By the decision of this meeting he was so to be, and the Registrar was to be Sub-Librarian. These proposals were for the future, not for the present holders. New salary scales offered the Keeper £600 (without coals and light); the Secretary £500 rising by increments of £20 to £600; the Registrar £200 rising by increments of £15 to £400. Earlier in the year (under CM of 23rd January 1872) the salary of Mr. Bowler, Teacher in Perspective, had been raised from £60 to £80.

1873.

The School Committee took up the matter referred to it in the previous November (see p.335) in Council meeting of 7th January 1873. The letter came from Leighton:

"Gentlemen,

I am instructed by the School Committee to acquaint you that they have considered Mr. Horsley's letter referred to them, and that while sympathising with its general tenour (sic), and recognising the hardship to students which it points out, they would suggest another solution of the difficulty: namely:-

That Students be admitted to compete for the Gold Medal, in the Antique School, as soon as their ability shall qualify them, - but they shall not compete for medals in the Upper Schools (Painting and Life) until they shall have attended the complete course of lectures. - By this means attendance at these lectures will still be secured, but greater latitude left to the Student in the matter of time.

I ametc..."

After discussion at the Council meeting the following was agreed to:

"The following resolution was moved by Mr. Frith, seconded by Mr. Weekes and carried - viz-

'That Students of the Antique School shall be admitted into the Upper School of Painting and the Life, as soon as the required specimen of their ability shall be approved by the Council, and they shall be eligible to compete for the Gold Medals in the classes of Historical Painting and of Sculpture, and also for the Travelling Studentship in those classes: - But Students shall not be eligible to compete for medals specially pertaining to the Painting and Life Schools, unless they shall have duly attended the entire course of Lectures etc. as by law provided.*

The Secretary then read an elaborate report from the School Committee on an improved system of Architectural Teaching, founded on suggestions offered by Mr. Phene Spiers and Mr. Geo E. Street. - The Report was generally approved, and ordered to be taken into early consideration."

Council considered the report further and CM of 11th February

1873 continues:

"Read a report from the School Committee on the subject of compulsory attendance at lectures etc., referred to their consideration by the Council, and their recommendation to the following effect was approved and adopted - viz.

'That students may compete for Medals in the Antique School, and if duly qualified may pass into the Upper Schools, without the hindrance of enforced attendance at lectures and lessons in Perspective - but they shall not be eligible to compete for any further medals or honors (sic) whatever, until they shall have completed the prescribed course of lectures and lessons in Perspective.'

After these various deliberations it can be seen that the students were better off and the regulations were relaxed.

In October 1873 casts from York Minster were presented by Mr. Street for the use of the students in architecture. (CM 28 October 1873).

In June 1873 John Marshall was appointed Professor of Anatomy in place of Richard Partridge, who had held the office for twenty-one years. Marshall had been a candidate at the outset of the 1st five-year period (see p. 311), and now in office it seems he was anxious to effect improvements:

"...suggested..an arrangement with the University of London by which the Students of the Academy would be enabled to have the advantage of anatomical demonstrations & dissections in the adjoining building. These suggestions were highly approved and the President was requested to communicate with Dr. Carpenter the Registrar of the University on the subject." (CM 3rd June 1873)

Desirable though the scheme appeared to be the Senate of the University considered it "inexpedient" to grant these facilities to R.A. students (CM's of 31st July 1873).

CM of 10th June tell that F.R.Pickersgill was appointed

Keeper on the resignation of Charles Landseer.

The new Curator of the Painting School was also anxious to do more than his terms of employment dictated. His request embodied a generous offer and it seems almost graceless that Council had to answer it according to the strict letter of the law. CM of 17th June 1873:

"Read a letter from Mr. Ballantyne desiring the sanction of the Council to an occasional short address with illustrative sketches etc. to the students in the painting school. While generally approving of the wish of Mr. Ballantyne to improve the teaching his letter was agreed to be reported to the School Committee for their consideration."

Richard Redgrave drew up the new duties of the Keeper for Council, and they appear in CM of 31st July 1873. They are extensive, but they are not transcribed again here for they add nothing new to that which is already given on p. 331. Redgrave also drew up the duties of the Secretary, which appear in the same CM. Also in this CM changes are reported in the laws affecting architectural students:

"Mr. Street read a report prepared by him which had been adopted by the School Committee re-organising the existing laws relating to the Architectural Students - which was generally approved and adopted."

Finally under this CM Leighton asks Council, on behalf of the School Committee, to sanction money for a new lay figure. This was granted, and the cost was not to exceed £30. This simple enough item in CM's was the beginning of the end of the School Committee, as will shortly be seen.

Further requests from new Professor Marshall are

mentioned in CM of 20th November 1873. He was authorised to spend £53 on skeletons and materials for demonstrations (the full details of the account are given) but was not allowed a cupboard. He also sent to Council a letter on the subject of lady students attending his anatomical lectures, on which is CM:

"A letter from Professor Marshall on the subject of the admission of Lady Students to the Anatomical Lectures, & the following resolution passed:-

1. That Lady Students be admitted to not more than four out of the six Anatomical Lectures, two at least being reserved for Male Students only.
2. That the anatomical lectures to which Lady Students are admitted shall be open to all ladies, & not restricted to such ladies only as are Students.
3. That the two foregoing resolutions are not to come into force this year, but to be postponed until the next session."

A new course was added in the Preliminary Painting School. CM of 16th December 1873:

"Letter read from the School Committee, urging the advisability of adding to the Preliminary Painting School a short course of drawing of heads from the life, and proposing that a 'model, for the head only, sit daily, for a couple of hours,' and that 'these hours precede the opening of the Preliminary Painting Class, so that the Curator may without difficulty attend both.'"

The proposal was agreed to. The Report of Council for 1873 adds the further piece of information that this scheme was the idea of the new Keeper, Pickersgill.

A further item from the same report is that it was decreed that time drawings done in the Antique School should be consecutive.

Among miscellaneous items in this year was the request of a drinking fountain for students, installed for £10, under CM of 3rd June 1873; the appointment of the new lay Secretary (see p. 221); the students requesting changed times for the summer vacation - from September-October to August-September - which was agreed to become operative next year (CM of 15th July 1873); and the death of the distinguished Bir Edwin Landseer, followed by an exhibition of his works at the wish of the Prince of Wales (CM of October 1873).

1874.

By CM of 3rd November 1874 the Keeper was empowered to excuse lady students from attending public lectures, though he was to urge all who could to come.

CM of 15th December 1874 gives new rules for Architectural Travelling Students. They were not to be required to leave England before March; were to be given £30 for travelling expenses, and £130 for the year.

The same CM reported the insubordination of a student in the Life School, one J. Russell. He was reported to Council by the Keeper and immediately suspended. On receiving an apology his suspension was limited to three months, from 10th December which was the date of the offence.

The premiums-subjects are given in CM of 27th January 1874. These were:

Copy in School of Painting - left to Mr. Millais to choose.
(He finally selected Portrait of an Old Man, by Bassano, from the Hampton Court Collection).

Restoration - The Torso.

Architectural Drawing - Tomb of Henry VII, in his Chapel in Westminster Abbey.

Perspective Drawing - Interior of Westminster Hall.

The main event in this year was undoubtedly the ending of the School Committee. It has been seen in the Council Minutes of the preceding years how important this had become. The

Committee had thrown itself unstintingly and with enthusiasm into Schools affairs. Obviously it must have been resented to some extent by the elder Academicians, and occasionally the incipient rift between it and Council has been detected in Council Minutes. On 13th January 1874 the meeting of Council was informed that the Schools Committee intended to resign unless the requisite £35 for the lay figure was agreed to. And who, on reading the facts, could blame the Committee members? They had, after all, asked for this money six months ago and at that time £30 had been sanctioned. Presumably Council wrangled over the whole of six months about £5! Council, as might be expected, was angry and

"In reply the following resolution, proposed by Mr. Millais seconded by Mr. Dobson, was agreed to & ordered to be communicated to the Committee:-

'The Council previous to hearing the Minutes of the School Committee read by the Secretary had decided on the purchase of the Lay Figure at £35 - But they must express their surprise & regret that the School Committee should have accompanied their request for the purchase of a Lay Figure with a threat that if not complied with they would tender their resignation. The Council beg that this opinion unanimously entertained may be intimated to the Committee.'

CM of 27th January 1874 carry on:

"The following extract from the Minutes of the School Committee (Jan 16 1874) was read relative to the Resolution of Council passed at the last meeting (Jan 13 1874) & communicated to the School Committee:-

'The Secretary was desirous to inform the Council that before the Resolution was read to the Committee, the passage in the Minutes on which it was based had been expunged as not being considered a correct representation of what took place at the meeting at which it was drawn up.'

Almost certainly the anger of Council had been reported back

to the School Committee after Council's meeting concerning the letter threatening resignation. It looks as if someone on the Schools Committee had then developed 'cold feet' and wished to draw back from the stand they had taken, together, in writing the letter. Hence the request to alter the minutes of the last meeting before the letter of Council could be read. However, all was temporarily patched up, and CM of 19th February 1874 tells that a School Committee request for improved lighting in the Antique School was granted by Council. The end came at a Council meeting of 16th June 1874. Two routine items preceded it, and these are given below to be then followed by Horsley's motion of disbandment:

"The Keeper having reported that the time allowed (six days four hours each) to students for making their Painting from the Life for the Medal was too short. It was resolved on the motion of Mr Robson, seconded by Mr. Faed, that:-

'The Students in the School of Painting from the Life be allowed nine days of four hours each (36 hours) for the painting from the life for the medal.'"

The other item concerned the borrowing of some casts of the crucifixion, then came:

"The following motions were brought forward by Mr. Horsley, & after discussion were declared carried & ordered to be laid before a General Meeting to be specially summoned for Thursday (July 9th):-

'That the Council of the Royal Academy fully recognising the great services of the School Committee propose that for the future the work of that Committee shall be the duty of the Council itself.'"

Bald, blunt and uncomprising! That there were two schools of thought however is apparent on reading the General Assembly Minutes of 9th July 1874:

(Council motion was read first, then came)... "An amendment was moved by Mr. Redgrave & Seconded by Mr. Wells:-

'That the General Assembly of the R.A., fully recognising the services of the School Committee & the present successful state of the Schools, are aware how impossible it is that a Council consisting of 12 members can attend to the details of School management, & therefore affirm the necessity of such School Committee being continued.'

The Amendment was put from the Chair & lost, the numbers being For 11, Against 13. The original Resolution was then put & declared carried, the numbers being For 13, Against 11."

That there was a cabal to get rid of the School Committee seems abundantly clear. The two motions of General Assembly were diametrically opposed. Significantly Redgrave, realising the impossibility of having the Schools properly looked at by the entire Council, proposed that the Schools Committee should stay - and who would know what was involved better than Redgrave with all his experience at South Kensington. In the light of subsequent events it really seems as if the abolition of the Schools Committee was an extremely stupid thing to do at this stage - but more of this later. The members of the School Committee were: C.W.Cope (Chairman); Alfred Elmore; W.Calder Marshall; G.E.Street; and the extremely active and lively Secretary Frederick Leighton.

Though this measure had been passed by General Assembly the Schools Committee did not immediately cease to exist. CM of 14th July 1874 tells that its Report was read to Council and adopted, but CM of 7th August 1874 contains the resignation of the members of the Committee "because of possible embarrassment due to the 9 July General Assembly resolution". What this means

is now anyone's guess. Perhaps the thirteen members who decided to oust the Committee had stirred up more trouble within the ranks of all the Academicians than they had bargained for- for there was by no means a full attendance at the General Assembly meeting of 9th July... The last CM entry involving the Schools Committee is of 15th December 1874 when its Report for 1874 was read to Council, which report had been drawn up before its resignation. Its Report was adopted. This Report adds nothing which is not being already mentioned in this text under the respective CM's except for the word of warning on entries. The Schools numbers had increased from 351 in 1873 to 393 in 1874 and therefore, in the opinion of the Schools Committee it was necessary to raise the standard of entry of probationers.

Professor Marshall offered to give Six Demonstrations of the Muscles as a supplement to his lectures, which offer was accepted, under CM of 27th January 1874.

The position of the Keeper as to Council was regularised under CM of 3rd November 1874. He was to be an ex officio member of Council, like the Treasurer, viz.

"That he shall be summoned to all meetings of the Council by right of his office and have the liberty of giving his opinion in all debates, but shall have no vote unless he is of the Council for the time being."

(This is rather interesting, for after the death of Grant when the Keeper assumed the Chair at Council this was challenged, on the ground that the Chairman was always a member of Council. In fact between this ruling of 3rd November 1874 and the death of Grant the Keeper had chaired Council, without comment. However, this is outside the scope of this thesis. HCM)

There was a motion by Herbert, seconded by Dobsen, to Council on 15th December 1874 that there should be appointed a Professor of Chemistry. This had been recommended by the 1863 Royal Commissioners (see p. 289). It was moved;

"that a committee be appointed to enquire in what way the services of the Professor of Chemistry can be utilised so as to realise the intention of the Academy in appointing a Professor of that Science, and that the said Committee be composed of the following members, Mssrs Richmond, Cope, Cooke, Herbert and Stocks."

There was apparently a sort of separatist idea current in this year, for CM of 9th March 1874 ordered

"That there be no doors of communication between any of the Schools - the present existing doors to be bricked up."

The British Academy in Rome applied to the Academy for financial assistance, which was refused (CM of 3rd November 1874).

The wealth of the Academy can be assessed at this time from the value of insurance it considered necessary to take out. CM of 17th November 1874 state that the following be insured for the values placed alongside:

Library, £7,000; Plate, Presidential Chain and Medal, £500; furniture and fittings, £2,000; Diploma Works, £13, 800 (being £100 apiece and £300 for all engravings and architectural drawings); casts £1,000; pictures other than Diploma Works, £12,000. The grand total was therefore £36,300.

CM of 15th December 1874 informs that the Queen was asked to lend to the Schools a Portrait by Sebastian del Piombo in

place of the Portrait of Ignatius Loyola by Titian.

This was the year of a great female triumph in the Academy Exhibition. Miss Thompson's picture "The Roll Call, after an Engagement, Crimea" captured imaginations. The Queen had it removed from the exhibition - to the great disgust of crowds who had paid to see it - so that she could look at it privately. Leighton, whose picture was placed next to it, asked Council for a rail round his picture lest it should be damaged! This must have been a source of some considerable satisfaction to the female element in the Academy Schools.

1875.

Under CM of 12th January 1875 Mr. Spiers, Teacher of Architecture reported that every candidate but one had failed to pass since they had not complied with the new rules. It was decreed by Council that the work should be judged by the Keeper and Mr. Barry under the old rules.

The same CM includes the request of a Miss Greenhill, that she might be a student again without being a probationer. Her request was refused. This is difficult to explain. It appears that she might have formerly been a student and allowed this to lapse, but in this case she would have been entered in the registers. She is not entered in the registers until January 1876 (see Appendix LX).

CM of 5th July gives notice to Council of an intended motion by Leighton. It was really two motions:

- a. That the minimum age for drawing the undraped female figure in the Life School be 18 instead of 20 years;
- b. That because of the excessive pressure in the Upper Painting School the Keeper be asked to provide a third draped figure in that School.

Council discussed the matter at a meeting of 13th July 1875 and passed motion b.. Motion a., as might be expected, was still not accepted. Indeed there was an attempt from the prudes to abolish painting and drawing, modelling etc. from the female nude in the Schools completely. This counter-proposal came

from Horsley and was seconded by Ward. ^{* See p.352} After discussion both resolution and amendment were withdrawn. There was a further attempt in 1876 to have the female nude working abolished (see p.354).

Council meeting of 26th January 1875 received the resignation of Professor Cope from the Chair of Painting, which he had held for eight years. He offered to deliver the lectures next year if this was necessary. In this letter Cope expressed much interest in mural painting, and after discussion it was resolved on the recommendation of Redgrave:

"That the Professor of Painting be put in communication with the Keeper in order that some experiments may be made with the students as to the executive processes of fresco painting and that for this purpose a sum not exceeding £10 be placed at their disposal towards expenses."

It is interesting that this measure was seconded by Leighton, who had proposed the measures of July. Cope had proposed it. Both Cope and Leighton, then, who had been so active on the School Committee were continuing to do their best for students and Schools even though they had been rejected by Council.

The lectures by Marshall in anatomy must have been successful for at Council meeting of 5th August the Keeper proposed that the number of them be increased. Leighton then proposed that the number by which they were increased be six, and this was carried. At the same meeting the Keeper proposed that the award of the silver medal for the draped figure be

postponed, which was agreed to. Another amendment he proposed was that the time allowed in the competition for painting from the life be in future 36 hours. This was agreed to. This meant that an extra twelve hours were allotted to the competition. It was a competition for a silver medal.

The new Keeper, it can be seen, was making a positive contribution to Council deliberations and originating propositions. This would appear to be in excess of the rubric of 3rd November 1874 (see p.345) that he 'give his opinion'.

At Council meeting of 1st June 1875 there was read a letter from Dulwich College inviting the President and Council to visit the Gallery. This was the first official communication recorded in the Council Minutes from Dulwich for several years (see p. 312). A second letter was read at the Council meeting of 9th June - both letters from Mr. Rogers, the Chairman of the Dulwich Governors - which extended the invitation beyond Council to any other persons of the Academy that Council considered might be interested. The business was a clear extending of the olive branch by Dulwich, and from this point normal arrangements continued.

At Council meeting of 2nd November 1875 a letter was read from Mr. Henry Bowler, Teacher in Perspective, stating that the present system of dividing the body of students into three classes, each of 13 lessons, was not successful. He wished in its place to have two classes which should each

be given twenty lessons. He was told by Council that the present system had not run long enough to have had a fair trial; at the same time Council acknowledged his zeal, and appreciated it.

Under the same CM of 2nd November 1875 it was decreed that there could be no further renewals of studentships after 31st December 1875 due to the crowded state of the Schools.

The three years tenure of office of the Curator of the Painting School, Mr. Ballantyne, expired at the end of the year. His services must have been considered very satisfactory for he was re-elected with better conditions of service. He was given a raised salary of £325, and his appointment ceased to be for a fixed term. It was now for an indefinite period, terminable by a six months' notice.

Students of the National Art Training Schools at Kensington petitioned Council for tickets to the Royal Academy Exhibition. Twelve tickets were sent to their master, Mr. Bowler, for distribution (CM of 11 May 1875).

£100 was offered to the British Academy in Rome (CM of 5th August 1875). This was the first assistance offered them by the Academy in recent years.

CM of 2nd Novemebr 1875 reported that the catalogue of the Library was now completed, that it was extremely satisfactory, and that Mr. Tedder be offered payment of £115. 10s. for his work therein.

There was much interest^{expressed} in Council Minutes (16th March 1875 onwards) in the 1876 International Exhibition at Philadelphia. British interests were under the care of P. Cunliffe Owen who was the Executive Commissioner appointed by the Department of Education. The Royal Academy was asked to contribute "that by their assistance the arts of this country be worthily represented at Philadelphia".

At Council meeting of 2nd March 1875 Leighton proposed a good idea to bring the Academy more before the public notice - "that the Academy take steps to register the experience of its members in technical matters and make it accessible to the public." This was carried unanimously and Leighton was asked to draw up the registry for approval.

* Years before, Herbert, before the 1863 Royal Commission had objected to the use of the nude female model in the Academy (Report, para. 4843). See footnote also, in Schools of Design, Quentin Bell, on p. 182. In this note he links the opinions of Herbert and Horsley on this.

1876.

Irregularities concerning the Architectural Gold Medal competition were reported in CM of 11th January 1876:

"The Treasurer reported that he had examined the drawings and plans sent in competition for the Architectural Gold Medal with reference to the protest which had been sent in against the award by the General Assembly, and found that those of the competitor to whom the medal had been awarded and those of the competitor honourably mentioned violated the conditions of the competition, but that there were several former cases in which similar irregularities had been allowed. After discussion it was resolved -

'That the competitor to whom the medal was awarded by the General Assembly be allowed to retain in on the grounds:-

1. that similar violation of the strict laws laid down by the competition have been allowed on former occasions and a misleading precedent thereby created,
2. that the second in the competition had also violated the rules, and
3. no other competitor had been deemed worthy of any award.

The Competitors to be informed by letter of this decision and the grounds on which it is based and also that in future any infraction of the rules will ipso facto disqualify the competitor guilty of such infraction."

CM of 25th January 1876 gives the subjects for premiums. These followed the usual pattern - a copy of a picture in the School of Painting; ^{but} an architectural drawing; the restoration of a mutilated antique figure was suspended and in its place was a coinage design. This was to be of "the two faces of a crown piece of the present reign." There was another new competition - that of a drawing done in chalk or charcoal of a draped figure the size of life. Council Report for 1876 says

that the coin design was not successful.

A letter was produced from Mr. Hook, to the Council meeting of 22nd February 1876, asking if any studies could be given in for the competition in the life painting class, i.e. could the studies be changed for better ones as the season advanced? The plea was put forward because of the "difficulty of finding good views at one time for more than six or eight easels". The Keeper supported the views expressed and, on the motion of Leighton, the proposal was adopted. (This was for the Silver Medal in the class of Painting from the Life).

The Secretary of the Royal Institute of British Architects asked for some copies of the Laws of the Academy to enable the R.I.B.A. to draw up its own laws. (CM of 29th March 1876).

CM of 20th June 1876 contained a request from the architectural students competing for the medal for scaffolding to be erected in Westminster Abbey so that they could do the requisite measuring. The request was refused by Council.

According to the Annual Report of Council for 1876 there was another move, on 30th May, to discontinue female models in the Life School. This went before General Assembly where "it was rejected by a large majority".

The Director at South Kensington acknowledged 19 tickets for the Exhibition, to be distributed among the National

Scholars and Medallists. (CM of 21st November 1876).

The same CM sets out a scheme of a competition "to encourage design and composition of figures". Mr. Armitage, R.A. proposed to set aside £1,000 at 4%, which would enable two annual prizes of £30 and £10 to be given. The gift was accepted. The details were decided in CM of 9th January 1877.

By order of Council of 8th August 1876 1,500 copies of the Library Catalogue were to be printed.

Under CM of 21st November Academy students were invited, on production of their ivory tickets, to the Exhibition of the Society of British Artists.

Under CM of 18th July 1876 Mr Folkand was appointed to the Library at a salary of £100.

Professor Weekes was unable to deliver his Sculpture Lectures due to ill health and tendered his resignation to Council at a meeting of 7th November 1876. At Council meeting of 21st November 1876 Messrs Calder Marshall and T. Woolner declined to take the post. Woolner promised to reconsider it, however, and eventually took it.

On general matters there was much in CM of 7th March concerning the Philadelphia Exhibition - the works being sent, insurance values etc.. For example: Reynolds self-portrait, at £1,500; a Wilkie at £1500; Several - Constable, Eddy, Mulready, Turner - at £1,000; several at £100 etc.. The same CM announced

the acceptance by Mr Gladstone of the Honorary Professorship of Ancient History.

The Lords of the Committee of Council on Education sent a communication to the Academy asking if facilities to see the Annual Exhibition free of charge might be extended to drawing masters, pupil teachers of drawing, and children who had gained prizes. The Royal Academy went a deal further than this, offering this facility to all children in the National Schools, giving them admission from 8 to 11a.m. each day during the last week of the Exhibition. The children should come in detachments of not more than 250 each morning, duly supervised. The Keeper and Secretary were to arrange details with the Department of Art and Science. (CM of 18th July 1876). CM of 8th August gave the total numbers given as eligible by the Science and Art Department. This was 4,500, and more than the Academy could cope with. However, they decided they could manage up to 300 per day, over the six days, making a total of 1,800. They then issued tickets to 1890 scholars in 118 schools. However, after all the planning, only 204 scholars from 16 schools attended. If the opportunity was not taken this was not the fault of the Royal Academy.

One of the last CM entries of 1876 contains an ingenious request. Since the extension of student privileges had been discontinued since December 1875 (see p. 351), a Miss Grove, whose seven years of studentship was then completed, asked if

she might enter as a probationer again. The Council refused!
It almost seems a little graceless not to have rewarded such
initiative!

[The following text is extremely faint and largely illegible. It appears to be a long letter or report, possibly discussing the same subject as the first paragraph. It contains several paragraphs of text, but the words are too light to transcribe accurately.]

[This section contains the final paragraphs of the document, which are also very faint. It appears to be a concluding statement or a signature block, but the text is not legible.]

1877.

The conditions of the new Armitage Prize were set out fully in CM of 9th January 1877:

"The Keeper reported that the Committee consisting of himself and Mssrs Calderon and Leighton appointed to confer with Mr. Armitage on the conditions to be attached to the competition for the scholarship proposed to be founded by him had carried out the instructions of the Council and had agreed with Mr. Armitage to recommend the following conditions which were then read seriatim by the Secretary and agreed to:-

'The competition is to be open to all students who have not completed the 7 years of Studentship, but the minimum number of competitors must be six or there will be no competition.

The sketches to be painted in black and white and to be of a uniform size viz. 18" by 12".

The subject previously determined upon by the Council to be announced to the students at 9 a.m. when the competition will begin.

Three days to be allowed from 9 a.m. till 4 p.m.

At the end of the first day each competitor will be required to leave with the Keeper a small sketch in chalk or pencil of the general arrangement of his composition, and it is expected that this arrangement will be the basis of the finished sketch.

Each student to bring his own canvas or panel which must on no pretence be removed from the Academy.

Any student detected copying the design of another will be disqualified.

The sketch to which the 1st prize awarded to remain the property of the Academy.

The subject to be definite and selected from Scripture, Ancient History or Mythology.

The Judges to have the power of withholding either or both prizes in case no sketch is thought sufficiently good.

The Judges to be a committee of three members appointed by the General Assembly."

CM of 6th November 1877 gives the subject for the Armitage Prize - "The placing of the 12 Altar Stones by the 12 Tribes at the crossing of the Jordan". In CM of 20th November is the note that Armitage had sent the £40 cheque to cover the prizes to the Academy.

The Premiums for the Gold Medals are set out in CM of 23rd January 1877:

"Historical Painting. The Introduction of Christianity into Britain: Missionaries of the 2nd Century explaining the doctrines of Christianity to a Pagan British family.

Composition in Sculpture. Hercules throwing Lichas into the sea.

Drawing in Architecture. A House of Legislature for a great Colonial Capital.

Landscape Painting (Turner Gold Medal). The skirts of a wood: storm coming on.

