THE NATIONAL GALLERY SCHOOL OF VICTORIA

1870 to 1890

by Leigh Astbury.

Master of Arts (Preliminary) Thesis
November, 1975.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to acknowledge the advice and assistance rendered to me by the following people: Ms. Ann Galbally for her supervision and making available to me her research on Clark and Campbell; Ms. Ruth Zubans made available to me her research on Folingsby; Mr. Alan McCulloch gave me helpful advice on a number of points while Marjorie Tipping referred me to her article on "The Artist as Historian"; Ms. Lucy Kerley referred me to a number of helpful sources while her kindness and advice were invaluable on the subject of the Gallery School on which she is preparing a book; Geoff Burke and the late Brian Finemore gave valuable advice and made available the resources of the National Gallery of Victoria; John Hull assisted by photographing a number of works; finally, I owe a great debt to my wife Jill who is as interested in ideas as I am in facts.
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THE NATIONAL GALLERY ART SCHOOL
1870-1890

1. Art Education in Melbourne and the Establishment of the National Gallery School.

"The origin of art movements in any civilized country may be partially traced to the initiation of certain time-honoured institutions through which the various forms of art are brought in touch with the people".(1)

It would be a temptation for a historian to see the development of art education in Melbourne in terms of a logically related progression of events, but this would be a simplification of what was really a much more haphazard process. In fact, I shall argue that the mixed beginnings and ambiguities surrounding the proposed purpose of the National Gallery School, do not find any comfortable resolution until the reign of George Frederick Polingbay, after 1882.

The first art school in Melbourne was the Mechanics Institute and School of Art founded in 1839.(2) Its first secretary was George Alexander Gilbert(3) who arrived in Australia in (c)1842. He taught drawing and lithography at the school and like many other teachers of this era taught private pupils at his home in Collins St.(4) The establishment of such an institution so early in Melbourne's existence must be related to the London Mechanics' Institute movement founded by George Birkbeck in 1823 as a means to widen adult education in science and the industrial arts.(5) This in turn forms part of a wider philosophy prevalent in England and Europe in the nineteenth century which expressed the belief that art could play an important part in the promotion of commerce and manufactures.(6) In the Australian context this philosophy appeared particularly applicable since the Colonies had a great need of skilled artisans to develop local industries. Thus a number of men in Melbourne, like John F. Peppercorn(7) held tenaciously to the belief, despite the problems associated with the early Mechanics' Institute Schools of Art. These problems re-emerged with renewed force when the Artisans' Schools of Design were formed in Melbourne in the seventies. Ultimately, as we shall see, the philosophy of art for industry was to plague the National Gallery School for a number of years.
While the necessities of establishing a colony gave a ready impetus to industrial art in the form of Mechanics' Institutes which sprang up rapidly in the Colony, the need for fine art was not so urgently felt. For instance, E. Wake Cook in his reminiscences outlines this picture of art in Melbourne. "In 1852, there was an utter absence of visible art. Then, on one memorable day I saw in Wilkie's music-shop window a little picture, Troopers, Mounted Police admirably drawn by William Strutt. Later on, a large painting, Fern Tree Gully, by Eugene von Guérard, was shown and was followed by a View of the Yarra, by Nicholas Chevalier". (8) The paucity of art works, the lack of an art gallery and the presumably small market for the sale of art works in colonial society, together almost necessitated the formation of something like a cultural elite by the few established fine artists living in the colony during the fifties.

At the Chevalier's home in Royal Terrace, Nicholson Street, Fitzroy, there developed a centre for a cultivated circle of writers, artists, musicians, journalists and academics which included von Guérard, Strutt, James Smith, R.H. Horne and George Gordon McCrae. (9) The latter writes of a sketch club organized at the Chevalier's house. (10) This circle gave the impetus to the formation of the Victorian Society of the Fine Arts on the twentieth of October, 1856, with the object of "educating the taste of the people by familiarizing them with with the sight of paintings and statuary". (11) It is hardly surprising that in such an enclosed cultural climate that this small group of artists and intellectuals should see themselves as the purveyors of "taste" to the colony. Unfortunately, even in the seventies, von Guérard never really overcame this limited conception of the form of cultural life which could be offered to the community.

The Society's first exhibition was held in February, 1857, with a crowd of about sixty attending on opening day. Those exhibiting included von Guérard, Chevalier, George Gordon McCrae and his mother, Georgiana Huntley McCrae, (12) H.E. Davis, J.A. Gilillan, Thomas Clark, Charles Summers, the sculptor, and his pupil, Miss Margaret Thomas.

It was this group who, through their own financial necessity, formed the nucleus of private art teaching in Melbourne during the fifties. Their students, we may presume, were either young ladies taught art as an "accomplishment" or the sons of more wealthy gentlemen, who could afford to pay for private tuition instead of attending the local Mechanics Institutes. Von Guérard, for instance, took private pupils at his studios in Collins and Bourke Streets in the 1850's and later at his home in Gipps Street, East Melbourne. Thomas Clark, also had private pupils (13) while Margaret Thomas, Victoria's first woman sculptor, received her first lessons under Charles Summers, whose biography she was later to write. (14) E. Wake Cook became assistant pupil to Nicholas Chevalier who taught him painting, wood engraving and lithography. (15)
Another probable teacher was the father of Charles Douglas Richardson, John Richardson (d. Melb. 1862), a painter of historical and topical pictures that were hung at the Royal Academy (16). Similarly, Bertrom Mackennal's father, J.S. Mackennal, specialized more as a "decorative" sculptor (architectural figure modeller) than as a fine artist, but he at least had the distinction of being the first teacher of his brilliant son (17).

By the sixties, Louis Duvelot had arrived in Melbourne and took a small number of private pupils including the architect J.J. Clark (18), the landscape painters Charles Bennett and Henry James Johnstone and, possibly, James Balfour (19), one of the early copyists at the Gallery (20). The sixties also saw the arrival of Gracie Broinowski in 1862, a cultured gentleman who had studied languages, the classics and art subjects at the Munich University. He evidently conducted art classes in Melbourne before settling in Sydney in 1875 (21). It is also likely that William Ford (3) had a number of pupils at his residence in St Kilda around this era since at a later date he was reputedly the first teacher of Rupert Bunny, the son of a prominent citizen, Judge Bruce Bunny (22).

Parallel with the system of the private drawing master, there were a number of small private schools, especially in St Kilda, for young ladies and gentlemen, where drawing and art formed a major part of the curricula (23). The products of these small schools, a significant number of young ladies (and a few young gentlemen) later, revivified to the more prestigious National Gallery School when it was formed in 1870.

The emerging Victorian education system also provided a number of minor artists with the opportunity to supplement their income through teaching. Henricus Van den Houten, a capable but uninspiring talent (24) was an early teacher at the first of the large private schools, Scotch College, founded in 1851. There, he taught Charles Douglas Richardson and Gladstone Eyre, who was later to achieve distinction as a portrait painter (24). Thomas Wright, well known at the time as an art teacher, was appointed the first drawing master at the newly founded Wesley College (25).

Art education in the Common Schools was modelled on what has become known as the South Kensington system created by Henry Cole in England after 1847. He introduced to the National Schools a method of teaching art by a series of graded and successive steps. Students began by drawing from the "flat"—proceeding from copying straight lines to geometrical figures and thence to outlines of simple ornament and finally to the drawing from solid examples. These Ornament Stages as they were called, preceded any figure study from
casts or nature. Geometry and the copying of ornamental forms thus replaced the human figure as the basis of instruction. Students learned to copy outlines from Government Books of Design, based on The Dyce Drawing Book.

Behind this rigid system was a utilitarian philosophy which would directly benefit manufacturers by forcing upon the student the study of ornament in the first stage and by progressive steps it could produce "a normal school of people competent to teach". In line with the South Kensington system, the Victorian Education Board examined potential teachers and issued graded certificates of Competence to Teach Drawing. This system found a staunch advocate in Melbourne in John P. Peppercorn who extolled its virtues to both the local press and the Gallery Trustees on several occasions.

Another prominent teacher of similar disposition was Edward Moss Shew.