Travelling Studentships:

Painting: An episode of the Deluge: to be treated as a group of three figures, with small groups in the background.

Silver Medals:

Design for a Medal. The two faces of a Medal in commemoration of the Ashantee War.

Architectural Drawing. The interior of the Choir, Aisles and Crossing of St. Mary Overie Church (St. Saviour's) Southwark.

Perspective Drawing in Outline. A Portion of the Cloister of Westminster Abbey.

It was resolved to continue the suspension of the prize for the restoration of an antique statue - the Design for a medal taking its place.

It was also resolved that the prize of a life size cartoon of a single figure substituted last year should only be given on alternate years.

And it was further resolved to institute two new prizes

(1) for a Painting of the Head from the Life,
 (2) for a Drawing of a Head from Life
 one Silver Medal to be given in each competition."

CM of 13th February 1877 gives a change in the above. Sir Gilbert Scott asked that the Medal for Perspective Drawing be changed to the subject of "The Vestibule of the Farnese Palace at Rome."

Under CM of 13th February 1877 there is an entry indicating further trouble over the matter of the regulations re. Architectural drawings. The drawings of a probationer wishing to enter the Architectural School were rejected at his examination of December 31st 1876 as not being in accordance with the printed regulations. Investigation revealed that the Teacher of Architecture, Mr. Spiers, had altered the regulations. The probationer's drawings were therefore to be admitted and left to the judgment of the Keeper, the Treasurer and Sir Gilbert Scott, who should make ultimate report to the Council.

The matter was cleared up by the Committee Reporting on the Admission of Architectural Students (the same three as are mentioned above) which recommended certain changes:

- (1) Each candidate to submit to Council 4 drawings, viz., a plan, elevation or details of some existing building etc.. The drawings could be done at any time but had to be submitted with a signed declaration by the candidate that the work was his. The person recommending him had also to sign a statement to this effect:
- (2) Each candidate had to support his work by a certificate from an Architect Member of the Royal Academy, a Member of the R.I.B.A., or a Member of any Institution teaching Architecture "certifying that the applicant has followed up the study of Architectural Drawing and has acquired a reasonable degree of proficiency in the same".

If these two were acceptable to Council then the candidate had to

- (3) do further similar drawings in the Academy - "at least one original design and a sketch design, and a drawing from the cast, executed each in one day in the Architectural Classroom."

This also had to be laid before Council and if it were approved the probationer was admitted as a student.

A student abroad in Paris asked if he might submit work for the Historical Gold medal from there. This was not permitted. (CM of 19th June 1877).

There were 59 applicants for the post of Assistant Librarian, of whom C.E. Wilson was appointed on a 3 months trial.

There was a dispute during this year in connection with spending, which dispute affected the Schools as well as the rest of the Academy. It began at Council meeting of 13th February 1877 when the auditors queried the spending of £1597.17.8 on a new staircase which had been authorised by Council but not by General Assembly. This was explained away, but the auditors again complained under CM of 20th November 1877. On this occasion they objected to three items:

- (1) that no details were given of a bill from Brucciani;
- (2) that the Curator of the Painting School had been paid more than was last authorised by General Assembly;

(3) that salaried Officers attending General Assembly had been paid, contrary, they said, to the laws of 18th March 1869. These payments, they maintained, ought to be returned to the Treasurer.

This obviously caused somewhat of a stir. Council appeared to have no answer to (1). On (2) they maintained they were in the right insofar as it was understood that the Curator's salary was 'rising'. On (3) the defence was that Council had made the payments under the new Laws of 1873. The auditors then pointed out that the new Laws were illegal insofar as they had not been passed by General Assembly on this particular point. The Treasurer, as some sort of defence, submitted to the auditors a memorandum on the great labours of his office. This latter the auditors begged to submit to Council. The matter was next discussed by General Assembly on 29th November 1877, and therein a motion proposed by Redgrave was passed:

"That no new building works (other than current repairs) be undertaken without the consent of General Assembly being first obtained, the estimated expense being at the same time laid before the meeting: and that gifts to institutions must receive the previous sanction of General Assembly."

In the discussion which followed

"the Book of Laws was declared incorrect and unsanctioned by the Council and General Assembly, & the President gave an assurance that the Council should at once prepare a proper digest of the laws to be brought before the General Assembly for its sanction."

These events stirred the President to great indignation and at Council meeting of 11th December a letter from him was read in which he protested against the G.A. Resolution of 29th

November limiting the spending power of Council and he requested that his protest should be entered in Council Minutes. This was done. The letter is lengthy, and Grant quotes 'chapter and verse' to support his argument. (see also CM of 15th January 1878).

There is little else of interest in this year. The numbers of children attending the Exhibition on free tickets is given in CM of 9th August. There were 220 scholars from 25 schools. The British Academy in Rome was given another £50, "out of the surplus profits of last year's exhibition" (CM of 20th November 1877). The Diploma pictures were cleaned (CM of 11th December 1877). Tickets were sent to South Kensington students for the Exhibition (CM of 11th December), and the Royal Institute of British Architects offered its library facilities to architectural students of the Academy on payment of 5s. annually. The Department of Science and Art also invited Academy students to certain lectures on application for tickets, the lectures to be held at South Kensington. L. Alma-Tadema presented a copy of a Rubens picture to the Painting School, which was accepted (CM of 9th March 1877). CM's of 6th and 20th March refer to the buying of Hilton's 'Christ Crowned with Thorns' under the Chantrey Bequest. (See p. 74). In February the Keeper and Mr. Woolner were asked to look over the sculpture and fragments in the Academy and eliminate those not worth keeping (CM of 13th February 1877).

1878.

Two cases occurred in this year of Visitors exceeding their powers regarding the hiring of models. At the Council meeting of 15th January 1878 a letter was read from Alma-Tadema

"stating that believing it to be a useful thing for the students to have the opportunity of painting from two models at the same time he has as Visitor ordered two, but learning it was not customary and would increase the expense, he hoped the Council would excuse him from having outstepped the general rule of the Schools, & doing what had been before done by Ety. - The letter to be acknowledged and Mr. Alma-Tadema told that the Council would accept his explanation."

CM of May 14th was told a similar story by Mr. Long, Visitor in the Painting School, who had "engaged an extra model for the last 5 days for the benefit of students who were badly placed." He said that if he had exceeded his commission he was ready to pay himself. This offer was not accepted, but he was informed that he had infringed the rules by not seeking the approval of Council first.

An odd request came from an old man, which is recorded in CM of 5th March 1878:

"...Mr. Stepney, stating that he was admitted a student of the Academy in 1826, & asking for such privileges of studentship as it is in the power of Council to grant.

Mr. Stepney to be informed that as he had not obtained a first class medal entitling him to life Studentship there were no privileges of Studentship which could be granted him."

CM of 26th March 1878 contains the fairly regular request from female students:

"Petition read signed by 35 Female Students asking that some

arrangement might be made by which they might be enabled to study for the Figure semi-draped.

Consideration postponed."

CM of 3rd April gives the decision on this:

"...it was resolved that the Council are not prepared to comply with the request of the petitioners."

CM of 18th June 1878 informs that the Keeper gave notice of a series of changes proposed in the schools. He was asked to submit a report to Council on this.

In the category of facilities for students^{is} CM of 19th March_{which informs that} Sir Coutts Lindsay invited them to the Grosvenor Gallery. In the same CM is the information that Mr. Street had selected eighteen or twenty casts from the Royal Architectural Museum for the benefit of the Schools. He had been assisted in this by Mr Spiers, Teacher in the Architectural School. Further, Professor Marshall presented to the Library his book 'Anatomy for Artists' (CM of 18 June 1878).

Among the queries which followed the General Assembly resolution of 29th November 1877 was one about the payment of Visitors in the Architectural School. It was decided at Council meeting of 15th January 1878 that they should be paid at the same rate as the Visitors in the Life School, i.e. two guineas per visit.

Discussion concerning the chair of Chemistry took place at the Council meeting of 14th May 1878:

(Council recommended General Assembly).. "to reconsider the arrangements made in connection with the Professorship of Chemistry, & with this view to give notice to the present Professor of the termination of his engagement, he being eligible for re-election under any regulation that may be ultimately settled by the General Assembly."

The matter is continued under CM of 16th July 1878:

"The question of the Professorship of Chemistry, referred to the Council by the General Assembly of July 10th was considered and it was resolved in accordance with the Resolution passed at that meeting that the Secretary should write to the present holder of the office, Mr. Barff, enclosing him a copy of the Resolution, & informing him that his engagement would terminate on July 10th 1879."

The Minutes indicate that this appointment was not successful. In any case the appointment of an eminent chemist would certainly not mean that he would necessarily be useful in teaching the chemistry of pigments etc.. Whatever the story behind this, Barff did in fact complete his office in 1879, when Arthur Herbert Church was elected in his place.

Council received notice on 16th July 1878 of the resignation of Woolner from the Chair of Sculpture. He had in any case been a 'pressed man' (see p.355) originally, and had not delivered any lectures. No candidates offered themselves for the vacant chair, and General Assembly, of 9th August 1878, decided to ask the Sculptor Associates to deliver lectures during the season, evidently as a temporary measure.

Vacancies occurred also in the chairs of Architecture and Anatomy (CM of 18th June 1878) - the five years period having expired for each - and at General Assembly of 9th August 1878 Marshall was re-elected to the Anatomy chair,

Barry to that of Architecture. In Anatomy Marshall was the only candidate: in Architecture Barry gained 14 votes to the 8 of Street.

Mr. Wilson was appointed assistant Librarian (CM of 16th July 1878) after his trial period since 27th November 1877, at a salary of £100.

Under general matters in this year the President carried forward his indignation on the matter of the General Assembly Minute of 29th November 1877, and at a Council meeting of 15th January

"...gave notice that at the next meeting he should move to be allowed to obtain a legal opinion as to whether the Resolution carried at the General Assembly of Nov 29th limiting the power of the Council over the expenditure of the Academy was not contrary to the Laws of the Academy."

However, at the next meeting he was prepared to let it go, for

"after considerable discussion the motion was withdrawn."
(CM of 29th January 1878).

CM of 16th July 1878 gives the numbers of tickets for the Exhibition sent to educational establishments. 24 were sent to South Kensington, with a note that they could have more if required. To the National Schools were sent tickets for 168 persons in 15 schools (CM of 8th August 1878). Miss Gann, of the Female School of Art, was sent 20 tickets.

There was a tendency, after the General Assembly Minute of 29th November 1877, for Council to wonder what it could pay. For example, Barry queried, at a Council meeting of 12th

February 1878, if the three guineas annual subscription to Charing Cross Hospital would be in accordance with that G.A. Minute. Therefore it was decided to review all annual payments and make a fresh list of same at a General Assembly of 21st March 1878. (CM of 5th March 1878).

Also in connection with the G.A. Minute of 29th November 1878 the President gave an assurance that the Council would appoint a Sub-Committee to "prepare a proper digest of the laws" (CM of 29th January 1878). This was composed of Mssrs. Redgrave, Calder Marshall, and Wells.

The Prince of Wales, who was the executive President of the British Department of the Paris International Exhibition, asked the Academy to lend three pictures for that Exhibition under CM of 12th February 1878. This was granted.

On 5th October 1878 the President, Grant, died. This is reported in CM of 7th October. He had been ill for several months, during most of which time Redgrave had assumed his chair at Council meetings. The CM's gave arrangements made for his funeral at St. Paul's. This had been quickly done, but in fact, by the wish of his relatives who so interpreted the will of the deceased, he was buried at the church in Melton Mowbray. The service was attended by many members of the Royal Academy.

Sir Francis Grant. (1803-1878: President 1866-1878).

"...His marriage with a niece of the Duke of Rutland introduced him at once to the highest aristocratic connection, and in that sphere he has since continued to monopolise a large share of patronage as an artist, having painted a greater number of distinguished personages than perhaps any other living artist. He gives to all his portraits the elegance and grace which belong to the high-born lady, and the ease and dignity of the well-bred gentleman; his female portraits are especially charming...there is a sweet expression given to the countenance...sometimes there is a degree of ideality thrown into his pictures, which renders them still more pleasing by the happy combination of portraiture with poetry." ¹⁶⁸

Sandby has said a great deal about Grant in these few lines.

G.D.Leslie says a little more:

"I must...pay a short tribute to the memory of that distinguished President by giving a few reminiscences of his delightful personality and of the admirable manner that he discharged the duties of his office. Tall and handsome in person, dignified and courteous in manners, he united the characteristics of an aristocratic Scot with those of an English country gentleman of the best type. Sir Edwin Landseer once told me that he never saw anyone in the hunting field who took his fences with greater coolness and ease than Sir Francis... ..I can truly say that as a chairman he greatly distinguished himself by his extreme common sense, his impartiality, and his unfailing good temper. Though his voice was slightly defective, he acquitted himself ably enough at the annual banquets. He said the right things with considerable tact, and he was rather brief, courteously and wisely, I used to think, leaving the glory of the evening to the eloquence of the distinguished assembly, the guests of the Royal Academy..." ¹⁶⁹

So much for the public image of this distinguished, self-taught amateur - the nominee of Sir Edwin Landseer for the Presidency on the death of Eastlake, Landseer himself having declined the office. What of his influence in the Schools?...A starting-point might well be his own evidence before the 1863 Royal Commission.

On teaching in the Schools he had firm views:

"2451. (Chairman). Have you formed any opinion as to the system of teaching in the Royal Academy? - Yes; I think the system of visitors (that is members of the Academy) teaching the schools, very unsatisfactory....It cannot be expected that the whole labour of teaching the schools should fall on the few who are capable of performing it efficiently. Hence others must take their turn who are totally unqualified for the task. The result is that our schools do not possess the confidence of the young students in art, who prefer other establishments where the teaching is more systematic. I am of opinion that we should procure the ablest teachers that can be met with, who should remain permanently to instruct the students. There is some difficulty as to what amount of supervision the Academy could exercise over the teachers. But I think a committee of two or three members might be appointed to visit, at stated periods, the schools, who might suggest to the teacher, if necessary, without interfering with his independence, and who might also report to the council as to the efficiency of the schools."

This is quoted, for it has already been apparent, on reading the Council Minutes which cover the period of his Presidency, that these two basic ideas were largely fulfilled. By appointing Curators of all the Schools, although the over-all office of the Keeper was preserved, a considerable measure of permanence was achieved. Further, the powerful School Committee during his Presidency has already been noted.

Grant's own painting is given little attention today (Graham Reynolds, for example, in an entire book dismisses him in a couple of lines, as being one of the "few (who) rise above mediocrity"¹⁷⁰) but he was very clear about what he did and did not want for the students. He was very much against the Pre-Raphaelites:

"2468. Do you think that the new school which has arisen, the aim of which is great individuality in execution, has been of benefit to art generally? - I think it has thrown art back 50 years. I think that Pre-Raffaellitism(sic) has been most injurious to art. It has none of the largeness of ideas which

exists in the works of such men as Sir Joshua Reynolds, Wilson, and Turner in his best days; but it descends to a littleness which is below art.

2469. May it not at the same time be said to have drawn the attention of students to great accuracy of detail, which at some future time they may be able to throw off and generalise? - My belief is that it has had a very injurious effect; that it has taken away from its followers large ideas of breadth, and made them imitators without art.....

2493. In what way has it done a great deal of harm? - It has sent men in the wrong direction. Instead of aiming at large and broad effect it has descended to a needlework style of art, which is anything but art; it is labour without art.

2494. But do you not find that some of the great painters of former times, who paid that attention to detail, at the same time had the broadest ideas? - Very few; none of the greatest. Rubens and Rembrandt, who really are great men, never condescended to the littleness of our Pre-Raffaellites.

2495. Do you not call Albert Durer and Van Eyck, for instance, great painters? - Albert Durer and Van Eyck were the fathers of art, but much greater men followed: Raphael, Correggio, Rembrandt, Velasquez; and such great painters are men whose works are better models for imitation than those of Albert Durer and Van Eyck."

It has just been noted that G.D.Leslie praised Grant's speeches at the annual banquets. There is another viewpoint, however, expressed by Frith and his "envious old portrait-painter":

"'dear old Grant,' we always called him...To know him was to love him; but our affection could not blind us to the fact of his being no orator. Still, he never stammered, much less broke down in his speeches on that truly trying occasion - the annual banquet. There was a rollicking, fox-hunting kind of flavour about his speeches; he leapt over art questions, and just shook his whip at the students, or at the shortcomings of exhibitors. The whole thing seemed a joke - sometimes, I think, a little undignified.

The face of the envious old portrait-painter was a 'sight to see' when Grant was speaking. I sat next to him at the banquet on one occasion when Grant was more jovial than usual. 'It is sad to listen to such stuff as that, sir. I hope when you fill that chair you will acquit yourself better than that unfortunate man.'"¹⁷¹

No doubt something of this attitude - this "rollicking, fox-hunting flavour" came through also in Grant's speeches to students at the annual prize-giving ceremonies. Certainly, the occasion was more of a social occasion than it had been formerly. Marks recalled (see p.292) that it was Grant who introduced the fashion of wearing evening dress then. And certainly, the literary flavour of Shee or the scholarly runs of Eastlake are not present in the speeches of Grant to the students. They are full of platitudes and general commonsense. But, before looking at them it is well to read what Leslie said of them:

"Sir Francis took a considerable amount of pains and trouble in the preparation of the discourses which he delivered to the students on the occasions of the annual distributions of the prizes. I remember his bringing the manuscript, of the first one he delivered, to Sir Edwin Landseer for his advice and criticism; I was in Sir Edwin's studio at the time, and I remember how nervous Sir Francis seemed about it as he read it over to Sir Edwin, who suggested a few slight alterations. I heard most of Grant's discourses, and I admired them greatly for their straightforward soundness and common sense..." ¹⁷²

Perhaps, on reflection, the word 'platitudes' above is rather harsh, though certainly they seem to contain such after the speeches of his predecessors. It is well to remember however that the speeches of these latter must often have been excruciatingly dull for students especially. Perhaps Grant was, in fact, nearer the desirable mark. There follows a brief synopsis of his four discourses, so that some idea can be obtained of what he did in fact say to the students.

Grant's Discourses were given at the Annual Prizegiving Ceremonies of December 10th in the years 1867, 1869, 1873, and 1875. All are short, simple to follow, non-academic and generally interesting in an 'after-dinner' way.

Discourse of 1867.

Value of the study of the ancient masters: importance of drawing and a knowledge of anatomy of the human figure: Shee on the old masters: Shee's lectures: Inspiration of the old masters on the work of (1) Reynolds; quotations from Reynolds given, (2) Wilkie; his debt to the Flemish painters: Anecdotes of Wilkie, Sir George Beaumont etc.. A warning to be careful of the darkness of the old masters - some comment on each of the following; Michaelangelo, Raphael, Correggio, Titian, Rembrandt, Velasquez, Teniers, Ostade.

The value of copying the old masters: opportunities in the National Gallery: the dangers of freedom and bravura in copying, for example, Rembrandt: the dangers of slovenly art. What real labour is, as instanced by Reynolds and Wilkie.

The qualities of good pictures- truth to nature; correctness in drawing; harmoniousness in colour; gracefulness in composition; broad and massive arrangements of light and shade; execution with a firm, manly hand. Such pictures should speak to eye, heart and intellect.

The difficulties in attaining good colouring: looking at nature: the dangers of the hard outline: the massing of light for emphasis: the necessity of industry, e.g. Reynolds: the fascination of the life of the artist: anecdote of Sir Walter Scott, who wished to be a painter: the literature of the press: a warning not to have heads turned by exaggerated euphemisms.

Value of a good education: the profession of the artist the only one not to demand a test of education: exhortation to become well-informed. He ends his discourse with:

..."first, strive to be good and true men and well-refined gentlemen, and thus elevate and adorn your profession: second, ever hold up nature as your supreme guide, but strive to look at her with a thoughtful eye: and lastly, never despise the Old Guides, who will conduct you in the path that leads to greatness."

(This discourse is the one which contains most 'meat'. HCM)

Discourse of 1869.

This consisted of a rapid sketch of the events leading up to the foundation of the Royal Academy, and a brief survey of its history.

Discourse of 1873.

Ancient art: Beauty, Art, and Nature: Subject and landscape paintings: Portrait painting - the value to history of the portrait painter; portrait painting not an inferior branch of art, e.g. Reynolds. Description of Reynolds manner of painting, by a very old lady - his energy and dashing about from sitter to easel: the different method of Wilkie - a stand-on-one-spot method: Burke on Reynolds. Turner - a great honour to the profession. Landseer - "another bright example for your imitation".

Discourse of 1875.

Anxious to bring before memory some earlier topics - Ancient Art. Quotes Reynolds on Ancient Art.

Influence of fashion and caprice. Quotes Reynolds. Richard Wilson and poverty. Canova's opinion of English taste - 'the English looked at art through their ears instead of their eyes':

beauty and refinement in art. Quotes Galdstone - on artists, the human face, and beauty - 'It is the especial faculty of the artist to look for beauty'.

Exhibitions and their effects on Art. How Exhibitions have influenced the style of Art. Artists who have deteriorated because of exhibitions, for example, Turner. Advice to combat the effects of Exhibitions -

"Pass an hour in the National Gallery, and there contemplate the works which, as Sir Joshua says, have stood the test of the ages, and have a claim to that respect and veneration to which no Modern Art can pretend."

The dangers of the florid style, of bravura. Quotes from Richardson's treatise on painting. Quotes C.R. Leslie on Richardson. Ends with a sort of 'ge-and-do-thou-likewise' word. ¹⁷³

This then was the content of Grant's Discourses. Not much evidence of profundity or scholarship is present. In fact, it could be said that throughout Reynolds was his constant reference point.

Frederick Richard Pickersgill. (1820-1900: Keeper 1873-1887).

The Keepership of Pickersgill had begun within the period covered by this thesis, and therefore some note on him is required. There is, however, very little written about him. William Sandby gives some account (to 1862) of his artistic career. He painted historical and poetical pictures. Sandby gives a contemporary assessment of his work:

"In general the choice of his subjects is varied and judicious; his colouring is sparkling and brilliant, without being gaudy; his drawing is true and accurate, and the arrangement of his figures skilful...refined thought with which his subjects are conceived...careful in the study of costume and chiaroscuro... when dealing with sacred subjects he depicts them with unaffected solemnity and simplicity. These qualities place him among the best artists in the modern school of legitimate painting." 174

It has been seen that he was beginning to make his presence felt at the meetings of Council. What, however, was he like as a man in the Schools? G.D.Leslie has a little to say to answer that:

"(He)..very soon became extremely popular with all the students by his quiet and amiable manners. His popularity was marked by the genuineness and heartiness of the applause with which he was specially greeted by the students at his entry on the annual occasions when the prizes were distributed. He was firm in maintaining discipline, courteous and conciliatory in his manner, and, I believe, loved the students as much as they did him. It was fortunate, I think, for the Academy to have had a Keeper of so much tact and ability just at the time when the female element began to take root in the Schools, for the ladies made under his amiable and careful management a very propitious start. Pickersgill almost entirely gave up painting after he became Keeper, devoting nearly all his time and energy to the welfare of the Schools...He was always fond of the sea and of boating, and had much of the charm of the sailor both in his looks and manner.

On the first occasion that I served on the Council, in 1877, Sir Francis Grant was too ill to take the chair at the select-

-ion of pictures for the exhibition, and Pickersgill, as Keeper, fulfilled the President's duty for him. I can truly say that I never served on a selection committee whose business was conducted with less friction and loss of temper, and this was chiefly owing to the courteous manners and great tact of the Keeper." ¹⁷⁵

[The remainder of the page contains extremely faint and illegible text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the document.]

Richard Partridge. (1805-1873: Professor of Anatomy, 1852 - 1873).

From CM of 20th May 1852, on taking over the Chair of Anatomy, there are fairly frequent references in Council Minutes to the work of Professor Partridge. It is evident that he applied himself well to the task, although he was a busy man, of many offices and full of honours.

He was a younger brother of John Partridge, one of the fashionable portrait painters of the time and, in 1842, the appointed Portrait Painter Extraordinary to Her Majesty. The Academy never claimed John, however, for, disgusted with his treatment in 1846 he later (1864) published a pamphlet 'On the Constitution and Management of the Royal Academy' in which he made grave charges against that establishment.

The medical distinctions of Richard Partridge are chronicled in the Dictionary of National Biography. So eminent was he that he was called out to Spezzia to attend an ankle wound sustained by Garibaldi - though apparently he did not distinguish himself in the treatment thereof! As a clinical teacher he was very well thought of and, we are told, he was "a ready and fluent lecturer, and sketched admirably on the blackboard". He had in fact, in earlier years taken lessons in drawing from his brother John.

Not much remains of Partridge as a lecturer in the Schools, but there is a useful bit in Leslie's recollections:

"There were few lectures in my time more popular with the students than those on Anatomy, delivered by Professor Partridge....

The scene on the occasion of one of Professor Partridge's lectures was very droll. The lecturer in his Professor's gown stood on the broad platform, with a long bamboo stick in his hand; the wall behind was hung all over with gruesome anatomical diagrams. At one end of the platform sat Westall, the model, entirely nude, and at the other, seated in a chair with his arms folded, was the Professor's attendant, stolid and imperturbable, the one note of repose in the scene, save for the Academy skeleton swinging from a ring in its skull to a kind of gallows. The Professor walked up and down, and from time to time Westall would strike attitudes to show the various muscles in action.

Through Professor Partridge's kindness, those of the students who chose, were admitted very early in the morning to the theatre at King's College Hospital, where he placed dissections of the human body for us to draw from. During one winter term, Mr. Storey and I went there every morning at eight o'clock for an hour's work: I do not know whether it was of any great use to us in our profession, but it was very interesting, and I picked up a lot of knowledge about the human body which I could not otherwise have acquired." ¹⁷⁶

From the above description it becomes clear why the Council would not permit lady students to attend lectures on Anatomy, and why, when they were finally given that privilege, two of the six lectures were forbidden them!

Sir Edwin Landseer. (1802-1873. Visitor)

The advantage of the system of Visitors, it was many times pointed out, lay in the fact that the student could rub shoulders with the greatest artists of the time. Such was Sir Edwin Landseer, and it is instructive to try to assess what students might have gained from him.