A practical consequence of the system was the creation of a class of earnest young men and women teachers who desired to master drawing from the hand by studying the plaster casts in the statue hall of the National Gallery.

Another source of future Gallery School students derived from the setting up of Artisans Schools of Design in 1869. These were a direct result of the unflagging zeal for industrial art in the colony. In 1868 the Legislative Assembly had established a commission to promote technical instruction among the working classes of the Colony. It was this Technological Commission which, in 1869, recommended the establishment of Schools of Design, "chiefly intended for workmen and their sons and Apprentices". The concept, however, was not new, for its origins may be found in England in the foundation of Somerset House and its branch schools of Design in 1837 on the recommendation of a similar Select Committee. Undeterred by the example of the English schools which failed miserably to improve manufactures, the Schools of Design in Victoria were opened with a flourish and a sense of pride. In 1871 the Preston School of Design was proudly cited as "the first building erected in the colony devoted to the purpose of art culture alone".

The Artisans' School of Design at the Trades Hall was opened by the Painters and Paperhangers' Society of Victoria in May 1869 and it was quickly followed by other schools at Collingwood,
Richmond, Fitzroy, South Melbourne and other suburbs. Schools also sprang up in the country at such places as Ballarat, Sandhurst and Clunes, where the young John Longstaff received his first instruction. Besides the schools open for an hour or two one evening per week, which were attended by both men and women, there were also special schools for girls opened at St Kilda and Geelong.\(^{35}\)

The curricula supposedly concentrated around such technical and mechanical subjects as would be "useful in the workshops of the colony"\(^{34}\), including "colour as applied to decoration",\(^{34}\) which was to become a contentious issue at the Gallery School of Design.\(^{33}\) But the curricula also included subjects such as the figure and landscape drawing, which were of interest both to the potential artist and prospective teacher of drawing. This latent fine art orientation received sudden emphasis when a number of Melbourne's leading professional artists and art teachers began to teach in the schools.

In this respect, The Trade Hall School was the most significant, for there, Louis Buvelot and Thomas Wright instructed in landscape painting, Thomas Clark in figure drawing and Edward Moss Shew in model drawing.\(^{34}\) In a radical move, Clark also established classes for "drawing from the living model" and for "outdoor sketching".\(^{40}\) As a former student Charles Douglas Richardson later put it, "there names proved attractive to the ambitious student"\(^{41}\) and it is therefore understandable, that his fellow students included future Gallery School students Fred McCubbin, Peter Kirk and R.W. Bugg.\(^{42}\) Thomas Clark and Louis Buvelot also taught at the Collingwood School and their pupils numbered two future Gallery School students, John White and Tom Roberts.\(^{43}\)

Although secondary sources are divided as to the quality and precise nature of the instruction given by Clark and Buvelot, \(^{44}\) they agree that these schools gave students who wished to become artists, but who could not afford private tuition, their first real opportunity of receiving instruction. For example, J.S. McDonald quotes McCubbin as saying that "it would be impossible to express the joy" with which he executed his first copy of an outline figure drawing.\(^{45}\) Another old pupil is quoted as saying, "The instruction was of the slightest kind; still, it awakened in the young people a desire to go further."\(^{46}\) Recalling his fellow students, Charles Douglas Richardson remarked, "They, I think, had drifted much in the
same manner through the various classes. The technical schools were soon exhausted as a means of satisfying the artistic hunger of these students".(47)

Thus the first students in the gallery school basically derive from the disparate groups I have described—the ladies seeking an accomplishment, gentlemen "amateurs", schoolteachers, skilled artisans and a few potential artists of more humble origins who attended the Schools of Design. When these forces coalesced at the Gallery School, their individual members shared a very broad common aim, a desire for further art instruction, even if it were merely towards the attainment of an "accomplishment". Nevertheless, since their backgrounds and motivation for attending were often very different, the early days of the Gallery School must necessarily involve a process of self-definition as both students and teachers evolve a more unified conception as to what final ends their instruction is directed. In the process, the disparate groups of students will interact with each other, with their teachers' personalities and methods, and, finally, with the structure of the institution itself.

There was one other form of "instruction" available to students in the sixties, and this took the form of self-instruction at the newly founded National Gallery. In a number of ways this was to precipitate the formation of the National Gallery School on an official basis.

As President of the Trustees of the Public Library, Sir Redmond Barry directed in 1859 that the first government vote of £2000 a year for an establishment of an art collection be "remitted to England for the purchase of casts of some of the choicest statues, busts, and alto reliefs, of the most celebrated sculptors"(48) and other smaller artifacts. These arrived towards the end of 1860(49) and thus when the Museum of Art was formally opened in May, 1861, the collection consisted almost entirely of casts after the Elgin marbles and other antique statuary and bas reliefs.(50) In August of the same year Thomas Clark wrote a long letter to the Treasurer of the college strongly advocating the establishment of a School of Art in connection with the Gallery.(51)

With the paucity of art education at the time, it was not long before students and "amateurs" from the various groups I have described drifted into the State Gallery to sketch and draw
This tendency was further hastened by the establishment of a Picture Gallery which was formally opened on Christmas Eve 1864. (52) The character of the picture collection had been largely determined by the appointment in October, 1863, of a Commission of the Fine Arts to inquire into the subject of the promotion of the fine arts in Victoria, and to submit a scheme for the formation and management of a Public Museum, Gallery and School of Art. (53) They recommended "the purchase of original paintings by modern masters of acknowledged ability". (54) Eighteen hundred and sixty four saw the arrival of the first purchases from overseas which included *A Fern Gatherer*, by R. Hardman, *Poultry Vendor*, by P. van Schendel and *Bunyan in Prison* by G. F. Polingbysy. (55) This established the pattern of purchasing sentimental, anecdotal genre and "modern" history paintings which was to remain, with few exceptions, the staple purchasing policy of the Gallery during the period being discussed.

The final report of the Commission appeared in 1865, and it contained several recommendations pertinent to the formation of the Gallery School. They were:

1. That whilst original pictures should form the basis and chief part of the National Collection, a limited number of copies of pictures in European National Collections should be obtained.

2. That the selection of pictures in future should proceed upon an organized system, capable of extension in various directions, so as to illustrate history, both sacred and secular, poetry, domestic life, landscape, portraiture, and those subjects more immediately required for instruction in drawing.

3. That admission to the Galleries and Schools should be free to all, and that they be open in the evenings.

4. That facilities should be afforded for holding annually an exhibition of Art in Melbourne. (56)

The buying policy as set out implied that copies of European works would educate the "taste" of both the public and the training artist. (57) It also implied that a substantial part of the training in the art school was to be the drawing or copying after copies of European masterpieces. Opening the Gallery School in the evening suggests that instruction would be available to all classes of society.

Meanwhile in the Gallery, the practice of copying became more frequent, adding impetus to the decision of Sir Redmond Barry and the Commissioners to appoint a paid instructor. Referring
to the crowds at the opening of the Picture Gallery, Sir Redmond remarked, "the influx disturbed our Student 'habitues' not a little". Yielding to these pressures, the Trustees wrote an unsuccessful letter to the Chief Secretary in 1867 urging that an instructor be appointed. Early the next year it had become necessary for the Trustees to pass the first Rules and Regulations of the School of Arts which referred mainly to the practice of copying casts and pictures.

The early copyists, eager to receive "proper instruction", petitioned the Trustees on a number of occasions. "The students... finding as they do, that the time they devote to the study of the 'fine arts' is in a great measure lost, for want of proper tuition, naturally feel great anxiety as to the appointment of an instructor... I take the liberty to recommend M. Buvelot to your favourable notice". Since the Gallery was not yet open at night, the restricted hours during which copying was allowed were seen as discriminating against those who worked for a living, the "artisans" and the school teachers. Both individually and collectively, they therefore petitioned the Trustees for an extension of the hours in which they could copy. Despite these disadvantages, some early copyists were to later achieve reputations as artists, including Margaret Thomas, Charles Douglas Richardson, Henry Nielly, John White, Edward a'Beckett, Samuel Calvert and Henry Burn.