Much is written about him. The brothers Redgrave say:

"He was fortunate in gaining all the honours which art could give him. The Queen bestowed on him a knighthood in 1850; he was awarded the gold medal at the Paris Universal Exhibition in 1855; and on Eastlake's death, in 1865, he was offered and refused the office of president of the Royal Academy." ¹⁷⁷

The patronage he gained, especially royal patronage, and his social graces ("Edwin Landseer sang delightfully, and was one of the best storytellers I knew"¹⁷⁸ - Frith, himself no mean storyteller!) and his wonderful skill as an artist - these things are well known. He made a great impression on the young artist and student, as is apparent in the writings of an average one, Douglas Cowper, who enthused to Frith about the Landseer pictures in the 1837 Exhibition (Landseer... "who this year leaves himself behind...").¹⁷⁹ These things, however, were what the students saw, admired and envied. Of what use was he as a Visitor in the Schools?

In his evidence given to the Royal Commission Landseer made clear his position regarding teaching:

"1266. ...The teaching is a difficult thing to define. The

visitors who are present there do not in point of fact teach, they are there as works of reference....

1267....The students teach themselves. You cannot teach a man beyond giving him a preliminary education. There are only a few things which can be taught in art. Perspective and anatomy are the two most essential..."

From this basic thinking it is clear that Landseer did not in fact do much teaching at all, as Frith's account reveals:

"Sir Edwin Landseer was visitor - the only instance of his filling the office in my time. He was a very fashionable personage and all rather wondered at seeing him willing to spend evenings, usually devoted to high society, in the service of the Life School. He read the whole time, and one evening a very old gentleman in list slippers, with a speaking-trumpet under his arm, shuffled into the school. This was John Landseer, an eminent engraver, an Associate of the Academy, and father of Edwin Landseer, whom he greatly resembled. His son rose to meet him with the book he had been reading in his hand.

"You are not drawing then; why don't you draw?" said the old man in a loud voice.

"Don't feel inclined," shouted the son down the trumpet.

"Then you ought to feel inclined. That's a fine figure; get your paper and draw."

"Haven't got any paper," said the son.

"What's that book?" said the father.

"'Oliver Twist,'" said Edwin Landseer, in a voice loud enough to reach Trafalgar Square.

"Is it about art?"

"No; it's about Oliver Twist."

"Let me have a look at it. Ha! it's some of Dickens's nonsense, I see. You'd much better draw than waste your time upon such stuff as that."

This amused the students, who tittered, and deepened the frowns that had been gathering through the interview on the brow of the great animal-painter, and added to the strained condition that already existed between him and the students; for Landseer always came late, and kept us waiting outside

the door of the school, whilst he was placing the model, in what we thought a purposely aggravating way. The night after the interview I have related, the delay outside was so prolonged that we stamped and knocked in the manner common to a crowd waiting in the gallery of a theatre for the actors to appear.

The result of this riotous proceeding was, that in obedience to a written order posted up in the hall next evening, we were compelled to remain below till a bell summoned us to mount the numberless stairs to the "pepperbox"...." ¹⁸⁰

The rest of the story, and Jones's rebuke to the students is given on p.88.

It appears then, that Landseer was not much use to the students or the schools - though, as Frith wonderingly commented above, he was prepared to put in his evenings doing the work of Visitor. It is but fair to add that Frith's impressions as a student were not carried throughout life. In time he became very fond of Edwin Landseer:

"I wish I could find words strong enough to express my love and admiration for Landseer as a man and an artist. I owe him warmest thanks for many, many hours of delightful social intercourse, and sincere gratitude for his warm-hearted and generous encouragement in all my artistic doings. Nor did there live a man to whom Shakespeare's words could be more fittingly applied, 'Take him for all in all, we shall ne'er look upon his like again.'" ¹⁸¹

It seems as if Landseer's deficiencies were that he could not make a useful contact with young people, but that those who were older found much to admire and be grateful for.

Frederick, Lord Leighton. (1830-1896. Visitor; Secretary of the School Committee: Later, 1878 -1896, President).

Leighton, too young to be noticed by the brothers Redgrave or William Sandby and not sufficiently wellknown to be called before the Royal Commissioners of 1863, began to make his name in the Academy during the Presidency of Grant. Especially was he active, as has been seen from the frequency with which his name appears in Council Minutes, in connection with the Schools.

There is no shortage of biographical material about him - his linguistic accomplishments, his entertainments, his love of music, his fine oratory, his Royal favour, and the belief of all that he would one day be President of the Academy. His dinner parties for Academicians became a feature of the years of his Presidency. Horsley leaves a picture of him, in his recollections, coming into the Academy booted and spurred in the uniform of a Major of the Artists' Rifle Corps¹⁸² (See Appendix X1) and stretching himself after a drill. His punctuality at meetings, the way he always gave an eye to everything himself, his later illness and his courage, his magnificent send-off - a lying-in in state in his own painting room, then at Burlington House before his moving funeral - these are all well chronicled.

As Secretary of the School Committee he was indefatigable, and there seems no doubt that the School Committee became so powerful that Council decided that it had better be disbanded. Further, there is no doubt that he was very interested indeed

in the welfare and training of students:

"As a Visitor he was most indefatigable, attending every day during his month's duty, and remaining with the students during the whole time that the models were sitting. His influence on the students was great; and the perspicuity of his remarks was marvellous. He had a reason and a purpose for every touch he gave to his own works, and he demanded the same from the students in their work. He abhorred all fluking and tentative work, ignoring, perhaps too much, the predilections or inspirations which a student might himself feel." 183

Elsewhere, G.D.Leslie - who wrote the above - adds:

"Perhaps the most astonishing thing in the career of this extraordinary man was that so far as any of us knew, he never once relaxed his attentions to his duties or to his work from year's end to year's end. He had no hobbies in the ordinary sense of the word. He cared for no sport; he neither hunted, fished nor shot. Though he loved flowers he took no pleasure in gardening. He had a cat in his house, for he appreciated the beauty of its form, but it was no pet, and I never heard that he possessed a dog at any time of his life. He was passionately fond of music....an eager reader of books..." 184

Leslie has much to say about Leighton, but the only other reference he makes to the Schools is in describing the annual prize-givings under Leighton's Presidency (which falls outside the dates of this thesis). In this extract he draws a comparison between what they then were and what they had been earlier in the nineteenth century. This shifting emphasis began in Grant's Presidency, of course:

"The distribution of these prizes, on the night of the 10th December, when Lord Leighton delivered one of his eloquent discourses to the students, was a most brilliant affair... the applause was loud and long as the young ladies, in pretty evening dresses, received their medals, with smiles and blushes, from the hands of the illustrious President, who addressed a few gracious congratulatory words to each. How time has changed this annual gathering since the days when my father received his two medals from the hands of Fuseli in Somerset House, or even since my own day, when the unemotional and placid Eastlake handed the medals one after another to young men with rough and rather long hair, dressed

in their ordinary daily coats, who, as they retired to their seats amidst boisterous applause, received violent smacks on the back from their fellow students!"¹⁸⁵

Sir John Everett Millais. (1829-1896: Visitor; later President, 1896).

Millais was, of course, a brilliant and precocious student. There was early recognition for him too in that he was elected an Associate of the Academy at the age of 24 years, nine years before Leighton attained that honour. Though Leighton soon gained considerable influence in the Academy the influence of Millais^{also} remained considerable, and affected the students, as Leslie's extracts below show.

Leslie frequently speaks of Millais being an entirely English product, trained in the Academy Schools and understanding English art. It is well to look briefly at some of his views on the Schools, then, to see what he stood for. He was called as a witness before the 1863 Royal Commission, and it is a portion of that evidence which is given below:

"1706. You have stated that you think the present system of teaching in the school is generally satisfactory, and you approve very much of the system of the students being left as much as possible to themselves? - I think you give a student everything he wants when you give him the means of study, and he has every advantage in that respect at the Academy. I do not think that education will make an artist. Lectures upon painting (attendance on which should be optional - at present I believe the students are obliged to attend them) I think are of no use. I think that practical lectures, such as lectures upon anatomy and perspective, are of use, but lectures upon painting, unless delivered by a painter who would be able practically to do something before the students, are of no use. I do not consider lectures on the different schools of painting to be of much use to the students.

1707. Do you not think it desirable that in the life school an eminent man should superintend the students, who would be able to tell them to what extent they were to idealize their subject, and to what extent they were to exactly portray what was before them? - No; I think that all that knowledge must be gained by the student himself before it becomes of

value.

1708. In fact, you approve of that system of teaching by which in the first instance all that is done for the student is placing before him statues to draw from, and in the more advanced stage placing before him the living model? - Quite so, I think that they have every advantage in the Academy in that respect, and the proof is that most of the leading artists were members of the Academy.

1709. Under such a system as that it would be hardly necessary to have visitors, you would only require a sort of curator to see that order was kept in the rooms? - The visitor is so far an advantage that he becomes in a measure intimate with the students and gives a tone to them, or should do so, which a curator would not."

So much for Millais's views on the Academy and the Schools. What of the man himself? Leslie speaks thus:

"...It was my first experience of the invariable good-nature and consideration which Millais at all times displayed towards his fellow artists. He had a cheery way of saying, 'Oh, I know, I know,' when you apologised for a shortcoming in your work, as the result of some difficulty you may have had with the model or the weather. His criticisms and remarks were invaluable; he detected a weak point with unfailing accuracy, and would often, with one or two touches of the brush, quickly set it right for you...."

Millais was a favourite in every class of society in which he mixed, and was welcomed everywhere for his most versatile and brilliant conversation, but his artistic personality was nowhere more conspicuous than at an Academy varnishing day. There he was the life and soul of the whole thing. He and Leighton, though men of totally different character, were always great friends. Without the slightest jealousy of any sort they thoroughly appreciated and valued each other's good qualities. I recollect Millais at one of Lord Leighton's Presidential dinners keeping the whole table in roars of laughter, Leighton himself, with tears in his eyes, being more convulsed than anyone else." ¹⁸⁷

Finally, a description of Millais as seen through the eyes of young Leslie and his fellow students:

"Beside me, when I was a probationer, sat a certain 'Mike'

Halliday, and one morning, whilst we were at work, sudden excitement filled the room at seeing the great leader of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood himself enter and pass along to Halliday, who was an intimate friend of his, and give him some friendly advice about his drawing. When afterwards he turned and shook hands with me I felt indeed proud. He knew my father very well in those days, and I had had the privilege of calling on him....

Sir John Millais was all his life remarkable for the kindness and sympathy which he showed to young artists. The utter absence of vanity or affectation and the genuine naturalness and sincerity of his conversation won the hearts of every one who knew him. On that day he went all round the school, evidently interested in all the old well-remembered casts, boxes, easels, and other paraphernalia, which remained just as they had been when he himself was a student. This visit of Millais came back forcibly to me years afterwards on the occasion of his delivering his last speech at the Academy, in which he spoke of his great love for the institution. 'I love everything belonging to it - the casts I have drawn as a boy, the books I have consulted in the Library, the very benches I have sat on - I love them all...

I never had the luck to work under Millais when he was teaching in the Schools, but I feel certain he must have been by far the best Visitor the Royal Academy ever had. I never knew anyone so able to tell you at once what was wrong with your work, or one who did so in such a winning, straight-forward manner. The advantage which the Academy student has in being under the teaching of the most celebrated artist his country possesses, even though it be but for a month, is very great..." 188

Richard Redgrave, (1804-1888: Visitor and Member of Council).

Mention has been made of the contributions of several artists to the Academy and Schools, but Redgrave, though an artist, is not now included in that capacity. He is here because of his administrative work and his influence on the deliberations which affected the position of Academy and Schools over many years.

Considerable extracts have been given already from his evidence before the 1863 Royal Commission, relating to the position of the Royal Academy Schools and the national Art Schools (see pp. 270-277). Very little has been said of Redgrave himself however. Though he had been active for many years he was especially so during the Presidency of Grant, both at Council and General Assembly meetings, and during the indisposition of Grant towards the end of his office Redgrave usually took the chair at Council meetings.

A brief recent assessment of him as an artist is given by Professor Quentin Bell, who goes on to explain the part he played from 1846 in the Schools of Design.¹⁸⁹ He began by sending a public letter to the Prime Minister.¹⁹⁰ Bell also quotes some of Redgrave's evidence before the 1847 Special Committee¹⁹¹ ("... all the great ornamentists were great artists... High design must spring from high art... the Central School... is far too elementary..." etc.) and shows how he was active in an advisory capacity to the new Committee of Management in 1849.¹⁹² He was with

Henry Cole, as assistant, when their task was to plan new schools, completely re-organised, on a new site at South Kensington - in 1851.¹¹³ He was part of Cole's system at South Kensington (see p. 270), and was concerned with the development of the proposal made in 1851 to include art in the curriculum of the National Schools.¹¹⁴ An account of his work herein is given by Bell. It is clear that Redgrave threw himself into this work: yet there was another side.

Redgrave was an all-rounder - painter, administrator, writer. And with this all-roundedness he had a tolerance. Leslie says, for example, that Redgrave was "among the first of the Academicians to recognise the merits and sincerity of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood",¹¹⁵ and that his later works "showed to a considerable degree the influence that the works of the rising school had obtained over him".¹¹⁵ With this tolerance went a liberality of approach which affected all his thinking in art education. Moreover, he had a dilemma - like the present-day politician who staunchly advocates comprehensive education but sends his own son to a public school - in that he believed in the system at South Kensington and also in that at the Royal Academy. Or rather, what might have been a dilemma appeared to have resolved itself in him. Though his work for payment was at South Kensington, for an educational system which many regarded as being against the Academy, a very great deal of his voluntary work was at the Academy. And so he became a sort of Liaison Officer Extraordinary between the Academy and the

Art Schools. Both recognised his contributions in this, and it is significant that a President of the Royal Academy paid him a compliment for his work 'on the other side':

"...he was the author of the most perfect system of national art instruction ever devised - a system unique in Europe and the value of which had been recognised in many countries."¹⁹⁶

Whether Poynter was right or not is entirely irrelevant here: the point is the he, from the Academy side, said this.

It is clear from a comparison of Academy Minutes (Council and General Assembly) with Redgrave's evidence before the Royal Commission that many of the innovations in the Academy Schools had been tried out first at South Kensington. It appears to have been infrequent that Redgrave slipped into that touch of pride given in para 1018 (see p. 274): it must have been so or else the Academy would soon have done all possible to get rid of him.

A testimony to his affection for the Academy is the donating of the Redgrave Annuities by his family after his death and in accordance with his wishes.¹⁹⁷

To the work behind-the-scenes, so far as the students in the Schools were concerned, which affected their training and welfare Leslie pays tribute. In this he links Cope and Redgrave together:

"...I had frequent opportunities of witnessing the care and attention which both he and Redgrave bestowed on the conduct of the business of the Academy at its General Assemblies and Councils...to maintain strict legality in the proceedings and (keep)...a watchful eye on the expenditure."¹⁹⁸

The Academy Schools during Grant's Presidency.

When one has read the official accounts of the Schools during this period and the other literature - the accounts, recollections etc - one is left with two oddly contrasting thoughts. The first is, and the facts support it, that many ideas were carried out in the Schools in the period: that, in short, the Schools must have been alive. Secondly, the sense, presentment, or 'hunch' that the Schools were finished as a force that counted - or at least ^{that} the beginning of the end was in sight.

The first statement will be examined first.

There follows a brief list of the main events taking place in the period:

1866. Curator in the Life School appointed (see p.296)

Sculptor-Teacher appointed (p. 296)

1867. More attention paid to Library. More money spent on it (p.299. See also p.306 for year 1868, and p.317 for year 1870)

Decision to admit female students again - from which point their influence and numbers increased considerably (see Appendix 1X).

Introduction of a class giving elementary instruction in the Painting School (p.302/3).

Fresh entry tests devised (p.301).

1868. Visitors now to include Associates - meant that younger livelier folk could do this duty (p.310).

1869. Contact with the South Kensington Schools begun, rather

unpropitiously, on the request of the South Kensington female students for tickets to the Academy Exhibition. At the end of the period, in 1877, Academy students were invited to lectures at South Kensington (p.363).

Frederick Leighton becomes interested in the Schools (p.314) and the School Committee is eventually formed.

1870. School Committee recommends extra Teachers - in Preliminary Class of Painting School; in Modelling; in Architecture.^{* See note p.396.}
(p.317)

At Redgrave's suggestion Council is increased from President and eight members to President and twelve members. This meant more younger men could serve. (p.320).

1871. Painting School accommodation was improved. (p.325)
Professor of Chemistry was appointed (p.325), though towards the end of the period it appears as if this was an appointment of doubtful value (p.366).
1872. One Curator appointed over the two Schools of Painting.(p.334).
1873. Admission of Lady Students to most of the Anatomy Lectures (p.339).

Changes in Regulations affecting the duties of Keeper.(p.338).

1874. School Committee disbanded. (p.344).

As well as these ideas which took shape there were others which were spoken about and heard of no more:

- 1867.Idea of giving instruction in the Antique School linked to the living model. (p.300)
- 1868.Idea of a General Director of the Schools. (p.309)

1870. Instruction in Mural Painting. (p.319).

1872. Female Students petition to have facilities for study from the nude figure. (p.329). This petition was heard of again, often! See p. 240.

Idea of the Day School of Sculpture. (p.333).

1875. Idea of instruction in fresco painting. (p.349).

The facts then are that much happened and many ideas were tried out - and now to the second idea, that the beginning of the end of the Schools as a power was in sight.

Is this in fact true, or is it only being wise by hindsight? That question is unanswerable. On reading everything, however, one has a sense of unease - that the 'great' days of the Schools were over. If this is so - and the author believes it to be - what was the explanation, or were there several explanations? Some factors which bore upon the problem follow:

Was the change of President anything to do with it? Was there a lack of lead there? Was the fox-hunting socially-inclined Grant less of a force acting upon the Schools than the sombre, conscientious Eastlake?

Was the change of Keeper a relevant factor? Very unlikely though this sounds - one recalls William Richmond's comment 'Good Heavens! They feathered their nests with very odd birds indeed!' - ¹⁹⁹ it is not impossible that it related to the problem. Charles Landseer, whatever his deficiencies, was evidently a character. Students in his time must have realised that from him there

was little help forthcoming and therefore it is likely that they produced from themselves enough to give the Schools usefulness and value. (This, in fact, ties in with much of the evidence).

Was it a loss of 'characters' among the Visitors? It is surely no coincidence that those who were students at this time do not appear to have written about the Schools as did those who were students earlier. One thinks of the numerous stories of Fuseli, Turner, Wilkie, Etty, Mulready etc.. Were the Visitors in the second half of the nineteenth century less colourful and interesting? It is possible.

Was it a specific event like the disbanding of the School Committee? Was there a sense that 'youth had been at the helm' but that it had been banished below-decks, leaving in control once more the older regime - stuffy, conventional, traditional.

Was it in some measure due to the entry of female students? Was the 'refining influence' and the apparently attendant entry of more affluent students (see Marks' account, p.291) not entirely a good thing. Did the rougher lads of an earlier time, with their realisation that they had to work hard and make their way in the world, make the Schools a more purposeful place?

Was it in a measure due to the development of the South Kensington Schools, the national Art Schools, and the work generally of Henry Cole, Redgrave and others?

Was it the tendency of some good students to study abroad,

as the 'Englishness of English Art' tended to be pushed out. This is a thesis of Leslie,²⁰⁰ which is returned to in the next section. He considered this to be a feature of Leighton's Presidency, a little later than the finishing date of this thesis, but nevertheless the influence of Leighton was felt considerably before his Prseidency.

In fairness, how^ever, is it right to say that the Schools were losing their influence during Grant's Presidency? Is it not perhaps true that this was happening earlier - in the Presidency of Eastlake? This can be argued. What is clear is that at the end of the Presidency of Shee the Schools were a real force, and in the Presidency of Leighton they were ceasing to be so. When the process of deterioration really set in can be disputed, though the present writer inclines to place it during the latter years of the Presidency of Grant.But this matter is really part of the final section, some brief attempt at assessment over the period, which now follows.

* Note on the Architectural School, begun 1870.

Some further note is required on this, in addition to the bare mention on p. 392, and the references under Council Minutes (pp. 318 and 320). The provision of architectural teaching had been discussed for many years. Reading the Academy Minutes and records one finds that suddenly, as it were, the Architectural School is existing, and scarcely anything was said about it. A word follows, then, about the developments in Grant's Presidency which led to this.

The Reports of Council submitted to General Assembly begin in 1860. In 1864 Report there is a change of presentation of material. The Registrar's Report then becomes a very full one, and takes over the facts and figures that formerly appeared under the Keeper's Report. The Registrar was Henry Eyre, and he began to make a most detailed analysis of information each year. (See Appendix Xl11). Further, as he warmed to his task, he began interpolating comments and remarks of his own. In the Registrar's Report for 1868 Eyre rebukes the Architectural Students in no uncertain terms. He says:

"..though they have entered the Institution in considerable numbers they do not bother to compete for Medals or Travelling Studentships...the great majority have rested satisfied with the credit of having attained to Studentship. During a period of seven years 44 Architectural Students have been admitted; of these 16 have never even qualified themselves by attendance to compete, while only 10 visited the Library. Not infrequently there has been but one drawing in competition for the Silver Medal, in some years no competitor; while the Travelling Studentship was offered for two consecutive years without a candidate appearing."

In fairness, however, it must be recalled that the Academy

offered architectural students very little (see Tite's evidence, pp 244/5),²⁰¹ and there must have seemed little point in bothering much with these things.

The matter was next raised in Council on 31st January 1870 when the decision to appoint a Teacher in Architecture was postponed until Barry and Smirke had made their report (p.318). Under CM of 5th July 1870 Mr Richard Phane was appointed Teacher in Architecture and £35 was allotted to procure specimens for the Architectural School. From this point then the School can be said to have begun.

There now being an Architectural School, realism was brought to bear on the matter of the Travelling Studentship in Architecture in 1871 (see p. 323) and travel for one year only was envisaged. The Council Report for 1871 reads:

"...As increased facilities for study as well as direct teaching are now provided within the walls of the Royal Academy for Architectural Students, and as a detention of two years abroad from professional engagements is felt by them to militate against the advantage of travel, it was resolved to abolish the Two Years' Travelling Studentship in Architecture, and only to continue the Annual term of travel."

This then was how matters stood regarding the School of Architecture at the end of Grant's Presidency. (See also Appendix Xl11, for figures involved in 1871).

Assessment.

It is time now to stop painting with one's nose close up to the canvas, time to stand back, to discard the minutiae with which much of this thesis has been concerned and to try to see what the picture now looks like and recall how it has changed. This indeed was the brief stated in the very first paragraph of the text - to trace the changes which had taken place in the Academy Schools. But because Academy and Schools are so inextricably linked it is necessary at the same time to see how the Academy itself had shaped up to its work after another forty years of existence.

An establishment is maintained either by power within, forces without, or both. In the case of the Royal Academy the power within could come either from the President or from some other influential officials or Academicians. The forces outside were linked to educational and social needs: the forces within need^{ed} not be linked to these to the same extent. At different times in its history the Academy was strong because of one or more of these forces. At the outset it was fortunate in that it had good leadership within, in the person of Reynolds, and strong support outside in Royal and Court patronage. At this time the status of the Academy was high. Later, the president West was weak, but there were other strong officials and members, like Fuseli. In the term of Lawrence there was a very great deal of prestige, international as well as national, attached to the

President himself, and also good Royal support from the former Prince Regent. Within Shee's period, as was seen in the Introduction, forces outside began to build up against the Academy - though, of course the Academy still had very influential friends in both Houses of Parliament. The leadership of Shee was able, and, most important, there was still no rival to the establishment outside. Indeed, as the new Schools of Design came in, following the Select Committee, the Academicians were there in charge,

"...the original body which was charged with bringing the School into being was composed of Royal Academicians and gentlemen having an interest in arts and manufactures." ²⁰¹

The Royal Academy was ^{again} in a very strong position, and moreover, it was clear that Royal protection was to be continued under the new Queen.

During the Presidency of Eastlake, however, changes were taking place outside. Now there were rivals. The doings at South Kensington and in the Schools of Design were being noted. The Royal Institute of British Architects, founded in 1834, now had its own training system. Even other artists' societies, the learned societies, and the national system of education with its schools and normal schools (teacher training colleges) were ~~now~~ to be considered. Nearly all of these were impinging in some way on territory once exclusively that of the Academy and its Schools. Hence arose the need for the Royal Commission in 1863 "to enquire into the present position of the Royal Academy in relation to the fine arts". It is significant that its terms of reference were so much wider than those of the

1835 and 1836 Select Committees. They had to be, for the whole opening world of education - with all the implications therefrom - was now involved.

Now, what of this Royal Commission? The Commissioners themselves were well-disposed to the Academy - there were no Ewarts or Humes - and the witnesses were generally a friendly set. There were no Haydons or Rennies here. The brunt of the 'defence' fell upon Eastlake, but as there was not an attack it could scarcely be called a defence. All that was required of him was reasoned explanation and exposition. This was as well, for Eastlake, in spite of his artistic gifts, scholarship, tact and courtesy, was no fighter. He was, after all, the Royal nominee (see p.80).

For all the friendliness of the enquiry, and with all possible goodwill towards the Academy from the Commissioners themselves, these latter nevertheless made recommendations. They had to, for, as said above, the Academy could no longer be looked at parochially. Throughout the evidence South Kensington was constantly being brought up. Apologetically, and with flattery, the Commissioners recommended. They began with the flattery,

"The Royal Academy...appears to us to have been of great service to the country...comprising in its ranks a long series of eminent names, its honours have been an object of emulation to the great body of artists, and an order of merit...to the most distinguished....The merits of the Royal Academy have been recognized on several occasions by men of great eminence..." ²⁰³

Even so, they eventually stated,

"It does not seem to us inconsistent with the general

recommendation which we have here expressed that we should now have to state some serious defects and to propose some considerable changes....It has frequently happened that... the Academy has proved inadequate to the largely increased number of artists and to the growing requirements of Art..." ²⁰⁴

Later on in their recommendations the Commissioners say:

"...we conceive that the constitution of the Academy should rest on a wider and more liberal basis, and that it should be made more useful than it is at present in promoting Art, and in aiding the development of public taste. We think that it should be viewed as a great national institution for the promotion of art, and that, by the grant of a Charter as well as by the rules which it should frame, its public character and duties should be distinctly recognized and defined." ²⁰⁵

Finally, having made their recommendations, the Commissioners

finish on a 'do-let's-all-be-friends-about-this' note:

"We think, therefore, that the public have a right to expect, on these terms, a ready and cheerful concurrence on the part of that distinguished body in these measures of amendment which we have proposed, and an harmonious working together of its members, old and new, towards their combined and noble object, the promotion and development of Art." ²⁰⁶

So much for the spirit and expectations of this important report, which lies in the middle of the period being studied. What then was the position of the Royal Academy in 1878? Clearly, it still attracted artists as a desired goal, a goal which was an honour and also which was good for business in the patronage that it brought. Its Exhibitions were still very important indeed for British artists. Socially, also, it was of undoubted consequence. But, what of its teaching and the training of young artists in its Schools? And here there is a good deal less to say in its favour.

It is clear in the writing of even so loyal an Academy supporter as G.D.Leslie that he felt that the Schools had ceased

to be a force at the end of the nineteenth century. His explanation is interesting, and worth quoting, for it is obviously a contemporary estimate of some artists at least:

"Throughout Sir Francis Grant's Presidency and for several years after Lord Leighton's accession to the Chair, the predominating influence that the Pre-Raphaelite movement had over the work done in our Schools was plainly manifest. That it was an influence for good I firmly believe, for it promoted accurate and painstaking work and absolute fidelity to nature, the "Old Mistress," as Millais used to call her in contradistinction to the "Old Masters," but, above all, the movement was entirely a national one, a purely native product, without a trace of any foreign element. It flourished famously in its native land, but nowhere else, and under its influence the Academy Schools certainly produced a large percentage of students who in after life greatly distinguished themselves." 207

Elsewhere Leslie regrets that Millais was not elected President instead of Leighton. This is interesting, for it is clear that Leslie must have believed that the influence of a President over the whole Academy and the Schools was considerable. There would certainly seem to be sense in this, and it is significant that a member who knew the Academy for as long as did Leslie should think so:

"...In no country yet has any School of Art in which the works produced have not been strongly imbued with national character and originality, risen to greatness, and at times a feeling of regret comes over me that at Sir Francis Grant's death Millais instead of Leighton was not elected to fill the vacant chair.

It seems hard that the great leader of the Pre-Raphaelite movement, who had done so much to revivify our National School of Art, should have been denied the opportunity, as President, of using his influence in the completion and establishment of the good work that he had initiated in our Exhibitions and Schools." 208

And elsewhere, he says:

"His (Millais') art was as purely English in feeling as that

Note facing p. 403.

Professor Quentin Bell has pointed out that Leslie's assessment of Leighton was affected by the attitude of the latter towards subject-painting. G.D.Leslie, like his father, painted subject-pieces, and it is clear that this was not a type of painting which held much appeal for Leighton. Leslie, in a measure, felt that this type of work was despised by Leighton. Further, Leslie believed that Leighton imposed his will on the Council and so exerted a powerful force against any sort of art he considered unworthy. In Leslie's opinion, in fact, the nature of Council itself changed in Leighton's presidency:

"The Councils on these occasions lost to a certain extent their ever-changing individualities, but in my opinion such change was a most valuable characteristic of the old Academy Council, ensuring as it did to every taste and style a fair chance at least at one time or another."

These opinions are set out in G.D.Leslie, Inner Life of the Royal Academy, pp.133-4.

H.C.M.

either of Reynolds or Hogarth, and that the Royal Academy may well feel proud that he received his training in its Schools, where, possibly from the example and teaching of Etty, he obtained in his boyhood the seeds which in his later life produced such free and beautiful blossoms." ²⁰⁹

Exactly how much truth there is in Leslie's hypothesis is not really important in this thesis: what is important is that he felt that all was not well with the Schools.

Yet, and as has already been said, a good number of changes had taken place in the Schools, and the Academy appears to have tried to move with the times - though it often appears that that movement was after the times! Wherein, then, lay the trouble? Why were the Schools losing prestige? Clearly, ~~Leslie's~~ there was a deal more to it than Leslie's explanation of a wrong method being employed in the Schools. In any case, what was envisaged for the Academy by the Commissioners was of greater significance than the Schools only....It seems, on looking at the evidence that the trouble lay in an attitude of stolid, unimaginative, 'stick-in-the mud' traditionalism on behalf of the Academy generally. The things that had been done had been done in spite of the Academy, as it were. After the 1836 Select Committee the Academy had not yielded an inch. Nor, however, had it moved forward an inch either! For example, as already quoted, when 84 students petitioned Council in 1840 to extend the evening school they were refused

"on the grounds that their request would be inconsistent with the original laws of the Academy, and interfere with the established arrangements..." (see p. 33).

So small a request, petitioned by so many! The refusal seems unbelievable, and the reason quite pathetic. Or, recall the fuss to introduce painting from the life in the Painting School, introduced in 1847. (See p.48 et seq). Sixteen years afterwards the Academicians were still bewailing this. Perhaps the idea was wrong, but one feels that it could have been tried with better grace. There was no liberality here - 'copying is the thing for the Painting School, not this.' Or, think of the position of the Pre-Raphaelites. It is true that some Academicians accepted them, but it is also true that there was a very great deal of opposition to them within the Academy. They were not "the legitimate school of painting". Grant's own feeling - which Leslie seems ^{to} (wrongly) recall as being encouraging - was quite bitter and uncompromising:

"...I think it has thrown art back fifty years. I think that Pre-Raffaellitism has been most injurious to art..." ²¹⁰
 (See pp. 370/1)

Or, take the acceptance of female students. They obtained entrance by a ruse, but it was not long before the Academy tried to get rid of them again. Of course there was a stated reason - shortage of room - but one doubts if this was the real reason. Eventually, the Academy had to accept them. Or again, take the bargaining over the Burlington House site. To get what it wanted the Academy had to give in on the matter of the position of Associates, and soon these younger artists were given the status of Visitors. But how pathetic that the Academy had be
 br forced, externally, to adopt so sensible a measure! Nothing

* See evidence of Eastlake and Knight, pp 262-3. * See Wm. Sandby's phrase on p. 375.

that was new appears to have been begun joyously, or with a spirit of confident purpose. The exception was the School Committee under Leighton, and the Academy soon got rid of that! Moreover, even when one recalls the changes and innovations that took place in the Presidency of Grant, for example (see pp. 391 to 393) there was very little that was 'big'. There might, for example, have been some attempt to introduce some of Armitage's proposals (see Appendix X). One apparently fairly determined member did try to have introduced the Commissioners' idea of a General Director of Schools, but that also was quietly forgotten about, or perhaps 'talked out'.... This then was one of the troubles. The Academy as a body had not the wit to use new ideas, to explore, to use young men and their ideas - any more than decades before had the Academicians the sense to use Haydon, to harness him by claiming him. It was very difficult indeed to get anything changed. Redgrave, in a diary entry of 31st December 1873, speaks feelingly:

* See note opposite p. 408.

"This night I finish my third year on Council, as I was elected for an extra year to fill Bowall's place, when he resigned. It has been three years of battle; for while changes were rife in Art, the Academy hung to the old constitution and officers. I was the first to draw up a scheme of change, which, brought forward by Cope, and well supported by Wells and others, has led to the retirement of Knight from the secretaryship, and the appointment of a lay secretary.

Charles Landseer has also resigned the Keepership..." 2"

There was also the concentration of power in very few officials, who tended to control Council which in its turn directed General Assembly. (See Dyce's evidence, quoted on p.214)

Apart from this deeply-rooted traditionalism - though in fairness it must be pointed out that the Academy had indeed achieved a great deal - there was a lack of real leadership during most of this period. Shee, it is true, was in office at the beginning, but for his last five years he was too old for the task and his duties fell upon Jones. Eastlake who followed had great gifts. Frith recalls his eloquence, his learning, his dignity and "his conduct in the chair..(which) left nothing to be desired" (See p. 203). Unfortunately, however, more was desired than good conduct in the chair! There was no fire in Eastlake. One recalls Haydon's comment of years earlier, when speaking of the vacant Keepership, "No man is fit for it but Eastlake and he is too timid". (See p.87). Though "timid" may have been harsh Eastlake was certainly no man of action. Grant followed - "dear old Grant" of foxhunting interests and social leanings. His term of Presidency had in it no life or fire either. Of the Keepers within the period there was Jones, who was clearly a worthy, sound and wholesome person, but not the "man of Poetic Views" that Haydon hoped for (p.87). The Schools were maintained by him in a good state; apparently he lost no ground. But then came Landseer, for twenty-two years! What chance had the Schools then!... There was a very competent Secretary in Knight, but the task of a secretary is not to originate ideas and plans...Of the Academicians there was at least one very gifted teacher in Mulready, and some sound organisers and administrators in men like Redgrave and Cope. Dyce, it seems, was too involved elsewhere to take a major

part in Academy affairs.

This lack of real leadership was a sad thing, coming as it did at so critical a time. What was needed was a man with real vision who had the drive to get things done - perhaps a combination of Beresford Hope and B.R.Haydon. Haydon was perhaps too much of a 'hell-raiser', though such folk often do effect changes...However, there was not another Haydon in sight, though there was a visionary at least among the friends of the Academy. The imaginative concepts of Beresford Hope have already been referred to in the text (pp.283-286). Hope was a man of culture and a member of Parliament for the greater part of his life. He had independence of mind ("His party could not always depend on his vote": nor did he fear Disraeli) and great wealth, much of which he poured into the established Church. (For example he built at his own expense All Saints' Church, Margaret Street, London). He threw himself entirely into causes - the value of some of which may well be disputed, such as his opposition to the bill concerning marriage with a deceased wife's sister! He had wide cultural interests, was a staunch supporter of Gothic in architecture, and was the author of many publications which ranged from "The Hop Grower's Policy" to doctrinal writings, from "The Art Workman's Position" to a novel...²¹² But unfortunately Beresford Hope was not within the Academy, and his influence was no more than that of a friend of the establishment who gave it support and opened a great vista of opportunity for it before the Royal Commissioners...

* Illustrative of the way in which the Academy did not use new ideas (p. 405) and therefore, in time, lost status, was its treatment of Holman Hunt. When Eastlake later tried to gather him into the body the damage was done. Hunt refused. Nor -and this is the significant thing - did it matter any longer. The power of the Academy to make or break artists, or at least the belief of artists that this was so (see evidence of 1835 Select Committee), was on the wane:

"Hunt was never a member of the Academy. He had stood for election in 1856, and failed: and in 1860 Eastlake urged him to exhibit Christ in the Temple, offering to place a rail in front of it...but Hunt declined, and never became an Academician. It is indicative of the growing breach between the Academy and much that was progressive in the arts. In its new galleries at Burlington House... the Academy began a career of more partisan selection and less certain authority."

(T.S.R.Boase, English Art 1800-1870, p.297)

There was no person in power who might have said, "This Academy has a fine record: it has survived all sorts of attacks and is still strong. Now great things are happening in the world around - in education, in art education. We are the obvious leaders, and we are being asked to give that lead. We will give it them. We will move with the times - before the times if possible! - and we will show what can be done."

The period 1837 to 1878 spanned the truly golden years of opportunity for the Royal Academy and its Schools. There was yet much goodwill, and men who thought with Beresford Hope could envisage a powerful role for it in the future. The Academy could have become for a great number of years the main force affecting art and artists in England and beyond. ^{* See note opposite.} (That it fulfilled other significant roles cannot be denied, but not this all-embracing educational, cultural and advisory one)....The Schools were pleasant enough, quiet and remote at the basement of Burlington House - out of the light, air, noise and sights of London. And the art world! Some good students began to go elsewhere, often out of the country altogether, to where they believed more was happening. In 1878 Leighton became a respectable, punctilious, President, and at regular intervals the Academy glittered before the throng of high society. But when Leighton took high office did he forget the Schools which had once so concerned him?...Leslie, Marks, Frith and others wrote their books - pleasant, friendly, gossipy books. The Academy still charmed them, though in their objective moments they could see the faults...

Developments within the Schools, so thoroughly covered in the previous pages, were many, but not truly significant for the most part...In other areas outside was activity, under the drives of Henry Cole and Robert Lowe. Even here, however, a survey of achievements is not satisfactory.

"Ruskin believed that, in so far as the Department of Practical Art had an aim, it was a false one; in so far as it had a method, its method was wrong. Cole and Redgrave were both, in their different ways, unfit for the offices they held; they had corrupted the whole system of art teaching in this country." ²¹³

There is comfort for Academy supporters in this....But what of the greater role of the Academy and Schools, the chance offered in the mid-1860's?...That opportunity was lost.

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APPENDIX 1.

Further Information concerning the Order from the House of Commons, dated 14th March 1839. Also some account of the Subsequent Attacks in the House, of 1844 and 1850.

The events concerning this Order, as they are found in the Council Minutes, have been covered in the text of this thesis. Additional information is available in Sandby's history, which it may be as well to add here.

According to Sandby it was the pamphlet written by Shee and addressed to Hume, in July 1838, which kept alive the animosity against the Academy. He says:

"It was not therefore with any surprise that the Royal Academy again found itself the subject of attack in the next session of Parliament. 'At half-past one in the morning', on the 15th of March, 1839, when the parliamentary friends of the Academy were absent, and there was but a remnant of a House, Mr. Hume, in pursuance of a notice, called for certain returns, which were not opposed, and were therefore ordered to be furnished to the House. The notice was to this effect:-

'A return of the amount of money received for admission, and of the number of persons who visited the exhibition of the Royal Academy of Arts in each of the years 1836, 1837, and 1838; distinguishing the entrance-money from the proceeds of the sale of catalogues, together with the amount paid in salaries and perquisites to each person employed in that establishment in each of those years, and the average number of students who have attended the Life School, and that of the Antique, in each of these years.'

It seemed quite obvious that this was a direct endeavour to place the accounts of the Academy under the supervision of the House of Commons." (Wm. Sandby, *History of the Royal Academy*, Vol 2, p113)

The rest of the story has the following main points:

1. The Academicians refused to comply with the Order.

(According to CM, however, they did not say so. HCM).

2. The Order was renewed, after a time, in a more peremptory form.
3. The Academicians, by the advice of Shee, addressed a Petition to the House on 8th July, 1839. Sandby gives the main points of this, and adds that it was presented by that "excellent and accomplished 'old English gentleman', the Member for the University of Oxford, Sir R.H.Inglis, Bart., who had on several previous occasions spoken in favour of the Academy when it had been attacked in the House".

When the Petition was presented Hume

"immediately gave notice of a motion, that 'the return to the order of the 14th of March last be made forthwith'. The Ministry then in office (Lord Melbourne's government) were too anxious to conciliate the ultra-Reform party, to venture to oppose them by decidedly supporting the Academy; while, on the other hand, they felt sufficiently its position in relation to the Crown, not to wish, in appearance at least, to uphold its position as a Royal institution; but so uncertain and equivocal was the support thus given, that the Academicians felt little inclined to depend on it. Lord Russell consulted the President - the point at issue between the Academy and the House, and advised concession from the former, so also did Lord Melbourne; but to no purpose, for the Academicians were resolved that, whatever might be the result, they would not submit to the dictation of Mr. Hume and his friends." (*Ibid*, Vol 9, p 115).

4. Petitions and Counter-Petitions were sent to the House.

(Petitions were sent from B.R.Haydon, and also from 'The London Artists'. This second document bore seven signatures, but claimed to represent 800

London Artists. Counter-Petitions were sent from seventy exhibitors in the Academy who were not Academicians, and another from 120 Students of the Academy).

5. The Debate in the House, on 23rd July 1839.

This took place to a "thin House". Hume, Ewart, Warburton etc. wanted the Returns to be made. Spring Rice also wanted them, though for a slightly different reason. His speech was "highly complimentary to the Royal Academy" but he ultimately called for the Returns for the "vindication of the omnipotence of the Order of the House". This must have been an anxious moment, and at this point, apparently, Sir Robert Peel came in to support the Academy. Inglis, Howard, Hawes and Poulett Thomson (who was then President of the Board of Trade) were with Peel and supporting the Academy. Lord Russell then said that the House already had all the information it required; further, that if it put an end to the income of the Royal Academy then it would itself have to finance the training of young artists etc.. He therefore considered it inexpedient and unjust to call for the Returns. After a few further words from Hume the Division was taken, with the result that 33 were for the motion and 38 wished to rescind the Order.

This result discouraged attacks on the Academy in the House for a number of years. Hume next tried in July 1844 when he "Proposed an address to the Crown, praying Her Majesty to

withdraw her Royal Favour from the Royal Academy, it having departed from the original intentions of its founder, and it being no longer of any service to the cause of art in the country: and, as a consequence, entreating that it might be ejected from the apartments assigned to it in Trafalgar Square."

Peel, then Prime Minister, prepared himself to defend the Academy,

"but happily his efforts were not required, for on the first occasion Mr. Hume failed, from the House being counted out in the middle of his speech, and in the next he met with no support, and did not venture to press the matter to a division." (*ibid.*, Vol 2, pp 117-8).

Hume again pressed for returns from the Academy to the House on 26th April 1850.* 157 Pictures of the Vernon Collection had been presented to the Nation and there was no room for them at Trafalgar Square. Some M.P's therefore were asking for the entire building for the National Gallery; others were using this excuse to attempt to get the Academy ejected. Lord John Russell decided that the building would be taken over by the National Gallery and that £20,000 would be offered to the Academy for each of two years "to enable it to provide itself with a building". Sandby quotes in full Russell's letter to the Keeper (acting on behalf of the President) to this effect.^(See p. 441) The letter is dated 22nd April 1850. This proposal was followed by letters and articles in the Times. The Times did not want the Academy to have a grant, but conceded that "the Academy has

* Remainder of account — *ibid.*, Vol 2, pp 125-8.

so far answered the end of its foundation, cannot, we think, be denied". On 26th April Hume moved for returns showing receipts and expenditures of the Academy, charging it with illiberality in not opening its exhibitions gratis to the public although it held apartments in the National Gallery, and expressing his determination to vote against any grant of money to it. The motion (that Returns should be given) was then negatived by 49 to 47 votes. Obviously the nearness of this decision must have alarmed Russell to some extent, and he dropped the idea of a grant. Meanwhile, and very conveniently, the Queen gave the use of Marlborough House for two years. It had been given up by the Queen Dowager and was ultimately destined for the Prince of Wales. For the present however it was to take the extra pictures of the National Collection, and so the necessity to attack the Royal Academy in Parliament was again removed.

(The rest of the story of the transactions between Parliament and the Royal Academy is sufficiently covered in the text of the thesis).

APPENDIX 11

Correspondence between the Royal Academy and the Society of British Artists, of March 1846, and the background to this correspondence.

CM of 18th March 1846 gives the text of a letter from the Society of British Artists. It refers to the Society's recent memorial to the Queen, and asks if the Royal Academy is going to oppose it. It continues:

"If unhappily however a different and unfavorable view should be taken by the Academy (which I am most reluctant to allow myself to regard as in any way possible) I hope that in the same spirit of frankness & courtesy which dictate this, you will obligingly favor me with a communication of your objections and inform me in what respect the Academy may consider the grant of the proposed Charter injurious to the Fine Arts of this Kingdom."

The letter is signed by F.Y.Hurlstone.

The reply from the Academy is given:

"I am directed to reply to inform you in the same spirit of frankness & courtesy which you state to have dictated your letter that in the absence of all information as to the details, conditions and powers of the proposed Charter, the President and Council necessarily forbear to form or express an opinion as to its policy or utility with reference to the Promotion of the Fine Arts in this Kingdom..... they beg to assure you that the Members of the Royal Academy entertain neither the desire nor intention to interfere with the proceedings with the Society of British Artists, or with the proceedings of any other society of their Brother Artists which may appear to be judiciously directed to the attainment of so desirable an object and which may be conducted without prejudice to those objects and interests which the Royal Academy has been especially constituted to guard and uphold."

CM of 31st March gives a friendly letter from the Society which tells that the draft of the proposed Charter is now open to

inspection by the Royal Academy. This closes the correspondence in the Minutes, but it is as well to look at something of the background to these letters.

The Society of British Artists had nothing to do with the Society of Arts, which had ceased to hold exhibitions before the end of the 18th century. The Society of British Artists was established in 1823 to offer additional facilities for exhibition, beyond those offered by the Royal Academy. Originally it offered space on its walls to any artist, free, the rule being that:

"All moneys arising from the sale of works in the exhibition will be paid to the respective artists, without any deductions whatever, when received from the purchasers."

(Wm. Sandby, *History of the Royal Academy*, Vol 2, p 7)

Donations and subscriptions were invited to further the work and views of the Society. By 1835 it had made its presence felt, and a number of its members were asked to give evidence before the Select Committee of that year. Generally, they were hostile to the Academy. William Sandby says:

"The objections of Mssrs Hurlstone and Hofland were of a different kind. These gentlemen, as President and Secretary respectively of the Society of British Artists (established to sell the works of the members, and to divide the proceeds of the exhibition among them, but doing nothing for the promotion of art in any other way), complained of the undue preference shewn by the Crown and the Government for the Royal Academy, in conceding to its members the important privileges attached to the character of an R.A., and providing for them a local habitation in return for their services in maintaining a national school of art out of their own resources"

(Ibid., Vol 2, p 88).

Nor were the relations between the Academy and the Society

bettered, one imagines, by the fact that Hume tended to set the Society up as a model. He said:

"the Society of British Artists were obliged to provide, not only exhibition rooms, but the whole of expenses incidental to the establishment; while exhibition rooms, and a portion of the expense of maintaining them, were supplied to the Royal Academy by the public." (Ibid, Vol 2, p110)

Shee, in his 1838 "Letter to Joseph Hume etc." took up this statement:

"With every respect for the society in question, and every wish for their success, I would ask, What possible claim of competition with the Royal Academy your ingenuity can set up for the Society of British Artists? The former, the great supporter of the arts for three fourths of a century - the only effective school for their cultivation in the kingdom - providing, on a liberal scale, every material and means of study necessary for such an establishment, and disinterestedly devoting large funds of their own creation, to the noblest public purposes - the gratuitous education of students, without distinction of class or degree, and the general promotion of the public taste; the latter society, a recent private speculation of a few individual artists, for their own advantage - without school, scholar or material of study - pledged to no public duties and performing no public services - with no other purpose than the exhibition of their works, and employing their funds (as they have an unquestionable right to do) solely for their own benefit. Really, Sir, the comparison which you have drawn between these two institutions does little credit to your discrimination, and still less to your impartiality."

(Ibid, Vol 2, pp110-1).

Whether the Academy cared about the possible threats to its power and prestige in 1846 is doubtful. As Professor Bell has pointed out, even the new Schools of Design were believed to be under the control of the Academy to such a degree that Ewart refused to be a member of their Council. William Sandby, with his usual bias, says:

"The founders of the new Society seemed to anticipate some opposition from the Academy to the formation of a rival

exhibition, for they asked the concurrence of the members of the Royal Academy before seeking a charter of incorporation. The assent was readily given in this as in every other instance in which any measure having for its object the promotion of art or the benefit of artists has been proposed to the Academy. It has never withheld its ready countenance and support to any kindred institution."

(Ibid, Vol 2, p 6)

He carries on to explain how the Society had grown by 1860:

"It obtained a Royal charter in 1847, and has now a gallery in Suffolk Street, Pall Mall East, containing 700 feet of wall, well lighted, but at the present time it admits only the works of the thirty members of the Society free, charging a commission of 10 per cent on all other works of art sold, on the first price sent with them, making no other charge, however, in respect of any works sent for exhibition."

(Ibid, Vol 2, p 7).

APPENDIX lll.

Further information concerning Varnishing Days.

The abolition of Varnishing Days concerned the Academy during the early part of the 1850's.

Eastlake, in his evidence before the 1863 Royal Commission, recalled the beginnings of the practice wherein members of the Academy could attend during two or three days prior to the opening of the annual Exhibition "to varnish or re-touch their pictures". He mentions the passage in Wilkie's Life, dated March 1809, in which Wilkie mentions the beginning of the practice. Eastlake then adds:

"I happen to know the origin of that law. The fact is, that up to that time the members of the council, who had not then such an arduous duty to perform as they have now, occupied their leisure time in touching up their own works. Sir Martin Archer Shee, who was then a member of the Academy, contended that this privilege ought not to be appropriated to the council only, but that it should be extended to the Royal Academicians generally. That, I believe, was the origin of the change which Wilkie here describes." (para 408).

Eastlake carries on to state the abuses of the practice, and the objections which were constantly being raised to it. These are well known, as is the practice of someone like Turner who repeatedly used the time allotted to completely re-paint pictures. His strongest reason for defending it, however, is interesting - and it is a compelling one:

"...there were advantages in the practice which it is not easy for others than artists to appreciate, such as the opportunity so afforded for intercourse between the best

artists in the country when engaged to a certain extent in the practice of their art; the intercourse of ideas and criticisms on such occasions was a school for all, and on that account the abolition of varnishing days was much regretted by many eminent members of the Academy." (para 408).

Varnishing Days were kept going in the same form until just before the death of Turner. It is almost certainly true that they were preserved so long out of deference to that artist, for they provided some of the happiest occasions of his life. They were abolished under a General Assembly Minute of 3rd November 1851, moved by Mulready, seconded by Maclise, and carried 'nem dis'. A CM of three weeks later showed that some second thoughts had occurred and it was decreed that in the case of damage to a picture any member could appeal to the Council to have permission to repaint such a picture (CM of 22nd November 1851). CM of 10th April reveals a clear move to restore Varnishing Days. This failed and, just to make very clear that no nonsense was intended, as it were, the Minute adds:

"And further - that the chilling or want of varnish does not constitute 'an accident'".

It is evident that there were some difficult cases to settle for CM of 13th July 1855 reaffirms that in view of the difficulties that have arisen over varnishing the "resolution of General Assembly of 22nd November 1851 be strictly enforced in future". This kept things quiet for a few more years until under CM of 14th April 1860 twelve Academicians petitioned General Assembly to reconsider the matter of varnishing days. They were told that they might retouch the pictures now, but this was not a

because of questions in Parliament.

suitable time to be discussing such a matter. CM of 18th March 1862 next moved a restoration of varnishing days to take the form of two days for members and for some "invited exhibitors" who "require such advantage". This appears to have been passed, for CM of 21st April 1862 reads:

"It was resolved that Members should be admitted to varnish and retouch their pictures on Monday and Tuesday, the 28th & 29th Inst and non-members on Wednesday the 30th Inst."

The number of non-members so invited is given as 48.

This appears to have been the end of the affair, and the practice continued under this new form.

It may well be asked why the matter has been dealt with at all in this thesis. In a word, did the practice affect the students in any way? Yes, in a way, it did. In the sense that varnishing days were, as Eastlake said, "a school for all" their existence affected Academy students. Though these latter were not allowed to be present at the varnishing they would have first-hand accounts from Academicians who were present of what took place. Thus there would be passed on to the students some of the opinions and practices of some of the most eminent artists of the day.