In April, May, and June of 1870 advertisements were finally placed in the local press asking for paid instructors. At last the National Gallery School was established on an official basis.

From the mixed beginnings of the Gallery School, there emerged a number of competing views concerning its appropriate nature in the future. Was it to be given an industrial slant to benefit the Colony's manufactures, or was it perhaps to become a training ground for higher study in drawing for a significant number of school teachers, both male and female? Apart from these utilitarian purposes, was the school to provide the leisure place for a leisured class of Victorian ladies or, alternatively, would it provide a training in fine arts for the potential artist? The resolution of these competing views will be dealt with in the next three sections.
Section Two: The Gallery School, 1870-76.

The original structure of the National Gallery School in 1870 was an uneasy compromise between the need for fine art training and the prevalent idea of art for industry. Influenced by the creation of the Artisans' Schools of Design in 1869, the school was divided into two separate institutions—a school of painting and a drawing school, with the title School of Design. Despite the industrial connotations of the title, the Trustees obviously intended that students should master the fundamentals of drawing in this school before graduating to the School of Painting. In their report of 1870 the Trustees clearly stated this intention: "The School of Design, being of necessity the stepping stone for students who wish to enter the School of Painting." Nevertheless, the stated curricula of the School of Design appeared to lend credence to the view that the teaching was to have a strongly industrial bias. Instruction was supposedly given in "free hand drawing, Figure and Decorative Drawing, Mechanical and Architectural Drawing and modelling from 10am till noon and from 7pm till 9pm two days in each week."(2) The precise orientation of the instruction was thus uncertain from the beginning, and the drawing master would have the unenviable task of simultaneously preparing students for both industry and fine art.

Painting in oils and drawing in water colours was the curricula in the School of Painting which was open three mornings a week from 10am to 12 noon.(3) Applicants for admission as students for both schools had to submit a sample of their work to the Masters and the Committee.(4) and if their work was deemed satisfactory the students could enter the School of Painting if they wished. Unsuccessful applicants to the latter school were advised to master the fundamentals of drawing in the School of Design. No student was refused admittance to the School of Design. This fact demonstrates the philosophy that regardless of native ability, any student could acquire a set of skills through a course of progressive instruction.

After the Gallery School opened in 1870 with six students in the School of Painting and thirty-five in the School of Design, the practical consequences of this structure were soon felt. The absence of an evening class in the Painting School meant that those attending it usually had the wealth and leisure to do so. In practice, this was such a vital requirement that von Guérard, the Painting Master, was not as demanding in accepting applicants as he might otherwise have
been, "several of them being married or of a more advanced age, Ladies who do not wish to be classed with young girls in the School of Design, having received their primary instruction in drawing from private Masters". (5) Von Guérard, for example, applied to the trustees to have one woman exempted from submitting a drawing from the second "as this young Lady wishes only an instruction in water colour sketching" while a similar plea was extended for "the youngest son of His Excellency the Governor which (who) came for the same object has so little to show that it would not be sufficient to lay it before the Committee". (6)

In the early years of the Painting School this policy led to the presence of a significant number of ladies and a few gentlemen who had no incentive towards fine arts except to while away their leisure hours and cultivate their "taste". Von Guérard's conception of the purpose of the School was thus coloured by this group's sentiency and lack of ambition.

When the calibre and ambitions of his students changed in later years, von Guérard remained largely oblivious of the fact.

On the other hand, the evening class in the School of Design encouraged the attendance of a large number of men and women who through necessity worked during the day. Even in its first year the popularity of the evening class was such that "the Committee found it desirable to make an additional room available." (7) This situation remained constant throughout von Guérard's reign, evidenced by Oswald Rose Campbell's remark in 1881, that the "young men come mostly at night." (8) An even more damning consequence of this structure was that it effectively prevented many who worked for a living from ever graduating from the School of Design to that of Painting. Thus the names of the two separate schools were not necessarily indicative of the talent and advanced skills of the students. A considerable number of talented students like Tom Roberts, Fred McCubbin and Charles Douglas Richardson were destined to an enforced and prolonged stay in the School of Design. Thomas Clark, the drawing master in this school, made an appropriate comment when recommending one of his students for the Painting School. She was, he said "better qualified to copy the National Pictures that most of those at present doing so". (9)
The worldly-wise Sir Redmond Barry was quick to see the inherent conflict between fine art and industry training embodied in the curricula of the School of Design. He took strong objection to the proposed wording of the advertisement for the position of drawing master because it required the teaching of geometrical, architectural and mechanical drawing and a host of technical subjects. "A Michael Angelo could hardly do it," he said, "the really good artist will be prevented from applying at all.... All that is compressed in the word 'Draw'......and Bavelot and Clark the only men I know fit for the place would be nowhere...... Bavelot is a true artist and a man of cultivated and refined taste and altogether a very fine fellow......why not find out whether he can teach you drawing....Clark is also a thoroughly accomplished man but......."

Despite Sir Redmond's reservations, Thomas Clark received the appointment as drawing master. With Clark came one of his most talented pupils at the Carlton School of Design, Fred McCubbin, while another pupil there, Charles Douglas Richardson, was already enrolled as a student.

When Clark, aged 38, arrived in Australia in 1852, he was already an artist and teacher of considerable experience. These formative years in England helped mould the attitudes and teaching methods he employed in Melbourne. Thomas Clark was admitted as a student at the Royal Academy in 1836, on the recommendation of John Constable, R.A. Instruction at the Royal Academy was based on the system of visiting professors who taught special areas such as figure drawing, drawing from the antique and life-classes. The standard of teaching under the visitors, however, was generally poor, their being notorious for their absence from classes. Students were thus left very much "to themselves as they struggled through their courses which usually lasted from five to ten years." Clark appears to have been a successful student, winning a first Medal of the Discourses of the President in the painting school for his copy of Murillo's Spanish Boy (now in the National Gallery of Victoria) and a second for drawing from the living model. He later won medals from the Royal Society of Arts.

In 1843, by public competition, Clark won the appointment as anatomical draftsman at King's College, London. Here he may have come into contact with William Dyce, the organizer of the Schools of Design, for Dyce was briefly Professor of Fine Arts at the college during this period.
However, Clark was uninfluenced by Dyce's insistence that the schools should concentrate on design (not 'drawing') by an intense historical study and copying of ornaments. There was in England at the time an opposing, if unfashionable, view that a knowledge of fine arts was useful in elevating the taste of the potential designer and this was the view that Clark was to adopt.

When Clark accepted the position of drawing master at the Birmingham School of Design in February, 1846, he had already built a reputation as a "clever and experienced artist with some knowledge of design". (10) As distinct from most other Schools, Birmingham had a decided fine art orientation and was able to attract more enthusiastic students and more talented masters than most of its counterparts. For example, Birmingham had a voluntary life-class before Clark's arrival, while the most valued prize was awarded for the best outline of a cast of the Laocoön. (8) This tendency probably stemmed from the curriculum adopted by the Council of the School in 1842 following the lead of the central School at Somerset House. Elementary instruction in drawing (outline, nature and anatomy) modelling (antique and nature) and colour was embarked upon by the student before higher instruction in ornament and industrial design. (10) Clark's experiences in Australia confirm that he agreed with the ascendancy of fine art training in the first stage of the student's preparation for industrial design. (2)

At Birmingham Clark was given the seemingly impossible task of teaching 310 students who were employed in 25 different trades. He seems to have coped with the situation by a certain laxness of endeavour and a marked ability to enjoy the company of his female students. In 1851, Clark was finally transferred to Nottingham by the Board of Trade after charges of incompetency and immorality (his "habit of taking some of the female Class into his private room") were levelled at him by the assistant master. (2) Clark soon left for Australia, possibly to make a new start. He arrived in Australia with a sound knowledge of academic training, convictions about art education for industrial design, and a perhaps too painful awareness of the problems
associated with teaching large numbers of students in a School of Design. He quickly gained a reputation as an artist in the restricted cultural climate of Melbourne during the fifties, painting portraits and performing commissions for wealthy squatters. (13) Although numerous writers have paid tribute to Clark for his teaching and personal influence upon both Roberts (14) and McCubbin, a serious analysis of the influence of his art has yet to be made. Clark's best landscapes, though still tied to the English tradition, have an atmospheric lightness and fresh, translucent greens which may have influenced his students in that genre.