APPENDIX IV.

The Right of Tenure of the Royal Academy to its Apartments,
based mainly on Appendix 17 of the 1863 Royal Academy
Commission.

This thesis begins very soon after political pressures on the Royal Academy had started, in 1834. The reasons for this are set out in pp. 4 et seq.. Throughout most of the period covered by the thesis the pressure continued, and it therefore seems sensible to bring together the evidence indicating the position of the Academy in the matter of tenure of their apartments, for this was a major consideration in the various political attacks. Appendix 17 of the 1863 Royal Commission, which is entitled, 'Statement forwarded by the President to the Prime Minister (the Right Hon. the Earl of Derby), in July 1858, as to the tenure of the Royal Academy of their present apartments', did this. For easier reading, however, the order of that statement is changed round to a chronological one here, and additional information from Council Minutes is given to fill any gaps.

In justifying these claims the statement goes back to the early years of the Academy. It says:

"The Academy was instituted in the year 1768, by George III., by a deed of institution under his sign manual, not counter-signed by any officer of state.

By such deed, the King declared himself to be the patron,

protector, and supporter of the society, and that several of the officers were to hold their offices only during His Majesty's pleasure; and the 8th clause of the deed directs 'that there shall be a treasurer of the Royal Academy... appointed by His Majesty from amongst the Academicians, that he may have a person in whom he places full confidence in an office where his interest is concerned....

His Majesty took great personal interest in the institution, as is shown by the nature of the provisions of the deed; the privilege which he granted to the president and chief officers, of communicating direct with himself without the intervention of any officers of the state; and also by the king having for many years provided out of his privy purse the funds necessary for the support of the institution.

Soon after the institution of the society, the King appropriated to its use apartments in his palace, which stood on the site of Somerset House; but the Exhibition was for some years held in Pall Mall. It appears from the following extract from the minutes of the council of the Academy, that the permission to occupy apartments in the palace was conveyed to the Academy through the Lord Chamberlain." (1863 Report, Appendices, page 47).

The CM is then given. It is of 28th April 1771 and states:

'At a meeting of the council.....

The President reported that the Lord Chamverlain had ordered the room next to the lecture room to be appropriated to the use of the Royal Academy, and that the adjoining rooms should likewise be given up to the Academy as soon as Sir James Wright had quitted them, which would be within three or four months from this time.

Ordered, that the secretary do wait on Sir James Wright, to request that he would order the above rooms to be delivered up to the Academy.' (Ibid)

The statement then goes on to what in effect was the whole claim of the Academy:

"The palace was part of the hereditary property of the Crown.... and about the year 1780 was given up by King George III to the Government, in order that it might be used as Government offices; and the present building was, it is believed, then erected. But it has always been understood by the Academy that His Majesty reserved to himself the right of appropriating a part of the new building, namely, the portion fronting towards the Strand, to the Royal Academy, the Royal Society of Antiquaries, and the Royal Society; and

the part appropriated to the Royal Academy was built for the express purpose, a large room being provided as an exhibition room.

On the new building being completed, the following letter was addressed, on the part of the Lords of the Treasury, to Sir William Chambers, the Treasurer of the society.

'To Sir William Chambers.

Sir,

The Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury having taken into consideration your letter of the 27th of March, stating that the apartments allotted to the Royal Academy in the new building at Somerset House are now completely finished, and that His Majesty has directed this year's exhibition of pictures to be there, and desiring to have an order for delivering up the same, either to the president and council, or to the treasurer of the Academy, who is, by virtue of his office, to have the inspection and care both of the buildings and all other His Majesty's effects employed in that institution; I am commanded by their lordships to direct you to deliver up into the hands of the treasurer of the Royal Academy all the apartments allotted to His Majesty's said Academy in the new buildings in Somerset House, which are to be appropriated to the uses specified in the several plans of the same, heretofore settled. And you are to signify to the officers of the Academy that they, their families, servants, tradesmen, and visitors, are to use for their apartments the stair of communication only, and not to use the great stair for any common purposes; and as the residence of the secretary in the Academy is an indulgence lately proposed, which upon trial may be found inconvenient, or the rooms he occupies be hereafter wanted for other purposes, you are to signify to him that he holds the same merely at pleasure, to be resumed whenever it shall be thought proper; and to the end that all parts of the new building may be preserved in good repair, clean, undamaged, and undisfigured, you are strictly to direct and order that no tubs or pots of earth, either with or without flowers or trees, creepers, or other shrubs, be placed in the gutters of the said building, or upon the roofs and parapets, or upon the court areas or windows, niches, or any other aperture of the same; and also that no plaster, paper, or other things be put up, plastered, or pasted against any of the walls thereof, under any pretence whatever. And you are further to direct that on no account whatever any change shall be made in the destination of the apartments appropriated to the public use, nor any alteration, either in these or in any others that are or shall be inhabited by any of the officers or servants, without the approbation of this board, and that

no person be permitted to let or lend their apartments, under any pretext whatever.

I am, sir, your most humble servant,

Treasury Chambers, John Robinson.
April 11, 1780.

The statement carries on:

"It will be observed that this document speaks of the apartments as allotted to the Academy, and that they are to be appropriated to the uses specified in the plans, and this without any limit as to time; and that, although it is expressly stated in the letter that the rooms for the secretary are to be held by him merely at pleasure, to be resumed whenever it may be thought proper, as they may be wanted for other purposes, no such qualification is attached to the allotment of the rooms to the Academy.

From the year 1780, down to the year 1834, a period of more than half a century, the Royal Academy continued to occupy these rooms without interruption." (*Ibid.*, p 48).

So far so good, but later counsellors of the Academy must have tended to curse Reynolds for the following letter, which is also given in Appendix 17. Clearly, having had tenure of these apartments for seven years, and having been asked officially to assume responsibility for them by the Lords Commissioners, a wise judgment would have been to have paid the desired insurance. Thus the tenure of the Academy would have been even more secure. Reynolds however, and presumably the Council of the time, could only see the immediate value of getting out of this payment, and the letter Reynolds wrote was so very clear that the property was the King's that in later years the enemies of the Academy could quote this to effect. It is easy to be wise after the event, and the letter is as

follows:

'Royal Academy, September 14, 1787.

Sir,

I have communicated your letter to the council of the Royal Academy, in which we are ordered by the Lords Commissioners to insure the apartments allotted to the Royal Academy.

They beg leave to remark that there is no established fund for the support of the Academy, and the profits by which it is supported are altogether precarious. That such as there are, they are (not) employed for the benefit of the president and council (who have no salaries), but for the advancement of art. That they considered the building as the King's house, not theirs, though His Majesty is so gracious as to permit them to make use of it; and therefore, whether they can undertake, from a fund thus precarious, to insure one of the King's houses, is submitted to their lordships, and if they are pleased to order them to make such insurance, they shall certainly obey.

They beg leave to add, that the little fund they have been able to accumulate, after defraying the expenses of the Academy, is appropriated to the relief of such artists as are rendered incapable of following their profession, or their distressed families.

It is from these poor artists, therefore, that the money must be taken if the insurance is insisted on by the Lords Commissioners.

I am, with the greatest respect,

Yours etc.,

Joshua Reynolds,
President.

G. Rose, Esq.,
Treasury Chambers.'

By this year 1787 the position was by no means as simple as this letter from Reynolds indicated. It is true that the Academy had been given use of the King's house, but, as has recently been stated, the King gave up the use of this property

in 1780 and it was then used as government offices. At this time the new building which was erected was so erected at public expense. (For this see the evidence of Shee before the 1835 Select Committee, para 2038. This is quoted in this thesis on page 7). Therefore, whether or not the Academy had been given the property by the King it was from 1780 in a publicly-paid for building. This, of course, was the issue taken up by Ewart and others in 1834 (see this thesis, page 4). The statement carries on, in Appendix 17, as follows:

"In 1834, the Government having it in contemplation to erect the National Gallery in Trafalgar Square, and the Government being desirous of having the use of the rooms occupied by the Academy in Somerset House, communications passed between Lord Grey and the president of the Academy, as to appropriating to the use of the Academy the part of the National Gallery which they now occupy, in exchange for the rooms which had been appropriated to them, as above mentioned, in Somerset House.

The motive of the Academy in entering into this arrangement was, the desire of obtaining more extended accommodation, which the National Gallery would afford.

The nature of the arrangement which was entered into between the Government and the Academy, to effect this exchange, is shown by the following correspondence:

'(Private)

Downing Street, May 8, 1834.

Dear Sir Martin,

I enclose a note, and copy of a letter from Sir Joshua Reynolds, which I received last night from Mr. Spring Rice, which will show that nothing has been said or intended which could place the Royal Academy in a more insecure situation in the new Establishment, than they are in that which at present exists. I could add, that in the very distant and not very probable event of the space now assigned to the National Gallery becoming insufficient, I should hope that means might be found for making such additions as might become necessary, without interfering with the Royal Academy.

I am, with great regard etc.,

'Rey.'

The note from Spring Rice which was enclosed with this letter is as follows:

'Treasury Chambers, May 7, 1834.

My Dear Lord,

What fell from me in the House of Commons, and what stands in the Minutes of the Treasury, in respect to the assignment of rooms to the Royal Academy in the new Gallery, is to the following effect. The Academy will have the same title and tenure to their new habitation that they already possess at Somerset House. The title will neither be improved or weakened in any respect. What that title is will, I think, appear from the enclosed copy of a letter from Sir Joshua Reynolds, in 1787, and now remaining registered at the Treasury, in which he disclaims all right of property, and states that the rooms are the King's, and not theirs.

The alternative, respecting which I was questioned by Mr. Warburton and others, is not very likely to occur, at least in our time. It contemplates such an addition to the national pictures as to make it impossible that they should be contained in the wing of the building. Surely the Academy themselves must see that in that event it would be inevitable that a larger space must be appropriated for the national pictures, care being of course taken to provide the Royal Academy with suitable accommodation.

I have the honour to be, my dear Lord,

Your Lordship's obliged and faithful,

Spring Rice.' (Ibid, page 49).

The letter from Reynolds is the one just recently quoted. It can be seen from the wording of Spring Rice's letter that this letter of Reynolds was one of the few bits of evidence extant - perhaps it was the only bit available to the Treasury Lords. If this was so, then surely the Academicians must have regretted that their first President ^{had} so clearly written away any rights to the property! Shee acknowledged the above letter from Lord Grey, which is scarcely worth quoting here, and after his

Council had considered it he wrote again:

'May 1834.

My Lord,

I am authorized by the members of the Royal Academy, to express to your Lordship the high gratification they derive from the assurance you are pleased to offer them, that the apartments, allotted to the Royal Academy, in Trafalgar Square, may be considered as not less securely or permanently devoted to the purposes of that institution, than those which they have so long held at Somerset House.

They are desirous to remark, that it never was their impression or belief, that they possessed any other right in their present apartments, than that of occupancy, for the purpose of carrying on a school of art; a right graciously conferred on them by their Royal Founder, George III, when he was pleased to establish them, as early as January 1771, in his palace of Old Somerset House. When that edifice was made over to the nation in 1775, His Majesty directed the plans for a Royal Academy, proposed to form part of the new building, to be laid before the members of the society. These plans were approved and signed by the president and council, and officers, in 1776, and they took possession of their new residence in 1780, in virtue of a letter from Mr. Robinson of the Treasury, dated 11th April of the same year, directing the architect, Sir William Chambers, to deliver up to the treasurer of the Academy all the apartments allotted to His Majesty's said Academy, in the new building, at Somerset House, which are to be appropriated to the use specified in several plans of the same, heretofore settled.

The letter from Sir Joshua Reynolds, of which Mr. Spring Rice has sent your Lordship a copy, is recorded in the minutes of the Academy, and is, they conceive, in perfect accordance with the opinions which the members of the Academy always entertained and expressed as to the nature of the tenure, by which they have held their apartments for above half a century, and which does not appear to have been subjected to any such contingency as that which is the cause of their present apprehension. On this subject they beg to observe, that the permanent occupancy of any residence that may be allotted to the Royal Academy will be nearly as important as its fitness for the purposes of that institution; a second removal would be productive of serious inconvenience to the Academy, would be highly injurious to the various objects of art collected for the use of the schools and, the result would, probably, not only disturb the operations of the institution as a national seminary, but fatally endanger the means by which the Academy are now enabled to devote, annually, upwards

of £5,000 to the cultivation of the arts, and the promotion of public taste.

But the members of the Royal Academy rely with full and grateful confidence on your lordship's assurances, persuaded the liberal consideration, which, through your kind and private influence, the Government has happily extended to the fine arts, will secure for them all the encouragement and support that an enlightened estimate of their importance can suggest, or which may be necessary to assist the exertions of the Academy, in a cause that concerns the honour and dignity of the nation.

I have the honour to be etc.,

To M.A. Shee. (Ibid. page 50).
Lord Grey.

The new National Gallery was completed in 1836 and the Council of the Academy ascertained the pleasure of King William IV before giving up its apartments in Somerset House. This, the statement says

"is important, as distinctly showing the understanding of the Academy, arising out of the communication of the Government, that they were to have as secure a tenure in the National Gallery as they had in Somerset House."

The letter in which the Academy did this, as typically flowery and flattering as all the Academy's letters to Royalty at this time, follows:

'Royal Academy, 2nd August 1836.

May it please Your Majesty, -

We, the president and council and the rest of the Academicians of the Royal Academy, beg leave most humbly to approach Your Majesty with the warmest feelings of loyalty and gratitude, for the gracious countenance and favour invariably extended by Your Majesty to this institution.

Conscious that we cannot (secure) more effectually Your Majesty's approbation than by our zealous endeavours to extend

as far as possible, the advantages which the arts derive from the establishment of the Royal Academy, we beg most respectfully to represent to Your Majesty that plans for the better accommodation of the Academy, by appropriating to its use a portion of the new building in Trafalgar Square, having been laid before us by direction of the Lords Commissioners of Your Majesty's Treasury, we have felt it our duty carefully to consider and examine the same, with a view to ascertain the expediency of exchanging the apartments at present occupied by the Academy for those which have been offered for its reception; and we are unanimously of opinion that the interest of the arts at large, and the general utility of the Royal Academy, would be materially promoted by the exchange proposed.

Under this conviction we cannot hesitate to recommend the transfer of Your Majesty's Academy to a residence which appears well adapted to its purposes, and which, we have been assured, we may occupy on precisely the same terms as those by which we have so long enjoyed possession of our present abode.

But, although many advantages may be reasonably anticipated from the removal which we venture to advocate, and though the plans for the new establishment have already been honoured by Your Majesty's approbation; yet, as the Royal Academy was originally placed in Somerset House by the munificence of its royal founder, George III., and as its residence there has been so long continued and secured under the especial sanction of his royal successors and the paternal protection of Your Majesty, we do not consider ourselves at liberty to change the local position of the Academy, or resign the apartments which are at present in its occupation, without the express consent and authority of Your Majesty.

Humbly awaiting the expression of Your Majesty's pleasure on this subject, we beg leave to subscribe ourselves,

Your Majesty's most grateful and loyal subjects and servants,

Signed by Sir Martin Archer Shee, and the Members of Council of the Royal Academy.' (Ibid, page 51)

The story is now continued in the text of this thesis which tells of the continued attacks in Parliament. Appendix 1 of the thesis is also important in this respect. Russell's letter, mentioned in Appendix 1, is also given in this 1858 statement.

It is perhaps of interest to quote it here:

'Downing Street, April 22, 1850.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you, that in consequence of the want of room in the present National Gallery for the pictures belonging to the collection, Her Majesty's Government have come to the determination of appropriating the rooms now used by the Royal Academy to the purposes of the National Gallery.

It is the intention of the Government to propose to Parliament a vote of £20,000 in the present year, and a similar vote in the next year, to enable the Royal Academy to provide themselves with a building suited for the purposes of instruction for students, and for exhibition of the works of artists.

Her Majesty will always be desirous to evince to the Royal Academy, by her countenance and protection, her wish for the success of their endeavours for the promotion and improvement of British art.

I have the honour to be etc.,

John Russell.'

As already said in Appendix 1, the Queen saved Russell the embarrassment of having to honour this pledge by granting the use of Marlborough House to take the National Collection new pictures. So the matter remained quiescent during the 1850's until the questions in the House of Commons on 13th July 1858 (see page 170). Out of these questions came the whole of this statement of July 1858, quoted in Appendix 17 of the 1863 Royal Commission. Going with the statement was a letter from Eastlake to the Prime Minister. The reassuring letter from Lord Derby is in the Appendix 17 and also in the General Assembly Minutes of 27th July 1858. It is:

'Downing Street, July 23, 1858.

My dear Sir Charles,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday, and of the accompanying statement. The subject to which it refers will receive the most careful consideration on my part, and on that of my colleagues, during the approaching recess; but I think I may safely say, on their part and on my own, that we concur in the general principle which, as it appears to me, you lay down on behalf of the Royal Academy, that, while they have no legal claim to any particular locality for their exhibition, they have a moral claim, should the public service require their removal from their present locality, to have provided for them, by the public, equally convenient accommodation elsewhere.

I am, dear Sir Charles,

Yours faithfully,

Derby.'

This concludes the extensive account given mainly in Appendix 17 of the 1863 Royal Commiccion. For the main events of the remaining few years, until the Academy moved into Burlington House, see Appendix V.

APPENDIX V.

Suggestions offered and plans made, between July 1858 and 1867, for the housing of the Royal Academy and its Schools, with special reference to the current feeling regarding the Academy remaining in Trafalgar Square.

It can be seen that the letter of July 1858 from Lord Derby (quoted at the end of Appendix IV) was the clearest indication from any government during these long years of wrangling that the Royal Academy was owed something, that it had " a moral claim...to have provided...convenient accommodation". Moreover, it seemed sufficiently certain that the affairs of the Academy were favourably settled for the Institute of British Architects to send its congratulations, in a letter of April 1859, and quoted in Appendix VI.

On his fifth and last appearance before the 1863 Royal Commission Eastlake was questioned extensively on the housing of the Academy, and a very full account is given of the whole matter in his evidence which covers 19 pages of the Report (paras. 760 to 902). Considerable quotation appears in his evidence from the correspondence given in Appendix IV of this thesis, and indeed Appendix 17 of the Report is the official supplement to Eastlake's evidence.

(It is perhaps worth pointing out that the pressure used by the Academy via a petition to the Queen to get full use of the National Gallery building in 1851 is not referred to in

this extensive evidence. This is given in CM of 26th May 1851, and is quoted in this thesis, p.137 et seq.. No doubt, wishing to gain as much goodwill as possible it was decided by the Academy and its friends to forget about this. Nor, incidentally, is there any mention of the threat to use the National Gallery site for an hotel, in 1856. See p. 166. HCM).

Having covered much of the earlier history the chairman asked Eastlake:

"762. I quoted just now a letter from the Earl of Derby, addressed to you in July, 1858. Did you at a later period receive any proposal on the part of Lord Derby's Government? - In the report to which the appendix I have just handed in belongs, (This refers to the Report from the Council of the Royal Academy, 1860. HCM) it is stated, 'It appeared that the question of the change of site referred to required to be decided early in the session of 1859; and the president had the honour of more than one previous interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Disraeli) upon the subject. The result has been before the public. The liberal proposal of the late Government to place the Academy in another building, to be erected at the public cost, on part of the site of Burlington House and grounds, instead of that which they have for some years occupied, was, with the gracious sanction of Her Majesty, met by an offer from the Academy to undertake the proposed new building on that site at their own cost. The agreement of the Government to this proposal may be best understood by a reference to the speeches in parliament of the First Lord of the Treasury and of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in February and March 1859.'

(The decision was given in CM of 29th January 1859. See page 173 of this thesis. HCM)

763. The Government offered a new building to be erected at the public cost. Was any specific sum named as the cost at which the new building was to be erected? - Not that I ever heard of.

764. It appears that in reply to that proposal the Academy made an offer to undertake the proposed new building on that site at their own cost? - Yes.

765. What was the cost at which they estimated the building to be erected? - I think the extreme sum which the Academy proposed to lay out was from £70,000 to £75,000, but there was a difference of opinion upon the subject, and it was a

question to what extent the Academy might venture to dispose of its funds in that way. It will be remembered that at that time the Academy had not laid by so much money as they now have at their disposal.

766. That offer then was made to the Earl of Derby and to Mr. Disraeli, as heads of the Treasury? - Yes.

767. Was any answer returned to it previously to the change of Government? - The proposal of the Academy was accepted, as, I think, will appear from the Chancellor of the Exchequer's speech in Parliament. The Chancellor of the Exchequer says, 'I have the pleasure of informing the House that I have succeeded in accomplishing that which appeared to be the general wish of the country. The whole of the building in Trafalgar Square will speedily be entirely devoted to the National Gallery. I was so anxious on the part of the Government to bring this long vexed question to a satisfactory settlement, that I was prepared to offer to the Royal Academy terms which were conceived in a liberal spirit. We were prepared to recommend to Her Majesty to grant them a site, and I may say we are prepared even now to recommend this House to vote a sum of money to raise that building. But the Royal Academy, animated by a spirit which the House will appreciate, and which is worthy of that distinguished body, considered that if the Academy were built by public funds; their independence would be comprised, and being in possession of sufficient property themselves, they announced their determination to raise the building for themselves. Having had a residence furnished, if not granted by the Crown originally, and enjoyed so long, the Royal Academy did not consider that, in accepting the offer of a site, their independence would be at comprised.' It should be stated that there were certain conditions proposed by the Royal Academy.

768. What were these conditions? - The chief conditions which the Royal Academy proposed in consideration of their undertaking the proposed outlay were that the requisite site should be granted as freehold, or for a long lease; that the portion of the area in question to be allotted to the Academy should be next to Piccadilly, and that the management of the affairs of the institution should, as heretofore, be uncontrolled, except by the will of the Sovereign.

769. At this point of the transaction there ensued, I believe, a change of Government, and Lord Palmerston and Mr. Gladstone became the heads of the Treasury? - Yes."

In para. 770 Eastlake gives details of the further course of

the affair under the new government:

"...A change of ministry took place in June 1859. Then there was a correspondence with the new authorities upon the subject. It was proposed, by some alterations in the building, to enlarge the portion devoted to the National Gallery, and at the same time to improve the sculpture room of the Royal Academy..."

This brought the matter to date - February 1863 - as the following shows:

"773. Has any arrangement of another kind been made, so far as you know, that would make the completion of that design impossible, or improper at the present time? - I am not aware that any further steps have been taken, or that the ground has been appropriated in any other way."

The questions then referred to Eastlake ask his opinions, in the name of the Academy, as to future schemes:

"777. What are the present views of the council of the Royal Academy, and your own views as to the question of site. Are you still desirous of constructing the building at your own cost, supposing either the site of Burlington House or some other site, of which you entirely approved, were suggested to you? - The Academy desire nothing better than to remain where they are, because it is obviously necessary that they should be in a situation which can be easily frequented by the public during the exhibition. There would have been no objection to Burlington House upon that ground, provided the Royal Academy had the front towards Piccadilly; but, with reference to the financial objects of the Academy, I should still say that the present site is superior.

778. In my question I entirely reserved the point of the site, and I asked the question only on the supposition of some site, entirely satisfactory to the Academy, being suggested. If there were such a site suggested, entirely satisfactory to the Academy, may I conclude from your answer that there would still be a readiness on the part of the Academy to construct a new building at its own cost, and on such conditions as you have already detailed? - The proposition to remove to Burlington House did not originate with the Academy. It would be only under the circumstance of their being compelled to remove from their present position that the Academy, if a site were given them, would prefer to build for themselves. I have no hesitation in saying that if they had built on that occasion,

and if they were to build now, the Academy would be, so to speak, crippled as to its resources. The readiness of the Academy may be assumed to exist now as on the former occasion, but I should consider it by no means desirable for the interests of the Academy.

779. You would prefer, if you had the option, remaining where you are at present? - Certainly. All those schemes which have been suggested, both by the members of the Academy and by this Commission, for the improvement of the institution, could certainly not be carried into effect if the Academy were to pay for the erection of a new building.

780. The alternatives, then, would be these; either a continuance in the present site, with what you have described as inadequate accommodation, and the necessity of suspending the schools during the exhibitions; or the Academy drawing largely on its resources by a new building on another site? - There is another alternative, namely, having more room within the present building, supposing a new National Gallery to be erected elsewhere."

On the questions of the Commission returning to the plan of Lord Derby's government it became clear that nothing definite had then been arranged, and moreover, that Lord Derby realised there was a number of rival claimants for housing among other worthy societies:

"783.....Was there a satisfactory arrangement arrived at between the Academy and the Government of the Earl of Derby as to the space that should be allotted to the Academy at Burlington House, and as to the building which they should erect upon the site? - No; the change of Government interfered with any definite arrangement.

784. I find that the Earl of Derby, in his speech, says, 'Now that application for no less than half of a site, occupying 143,000 square feet, is one, I cannot help thinking, with all due respect to the labours of the Royal Academy, of rather an extensive character considering that there were six other societies to whom, as I have already said, promises of accommodation have been made, and seven or eight whose claims have been strongly pressed upon the attention of the Government. Her Majesty's Ministers, however, have deemed it right to ascertain, in the first instance, what amount of space the Royal Academy may reasonably be supposed to want; and in the next place, before

they allot them so large a portion of ground, to be assured that the amount of their funds is such as would enable them to cover, either now or at some future time, with buildings adapted to the objects of the institution, the whole of the site which they require. We have taken this course because it appeared to us it would be extremely undesirable and impolitic to assign to the Royal Academy, or to any society, a considerable space of valuable land, part of which, while they did not need it themselves, they would prevent others from occupying.'

So it appears that no definite arrangement was come to between the Royal Academy and the Government of the Earl of Derby before they went out of office? - No, no definite arrangement was come to."

Later on in the evidence these societies were listed:

"827. Lord Derby mentions them in the following manner:

'I have here a list of those societies which have received promises of that nature,' (that is a portion of the site of Burlington House). 'They are, the Royal Academy, the Patent Office, the London University, the Royal Society, the Linnaean Society, and the Chemical Society. But besides these, the Astronomical, the Geological, the Antiquarian, the Ethnological, the Asiatic, and the Water Colour Societies, which are now located in Somerset House, are claimants for accommodation in Burlington House.' It appeared therefore to be the intention of Lord Derby's Government to place several other societies on that locale? -
- Yes."