The actual teaching methods employed by Thomas Clark in the Gallery School of Design can be pieced together from a number of different sources. It seems that he paid scant attention to the more mechanical and technical subjects taught in more industry oriented schools. Instead, he introduced his students to a more academic fine art training, although in a most haphazard and limited fashion.

In his report to the Trustees for 1872, he claimed to have taught his students "at drawing and painting from the antique, the living model, anatomy, perspective (and) modelling", (15) but this claim may reflect intention rather than fact. Certainly, one side of Clark's teaching is clearly indicative of his academic training. Since 1863 the library had possessed a series of illustrations used in South Kensington (16) and it is likely that the beginning students were given the task of copying outline drawings of either parts or the complete human figure. (17) On the walls of the School were affixed bas-reliefs (18) and the student may have graduated to these before drawing after the plaster casts of antique statues. Clark's inclination to further institute an academic training is reflected in his frequent requests for "good, plaster casts, more especially of hands and feet and geometrical solids". (19) A modelling class made intermittent appearances in Clark's time when space would permit, while the more industrious student could supplement his learning through the various books available, such as Flaxman's Anatomical Studies, Studies of Ancient Statues or Architectural Ornament of all Nations. (20)

Apart from his controversial decision to allow his students to paint, Clark's most radical innovations occurred in his
encouraging students to work directly from nature. For example, "Natural flowers and foliage were drawn daily when in season." More importantly, since students were "constantly exercised in figure drawing", Clark instituted a class for drawing from the living model, which proved extremely popular with his more ambitious students. Here the young John White excelled, developing a skill which later won him honours abroad. By 1874 Clark had "established a sketching class with a view of facilitating the pupils in composition, and (I) have occasionally taken the more advanced students out to sketch from nature." This obviously did much to satisfy the artistic hunger of those students who wished to become individual artists, creating original works of art. Original composition, however, was in von Guérard's view the final step in the training of the artist and not to form part of his initial instruction.

So far this account implies a consistent and sequential programme of instruction in Clark's classes, but rather there were more a group of different activities open to the initiative of his students. The numbers in the School of Design grew so rapidly—from 35 in 1870 to 152 in 1875 (while the Painting School had 41 students in that year) that personal supervision of students was very limited. J.S. MacDonald suggests that when McCubbin "commenced to work, he was surprised to find that he was permitted to draw whatsoever cast he chose." A few students "continued MacDonald, "those who had studied in Paris and London—were familiar with the methods by which drawing was taught in the modern schools, and they endeavoured to help the others along." One of those who rendered unpaid assistance during Clark's stay was W.H. Horns who had previous experience at Somerset House in England. A contemporary account by a Trustee gives the best picture of the school in action: "I found in No. 1 Gallery 3 Ladies drawing from the round. In the ante-room No. 15 Ladies drawing from the round, 2 from Landseer, 2 from French Lithographs (Figures good), 1 painting in oil from a chromo, a decided innovation or the Committee's regulations, another from flowers. In this room there were thus 11 students with the Master and 1 student in the Gallery drawing from the round."
"I inspected the copies and found 57 admirable copies not in use......as far as I can form an opinion it is not copies that are so much wanting as decision on the part of the Master to keep the Students from following their own inclinations in drawing, what is attractive in the nature of pictures rather than what is useful in the Art of drawing". (C) Clark's methods may have been flexible and relaxed to a fault, but on another level his easy-going personality endeared him to his students. He evidently encouraged the students to work hard, save their money and study abroad(40) and he is credited with being influential in Tom Roberts' momentous decision to leave Australia.

Both the structure of the Gallery School and Clark's teaching methods were to bring him into inevitable conflict with the master in the Painting School, Eugène von Guérard. (41) In his conception of the role of the Gallery School von Guérard was strongly influenced by his experience of academies in Europe. Born the son of an Austrian miniature painter in Vienna in 1814, von Guérard was taken by his father to Italy in 1826 where he studied old masters. In Rome, he became a student of Giovanni Battista Bassi whose intimate landscapes full of accurate observation of nature may have moulded von Guérard's future artistic development. Here, he would have become familiar with the work of the German Nazarene group, Peter Cornelius, Joseph Anton Koch, and Schnorr von Carolsfeld, and the classicists, Johann Christian Reinhart and Bertel Thorvaldsen. Von Guérard travelled widely throughout Italy visiting galleries and academies in Florence, Milan, Venice and Naples. He finally settled in Naples in 1832 and spent the next six years painting landscapes in Southern Italy, Sicily and, possibly, Greece. During this period he possibly came under the influence of Ferdinand Waldmüller, the leading exponent of the Biedermeier style with its intricate detail and yet grandiose conception of landscape.

Von Guérard next moved to Düsseldorf where he studied under von Schadow and the landscapist, Johann Wilhelm Schirmer, both former members of the Nazarene group. Theoretically, the Nazarenes held to the notion of the "master class" where students learned directly from the practice of one master, instead of the traditional academic system of visiting professors and a graded course of instruction. It seems likely, however, that Schadow and von Schirmer ran their master classes in the form of a private "course" entailing progressive stages of the usual academic
training.

Students at the Dusseldorf Academy had traditionally copied pictures in private collections and this may have influenced von Guérard's future preoccupation with the practice of copying. (41)

When von Guérard arrived in Australia in 1852, he was thus imbued with the academic notion of the primacy of drawing in the student's training. He had himself undergone a long and patient apprenticeship as a student and through his experience of the European art world had formed opinions about the dignity and respect which should be accorded to the arts and the original artist. Von Guérard with his interests in numismatics and archaeology and his fluency in four languages, was described by William Strutt as "delicately". (42) His endeavours to raise the level of artistic "taste" in the restricted cultural climate of Melbourne in the 50's, however, influenced him to regard the Gallery School as the culmination of the cultural possibilities of the colony rather than as an institution in the process of change and development. Although by the 60's von Guérard had established patronage from the wealthy squatters of Victoria, contemporary critics, perhaps unfairly, generally found his depiction of the Australian landscape rather cold and lifeless. (43) Certainly, his own art seems to have had little influence on students in the Gallery School.

In June 1870 von Guérard outlined to the Trustees his ideal course of training for the Gallery students.

"If the view is accepted that this Public Institution shall offer the facilities for a higher training in the Art of drawing and painting, and the students, before admitted shall have acquired a sufficient knowledge of the primary elements of drawing and perspective elsewhere—I think that in the school of design should be let a course of drawing from flat originals (drawings, on ruin, and lithographs) first in outlines and progressively more finished—then drawing from plastic objects, flowers and landscapes for those students who wish more particularly that branch of study. 2nd drawing from casts of part of the human body and gradually progressing to the figure or statue, first only in outlines and finally to well finished shaded drawings.

In the Institution can provide it and Master be obtainable or continued study of Perspective and anatomy of the human frame.
it would be of the greatest importance if not necessity. I am certain that the school of design should be a class for the life(model) before the students may be considered fit to enter the class of Painting.

The School of Painting, taking as a precedent the various Academies of Europe, painting is commenced after the students are admitted to that class. First in two tints, representing light and shade after plastic forms, subsequently from very simple originals in colours, as certain parts of paintings or whole studies of good Masters in order to advance by degrees to copies or lar or pictures and gradually to be in with original compositions or sketches for pictures and a gradual development to paint studies from life and nature to become finally a creating artist.(4) The keynote of von Güérard's scheme derived from the Italian and German academies, was the idea of progression from one skill to the next, culminating in the creation of original compositions in colour in the last stage. The master, not the student, would of course decide when the student was sufficiently advanced to progress to the next stage. Whereas Thomas Clark spoke favourably of the "want amount of taste and talent"(5) among his students, von Güérard as late as 1880 maintained that "Up to the present moment...I have not seen any composition or had the opportunity to encourage in that direction, as nearly in all cases the knowledge in drawing is so deficient that any composition would be the most ridiculous".

"(6) In practice, then, von Güérard was to maintain his students on one level, that of copying after pictures in the Gallery.