The questioning then came back to considerations of the Academy remaining in Trafalgar Square:

"786. I think you stated that the Academy desire nothing better than to remain where they are. Do you mean by that that they are satisfied with the present extent of space which they have, and that they do not wish any alteration to take place? - No; I have stated that it would be desirable that they should have more room. I assume that I am invited to say which would be the most desirable state of things for the Academy. I think it would be more desirable for them to remain where they are with some additional room.

787. What additional room would the Academy require, supposing that the National Gallery were removed elsewhere? - That may be judged of from the additions which I have supposed to be made to the rooms which they at present occupy. I cannot state it in figures, but some idea may be formed from the explanations which I have before given.

788. (Mr. Reeve). Has any proposition ever been made, either by any Government, or by the Royal Academy itself, for the Royal Academy to purchase the right to occupy the whole of the building in Trafalgar Square? - I am not aware that any such proposal has been made. The only approach to it, which I believe appears in the evidence before the Committee respecting the Turner and Vernon pictures, is that in answer to a question from Earl Granville, I stated that it had once been proposed that the Academy, in order, so to speak, to purchase the right of remaining wherthey are, should build a handsome front to that building which occupies so fine a sight, and in so doing remove one of the objections to the present building."

It can be seen that the proposal just referred to - of CM of 26th May 1851 - is again carefully avoided in Eastlake's answer. It is a fact that he was speaking the exact truth, for the Academy at that time did not seek to purchase the National Gallery site and buildings: it just asked for them! Financial involvement was the offer, tentative, to 'make a deal' and contribute to the cost of a new School of Design (see page 139).

Later Eastlake was questioned as to what the Academy would do were it allowed to remain in the National Gallery building and occupy the entire site:

"836. Supposing that you remained in Trafalgar Square, as you said was the idea of some persons, and of yourself, and occupied the whole of that site, would you propose to keep the present building or to rebuild it? - I have already stated that it might be advisable to allow the Academy to alter the front, and no doubt some internal alterations would be necessary with a view to the better accommodation of the schools, and to the arrangement of the exhibition.

837. Do you think the present building a handsome building? - The appearance of a building, of course, depends on its exterior; and it is the exterior which the Academy would propose to improve.

838. Do you think that you could ever make it a handsome building by any alterations? - I have no question of it. I do not say that the Academy need do it; the Academy might give a sum to the Government to do it.

839. That is one of the finest sites in London, is it not? -

- Yes.

840. It ought to be occupied by a very fine building, ought it not?"

Some considerable discussion then took place as to whether the Academy would be able, or prepared, to spend money on the building and so do the fine site justice.

On the question of the Academicians having a building put up at their own cost, or having one given to them, Eastlake said:

"859. The Royal Academy would rather have a building given them free than have to build it, and pay for it themselves? -
- Yes; if they were to pay for it themselves one result would be, that they could not possibly carry out, even as much as they do now, those public objects to which such an institution should be devoted."

Later, Eastlake repeats his sentiment of para. 838:

"867. The public would necessarily expect a very beautiful building when the most distinguished artists of England were employed in building it? - I do not assume that the Royal Academy would have the direction of that building. I should prefer myself that the Academy should be allowed to give the Government a sum of money, and that the Government should undertake the building."

It was remarked in the text of this thesis (page 180) that some improvements had been effected in the fabric of the Royal Academy in 1861. It is clear from Eastlake's evidence that these were only slight:

"872. ...since the alterations made by the present Government in the National Gallery, and in the Sculpture Room of the Royal Academy, nothing has been done...(the Academy) accepted gratefully the important improvement effected in the Sculpture Room."

Questions were asked as to what would have to be done to the present Academy building were it to be shared by the water colour societies. On this Eastlake was not sanguine:

"887. (Viscount Hardinge). Would the Academy, do you think, object, if architectural difficulties were removed, to recognize the water-colour societies and admit them into a portion of their building and give a due proportion of their members the same honours and privileges as Royal Academicians now have? - That is a wide question. I cannot at this moment give an opinion upon it; but I should certainly recommend that any society coming under the roof of the Academy - supposing sufficient space, which I doubt, - should be as independent as they might desire to be."

One of the main difficulties frequently referred to by several witnesses was that the Schools would be adversely affected unless adequate room were provided. The Academician-sculptor Westmacott spoke thus on the matter:

"1958. ...The reason why I think it would to the advantage and credit of the Government to give us a permanent locality is this, that, at present, our plans are all vague; we do not know what to be at for want of room. Even if we succeed in improving our schools, which I have great hope we shall do, we shall be obliged to close those schools for a certain portion of the year, in order to keep open our exhibition rooms. If we had a sufficiently large space to carry on all the work of the Academy, and still have our annual exhibition, we might do a great deal more good to the artists of the country, and we might do much more credit to the country itself in the display of art. If we had the National Gallery, we should be able to adapt it to our purposes, at our own expense, so as to make a permanent national institution."

Several witnesses expressed opinions on the Academy staying in the National Gallery building. On the whole most favoured this. Hardwick, Oldfield, Collier and others were of this inclination. Oldfield, lawyer and M.P., spoke thus:

"4470. Do you think that it might be desirable to resume that or a similar plan, by which the Academy would have more

space at their disposal? - It is perfectly clear that they ought to have more space. I am inclined to think, but I do not express myself with confidence upon that subject, that the best plan would be to remove the National Gallery to Burlington Gardens, and leave the whole of the present building, or the site of the present building, if it is to be pulled down and rebuilt, for the Academy."

John Charles Robinson, Art Referee in the Department of Science and Art at the Kensington Museum, wrote the Commissioners a very long letter. On the matter of moving he presented the facts fairly:

"4511. ...

Section 11. Next comes the question where this new building should actually be erected; there seem to be only two sites possible - Trafalgar Square and Burlington House; there is, however, a prior claim to choice betwixt these two sites; the National Gallery, I apprehend, should be considered before the Academy. Trafalgar Square is doubtless the better site, but the space at present available there is not nearly sufficient for the requirements of a National Gallery worthy of the nation, and it is certainly not too large for the Academy, supposing the whole of the present most inconvenient building were to be given up to that institution. If, however, the workhouse or barracks at the back (or both) could be obtained then I think there should be no hesitation in removing the Academy, entirely sweeping away the present wretched building, and erecting a new one for the National Gallery worthy of the treasures of art to be housed therein.

12. But if this extra space cannot be obtained, then I think the National Gallery should be removed to Burlington House, where there is adequate room - the Academy being left in undisturbed possession of the Trafalgar Square building."

Perhaps the best evidence to quote from at any length here is that of William Tite, President of the Royal Institute of British Architects. It is well-informed, and reflects current feeling:

"2659. Have you turned your attention to the question of

the building now occupied by the Royal Academy? - Yes, and I have taken very considerable pains about it. I think I have been on a committee upon it, and have given a distinct opinion upon it which I have expressed in the House. I entertain no doubt myself as to what would be the right course to take. My conviction is, that the suggestion which was made at the time when the Earl of Derby and Mr. Disraeli were in the Government, was the right one; that is to say, that the present building should be given up to the National Gallery, with such ameliorations as would belong to it, and that the Royal Academy should be accommodated with some other societies at Burlington House. I think that Burlington House is an excellent place for the Academy, and one which fairly meets what it wants, and I was very sorry when that plan fell to the ground.....

2664. Is it not the fact that we are likely to obtain a much better National Gallery at Burlington House on a much more considerable area, by erecting a building de novo for that purpose, with the experience we have now acquired, than by taking the old building which is admitted by everybody to be extremely inadequate and ill-suited to the purpose, with the additional difficulty that the Government are not yet in possession of either the barracks or the workhouses which surround it? - That is quite true, and all I can say upon that subject is this, that Parliament moves slowly towards granting of a large sum for an entirely new National Gallery, and I see no change in that particular. When that question comes before Parliament, there is apparently no great inclination to entertain it, whereas, if the Royal Academy left Trafalgar Square as they were anxious to do at that time, the National Gallery would soon outgrow its present limits, and it would end in the whole structure being remodelled and rebuilt.

2665. Are you aware that the Royal Academy have on several occasions expressed their readiness to purchase the right of occupying the whole of that building by giving a very large sum of money which would go a great way towards constructing a National Gallery on the site of Burlington House? - If that is so, I should be disposed to accept it. The difficulty which I have is this, if the Royal Academy buy the building in Trafalgar Square, and remain there, it will remain what it is, which, I think, is not creditable to the country, whereas, if the National Gallery has the whole building, it will soon outgrow it, the result of which will be a new building.....

2667. ...at the same time the House of Commons would be against the removal of the National Gallery. I remember that several sites were suggested; but the general feeling of the House was that the National Gallery had better remain where it is.

2668. Do you think the House of Commons would retain that feeling if all the facts, both pecuniary and local, were brought before them? - I think you would have the same result. I think the general feeling was well expressed by Mr. Alderman Cubitt, who said, 'I am accustomed to go there.

I can go there easily; I know my way there; and if the building were put to rights, I think that is the proper place for the national collection.' I think that is a very common feeling.

2669. (Mr. H. Seymour). Do you think it is the finest site? -
- Decidedly.....

2680. (Lord Elcho). Have you formed any estimate what it would cost to pull down the present building, to acquire the work-house and barracks, and build a suitable National Gallery? -
- I daresay it would cost half a million of money. If we were in France we should get it....

2682. As regards the central character of the position, there would not be much difference, would there, between Burlington House and the National Gallery? - No, but the position of the National Gallery is certainly a finer position than Burlington House."

Title was returned to the comparison with France:

"2704. You said just now that if it were in the hands of the French, no doubt the money would be forthcoming for it? - Yes, no doubt of it....

2706. Adverting to your experience of the House of Commons, do you not think that it generally begrudges money when it thinks that money is not going to be well laid out? -
- Doubtless, but I think it begrudges money for purposes of art. It has been taught a very severe lesson by the enormous expense of the Palace of Westminster; and there is some disinclination on the part of the House to embark in a similar work. There was no great disinclination to vote the money for the Foreign Office after the design was settled; but I cannot help thinking that for purposes of art-decoration we are hardly sufficiently advanced in art-education to induce the House of Commons to listen, with any great favour, to the expenditure of large sums upon public buildings in the metropolis. The point seems to turn upon this very much, that the country gentlemen think that they ought not to be called upon to pay out of the consolidated fund for buildings in the metropolis. They think that the metropolis, with its enormous population and means, ought to help itself; and the reverse argument, on the other hand, that the metropolis is the centre of everything and represents the nation is not successfully supported, so that every year it becomes more difficult to

obtain public money for anything in the metropolis."

The 1863 Royal Commission summed up its evidence on the matter as follows, in the Report, pp. xxi to xxiii:

"...It is plain, therefore, that for the interests of Art, and for the full development of all the resources of the Academy, it would be desirable that this state of uncertainty should cease, and that the position of the Academy should be well and definitely secured.

It is further to be observed that it is only by the grant of apartments, whether permanent or temporary, to the Royal Academicians that the public acquire any right of control and jurisdiction in their affairs. If we suppose the Academy, under its Instrument, to provide a building of its own at its own charge, we cannot see how the public could claim any right of interfering with its proceedings any more than with those of any other private corporation. It is therefore by the grant of apartments adequate to the requirements of the Royal Academy, and to the claims of British Art, that the Government acquire the right of proposing to the Academy such rules and regulations as they may deem expedient, and such as in our preceding recommendations we have shown to be in our judgment requisite.

To provide satisfactory and sufficient accommodation for the Royal Academy has been the anxious aim of several successive governments. As may be seen by the evidence before us, there was an arrangement set on foot by the Government of the Earl of Derby, under which the Academy undertook to construct at their own charge a new edifice in Burlington Gardens, the grant of that site being so important as to secure to the Government at the same time its due share of weight or control in the Academy. That arrangement, however, was not confirmed by the Administration which succeeded, and the question comes before us as still altogether undecided. Meanwhile, however, the difficulties arising from want of space continue to increase from year to year, and we think it altogether beyond question that whatever arrangement may be made should be effected with the least possible delay.

It has been found impossible for us to consider this question without at the same time reviewing the position of the National Gallery. It seems to be generally admitted that the portion of the building in Trafalgar Square now occupied by the National Gallery is insufficient for the reception of the public collection of pictures. That collection may be

expected to increase, as it is increasing from year to year, and not to consist merely of a fixed or nearly fixed number of works for exhibition, as is the case in the Royal Academy.

Even if the space now occupied by the Royal Academy were given up to the National Gallery, the remedy would be only of a temporary kind, as the national collection of pictures may be expected to outgrow in a very few years the space available in the entire building.

To raise upon the present site a National Gallery worthy of the nation, and of the large accessions which in the course of years may be expected, it would be found requisite to obtain possession of the ground occupied by the barracks, the baths, and the workhouse in the rear, so that a new and fireproof gallery should be constructed. It is commonly stated that although this scheme was sanctioned by the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1848, and by the Royal Commission in 1857, considerable practical difficulties, as well as a very large expense, would attend that proposal.

Under these circumstances we think it would be desirable that the Government should undertake the construction of a new National Gallery either on its present site, if it could be thus enlarged, or at Burlington House.

On this point of site, as applied to the new National Gallery, we forbear, as beyond our province, from giving any positive opinion, but we are clearly convinced that if, for the reasons we have stated, the National Gallery should be reconstructed on some other site, with a view solely to its own benefit and advantage, in such a case no less benefit and advantage might be conferred on the Royal Academy. We think that in such a case the whole of the present building in Trafalgar Square should be handed over to the Royal Academy for their use, subject to such conditions as the Government of the day might determine.

It may be worthy of consideration whether, amongst these conditions, the architectural improvement of the present front, and its better adaptation to what the late Sir Robert Peel once termed the finest site in Europe might not be contemplated.

It was stated by Sir Charles Eastlake, and by other distinguished members of the Royal Academy, that although in 1859 they did not object, and might not object, if again proposed to them, to the site of Burlington Gardens, which they considered advantageous, they considered their present site as still preferable. No other site could certainly be selected that would invite so large a concourse of visitors, or be convenient to so many classes of persons. If the entire

building in Trafalgar Square were given up to the Royal Academy the existing accommodation might be more than doubled, and the Royal Academy would then possess sufficient space to enable it to carry out the high objects that are set before it.

Such a grant on the part of the nation, accompanied by a Royal Charter and guarded by such conditions as we have here sketched out, would, we think, be found to work most beneficially.

The conditions and rules which we have indicated as essential would come to the Academicians accompanied by the boon of a vast increase of space and a greater fixity of tenure. We think, therefore, that the public would have a right to expect, on these terms, a ready and cheerful concurrence on the part of that distinguished body in these measures of amendment which we have proposed, and an harmonious working together of its members, old and new, towards their combined and noble object, the promotion and development of Art."

After the 1863 Royal Commission the next mention of the matter came in 1865 (see p. 197 et seq.). Finally, after prolonged negotiations with the government, the site of Burlington House was allotted to the Academy, and Sydney Smirke was appointed architect for the new buildings which the Academy was to put up at its own expense. In March 1867 the lease was executed, giving the Academy a tenure of Burlington House and a site to the north of it for 999 years at a nominal rent, the main conditions being that the premises should be at all times exclusively devoted to the purpose for which the Academy was founded.

APPENDIX VI.

The study of architecture in the Academy Schools, and the status of the architect in the Academy.

During the 1850's there was some re-assessment of architectural studies in the Academy Schools (see, for example, CM of 16th July, p.138). By CM of 9th January 1856 (p.162) a Sub-committee of the Academy was set up to report on architectural studies. This was referred to in the evidence of J.P. Knight before the 1863 Royal Commission (para 2239) and the report which the Sub-committee produced is given in Appendix 20 of the 1863 Royal Commissioners' Report. It is as well to incorporate it here so that it can be seen what the architects wanted:

Sub-Committee of the Academy: Report on Architectural Education.

Course for the Study of Architecture.

Elementary Teaching.

1. Geometry, Trigonometry, Statics, Hydraulics, Hydrostatics, Chemistry, Optics, Acoustics, Geology, and Mineralogy; and Mechanics, as far as they relate to the powers and forces applied to the purposes of construction.
2. Nature and property of materials used for construction, and ornamental purposes.
3. Principles of construction.

4. Drawing, Perspective, and Sciography.
5. Drawing from the human form, from the life, and from casts.
6. Freehand drawing from natural objects with reference to decoration.
7. Conventional treatment of such objects as applicable to architectonic decoration.
8. Drawing and Modelling of ornaments.
9. Drawing of the elements of each recognized order, or style of Architecture.
10. Drawings of the best works of the Greeks, the Romans, the Mediaevalists, and the most eminent Masters of the Revival of Classical Architecture.

N.B. It is suggested that the whole of the above studies should be conducted at the national establishments for art and science, the Schools of Design, King's College, London, the London University, and other accredited institutions for teaching art and science, with a view to candidates obtaining certificates of proficiency from such institutions, as a qualification for admission to the Royal Academy.

Fine Art Teaching, or the higher branches.

1. Principles of form, proportion, harmony, expression, outline, and stability in composition.
2. Principles of ornamentation.
3. Principles of colour in ornamentation.
4. Iconographic and orthographic rules, and systems of composition, employed by the Greeks, the Romans, and the Mediaevalists in Architectural Design.
5. Studies of composition, in the several distinctly recognized styles in ancient and modern times.
6. Principles of the application of painting and sculpture in architectonic decoration.
7. Principles of the application of high art in painting and sculpture, in combination with architecture.
8. Exercises upon designs of existing works, excepting

works of living artists, with reference to the correction of what may be at variance with the true principles of art.

9. Original composition, emanating from the use new materials in construction, and the omission of all that interferes with convenience and durability in the old or recognized styles, or that may be incompatible with modern habits, fashions, and requirements, or unsuitable to the climate of the country in urban or suburban districts.

N.B. It is suggested that the above-named studies in the fine art department, or higher branches of architecture, should be taught within the walls of the Academy.

Regulations as to Teaching in the School
of Architecture.

1. That, with a view to the efficient working out of the rules and regulations of the Academy, specific duties with certain privileges and emoluments, should be assigned to each degree of membership in the Academy; and that all should contribute their quota to the teaching in the schools, namely, from the class of R.A. should be chosen the visitor of the school for the time being, who should be responsible to the council; from the class of A.R.A. should be chosen a superintendent of the school, who should be responsible to the visitor for discipline, and from a proposed new class, to be called "The Medallists of the Royal Academy", should be chosen the teachers in the school.
2. That a course of lectures should be given in each year, upon the history and literature of architecture, with criticisms upon existing work, excepting, as at present, upon those of living authors.
3. That two strictly architectural or scholastic competitions, one for the silver medal, and one for the gold medal, upon formula, to be given by the visitor and council for the time being, should take place in each year, and that the drawings offered in such competitions should be exhibited to the public prior to any decision upon them.
4. That the prize drawings in such competitions should be exhibited at the annual exhibitions, with an appropriate notice of them in the catalogue.

5. That the school be open on Thursdays from 10 till 4, and on other days of the week from 7 till 9 p.m., vacations excepted.

Honours of the Royal Academy.

That a silver and a gold medal should be offered every year - the former for the best study of existing works, and the latter for the best work in original composition. That the gold medallist should in addition receive a purse of 50 guineas, and a travelling studentship for two years, with a salary of £100 per annum; and at the end of that time a right of membership in the Academy, as a class, with certain privileges. That in the annual publication of the names of the members of the Academy, those in the class of medallist (namely, such as have obtained the gold medal) be included.

Regulations with regard to Students.

That proper certificates from public and other institutions for the teaching of art and science be produced by candidates for admission to the Academy, for the approval of the council, together with an original design and drawing of ornament, as at present.

That such candidates as are considered by the council to be properly qualified in all respects, be admitted as probationers, upon an original design, to be prepared within the walls of the Academy, for the approval of council, as at present.

That upon the approval of such probationary designs candidates shall be admitted to the school of architecture for two years. That during the first year they may be allowed to compete for the silver medal, and that during the second year for the gold medal and its rewards and privileges.

Accommodation required.

That one room, the upper portion of whose walls may be covered with a select collection of architectural casts, should be set apart exclusively for a school of architecture, as well as for exhibitional purposes.

That the occasional use of an adjoining room for

exhibitional purposes be granted, when not required for the annual exhibitions.

(Signed) C.R.Cockerell.
Charles Barry.

11th March 1856.

The status of the architect in the Royal Academy.

There is a reference on p. 173 to the interesting correspondence between the Royal Institute of British Architects and the Council of the Royal Academy during 1859. This is referred to by J.P.Knight in his evidence before the 1863 Royal Commission in para 2239, and is given as appendix 19 in the Commission's Report:

Royal Institute of British
Architects.
16, Grosvenor Street, W.,
April 14, 1859.

Gentlemen,

The Institute of British Architects conceive it to be their duty at the present juncture to offer their congratulations to the Royal Academy of Arts upon the probability of its speedily obtaining a site eligible for the erection of buildings more suitable for the requirements of the annual exhibition, library, art collections, schools, lectures etc., than the premises it has previously occupied. By its steady maintenance of these and other educational institutions, it is undeniable that the Royal Academy has conferred inestimable benefits upon the fine arts of this country, and none can be more ready to subscribe to this fact than the Institute of British Architects. So highly indeed do they esteem the advantages which have hitherto been derived by the profession which they, to a certain extent, represent, that they cannot refrain from urging upon the Royal Academy, in any re-adjustment of its present arrangements, the expediency and indeed duty, of yet further extending and developing those advantages.

The Royal Institute of British Architects conceive it both

more respectful to the Royal Academy, and less likely to prove prejudicial to its interests, at once to state openly their impression of the mode in which this can best be carried out, than to remain silent, and yet not altogether satisfied with the prospect of the bare maintenance for the future of that which may have been sufficient in the past.

The following are the general arrangements which, if it were possible, the Royal Institute of British Architects would desire to see carried into effect by the Royal Academy:-

- 1st. A larger proportion of architectural Royal Academicians and Associates to be appointed.
- 2d. Powers of independent action to be given to the architectural members upon matters connected with architecture.
- 3d. The provision of means of instruction in their art to be provided for architectural students, equivalent to those afforded by the Royal Academy to students in any other branch of the fine arts.
- 4th. A more systematic scheme of general instruction in all branches of the fine arts to be brought into operation, and more efficient tests by examination, or otherwise, of knowledge and proficiency in practice.

The first point, the increase of architectural Academicians and Associates, the Royal Institute of British Architects conceive essentially due to the great extension, which has of late years taken place in the study and practice of architecture and its subservient arts of design in this country.

The second - independent action - is indispensable to prevent the architectural element being rendered powerless through its remaining on all occasions a small minority.

The third - architectural education - it is conceived it would be incompatible with the comprehensive objects for which the Royal Academy was originally instituted to refuse.

And the fourth - a general elevation of academic art teaching - is unquestionably demanded by the public for students in architecture, if not in all other departments of the fine arts.

As considerable excitement is felt throughout the profession upon the subjects of the present communication, it is proposed to give publicity both to it and to whatever reply the Royal Academy may make to it.

We have the honour to subscribe our names to this document on the part of the Royal Institute of British Architects, and to remain, Gentlemen,

Your very obedient servants,

(Signed) Chas C.Nelson, and
M.D.Wyatt,

Honorary Secretaries.

The reply of the Academy to this letter was as follows:

Royal Academy, April 23, 1859.

Gentlemen,

I have had the honour of laying before the Council of the Royal Academy your letter of the 14th inst., addressed to them on the part of the Royal Institute of British Architects, and am directed to acquaint you, in reply, that it shall receive the attention which is due to a communication emanating from so distinguished a society.

I have the honour to be etc.,

(Signed) J.P.Knight, R.A.,
Secretary.

APPENDIX VII.

Draft of a Proposed Introduction to the Report of a Committee on the Schools of the Royal Academy, by W. Dyce Esq., referred to in his evidence before the 1863 Royal Academy Commission,

As referred to on p. 162 William Dyce was a member of the Committee on Schools set up at the beginning of 1856. In his evidence before the 1863 Royal Commission is:

"4163. Could you define to what extent you think the teaching in the three different branches of painting, sculpture, and architecture should go? - It is a great question in the Academy whether the teaching should be special or general; I cannot say that I have made up my mind upon the matter. I am very much inclined to think that ample means of study, with the constant supervision of a master, and the occasional superintendence of a visitor or visitors appointed to do duty for a longer period than at present, is all that is wanted. But if anything occurs to me upon the subject I will send a paper to the Commissioners embodying my views (Vide Appendix No. 24)."

Dyce did not in fact send such a paper. Instead he sent the draft of a proposed introduction to the Committee on the Schools Report, referred to above. It is not known why the Committee did not adopt his draft. It must, however, have largely embodied the views of the Committee members. It follows:

"Having had under review the existing arrangements for tuition in the Royal Academy, and at the same time having duly considered the laws relating to the schools, the Committee are of opinion that very considerable if not radical changes in the present system must be involved in any attempt to give completeness and efficiency to the

schools, and to render them commensurate with the high and comprehensive aims of the Academy. In the first place, the committee conceives that the object of the schools, as it is defined in the preamble to the laws relating to them, is entirely inadequate. 'The schools of the Royal Academy,' it is there stated, 'are intended to provide the means of studying the human form with respect both to anatomical knowledge and taste in design.' No other purpose whatever is recognized; and the only means proposed for this end are, first, a school 'for the study of the best remains of ancient sculpture;' and, secondly, a school 'for the study of living models.' This limitation of the schools of the Royal Academy to a single purpose, which by itself is not even sufficient for the education of painters and sculptors, and has no immediate bearing whatever on the study of architecture, in an institution professing to cultivate each of the three arts, the committee cannot for a moment undertake to justify. The fact, nevertheless, is unquestionable that according to the original plan of the Academy, there were no schools properly so called but those designed for instruction in drawing and modelling the human figure from casts and from the life. The idea which guided those who originally devised the scheme of education adopted by the Royal Academy appears to have been this, - that the only teaching of a direct and practical kind which was really necessary, and which the Academy ought therefore to afford, was that which concerned the drawing and modelling of the human form. This, it would seem, was the sum of the school training to be given by the Academy; and indeed it does not appear that painting from the life was originally numbered among the recognised exercises of the students. For a knowledge of the principles of design in painting, sculpture, and architecture, and for the history of those arts, and for perspective and anatomy, the student was to be indebted to the lectures of the several professors; as for the practice of the particular art to which he devoted himself, he was left to acquire it by his own exertions. For the students of architecture no practical instruction whatever was provided; the only advantage which their admission as pupils of the Academy procured for them was permission to hear the lectures of the professor of architecture, and access to the library of the Academy. In few words, the original system of the Royal Academy was to confine its practical teaching to the study of the human figure, and to impart the higher instruction in art by means of the public lectures of the professors. The committee, however, do not imagine it to be now a question whether such a scheme as this shall be adhered to.