Besides the existence of a water-colour class taught, it seems, as a polite accomplishment, "Painting... was confined to copying the pictures in the rather meagre national collection, the class being attended chiefly by young lady students, some of whom made good financial use of their opportunities by turning out frequent imitations of such popular works as "The Poultry Vendor" or "The Farm Eucharist".(7) Von Güérard consistently defended the practice of copying to the Trustees on the grounds that original artists could only be trained in an Academy with "an adequate number of professors in the different branches of instruction. The expense of such an Academy to the small population of Victoria would not be justified in terms of the results. He held true to the early conception on the Gallery and its school as
being founded, not as an academy, but as an institution "established principally with the object of fostering good taste in art". All that could be hoped for under the circumstances was the moral endevour of "educating a number of students to see and feel correctly what the productions of Art are, without claiming to be self-independent artists". (46)

Meanwhile in the School of Design, Thomas Clark had become the helpless victim of the opposing views of his school, the fine art and the industrially oriented. As early as 1871 Clark had written to the Trustees, "desirous that my duties should be more exactly defined". (47) He enquired about the extent to which painting was allowed to be taught "as the Students in the School of Design cannot attend save on an evening, and I have reason to believe would discontinue their attendance if the study of painting were prohibited." (48) He later defended his accent attention to the study of ornament on the grounds that "a large majority of students join simply to pass to the picture Gallery who will not study ornament". (49) Von Guerard, on the other hand, convinced of the primacy of drawing in the first stage of the fine artist's education, attacked Clark for not combining his attention to teaching students the fundamentals of drawing. Matters came to a head when von Guerard wrote to the Trustees accusing Clark of establishing a school of painting in his own class. (50) The Trustees supported von Guerard and directed that "colour should be employed in Mr Clark's School for decoration only". (51)

In February, 1875, Clark suffered a further setback, this time at the hands of the industrially oriented, when an exhibition of student works from both schools was held. The judges of the Painting school, who included von Guerard's acquaintance Oswald Jones Campbell, (54) reported favourably on the students' works despite the fact that the best seven pictures were all copies. (55) Un fortunately for Clark, the judges of his students' works were Edward Moss Shaw, John F. Peppercorn and J. S. Mackenmal who were proponents of industrial art and the South Kensington system. They severely criticised the work of Clark's students, concentrating their attention on the absence of both "pro resolute exercises" and the study of ornament. (54) When Clark entered enforced retirement through ill health in September of the next year, (57) the intended purpose of instruction in the School of Design had still to be settled.

It was the students themselves who were to decide that issue.
Section Three

Oswald Rose Campbell and the Life-Class Dispute.

In order to explain the events which led up to the life-class dispute of 1879-80, it is necessary to turn to the students themselves and examine how they reacted to the instruction they received. History seems to have proved Thomas Clark correct in both his analysis of the motives behind his students' attendance at the School and his faith in their ability.

Although von Guérard may have been justified in believing that a majority of the ladies attended to further their taste in a polite accomplishment, he seems to have been unable to recognize the calibre and ambition of a significant number of talented students, probably because his own conception of the gallery was limited by a preoccupation with "taste". Even among the "ladies" there were a significant number who pursued their art with a seriousness which went beyond the acquisition of an "accomplishment". The fact that they achieved even a limited reputation during their own time, within the confining expectations of Victorian society, bears witness to their seriousness. Some came from prominent families who encouraged genuine cultural endeavour, among whom were Jane Sutherland, Amy May Wells, Emma Beckett, and Lina Edeson. Others such as Mary Hannay Black, Margaret Baskerville (the sculptor), and Clara Collins achieved independence as school teachers, which was acceptable to Victorian society. Jane Watson, Isobel Rae, and Alice Chapman were also students whose talents went unrecognized by von Guérard. Works such as Interior with Figures, The Cranger, painted by the nineteen year old Emma Minnie Beckett in 1875, make mockery of von Guérard's claim that none of his students was capable of attempting original composition. Throughout von Guérard's reign there was a core of talented women students whose abilities were at least acknowledged by their male counterparts. After 1880 both men and women students gathered at the Buonarotti Club, and Alexander Colquhoun recalls that "the lady students occupied... a position of proud equality with the "men".
Thomas Clark's students had included John White, M.J. Johnstone, Charles Douieb Richardson, Fred McCubbin, Louis Abrahams, Peter Kirk, W. Wake Cooke, Donald Wilson, Hugh Paterson, J.J. Clark (the architect) and Edward Minchén (the illustrator). After Thomas Clark's retirement McCubbin and Roberts joined the Painting School while Alexander Colquhoun, Emmanuel Phillips Fox, Thomas Humphrey, Robert Mackennal, J.J. Gibbs, Izett Watson, and Rupert Bunny entered the Gallery School before von Guérard's term had finished. While the "artisans" (in the more limited sense of the word) tended to form a transient population in the School of Design, these potential artists remained at the school for a number of years. By virtue of their ambition and their length of studentship, they were to lend impetus to the direction the school was to take.

In the instruction under both Clark and von Guérard was so limited, how then, did these eager students tolerate the unmotivated boredom for so long? In the early years of the School, the cultural isolation of Australia may have made the semblance of artistic training seem more attractive than it deserved. J.S. McDonald gives this account of McCubbin's introduction to the School: "To poor Frederick McCubbin, used to the humble appliances at the School of Design (Carlton), the sight of the innumerable casts that abounded in the Gallery, was overwhelming. At first he did not attempt to work, but wandered about spellbound..... He had his first introduction to classical sculpture..... things he had long dreamt of, were spoken of in terms of familiarity.... Studio jargon was here and there noticeable....." (14) At least, the intellectual atmosphere of the Gallery was in itself stimulating. Charles Douglas Richardson recalls, "not gaining much from the instruction, but reading books on art..... and discussing theories of art with the other students-theories of a varied and frequently wild character." (15) McCubbin and Roberts evidently pored over a tattered copy of Turner's Rivers of France, (13) and McCubbin was to earn his nickname of "Pro." From his avid reading, Alexander Colquhoun remembers that "in the absence of any definitely established laws for their guidance" there developed "a tendency to seek inspiration from Shakespeare or the pagan mythologies." (15) As a result, "a subject sketch class was formed among the students about this time, and McCubbin was a constant worker for it. His choice of subjects for illustrations seemed to be selected mostly from Shakespeare's Plays." (15)
Students were thus forced, on their own initiative, to devise a curriculum for themselves. McCubbin, according to McDonald, began a systematic study of the casts in the School while, he and Roberts went to Melbourne University to draw from the skeleton and study anatomy. During the weekends they began to sketch in the open air, and, along with other students, they frequented the Victorian Academy of Arts where they attended the life classes and worked on set subject pictures. 

Despite these mitigating factors, a residue of dissatisfaction remained. Thom Clark had managed to contain this dissatisfaction through his engaging personality and his progressive methods, but a more expressive personality could precipitate conflict by encouraging the students to assert their initiative against his will. This man was to be Oswald Rose Campbell.

After the enforced retirement of Clark, Oswald Rose Campbell, was appointed drawing master in November, 1876. At the age of nineteen, Campbell had been admitted as a student of the Trustees' Academy in Edinburgh. There he studied under Sir William Allan, President of the Royal Scottish Academy, whose romantic and modern historical painting may have had a formative effect on Campbell's life-long interest in figure painting. After some rounding in the study of the living model in Edinburgh, Campbell began, in 1842, a ten year apprenticeship at the Royal Academy, London. There he became appalled by the lack of concentrated and systematic teaching, a situation which was later to influence him to adopt a rigidly academic pro rame in Melbourne's School of Design. In 1846 Campbell went to Liverpool for a few months to study at the Liverpool Academy. He also visited Dublin where he studied at the life school of the Royal Hibernian Academy. Before he arrived in Melbourne in 1852, Campbell had exhibited twice with the Royal Academy and, so he claimed, "mixed with the first artists of the time."

In Melbourne Campbell found employment as an illustrator for the Punch and the Illustrated Australian News. The painting "The Discovery of William Buckley" belongs to the genre of illustration, while Campbell's concentration on the human figure as the basis of his art is reflected in paintings of a moral-biblical historical nature, he exhibited in the exhibitions of the Victorian Academy of Arts.
It is perhaps ironical that whereas Thomas Clark paid lip-service to the notion of industrial art, Campbell made a concentrated attempt to establish the School of Design along strict academic lines. Like von Guérard, however, he had a rather low opinion of the abilities of the students. In his first report to the Trustees, Campbell stated that the students "are by no means so far advanced as I should have expected; in fact I have had to take the majority of them back to the first lessons in life drawing". (27) Campbell was firm in his belief that a command of the human figure was the first essential in the artist's training, while he held, with equal fervour, the academic notion that students should first approach the human figure through the study of anatomy and casts before they attempted to draw it from the live model. Thus, after bringing his students through a whole course of perspective in 1877, (23) he concentrated upon developing the students' anatomical knowledge during the following year. Besides drawing from the plaster casts of antique statues, the students were set to draw from books and drawings of the human anatomy as well as studying directly from the human skeleton. (29) But Campbell was too make no concession to the significant number of experienced students in the class who had already studied the human figure from life under Thomas Clark. By forcing these students to begin again their study of the figure, he effectively negated any sense of progress they thought they had made under great difficulties in the past. Added to this, Campbell possessed a dictatorial and unpleasant personality which quickly offended many of his experienced students. One such student, happily engaged in drawing from a portrait was sent rather unceremoniously by Campbell to draw an eye from a chart. (30) The life-class, however, was the issue which crystallised the older students' opposition to him.

In 1876, the year of Thomas Clark's retirement, Tom Roberts Fred McCubbin and other older students attempted to establish a life-class of their own, paying the costs of the models themselves. They appealed in vain to the Trustees for financial assistance. (34) By 1878, however, the students' life class was firmly established on an organized basis, with Alice Chapman in the role of secretary. (32) The students drew regularly from life in the State Gallery on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons,
even if occasionally, a shortage of models necessitated they sit for one another. \( ^{35} \) It was during this period that McCubbin, Roberts, and Richerson took the radical step of introducing a nude life-class. Alexander Colquhoun recalls, "These three formed, not without opposition, a life class at the Gallery, where they drew from the nude in a somewhat lurid and conscious fashion; for the public mind had not then been educated up to the point of nice discrimination in such matters.\(^{35}\)"

After his arrival, Campbell had discontinued Clark's practice of plein-air sketching as part of the curricula. His attention turned next to the students' life-class of which he disapproved, on the ground that the students were not yet ready for it. In June 1879 he virtually closed the life-class by directing the students to discontinue their meetings or to carry on them in the modelling room which was unsuitable for the purpose. An enraged student wrote a letter of protest to the Trustees.\(^{35}\) Campbell's response was vindictive. Singer, the writer of the letter, he told Richerson, McCubbin, Roberts, and Donald Wilson that they were suspended for their action. Campbell, however, had misjudged the tenacity and sense of purpose of these experienced students, for they wrote again to the Trustees, questioning Campbell's authority to dismiss them. The Trustees, then supported the students and allowed them to remain in the school.\(^{36}\) Meanwhile, Campbell was called upon by the Trustees to explain his actions. His answer made it clear that the question of a life-class was to remain a burning issue for the students. The life-class, he argued, existed at the pleasure of the students and that the students had come to see "concessions as a right", by arbitrarily extending the hours of its opening to Saturday afternoons.\(^{37}\) Campbell's actions, in fact, had kindled the latent dissatisfaction of the older students and hardened their resolve to improve the type and standard of instruction they received.

Although the theoretical framework of von Guérard's teaching encompassed the existence of a life-class in the School of Design, the practice of copying in his School was soon to become confounded with the life-class issue. In response to students' requests,\(^{35}\) von Guérard had written to the Trustees in December, 1877 recommending that a room for the students' life-class be made available.\(^{37}\) His report to the Trustees of that
year mentioned,"A number of the young ladies in the School of Painting have formed a life-class, paying their models. I have great pleasure in assisting them with my advice."(40) In practice, von Güérard had encouraged his students to paint a number of studies from nature,"before the copy of a painting is attempted."(41) This, of course, was not what motivated the student's demand for a life-class.

By this time, however, the Trustees themselves had become disenchanted with the practice of copying, for they had never intended that it should form the sole basis of instruction in the Painting School. In their desire to emulate the customs of the Royal Academy of an land, they had directed in 1870 that "no complete copy of any picture should be made",(42) and on subsequent occasions they wrote to von Güérard warning him of breaches of copyright. In 1870, they also wrote directly to von Güérard expressing their wish "that pupils in the School of Painting should attempt original drawings and not confine their attention entirely to copying and recopying the pictures in the Gallery."(43) Von Güérard ignored their advice and so, by 1879, they formally registered their displeasure in their annual report, requesting that "the Master of the School of Painting .... use his influence to get the students in his department to paint from nature instead of confining their attention entirely to copying."(44) Against this backdrop, the Trustees' sympathy for the students in succeeding events becomes more understandable.

The dispute of 1879 centred nominally around the establishment of a life-class, but for a significant number of students it was a much broader issue. In fact, the dispute became the focal point for a generalized sense of dissatisfaction felt by the students, regarding their teachers and the methods of instruction. When, by October 1880, the Trustees had not instituted a life-class, the frustration felt by the students could no longer be contained. On the 7th of this month, thirty-six students, including Roberts, Richardson, McCubbin, Abrahams, Clarke, Collins and a number of other women, signed their names to a petition to the Trustees, setting out their complaints regarding the present instruction in the School.(45) Having under one a course of elementary instruction, they now desired "the application of our skill to higher work and original composition." This teaching, they said, could be only obtained
from "an accomplished and enthusiastic artist". They pointed out that in the history of the school none of the students "have distinguished themselves as original painters... although many have become very proficient as copyists."

As to enrolling opinion, the students had the memorial published simultaneously in the press. (44) Campbell's reaction to the memorial was thoroughly predictable. He dismissed Clara Collins for signature the petition. This action was to provoke a letter of protest to the Trustees, signed by thirty students. (47) Campbell then denied having suspended her on the suspect grounds that she had not been a student for over a year. (48) By this stage, however, the Trustees may have been aware of Campbell's duplicity, for they not only re-admitted Clara Collins (49) but excoriated Campbell for his actions. (50)

Meanwhile, the trustees set about exercising their diplomacy in dealing with the situation. At a Trustees meeting on the 21st of October, they received Richardson and Roberts as representatives of the students. There, the two students expressed the desire "to have a life-class established under the direction of an artist of high repute in that branch of Art", (51) and further, they advocated the study of the nude model. (52) A few days later, Roberts and Richardson repeated their request in a letter to the Trustees, suggesting that the instructor "exercise a general supervision over all the classes, so that they (the students) may work towards one end". (53) They criticized the division of the school into two departments which had frustrated the progress of many students since the school's inception. When the Trustees finally replied to the students' memorial on the 3rd of November, they adopted a non-committal, but conciliatory position. They mildly rebuked the students for publishing the memorial in the press, stated that there were no funds available for a life-class in that year, but promised that enquiries were being made. (54) On the same day, they had indeed written to a prominent artist concerning the erection of such a class. He was George Frederick Polin sby. Polin sby had arrived in the colony early in July of the previous year. (55) To the inquiries of the Trustees, however, Polin sby replied that a "sense of delicacy would prevent my undertaking a task that must necessarily criticize present arrangements." (56)

The students who signed the petition met decided opposition to their requests. Both von Guérard and Campbell wrote to the Trustees defending their teaching, (57) maintaining
that the present level of teaching was sufficient for the students. Their replies underline the increasing discrepancy between their conception of the Gallery School and that of their more "radical" students. Von Guérard, for instance, reiterated his arguments about the necessity of teaching art in a properly constituted academy and the limitations imposed upon the teaching and practice of art in a small colony. In passing, he also saw fit to remark upon the "beneficial effect" of Melbourne's institution on the "general education of our young Ladies". Both saw the dispute in terms of a conspiracy of a few "ring leaders" (Richardson, Roberts and McCubbin) whose artistic abilities they considered negligible. A majority of students sided with von Guérard and Campbell, writing letters to the Trustees in support of their methods of teaching.