In the first place, the scheme as it originally stood was scarcely consistent with itself. The definition of the object of the schools given in the preamble referred to can hardly

be reconciled with the subsequent provisions of the laws respecting the admission of students in architecture and the competition for prizes. According to Article 2, probationary students in architecture are to make 'an architectural design in the presence of the keeper, and also a drawing from one of the antique figures, or some portion of ornamental sculpture;' and again, in Article 15th of the laws relating to premiums, it is implied that embellishments of figures, ornaments, or landscapes, introduced in the drawings of candidates in architecture, may be executed within the walls of the Academy. These provisions, it is plain, are either inconsistent with the idea that no practical teaching is offered by the schools of the Academy but such as relates to the human form, or they suppose that there are practical exercises, some of which may be and others must be, carried on in the schools, under no recognized superintendence. Yet these provisions respecting the architectural department appear to belong to the original plan of the Academy. But, secondly, if the progressive history of the schools be inquired into, it will be found that the original plan has been virtually though not formally abandoned. The institution of a school of painting (so called) for the express purpose of picture copying is a contradiction of the original principle of the schools; and the same may be said of the substitution of a practical class of geometrical and perspective drawing for the lectures formerly delivered by the professor of perspective.

A still further departure from the original plan is to be found in the recent alterations made in the school of painting, by which a new and important element of study has been introduced, viz., the study of drapery, to which, previously, there had not been the most remote reference in the printed laws. The Committee might advert to several other minor changes and modifications of the whole system which have been made from time to time; but it will be sufficient to notice that all these changes and modifications, so far as they have been carried, have tended to evince, first, the necessity of a more extended circle of study than was contemplated in the original plan of the schools; and, secondly, the advantage of more direct and continuous superintendence on the part of the teachers.

In the second place, if the Committee turn to the actual condition of the schools, they find precisely the state of things which might be expected to result from formal adherence to a system which has been virtually abandoned. If, for example, it be at all necessary to have a department for the study of drapery and the living draped model, it is quite clear, 1st, that such study is not less necessary to sculptors than it is to painters; and 2ndly, that drawing from the draped model is not less necessary than painting from it; yet,

owing to the trammels imposed by the old framework of the academic schools, sculptors are excluded from the study of the draped model, and painters are not allowed to draw in the so-called school of painting. Though a sculptor is allowed either to model or draw from the nude model, unless he can also paint he has no access to the draped model. Though a painter is allowed both to draw and paint, and, if he chooses, to model from the nude figure, yet he is forbidden either to draw or to model from the draped figure. These and such like anomalies the Committee conceive are due to two causes - one of which is adherence to the old and now inapplicable nomenclature of the schools. When there were only two schools, in both of which the same processes of art were employed - that is to say, when both of them were drawing and modelling schools, it was natural and accurate enough to distinguish the two departments by designations expressive of the character of the objects from which the drawings or models were made; but when the School of Painting was instituted this nomenclature became inaccurate, since in the one case we now had the designation of the school taken from the process of art employed in it, and in the other from the objects on which the art was exercised. In the present condition of the school of painting, it is obvious that its proper designation, according to the old nomenclature, would be 'the school of the living draped model,' in which case it would form a section of the life academy.

But the Committee are disposed rather to attribute the anomalous arrangements, to which they have adverted, to the want of a due regard to the difference between the ends proposed in the studies of the schools and the means by which these ends are accomplished. Taking, as an instance, the elementary exercises of a student in the art of painting, it might be said generally that the immediate end to be attained by him is the power of imitating with truth the appearance of any given object, and that the means he employs for that purpose are drawing or painting. It is quite clear, therefore, that whatever be the object placed before a student, whether it be animate or inanimate, his imitative powers may be exercised either by the pencil or the brush, and that there is no more reason for excluding the use of the brush from the antique school than there is from excluding the use of the crayon from the painting school. So also in the case of sculpture. There appears to be no ground whatever for permitting modelling in the antique school and the life academy, and excluding it from the so-called school of painting, since modelling is the sculptor's means of imitation and applied to all his exercises from first to last.

It follows from this, that the schools cannot with propriety be classified into drawing, painting, and modelling

schools since these processes of art are common to all the schools.

If, however, regard be had to the ultimate end proposed by the Academic schools, which is the formation of sculptors, painters, and architects, a natural and unobjectionable nomenclature of the schools suggests itself, and this the Committee propose to adopt. It is, that the instructions given in the Academy be ranged under the three heads of sculpture, painting, and architecture, and constitute respectively 'the School of Sculpture,' 'the School of Painting,' and 'the School of Architecture;' the present schools being termed classes of these schools, as the case may be. Each of these great departments would have something peculiar to itself in the higher studies, and something in common with the other two in the earlier and more elementary exercises.

The Committee have already noticed that the changes and modifications of the old Academic system which have been introduced in more recent times, have evinced the necessity of enlarging the circle of studies in the schools, as well as the advantage of more direct and continuous instruction. Those changes, it is true, have had reference almost exclusively to the education of painters; but in principle they are applicable to the case of the students in sculpture; and the Committee believe they are only expressing the mind of the Academy, when they assume that the tendency of these changes has been towards the conclusion that it is unnecessary to place an arbitrary limit to the objects, whether animate or inanimate on which the pupil's powers of imitation are to be exercised, and that his studies may be carried on to that point at which the practice of his art commences.

With respect to architecture, the Committee need not point to the fact that with the exception of the studies collateral to it, carried on in the class of perspective, there are no practical instructions in that art given in the Royal Academy. However valuable and interesting the lectures of the professor of architecture may be to the more advanced students, the Committee cannot for a moment allow that they supersede (sic) the necessity of those earlier exercises, both direct and collateral, which are essential to thorough progress of young architects, and which form the proper business of a public architectural school.

The Committee are therefore of opinion that it is for the interest, as it is the duty, of the Royal Academy to establish a duly organised school of architecture, and they will here assume that such a school is to be established, for the purpose of noticing a consequence which its formation will involve

in the organization of the schools of painting and sculpture which it is proper to advert to in this place. Without anticipating the details of the scheme which the Committee are to propose for the architectural school, it may be here assumed that its studies will refer first, to architecture, considered in its relation to practical science; and secondly, to architecture regarded as a fine art. Under the latter head the principles and practice of ornamentation constitute an essential section; adequate provision must accordingly be made for the prosecution of the study of architectural ornament in the Academy, as well for the instruction of young architects as for the education of those who may devote themselves to the execution of their designs; and as architectural ornament is either painted or sculptured, the classes for ornament will respectively form sections of the proposed schools of painting and sculpture.

The Committee mention this to account for the introduction of studies into those schools which may seem to belong rather to the province of the schools of design, and for the purpose of explaining that it is of course to be assumed that the cultivation of ornamental design in the Royal Academy will be limited chiefly, if not solely, to those higher developments of the art of ornamentation, in connexion with architecture, which, in point of fact, have been for the most part due to the labours of painters and sculptors of eminence. As a rule, the Committee would look to the efforts of the Government schools of art for the more ordinary exercise of the art of ornamentation in its bearing on manufactures and industry; but supposing this, and that the Academy confines itself to architectural decoration, they think it may be a question whether, in the matter of education, such relations might not be established between the schools of the Royal Academy and the Government schools of art as might tend to their mutual advantage, and to the furtherance of their, in many respects, common purpose. Students of the Royal Academy might, for instance, be sent to the central school of the Department of Art for the prosecution of special studies, either as a preparation for the higher instruction of the Academy or for reasons of economy and convenience. Or, vice versa, pupils of the Government schools, either in the metropolis or in the provinces, might, if they displayed remarkable talent, be transferred to the schools of the Royal Academy, with a view to the cultivation of a higher kind of art than is consistent with the immediate purposes of the Government schools. This kind of relationship between industrial art schools and academies of fine art the Committee may observe is maintained in Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, and Austria - the academies being understood to occupy the same position relatively to elementary drawing schools and technical schools, as the Universities do to grammar and upper classical and scientific schools.

The consideration of this subject, however, will more properly fall under that part of the Committee's inquiries which will relate to the practical arrangements which the scheme of education they are to propose will involve.

These observations being premised, the Committee will now proceed to consider, first, the branches of study which they deem necessary for the education, 1st, of sculptors, 2ndly, of painters, and 3dly, of architects; secondly, the manner in which the various classes may be best superintended and taught; and, thirdly, the material and economic arrangements, for the due distribution and joint action, as well as separation, of the schools, which are possible under existing circumstances, taking into account the limited accommodation at the disposal of the Academy.

1. As to the branches of study in the three great departments - it must be premised that although the scheme for each is laid down as if the other had no existence, it is to be understood that those branches of study which occur in each of the three sections are to be carried on in the same classes, so far as it is practicable. Thus, for example, the architectural studies of painters and sculptors are not to be undergone in classes appropriated to painters and sculptors, but in the architectural school. And so, vice versa, students of architecture, who are to draw and paint or model the human figure, ornaments, or flowers, will go for that purpose into the proper sections of the schools of painting and sculpture.

The Committee propose to classify the studies of the schools of sculpture and painting under the heads of -

1. Elementary instruction.
2. Higher instruction.

The elementary instruction will have reference to the cultivation of the power and habit of imitation, 1st, by direct exercises; and 2d, by collateral studies.

The higher instruction will have reference to the practice of art, and will be given, 1st, by practical teaching; 2d, by lectures.

APPENDIX VIII.

Extracts of the Laws relating to the Schools etc., being
Appendix 13 of the 1863 Royal Commission Report.

Section IV. Arts, 1-15. - Premiums. - Biennial Distribution.

A premium of the gold medal, with the Discourses of Sir Joshua Reynolds and other books, shall be given for the best historical picture in oils colours, being an original composition, consisting of not, less than three figures: the principal figures to be not less than two feet high, and the size of the picture four feet two inches by three feet four inches.

A premium of the gold medal, with the Discourses of Sir Joshua Reynolds and other books, shall be given for the best model of an historical bas-relief, or alto-relief, to consist of two or more figures, or for a group in the round; the height of the principal figure in each to be not less than three feet, the projection of the bas-relief not to exceed two inches, and that of the alto-relief not to exceed five inches.

A premium of the gold medal, with the Discourses of Sir Joshua Reynolds and other books, shall be given for the best-finished design in architecture. The design to be as large as an entire sheet of double elephant will admit, and to consist of one or more plans, an elevation, section, and perspective view.

A scholarship to the amount of £25 may be added by the general assembly to the biennial gold medal, in each case, viz.: historical painting, sculpture, and architecture; such scholarship may be granted by the general assembly for one year, and may be renewed by the council for a second year, the Academy reserving to itself the power to withhold, in the first instance, such scholarship when the work offered in competition shall not be deemed of sufficient merit.

The scholarship cannot be held together with the travelling studentship.

A premium of the gold medal, called the Turner Gold Medal, shall be given for the best landscape in oil colours. Size, four feet two inches by three feet four inches.

The subjects for all these compositions shall be determined by the president and council.

Students purposing to compete for these premiums must declare their intention, by letter, to the keeper, on or before the 1st day of October; and the candidates are to attend upon the 15th day of November, in the Royal Academy, to give a proof of their abilities, by making an original sketch in the presence of the keeper, from a subject selected by him.

The time allowed for making these sketches shall be five hours, from 10 in the morning till three in the afternoon.

The candidates for the historical picture and the landscape are to make their sketches in oil colours.

No student shall be admitted a candidate for the gold medal in painting and sculpture who has not duly attended the lectures, the class of perspective, and the schools. Nor shall any student in architecture be admitted a candidate for the gold medal, unless he has attended a course of perspective as well as the lectures.

The following silver medals shall be given to the students, viz. -

For the best painting of a figure from the life in the school of the living model.

For the best painting from the living draped model, size of life.

For the best drawings, and the best models, in the round or in bas-relief, of Academy figures, done in the school of the living model.

For the best accurately-figured architectural drawings, from a given subject, the measurements to be made by the students.

For the best drawings and the best models, in the round or in bas-relief, of a statue or group in the antique academy.

For the best perspective drawing in outline.

For the best drawing exemplifying the principles of sciography.

For the best medal die, cut in steel.

And a £10 premium for the best drawing or drawings executed in the antique or school of the living model during the year, which drawing or drawings shall belong to the Academy.

The student who shall gain the first medal for the best drawing or model from the life, shall receive a present of books handsomely bound, with an inscription stating them to be a prize conferred by the Royal Academy.

The student who shall gain the first medal for the best architectural drawing as above described, shall also receive a present of books, bound and inscribed.

Students who shall gain the first medal for the best drawing of a statue or group, and the first medal for the best model of a statue or group, shall also receive a present of books, bound and inscribed.

In the intermediate years.

The following silver medals shall also be given. viz.-
For the best painting of a figure from the life,
in the school of the living model.

For the best painting from the living draped
model.

For the best drawing of an Academy figure.

For the best model of an Academy figure.

For the best drawing of a statue or group.

For the best model of a statue or group.

Done in
the
Academy.

For the best accurately-finished architectural drawing.

For a perspective drawing in outline.

For the best drawing exemplifying the principles of
sciography.

For the best medal die, to be cut in steel.

And a £10 premium for the best drawing or drawings executed
in the antique or school of the living model during the
year, which drawing or drawings shall belong to the
Academy.

Sect. V. Arts. 3-6. -Travelling Studentships.

The Royal Academy will, in times of peace, enable a

student from among those who have obtained gold medals to pursue his studies on the continent for the term of two years. He shall be elected from each of the classes - painting, sculpture, and architecture, in rotation, and shall be allowed the sum of £60 for his journey and return, and the sum of £100 annually for his expenditure.

In particular cases, to be decided by the council, the travelling studentship in painting or sculpture may be exchanged for an allowance, to assist the successful candidate to prosecute his studies at home. The sum allowed to be £100, to be granted for one year, renewable by the council for a second year, satisfactory evidence being produced that he has made good use of the advantages afforded him.

A travelling studentship for one year, with an allowance of £100, shall be annually offered to all students in architecture, except during the term allotted to the gold medal student in architecture. Candidates to be allowed a limited time to produce, in the Academy, an original design; the subject to be selected by the council.

No student to be allowed to enter this competition unless he shall have attended a course of lectures in architecture, and a course of lessons in the class of perspective.

Sect. 11. Arts, 14-16, - School of Painting.

Students of the school of the living model being painters or engravers have the privilege of studying in the school of painting.

Students in the antique school may, by permission of the keeper, submit to the council a finished drawing from a statue or group, accompanied by a painting in monochrome from a head the size of nature, done in the antique school, which, if approved of, shall entitle such students to admission to the painting school, to copy pictures by the old masters, or such other mode of study as the visitor shall direct, advice being given when necessary by the curator with the sanction of the visitor. Such student to be admitted to that school for three months, during which he must prepare a specimen of his painting, to be submitted for approval to the council.

Students in sculpture will have opportunities of modelling and drawing together with students in painting, and, as far as the space at the disposal of the Academy permits, in other rooms, and from such other objects at the visitor shall consider desirable.

Art. 17. - Times of Study.

The antique and the school of the living model shall be open every day (excepting on Sundays and the times of vacation); the antique from 10 o'clock in the morning until three in the afternoon; in the evening from five o'clock to seven in the summer, and from five to eight in the winter. The school of the living model from five o'clock to seven in the summer, and from six to eight in the winter. The painting school from 10 o'clock in the morning until four in the afternoon.

Sect.1. Arts. 1-3.- Admission of Probationers and Students.

It is required that applicants for admission should have already attained such a proficiency as will enable them to draw or model well. An acquaintance with anatomy (comprehending a knowledge of the skeleton, and the names, origins, insertions, and uses of, at least, the external layer of muscles) is indispensable for those who are to pursue the branches of painting, sculpture, and engraving.

A painter is required to produce, as a specimen of ability, a finished drawing in chalk, about two feet high, of an undraped antique statue; or, if of the Theseus or of the Ilyssus (the only mutilated figures admissible), it must be accompanied by drawings of a head, hand, and foot. Similar specimens will be required from engravers.

A sculptor must send a model, either in the round or in relief, about two feet high, of an undraped antique statue, accompanied by a drawing in outline of a similar figure.

The extract given above comes from the Students' Laws which were drawn up in November 1861. They are referred to on page 181.

APPENDIX LX.

An alphabetical list of women students, from 1860 to 1881,
compiled from the Academy Students' Registers.

<u>Year accepted.</u>	<u>Name.</u>	<u>Profn.</u>	<u>Age.</u>	<u>Recommended by:</u>
May 1863.	Aldham, Harriet Kate Crawford.	Ptng.	26.	F.S.Cary.
Jany. 1872.	Archer, Janet.	Ptng.	22.	F.S.Cary.
Jany. 1873.	Atkins, Catherine Jane.	Ptng.	26.	Burchett.
Dec. 1879.	Alford, Agnes.	Ptng.	20.	W.P.Frith.
Apr. 1881.	Armstrong, Caroline F. (Miss)	Ptng.	32.	A. Calderon.
Apr. 1861.	Burford, Emily Sarah.	Ptng.	25.	T. Heatherley.
Dec. 1861.	Babb, Charlotte Elizabeth.	Ptng.	30.	"
Dec. 1862.	Brown, Charlotte.	Ptng.	21.	R. Burchett.
May. 1868.	Bowerlate (HM) (No details given. HCM)			
Jany. 1870.	Backhouse, Mary I.R. (No other details given).			
June 1870.	Bonham, Agnes.	Sculp.	33.	Rev. I. Bonham.
Jany 1871.	Brooke, Marian B.	Ptng.	20.	J. Sparkes.
June 1872.	Brooke, Maria (Different address from above. HCM)	Ptng.	37.	Mr. Burchett.
July 1874.	Blackburne, Lilian G.	Ptng.	17.	W.P.Frith.
Dec. 1874.	Beale, Annie Louisa.	Ptng.	19.	Heatherley.
Apr. 1875.	Barrand, Frances.	Ptng.	18.	"
Jany. 1876.	Bell, Miss H.E.	Ptng.	23.	J. Sparkes.
Apr. 1876.	Bond, Mildred Bonham (Miss)	Archd.	19.	C.W.Cope, R.A.
Dec. 1877.	Black, Emma Louisa (Miss)	Ptng.	19.	Mr. Fisher.
Dec. 1877.	Benson, Mary Katherine (Miss)	Ptng.	19.	E.R.Spence.
Dec. 1877.	Buist, Margaret Jefferson (Miss)	Ptng.	24.	E.J. Pointer, RA.

Dec. 1878.	Binns, Frances Rachel (Miss)	Ptng. 25.	L. Starr.
Dec. 1880.	Bywater, Kathne. Dorothy Mart.	Ptng. 25.	A. Elmore, RA.
Aprill 1881.	Bedford, Ella Margaret.	Ptng. 16.	A. Calderon.
June 1869.	Comelisson, Mary (Miss).	Ptng. 19.	Cary.
June 1870.	Collingridge, Eliza C.	Ptng. 28.	Mr. Heatherley.
Jany 1871.	Crow, Margaret E.	Ptng. 22.	T. Heatherley.
" "	Cruickshank, Catherine G.	Ptng. 25.	"
July 1871.	Carte, Viola.	Ptng. 23.	"
June 1872.	Conolly, Ellen.	Ptng. 22.	Sparkes.
April 1873.	Coney, Cathe. Harriet.	Ptng. 29.	Westmacott Esq.
April 1878.	Crow, Margaret (Miss) (N.B. This entry appears above when student was seven years younger. Presumably, due to illness or other cause she could then not take her place. HCM).	Ptng. 29.	T. Heatherley.
Dec. 1878.	Chettle, Eliz. Mary.	Ptng. 20.	J. Sparkes.
" "	Canton, Susan Ruth (Miss).	Sculp. 29.	T. Woolner, RA.
" "	Cottle, Blanche (Miss).	Ptng. 26.	J. V. Robertson.
Dec. 1879.	Crosley, Edith Annie (Miss)	Ptng. 17.	J. Sparkes.
Apr. 1881.	Cohen, Ellen Gertrude (Miss)	Ptng. 20.	A. Calderon.
Dec. 1881.	Clow, Florence (Miss).	Ptng. 19.	A. Calderon.
Jany. 1872.	Dickson, Julia.	Ptng. 28.	Admiral Burney.
April 1878.	Drew, Mary (Miss)	Ptng. 19.	J. Sparkes.
Dec. 1878.	Dealy, Jane Mary (Miss)	Ptng. 21.	J. R. Dealy.
Aprill 1879.	Dicksee, Margaret Isabel (Miss)	Ptng. 20.	T. Dicksee.
Dec. 1881.	Duran, Emily Constance (Miss)	Ptng. 22.	C. I. Vaughan.
Dec. 1862.	Edwards, Catherine A.	Ptng. 20.	A. Cooper, RA.

Jany.1874.	Eales, Mary.	Ptng. 20.	W.P.Frith,RA.
Dec. 1876.	Ellis,Ethel Ellen.	Ptng. 20.	T.Heatherley.
Dec. 1878.	Eley, Mary (Miss).	Ptng. 22.	E.Gauntlett
April,1880.	Erickson, Nelly (Miss).	Ptng. 17.	J.Sparkes.
April,1881.	Edwards,Hannah Eliz (Mrs).	Ptng. 27.	A.Calderon.
June 1870.	Folkard,Julia Bracewell.	Ptng. 21.	W.P.Frith,RA.
" "	Fell, Clara.	Ptng. 25.	H.Harley,RA.
July 1871.	Fowler,Mary Leamon.	Ptng. 19.	Rev.H.Fowler,MA
June 1872.	Folkard,Eliz.F. (Sister to above.HCM)	Ptng. 19.	W.P.Frith,RA..
April 1873.	Fenton, Ann Grace.	Ptng. 27.	S.A.Hart.
June 1869.	Glasier, Annie (Miss)	Ptng. 26.	Heatherley.
" "	Glasier, Florence Eliz.(Miss)	Ptng. 22.	"
Jany 1870	Grose, Anne. (No details given. HCM).		
Jany 1871.	Godsall, Mary.	Ptng. 26.	W.P.Frith,RA.
June 1872.	Guinness, Eliz. Smyth.	Ptng. 22.	T.Heatherley.
Jany 1876.	Greenhill, M.E.(Miss).	Ptng. 27.	"
April 1876.	Grace, Frances Elizabeth.	Ptng. 18.	A.Fisher.
Dec. 1876.	Grace, Harriet Edith.	Ptng. 16.	A.Fisher.
" "	Green, Mabel.	Ptng. 20.	J.Sparkes.
Dec 1877.	Grose, Anne (Miss) (Same one as above. HCM).	Ptng. 49.	---
Dec 1879.	Grace, Anna M.	Ptng. 16.	A.Fisher.
Dec 1879.	Gibson, Edith (Miss)	Ptng. 25.	J.F.Dicksee.
Dec 1880.	Groves, Mary (Miss)	Ptng. 26.	J.Sparkes.

Dec 1881.	Granville, Ellen Evelyn (Miss).	Ptng. 23.	W.W.Oules, RA.
Dec 1860.	Herford, Anne Laura.	Ptng. 29.	T.Heatherley.
Jany 1868.	Humphreys, Jane Kingston.	Ptng. 24.	R.Burchett.
June 1869.	Hawkins, Jane E. (Miss).	Ptng. 21.	Sir F.Grant.
Dec 1874.	Hill, Kate.	Ptng. 22.	A.Elmore, RA.
Dec 1876.	Halse, Emmeline.	Sculp. 23.	G.Halse.
April 1877.	Hickson, Margaret (Miss).	Ptng. 20.	F.R.Pickersgill
Dec 1877.	Hanslip, Alice (Miss).	Ptng. 25.	E.Long, ARA.
Dec 1880.	Hatton, Helen Howard (Miss).	Ptng. 19.	L.Fildes, ARA.
Dec 1880.	Harper, Cecily (Miss).	Ptng. 22.	A.Calderon.
" "	Hitchcock, Eliza Kate (Miss).	Ptng. 23.	C.H.Mills.
Dec 1881.	Hawkes, Clara Murray (Miss).	Ptng. --	W.C.J.Dobson, RA.
" "	Hinson, Ethel Brooke.	Ptng. 18	A.Calderon.
Apr 1861.	Johnson, Helen Mary.	Ptng. 23.	T.Heatherley.
Jany 1871.	Jenkins, Blanche.	Ptng. 19.	R.Wyllie.
Apr 1876.	Joyce, M (Miss).	Ptng. 27.	John Sparkes.
Dec 1878.	Ivey, Marion T. (Miss).	Ptng. 21.	E.J.Poynter, RA.
Apr 1879.	Jackson, Helen (Miss).	Ptng. 23.	J.Sparkes.
Apr 1881.	Jones, Mary Helen (Miss).	Ptng. 19.	J.Sparkes.
June 1870.	Kempe, Harriette Mary.	Ptng. 24.	T.Heatherley.
Apr 1873.	Koberwein, Georgiana F.	Ptng. 17.	P.H.Calderon, RA.
" "	Koberwein, Rosa J.A.	Ptng. 18.	"
Apr 1875.	Keeling, A. (Miss).	Ptng. (No other details HCM)	

Apr 1878.	Knight, Eliza (Miss)	Ptng.	34.	A.Fisher.
Dec 1879.	Keighley, Eleanor Mary.	Ptng.	22.	A.D.Cooper.
Apr 1861.	Le Breton, Rosa.	Ptng.	21.	J.Williamson,
Dec 1877.	Lovering, Ida (Miss).	Ptng.	23.	J.F.Dicksee.
Dec 1862.	Martineau, Gertrude.	Ptng.	25.	T.Heatherley.
" "	Martineau, Edith.	Ptng.	20.	"
Jany 1869.	Manley, Celia (Miss).	Ptng.	22.	Miss Gann.
June 1870.	Macgregor, Jessie.	Ptng.	24.	J.Faed, RA.
" "	Monro, Charlotte Cathne.	Ptng.	32.	C.M.Clarke.
Jany 1871.	Martin, Mary Eliz.	Ptng.	28.	(Unreadable. HCM)
Jany 1872.	Mc Arthur, Blanche.	Ptng.	25.	Heatherley.
April 1873	Manly, Eleanor Eliza.	Ptng.	21.	Miss Gann.
Jany 1874.	Matlock, Ethel (Miss).	Drawg.	18.	Mr. H.Parker.
July 1874.	Moore, Jennie.	Ptng.	22.	T.Heatherley.
Dec 1874.	May, Katherine E.	Ptng.	26.	J.E.Millais, RA.
Jany 1876.	Mott, Alice (Miss).	Ptng.	23.	J.F.Lewis.
" "	Moody, Mary (Miss).	Ptng.	21.	G.F.Watts.
Dec 1877.	Moore, Madena (Miss).	Ptng.	20.	G.A.Stewart.
Dec 1878.	Melliss, Julia.	Ptng.	20.	-----
Apr 1879.	Miller, Sarah Alice (Miss).	Ptng.	26.	W.Q.Orchardson, RA.
Dec 1879.	Mc Lachlan, Hannah (Miss).	Ptng.	23.	R.Mc Lachlan,
Dec 1881.	Merrick, Emily (Miss).	Ptng.	24.	J.R.Burgess, ARA.
Jan 1871.	Nottidge, Caroline.	Sculp.	25.	H.Weekes, RA.