The situation for the conservative, however, was irretrievable. By publishing their grievances in the press, the "radicals" won public support for their cause. In November of this year, the Melbourne Social Science Congress was held, embodying a special sub-section on the Fine Arts. There, the speakers, including prominent artist, Chester Earles, politely but firmly condemned the practice of copying in the Gallery and supported the students' demand for the establishment of a life-class.

Although Roberts, Richardson and company were, in the short term, unsuccessful in obtaining the immediate establishment of a life-class financed by the Trustees, the dispute had a more lasting effect on the future of the Gallery School. Not only had these students won public support for their cause, but they had received the tacit approval of the Trustees for their actions.

When von Guérard retired, owing to ill-health towards the end of 1881, the School was left in a state of disarray. By then, both the Trustees and the more "progressive" students looked to an artist of established reputation who could command the respect of the students and organize the school on a firmer basis. George Redderick Polingsby was the person chosen to meet those requirements.
Section Four

Folinsby and his Influence

Folinsby's reputation as an artist had been held in high regard by the Gallery Trustees long before his appointment to a position in the institution. His painting *Bunyan in Prison* was among the first purchases of original paintings in 1864. In November, 1877, Folinsby wrote to the Trustees expressing his desire to emigrate to Australia. He also suggested that "perhaps something could be done in the way of a school of Art". Given the Trustees increasing dissatisfaction with the methods of von Guérard, the possibility of the services of Folinsby must have seemed attractive. In a carefully worded reply, Dalby wrote, stating the belief of the Trustees that "you would greatly contribute to found a School of Art in Australia and that they will be glad of the opportunity of co-operating with you in that task". He also informed Folinsby of a resolution passed on the previous day, that a commission of £500 would be given to Folinsby on the condition that he resided in the colony. Folinsby accepted the offer and eventually arrived in Australia early in July 1879 with the commissioned picture, *The First Meeting of Henry VIII and Ann Boleyn*.

After his arrival, Folinsby quickly established a reputation as a portrait painter. When von Guérard's position became vacant, Folinsby did not apply. He was probably constrained for two reasons, firstly his own financial security at this time and secondly, his awareness of the life-class dispute at the Gallery. However, the Trustees were determined to obtain the services of a figure painter of repute following the upheaval of the life-class dispute. Since the applicants for the position did not meet their requirements, the Trustees approached Folinsby, who subsequently accepted the post, subject to the conditions he laid down. He was appointed for a term of three years with an increased salary of £600 per annum without fees. Further, the Trustees agreed that "his views and recommendations as to the future conduct of the School, be accepted and adopted". Folinsby was thus in a powerful position to implement his proposed reforms. In these reforms Folinsby was...
to draw on his experiences of European academies.

Born in Ireland in 1828, Colin Siby commenced his studies at the Royal Academy, London. He appears to have gained little from the experience and in later years he never spoke of it "with more than a qualified regard". (4) At the age of eighteen, he travelled to New York where he received employment as an illustrator for Harper's Magazine and the Illustrated Magazine of Art. The death of his father prompted his return to Ireland, but it was not long before he began a period of wide travel throughout Europe and Asia Minor. These travels may have encouraged Colin Siby's sympathy for locally available material as a source of subject matter, (4) for he was later to encourage his Australian students to draw upon their own environment and history in their art.

In 1852, Colin Siby began studying drawing at the Munich Academy. After a stay of two years, he went to Paris where he studied under Couture for six months. Colin Siby's stay was comparatively short, but its influence was felt in a number of ways in his Melbourne teaching. The French ateliers placed emphasis on the study of the live nude model in the acquisition of good drawing. (4) This practice was the basis for Colin Siby's support of the establishment of a nude life class by his Melbourne students in 1882. He maintained that the acquisition of good drawing can only be attained by long practice in drawing from a thorough knowledge of the human figure. (4) Couture also taught his students to paint the head by first laying in the outlines and shadows with a "reddish-brown sauce" and then progressively lightening tonal areas to produce a sense of form. (4) Colin Siby's head studies in the National Gallery of Victoria suggest this was the method by which he taught his Melbourne students. With the rise of landscape in the subject hierarchy of the official nineteenth century Academy, students in the French ateliers were encouraged to paint landscape sketches directly from nature in preparation for the finished picture. This was a practice which Colin Siby was to encourage among his students in Melbourne. Prior to graduating from the drawing class into the painting class, students in the ateliers were set compositional problems as well as executing copies in the Louvre. (4) Thus in Melbourne, Colin Siby's students practised the art of composition by painting still life studies, while simultaneously mastering drawing by the study of the live model and the antique.
Nevertheless, clearly the most crucial development in Poling's art took place when he returned to Munich around 1855 to spend five years under Karl von Piloty. Piloty was the leading exponent of a pseudo-naturalistic style of history painting as distinct from the epic—the epic-heroic history painting practised by the German Nazarenes. His subjects were generally chosen from dramatic moments in "modern" history, the figures being portrayed in the supposed costume of the time. From Piloty, Poling's art developed his interest in history painting as well as learning techniques which he later introduced in Melbourne. After this formative period under Piloty, Poling set up a studio of his own in Munich and subsequently established a reputation as a history and portrait painter, exhibiting with success in European cities and the Royal Academy, London. (44)

The influence that Poling exerted as a teacher at the Gallery School cannot be readily separated from the impact of his own art and the techniques he employed. Poling's large history paintings such as Runyon in Prison are carefully or admired compositions, meticulously finished. They show Poling's interest in depicting textured effects of surfaces along with sharp realistic details. Poling often attempts to isolate a moment in time by concentrating on the gesture of a central figure or depicting an incident of dramatic discovery or confrontation between the characters, such as we find in Henry III and Ann Bolyn. It is also worth noting that the action is often organized diagonally or laterally across an interior space. Poling tends to open up the interior space by placing a half-revealed figure in an open door-way or behind a curtain at one edge of the picture. This produces the effect of placing the specific moment within the context of the outside world.

In working out the compositions of his historical pieces, Poling followed the practice of Piloty's Munich school by first blocking in the forms of the figures with vermilion and bitumen. He later introduced this procedure to his Melbourne students. Alexander Colquhoun recalls, "students were to be taught to rub in their shadows with bitumen, mitred, perhaps, with a sensation of cadmium or vermilion, and also to use blue black in preference to ivory black." (45) In normal portraiture Poling used the same method of blocking in the forms, as evident in his study for Mayor Carter of Melbourne (1885). The range of Poling's art, however, extended beyond historical pieces and normal portraiture. Perhaps because of his skill in painting drapery and costume, Poling delighted in depicting elegant
women set against landscapes or a predominantly brown tonality, for example, woman picking blackberries. Further, Polingbey painted smaller scenes pictures, while his architectural studies with their sense of clearly articulated space and concentration on rusticated surfaces were to influence the early work of McCubbin and Colquhoun. Polingbey also painted landscape studies. Some like the study of a sunset and dead negro in the National Gallery of Victoria, have a light almost impressionistic handling, while the more finished sketches, with their accents upon the edges of the forms, belong more to the tonal tradition of the Barbizon School.

Thus, although students under Polingbey at the Gallery school generally inherited from him the use of bitumen and vermilion in their pictures, they were also able to draw upon other aspects of his art.

Given Polingbey's contemporary reputation as a figure painter, his arrival in the school had "a magical effect" among the leading students. Polingbey possessed a strong and commanding personality which added to the respect the students felt for his reputation as an artist. Colquhoun remembered that "Mr Polingbey among his students was always spoken of as "the Boss", a term which may seem at first sight lacking in dignity, but no Board of Directors could have embodied better the sense of authority with which we invested it". On occasion, he would order certain students to scrape down their canvases, effectively reducing days of work to a preliminary stage. On the other hand, he devoted personal attention to individual students who generally found his advice "intimate and stimulating".