Dec 1877.	Neillson, Ellen (Miss)	Ptng.	23.	J.Sparkes.
Apr 1881.	Noyes, Theodora Joan(Miss).	Ptng.	16.	"
" "	Noyes, Mary (Miss).	Ptng.	28.	"
July 1871.	Oakes, Cecil (Miss).	Ptng.	19.	Heatherley.
Dec 1862.	Phillott, Constance.	Ptng.	19	J.H.D'Egville (?)
Jan 1868.	Paterson, Helen (Miss).	Ptng.	18.	Miss L.Herford.
Dec 1874.	Pierrepont, CharlotteConstance.	Ptng.	20.	Heatherley.
Apr 1876.	Prevost, Marie (Miss).	Ptng.	17.	J.Sparkes.
Dec 1881.	Pitcairn, Constance (Miss).	Ptng.	28.	A.Calderon.
May 1863.	Ridley, Annie.(Miss).	Ptng.	26.	M.W.Ridley.
Jan 1869.	Ryder, Emily Susanna.	Ptng.	--.	Mr.Burchett.
Jan 1872.	Rooke, Ellen.	Ptng.	18.	Burne Jones.
Dec 1877.	Rae, Henrietta (Miss).	Ptng.	20.	T.Heatherley.
Dec 1879.	Reid, Marion M.	Ptng.	22.	A.Fisher.
Apr 1880.	Rose, Henrietta Ethel(Miss).	Ptng.	17.	J.Sparkes.
Dec 1880.	Rust,Beatrice Agnes (Miss).	Ptng.	16.	Heatherley.
Mar 1862.	Starr, Louisa.	Ptng.	16.	Heatherley.
June 1870.	Smith, Julia Cecilia.	Ptng.	23.	W.J.Muckley.
Jan 1872.	Shepherd, Emily J.	Ptng.	26.	J.Sparkes.
June 1872.	Spear, Emily Florence.	Ptng.	23.	E.Landseer, RA.
Jan 1873.	Sethern, Fanny L.	Ptng.	20.	R.Burchett.
" "	Sutherland, Fanny.	Ptng.	27	"

Apr 1873.	Shutze, E(Lizzie).	Ptng.	28.	R.Burchett.
July 1874.	Shellshear, Alicia J.	Ptng.	22.	C.Lidderdale.
" "	Schenck, Agnes (Mrs).	Ptng.	35.	J.Sparkes.
" "	Stone, Ada.	Ptng.	21.	Heatherley.
Apr 1878.	Savill, Edith (Miss).	Ptng.	19.	J.Sparkes.
Apr 1879.	Schell, Lily (Miss).	Ptng.	19.	A.Fisher.
Apr 1880.	Saunderson, Julia Isabel(Miss)	Ptng.	23.	J.Sparkes.
" "	Scott, Amy (Miss)'. '	Ptng.	19.	A.Fisher.
Apr 1881.	Smith,Edith Heckstall(Miss).	Ptng.	19.	F.Grace.
May 1863.	Thornycroft,Mary Alice.	Sculp.	18.	J.Foley.
Jan 1868.	Thornycroft, Helen.	Sculpture.	19	J.H.Foley,RA.
June 1870.	Thornycroft, Terese G.	Ptng.	17.	F.Goodall,RA.
June 1870.	Tovey, Mary Sympson.	Ptng.	26.	R.Burchett.
July 1871.	Tiddeman, Florence.	Ptng.	23.	J.Sparkes.
" "	Thomas, Margaret.	Sculp.	26.	E.Summers.
June 1872.	Terry, Sarah.	Sculp.	28.	J.S.Westmacott.
Dec 1874.	Taylor, Ada Emma.	Ptng.	19.	Sparkes.
Dec 1877.	Trevor, Helen Mabel.	Ptng.	34.	E.J.Poynter,RA.
Apr 1881.	Taylor,(Miss)Minna .	Ptng.	26.	J.Sparkes.
Dec 1874.	Vintner, Harriet Emily.	Ptng.	16.	Vintner.
June 1870.	Wilkinson, Ellen.	Ptng.	22.	H.Weston(?)
Dec 1874.	West, Fanny Blanche.	Ptng.	20.	Sparkes.
" "	Watson, Rosalie Maria.	Ptng.	20.	Heatherley.

Dec 1876.	Williams, Gertrude Mary.	Ptng.	20.	H.C.Stewart.
Dec 1878.	Warman, Clara Jane.	Ptng.	22.	S.Birch.
Dec 1879.	White, Florence Evelyn.	Ptng.	21.	A.Fisher.
April 1880.	Wren, Louisa (Miss).	Ptng.	30.	J.L.Tomlin.
Dec 1879.	Youngman, Annie Mary (Miss).	Ptng.	19.	W.P.Frith,RA.

Total: 163.

Note on above: On the numbers of women going through the Academy Schools at this time not much idea is obtained from literature. Frith, for example, devotes some space to this, but he rather (comments on the quality of their work than on their numbers. During the period taken - 1860 to 1881 - there were 945 students of both sexes accepted as students. Of this number there were these 163 women. Over the entire period, therefore, the ratio of men to women was 5.18 to 1. There were several years, however, when no females were admitted at all (see page 187, CM of 14th May 1863). The female intake per year over the period is:

1860; 1	1867; 0	1874; 15
1861; 4	1868; 4	1875; 2
1862; 6	1869; 6	1876; 13
1863; 3	1870; 13	1877; 11
1864; 0	1871; 12	1878; 13
1865; 0	1872; 11	1879; 13
1866; 0	1873; 9	1880; 11
		1881; 16
		<u>163.</u>

Thus it can be seen that over the later years the ratio of males to females was lower. Females were being accepted at the rate of about 12 per year and that ratio was then about 4: 1.

APPENDIX X.

In this Appendix are given the letter sent by Edward Armitage to the Royal Commissioners of 1863, and the Draft of his Proposals which accompanied it. (This referred to on p.261).

"3, Hall Road,
St. John's Wood, NW.

June 6, 1863.

Dear Lord Elcho,

I send you my ideas on the subject of the Royal Academy art teaching, or rather on what I conceive such teaching ought to be.

They are founded principally on my experience of the Paris system, and if I had had time and opportunity, I should have wished to state them in my evidence.

From the proof copy of this evidence I gather that your lordship and the Commission generally are under the impression that the large schools or ateliers in Paris are conducted by the professors at their own residences. Such is, however, very seldom or never the case. My own master, P. Delaroche, lived in the Faubourg Montmartre, and had his pupils' atelier at the institute, at least two miles off.

His pupils could give him no assistance in his own private studio, and it was only when he undertook works of a monumental character that their co-operation became of value to him.

I have already stated in my evidence that the four pupils who worked with him on the large painting at the Ecole des Beaux Arts received no pay, but as you have expressed a wish for more details respecting our collaboration, I send you a few facts.

P. Delaroche having in his own private studio prepared a small chalk cartoon of his great work, and also having made finished studies of heads, hands etc, for the more prominent figures in the picture, selected four of his pupils (amongst whom I was one) to assist him in the work. We gave our services most willingly and freely, and I may say there was not a pupil in the school who would not have been proud of the honour that was conferred upon us.

We set to work enlarging to scale on the prepared wall his small cartoon, and availing ourselves of the finished studies at our own discretion. We each took a fourth of the work, and if I remember rightly, we tossed up for choice.

At the end of about a month or six weeks the whole composition was drawn in charcolæ on the wall.

Our master then for the first time paid us a visit. He expressed himself very well satisfied, and putting his hand in his pocket he gave us two or three napoleons, to be spent as we thought best. We, of course, ordered a good dinner at the Palais Royal and concluded our evening at the theatre. On one or two subsequent occasions we had a similar sum presented to us, but I am quite sure that the little presents thus made to us did not altogether exceed £10.

After finishing our share of the drawing we returned to the atelier for two or three months, during which time Delaroche made sundry alterations in the composition, and corrected many ungraceful and awkward passages which had not struck him until he saw the composition on the large scale.

After these alterations had been made, we returned to the Hemicycle, and commenced the work of painting. A carefully finished painted sketch was our guide, and we were left entirely to ourselves, until the whole picture was painted. Delaroche then joined us, and for about a year we were continually at work with him. He turned us out again before the picture was completely finished. We could be of no assistance in giving the final touches, nor in glazing and toning down certain portions of the picture.

Although we received no money for the work we had done, yet we considered ourselves amply repaid by the friendship and intimacy we had thus established with a great artist, and, of course, Delaroche felt that he owed us a debt of gratitude, which he took care to repay by kindness and friendly advice long after we had ceased to be students.

The system suggested by the Commission of an analogous class of students being employed in England as assistants in any great mural work, would not work quite so smoothly unless the artist who employed them happened to be their own professor. I think, however, the experiment is worth trying, but I should recommend that such assistance be given gratuitously. A student should consider work of this sort as a supplement to his education as an artist, and not as a means of making money. An exception, of course, might be made in favour of a very poor student; but I do not think a system of regular payment would be advisable.

I cannot conclude this letter without drawing your lordship's attention to paragraphs III, IV, V and VI of my paper, which I consider of the most vital importance to the success of our future art school.

To elaborate a system of teaching art without having a great artist as head master would be like building a complicated steam engine and omitting the boiler.

Lectures on anatomy, on perspective, on chemistry etc, are all good in their way, but a good master of drawing and composition is the backbone of the whole system. If such a man cannot be had for £500 or £600 a year, you must bid higher. Whatever the value of such a man's talents and time may be, you must give it.

Delaroche, Picot, Coignet, Delacroix, Flandrin, and all the leading artists in Paris, have thought it worth their while to give instruction to ateliers of students, and I cannot conceive why Englishmen should decline a duty which is not only patriotic but might be made very lucrative.

I shall be most happy to give you all the information in my power on any matter connected with this subject.

I remain, yours very sincerely,

E.Armitage.

Lord Elcho, M.P."

Draft of a Proposal for the Future Regulation of Royal Academy Schools. By E.Armitage Esq..

1. The Royal Academy to be composed of two classes, 'fellows' and 'ordinary members.' The fellows to number 60, and to be elected for life. The members to be unlimited in number, and to be subject to re-election under certain conditions.
- II. The council to consist of 12, exclusive of the president, of which 12 eight to be elected by the fellows and four by the members.
- III. The system of school visitors to be abolished, and one responsible head master or professor to be appointed, either by the council or by a General Assembly of fellows and members.

- IV. The salary of this professor to be sufficiently large to secure the highest talent the country produces, (coupled of course with a certain fitness for imparting instruction); it being notorious that students will attend to every word uttered by a great artist, whilst they will pay little heed to the instructions of a mere drawing master, although such instructions may be perfectly sound.
- V. A substitute for the professor should be provided by the council or the general assembly, the said substitute to be of equal authority with the professor, and to receive his salary during his absence.
- VI. Neither the professor nor his substitute should be subject to any authority except that of the council. If not already 'fellows' their position as head masters should at once raise them to that dignity. In short, every care should be taken to render the post of head master an honourable one, and one which could be accepted by the best artists in the country.
- VII. There should be three divisions in the schools:-
- 1st. The primary school, for drawing and modelling from geometrical figures, the antique, and casts from life.
 - 2nd. The life school, for drawing and modelling from the living model.
 - 3rd. The painting school, for painting from life, and for learning the art of grouping, the arrangement of drapery etc.
- VIII. The minimum age for admission to the primary school might be fixed at 15, and at 17 for admission to the life school; and no general educational test should be required of the applicants for admission.
- IX. Every new student, whether he be a tyro or a skilled draughtsman, should (on entering) make a drawing in the primary school, whence (should his work warrant the promotion) he would at once be sent by the professor to the life school, and in due time to the painting school.
- X. Every student to pay at the rate of 1d. per month for his instruction in the two lower schools, unless otherwise decreed by the council, but the education in the painting school to be gratuitous.
- XI. The head master should have the sole care of the life and painting schools, but he (and he alone) might appoint assistant masters for the primary school. He should be entitled to move pupils from one school to another, and should not only have the power of promoting a student, but also of

sending him back to a lower school should he deem it advisable.

XII. The master should not have the power of expelling a student without the sanction of the council.

XIII. Five hours of daylight per diem should be the time allotted for study, four of which should be spent in actual work, and one in intervals of rest.

XIV. Great freedom should be allowed the students, especially during the intervals of rest; but no boisterous play or practical joking should be tolerated. The hours of study are too long to admit of the presence of a curator. The restraint imposed by the presence of an official has a prejudicial effect on the students at all times, and if protracted for four or five hours would be intolerably oppressive. The curator should have a room contiguous to the schools, where in the case of a row he would be at hand to restore order, and (if necessary) to report the conduct of the rioters to the head master.

During the visits of the head master the greatest silence should prevail, so that every word spoken by him may be heard by all the students.

XV. It should be the duty of the master to visit the schools three times a week, on alternate days, and to correct and criticise every individual drawing in the three schools.

XVI. Twice a year there should be a competition in the three schools, and medals or trifling rewards should be given for the best drawings and paintings from the antique and from the life. A similar reward should be given to the best clay models, and some additional medals might be given to the painting school students for the best designs on a given subject. The judges should be the master and the master's substitute, assisted by three members of the council, and the successful works should be publicly exhibited at the Academy.

XVII. Once a year there should be a competition in the painting school for studentships or scholarships. Competitors should have to paint a life-size head, an academical figure, and two or three sketches on some subjects given by the council. Arrangements should be made for these competitive works to be painted at the Academy, and not at the students' private residences. No finished picture would be required of the competitors, the studentships would be awarded according to the aggregate merit of each man's work. The judges should be the council or a committee appointed by that body, and all the competitive works should be ^{publicly} exhibited at the Academy.

The grounds which have led the judges to their decision should be printed and affixed to the successful candidate's works, and the same works should become the property of the nation.

XVIII. The studentships to be of £150 per annum for four years. The holders should be bound to live abroad either in Italy, France, or Germany, during two of the four years, and to submit annually to the Academy specimens of their work, which specimens should be publicly exhibited along with the competitive works of the new candidates for the studentship.

These specimens might consist either of figure subjects, portraits, landscapes, or water-colour drawings, and should remain the property of the artists.

The object of these studentships should not be to confine the holders to any particular branch of painting, but to assist them in completing their general education as artists.

XLX. A similar annual (or biennial) competition for modellers' studentships should be established, and if architecture be included in the arts taught at the Academy, architectural studentships would be desirable. In all cases it should be in the power of the judges to withhold the prize, should no student be deserving of it.

XX. Students of any age over 15 might be admitted to the primary school, and over 17 to the life school, but no one over the age of 26 should be allowed to compete for a studentship.

APPENDIX XI.

The Artists' Corps (28th Middlesex), referred to on p.382.

About 1860 a wave of patriotism swept the country and many local detachments of volunteers were formed. Some were attached to localities (forerunners of the Territorial Army, in a way) and some to public schools (forerunners of OTC and CCF). (I have discussed these elsewhere. See article in Times Educational Supplement of February 1960, entitled 'The C.C.F.Today'. HCM)

The artists were not slow to respond also, and it is quite clear that many artists and students were involved in this activity. The motivation behind it was, in the first place, patriotism. Soon it tended to become a social one - it was the thing to do; besides, it was 'rather a lark' anyway. This certainly comes out in the account of Marks - himself a most unlikely soldier! - which follows. Millais was in at the outset, with Leighton, and together they designed part of the uniform, cap badge etc.. Without more ado, Marks can describe this remarkable force:

"Each member of the Clique, with the exception of Storey, was a volunteer in the early sixties. I think Leslie was the first to join the movement, and was one of the Victoria Rifles. D.W.Wynfield was the next; he enlisted in the Artists' Corps, then the 38th Middlesex. Wynfield was a most enthusiastic volunteer, and devoted a great deal of time to the business of the corps. He induced Yeames and Hodgson to become recruits. Calderon and I were more shy, and inclined at first to ridicule the whole movement, but eventually thought better of it; and one afternoon, during the hours appointed for drill, having let no-one know of our intention, presented ourselves at headquarters and were duly sworn in, to the surprise and amusement of the others. Old Burlington House was our headquarters, and the drills

took place in the gardens where the Royal Academy and the learned societies now have their homes. The Artists' was a very different corps in those days to what it has since become under the fostering care of Sir F. Leighton, Val Prinsep, and especially Colonel Edis. It is not unusual now for musters to be over 500 men in strength. Then the numbers might be reckoned by fives, or even units. A field-day was proposed for Wimbleton, for instance; we would parade at Burlington House, but so ashamed used we to be of the smallness of our numbers, that we dared not face, as a body, the chaff of the rude street-boy or the raucous-voiced rough, but divided ourselves into twos and threes, and sneaked down to Waterloo Station, avoiding observation as much as possible by going along bye-streets. As numbers increased, we put on a bolder front, and would march along in a compact if not very numerous body, headed by our buglers blowing lustily and long. Many bloodless field-days did we enjoy together in all weathers. Of these, the Easter reviews at Brighton remain most in memory. The trudging through the dusty furrows of ploughed fields; scorched by the sun and dried by the east wind (the wind was always in the east on these days); the occasional halts, when the cold wind would refrigerate your back and the hot sun would burn your face; the file and volley firing, in which an occasional ramrod would be shot off (no breech-loaders then), and the delightful incomprehensibility of the manoeuvres, or as much of them as one was able to see, are all pleasant to think of. I remained over seventeen years in the corps, and in most of them was efficient, doing the annual number of drills.....the moment I pointed my rifle at the target, I began to tremble all over, and made a very fair number of ducks-eggs.....My last appearance as a volunteer was at the Annual inspection of the Artists' Corps in June 1879, which took place on the parade-ground in front of the Horse Guards. My eldest son was present in the rear rank."

APPENDIX XII.Jim Bishop: Model.

Models cannot be given much space in a work of this nature, but perhaps something ought to be said. They were, after all, constantly in and around the Schools. Several stories exist about them. Frith, for example, tells of the splendid guardsman, Brunskill, who ended his service with the Academy by leaning on an oar, in a drunken state, and finally saying: "I can't do it. I ain't fit to do it. This 'ere thing what I hold ain't right. Nothing's right; so I wish you gentlemen goodnight. There now!" (Frith, Autobiography, Vol 1, p.56). Insofar as there appears to be a doyen of them it is Jim Bishop, who was modelling in the 1840's and 1850's. Horsley tells a number of stories about him. There is the one about Jim asking Cope, as he posed, what the sacraments were. Cope began a long explanation during which Jim fell asleep. When he awoke his comment was: "I was draemin', sir, that I was fightin'; I loves a good fight, sir, I do." On another occasion he had been responsible - with his friend Bill who figured in many of his stories - for the capture of six roughnecks. On complimenting Jim, the magistrate asked him if he had any request to make, to reward him in a measure for his public service. Jim replied: "Why, you know, let me and Bill have these six blackguards down in your back yard, and give 'em what they'd have got last night if your perlice hadn't stopped the game."

On another occasion Jim happened to see the Academician, Webster being set upon by thugs and immediately drove them off. A further story exists of Sir William Boxall being much annoyed by the noises made by an ardent German pianist who lived close by. In spite of all remonstrations the fellow refused to be considerate. Boxall therefore hired Jim and Bill to bang on tin trays with poker when the musician struck up, so obtaining a settlement. Finally, one of the most naive of the stories tells how Jim, at the time posing for Landseer, reflected that as Sir Edwin was so well known to the Queen perhaps he could ask her if he (Jim) could have some of the leftovers from Buckingham Palace for his pigs.

APPENDIX XIII.

Registrar's Report, Appendix 9 of the 1871 Report of Council submitted to General Assembly: The Schools.

A very great deal of matter exists in Royal Academy records which space does not permit to be transcribed here. The above Appendix 9 (The Schools) is given, however, as an example of the kind of information which is given annually in the Reports from 1860 onwards. The year 1871 is not chosen for any particular reason, though it does happen to be the year in which the Light's School Committee first reported;

The report is very full, and all that is given below is a selection of facts relating to the Schools:

Antique School.

Open 252 days and evenings.

Students: 80 male; 21 female. Total 101 (78 Painters; 20 Sculptors; 3 Architects).

14 attended 10 times.

6	"	20	"
16	"	40	"
11	"	60	"
20	"	100	"
24	"	150	"
10	"	200	"

Highest attendance 388. Best attendance months: March, April, May.

Life School.

Open 237 evenings.

Students: 54 painters: 3 sculptors: 3 architects.
 Total 60.
 Of these: 2 were Medal Students whose term of Studentships
 had passed: 3 were Annual Students: 55 were
 students passing through.

1	attended once.
8	" 10 times.
9	" 20 "
25	" 50 "
5	" 80 "
8	" 150 "
2	" 200 "

Highest attendance 209. Best attendance months: January to
 April and November and December.

School of Painting.

Periods of opening correspond with those of Life School.

Were 118 days on which the ten draped models sat for four
 hours on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays.

Attendances:
 of painters, 62: sculptors, 3: architects, 2.
 Males, 49: Females, 18. Total 67.

Of these: 2 Medal Students whose term of studentship had
 expired: 5 Annual Students: 60 going through
 studentships.

2	attended once.
8	" 10 times.
7	" 20 "
23	" 50 "
19	" 80 "
7	" 100 "
1	" 101 "

Highest attendance 101. Best months: as for Life School.

The Nude Model sat 114 days - 4 hours on each day.

Attendances were: of painters 47: sculptors, 1: architects, 2.

Preliminary School of Painting.

Students 51. Male 36: Female 15. (Painters 48: Sculptors 2: Architects 1.)

11 attended 10 times.

11 " 20 "

11 " 40 "

8 " 60 "

8 " 100 "

2 " 150 "

Highest attendance 150.

Best months: July (32 attending); June; April.

Lowest months: November and December (6 students attending last-mentioned).

Architectural School.

Students 13: Painters, 1: Architects, 12.

6 attended 10 times.

4 " 20 "

3 " 40 "

Highest attendance 34.

Best months: January, February, March.

The Library.

Open 23 days and 72 evenings (Mons 10-3 and 4 to 6: Tues and Thurs 5 to 8)

Classification of students: 20 painters: 2 sculptors:
4 architects. Total 26.

16 attended once.

5 " 2 times

2 " 3 times

1 " 4 times

1 " 7 times

1 " 11 times.

Lectures and Course of Perspective.

	No. of Lectures.	No. of students attended.
Painting.	6	70
Sculpture.	6	69
Architecture.	4	80

Anatomy.	6	39
Chemistry.	6	95
Perspective.	40	42.

There were 5190 Total attendances at the four Courses of Lectures (Painting; Sculpture; Architecture; Anatomy).

There were 1291 Total attendances in the Perspective Class.

Demonstrations and Dissections were at King's College, as before, provided by the Academy under the superintendence of Professor Partridge for the advantage of the Students.

Admission of Students.

Total number of Students entered in the Academy register from 1769 to December 1871: 3205.

Painters	1857
Sculptors	320
Architects	715
Engravers	162
<u>Not specified</u>	<u>151</u>
	3205.

Number of Male Students from the foundation:	624
" " Female " " " "	46

Students admitted in the year 1871: 52 (32 Painters; 6 Sculptrs; 14 Architects)

Number at present passing through their period of studentship: 301.

APPENDIX XLV.

List of Officers of the Academy throughout the period covered by this thesis.

Presidents.

Sir Martin Archer Shee.	1830 - 1850.
Sir Charles Lock Eastlake.	1850 - 1865.
Sir Francis Grant.	1866 - 1878.

Secretaries.

Henry Howard.	1811 - 1847.
John Prescott Knight.	1847 - 1873.
Frederick Alexis Eaton.	1873 - 1913.

Keepers.

William Hilton.	1827 - 1839.
George Jones.	1840 - 1850.
Charles Landseer.	1851 - 1873.
Frederick Richard Pickersgill.	1873 - 1887.

Librarians.

George Jones.	1834 - 1840.
William Collins.	1840 - 1842.
Sir Charles Lock Eastlake.	1842 - 1844.
Thomas Uwins.	1844 - 1855.
Henry William Pickersgill.	1856 - 1864.
Solomon Alexander Hart.	1864 - 1881.

Professors:Painting.

Henry Howard.	1833 - 1847.
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Charles Robert Leslie.	1847 - 1852.
Solomon Alexander Hart.	1854 - 1863.
Charles West Cope.	1866 - 1875.
Edward Armitage.	1875 - 1882.

Architecture.

William Wilkins (delivered no lectures).	1837- 1839.
CharlesRobert Cockerell.	1839 - 1859.
Sydney Smirke.	1860 - 1865.
Sir George Gilbert Scott.	1866 - 1873.
Edward Middleton Barry.	1873 - 1880.

Sculpture.

Sir Richard Westmacott.	1827 - 1856.
Richard Westmacott.	1857 - 1868.
Henry Weekes.	1868 - 1876.
Thomas Woolner. (delivered no lectures).	1877 - 1878.

(There was a vacancy in this professorship until 1900, during which time lectures were delivered by members of the Royal Academy, and others).

Anatomy.

Joseph Henry Green.	1825 - 1851.
Richard Partridge.	1852 - 1873.
John Marshall.	1873 - 1890.

Chemistry.

Frederick S. Barff.	1871 - 1879.
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Perspective.

John Prescott Knight (styled Professor)	1839 - 1860
Henry Alexander Bowler (styled Teacher)	1861 - 1899.

(The Honorary Professorships are not given here. HCM)

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[The following text is extremely faint and largely illegible. It appears to be a list of entries or a detailed index, possibly containing names, dates, and titles. Some faint words and numbers are visible, but they cannot be accurately transcribed.]

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