It was Polingbey's reorganization of the school, and its curricula, which resolved many of the conflicts which irked his predecessors. Polingbey recognized that the division of the school into two separate departments was the cause of much dissatisfaction amongst his students. He brought the two departments to either under his control, thus according the students a sense of common purpose in the pursuit of their studies. In order to enter the painting school, students had to submit three drawings from the antique or nature to Polingbey for his approval. Although students could be asked to master
fundamental skills in drawing in the Drawing School (as it was
to be named(26) drawing from the live model and the antique
continued to be practiced in the Painting School). Folingsby
also realized the necessity for classes on advanced study at
night since many students were unable to attend during the
day. Consequently, students from his Painting School drew from
the nude model and the antique in the evenings. In his report
of 1882, he showed his support for male students who had formed
an evening class for study on the nude model. "This class," he said
"I assist with my advice and attend personally the posing of
each new model, as nothing can be done in painting... without
good drawing"(27)(Here, under Polin sby's tuition, the young
Emmanuel Phillips Fox, drew sensitive studies from the nude.)
The previous struggle by students for a nude life-class the-
culminated in Polin sby making it an essential part of his
teaching curriculum.

In introducing a new curriculum to the school, Folingsby
immediately discontinued the practice of copying, "the practice
being, in no way beneficial to art students, and one that can
only have a pernicious and lowering effect on the public taste"
(28) Instead, his students began in 1883 to master the art of
painting and composition through still lifes of flowers, fruit,
still life and various studio props.(29) Here the women painters
excelled(30) and Margaret Berkely, the sculptor, continued to
paint lower studies through out her career.(31) Students were
also introduced to diure painting through the study of
drapery and models.(26)

By 1883, Polin sby's students were drawing and
painting heads from life.(32) Polin sby's own head studies sug-
gest that students were taught more in the French manner of
Couture, although G. Streeton wrote that Polin sby told him "to put
in the subjects first with bitumen and vermilion".(33) Students
soon began to paint complete figure compositions under
his direction, which effectively brought to an end the frustration
felt be a decade of students who had simply copied pictures un-
der von Guerard. Good drawing, however, remained the basis of
Polin sby's instruction in composing pictures. His general
advice to students was to "Get good drawing into it".(34) and "Keep it
broad and simple." As a result of Polingsby's concentration on the drawing of
the human figure, Dr. J. D. Bird was appointed in 1887 to lecture
the students in anatomy. It is clear that Polingsby's methods encouraged the establishment of a new school of pure painters, carefully grounded in the fundamentals of drawing.

Olin Sby was also instrumental in the physical re-organization of the school since his methods necessitated the existence of studios for his students which were hardly an essential requirement under von Guerard. New studios for the students were eventually built by the end of 1887.

In November, 1883, Olin Sby took a crucial step in widening the scope of the school, when the first of the students' annual exhibitions was held. Prizes were presented by the Trustees and private citizens for the best students' works. These exhibitions were to lend a new impetus to the students' efforts as well as encouraging an awareness of their work among the public. The exhibits in the first exhibition showed, according to a contemporary critic, a certain sameness in the subjects, being chiefly still lifes and drawings from the antique and life.

The exhibition of the following year, however, suggests advanced instruction under Olin Sby and the influence of his art. Compositional pictures began to make a more frequent appearance. McCubbin's Home Again reflects Olin Sby's genre pieces and their compositional arrangement. It depicted a cottage interior with a woman engaged in some domestic duty and a man rushing in at the open door. McCubbin and Golquinn also entered architectural studies of stables which must be related to similar studies by Olin Sby. Another significant trend was the increasing number of landscape studies, perhaps encouraged by the donation of a landscape prize by Olin Sby's friend, Henry Wellis. The catalogues of the exhibitions which followed, indicate an increasing emphasis on landscape studies and compositional pictures of the sentimental and anecdotal genre. There is also a continued interest in still life and flower painting, especially among the women exhibitors.

Olin Sby's greatest innovation, however, was the establishment of the Travelling Scholarship in connection with the annual exhibitions. The Trustees decided, on Olin Sby's advice, to institute a Travelling Scholarship, paying £150 a year, tenable for three years. The prize winner was to be chosen after
the annual exhibition of student works. Under rule number seven, the scholarship could be won with a still-life, lower painting, or study of any kind and need not necessarily be a composition. Nevertheless, Polye'sy's interest in large figure compositions and the expectations of Melbourne's public ensured that it would be won by a figure composition during Polye'sy's term. The conditions of the scholarship required that the student should submit to the Trustees a copy of an old master at the conclusion of the first two years and an original picture in the concluding year. (\textsuperscript{54})

With the announcement of the establishment of the Scholarship, public interest in the annual exhibitions increased as newspaper critics suggested favourites for the award. In 1887, the first Travelling Scholarship was won by John Longstaff with 'Breaking the News'. It showed an older miner "breaking the news" to a woman of her husband's death. Visible in a doorway to the right, are two other miners carrying the body of the husband on a stretcher. Polye'sy's influence is visible in the compositional arrangement, the texture details of the room, the brown tonality and the choice of the subject itself, a moment of dramatic revelation. With its local reference to Australia's mining industry, and its obvious pathos, the picture enjoyed great popularity with the public as well as creating a format which following artists were to repeat. (\textsuperscript{55}) A contemporary critic summed up its appeal: "The homely pathos of the picture is such as to appeal directly to the hearts of all, ......... highly regarded by the young artist as a leading element in success, especially where popularity as well as artistic power is sought." (\textsuperscript{56})

The influence of Polye'sy and Longstaff's winning picture combined to be felt in following exhibitions. In 1889, David Davies exhibited 'From a Distant Land' which is similar in colour, composition and format. Polye'sy's encouragement of locally available material found a response in the burgeoning nationalism of the time. Davies' landscape exhibits, 'The Hot Day of 1888' and 'Under the Heat and Burden of the Day' of 1890, were praised by the critics for capturing the typical Australian landscape. In 1890, Aby Altson won the Travelling Scholarship with his 'Flood Sufferin's' which is basically a variation on the pathetic element and compositional format of Longstaff's picture.

The Travelling Scholarship in Polye'sy's reign thus gave rise to a number of sombre Australian history pictures, but the firm attention to figure drawing and interior genre
settings suggests the artists' debt to their academic training in the studio. In works such as Davie's 'From a Distant Land', Polingsby's compositional device of opening up an interior scene through a doorway on one side, received a particularly Australian emphasis. A contemporary critic remarked of Davie's picture that it had "caught the spirit of an Australian scene" (23). In practice, this compositional device enabled the artist to evoke the harsh and vast Australian landscape outside the room, while still retaining firmly drawn "academic" figures in the interior. Alexander Colquhoun goes on as far as to suggest that the pathetic nature of many subjects chosen at the students' exhibitions was due to the ease with which models could be posed - "As a rule, little action is required, and the faces of most models after half an hour's sitting require an expression of natural and unaffected pathos". (80)

Several students were also influenced by Polingsby's pictures of elegantly dressed women seen against a landscape of brownish tonality, such as we find in his "Cooma Lickin' Blackberry". Polingsby's interest here lies more in the depicting of Benenden scenery and the graceful figure than in the landscape background. McCubbin's "The Letter" (1885) echoes Polingsby's work while it is worth noting that in his later works McCubbin was slow to bring pictorial resolution the problems caused by placing figures, conceived and drawn in the studio, against a plein-airiste landscape background. (41)

Polingsby's influence extended to the sphere of portraiture where students such as James Quinn and Clifton Harcourt later achieved distinction. Their portraiture was basically of the "traveled" mould and the influence of Polingsby is traceable in the posing of the figures and their continued use of bitumen and dark backgrounds (42). Similarly, in his portrait of Quinn, Polingsby tended to use full-length figures turned to the side in a "contracted" pose. Although by this era, the pose had become an accepted and standard academic practice, Polingsby was possibly the first person to encourage his students to employ the convention.

In terms of the academic training Polingsby gave his students, it is interesting to turn to Longstaff and Almonte's original pictures, completed under the term of the Travelling Scholarship. In their different manners, Longstaff's "The Sibyl" and Almonte's "The Golden Age" show how their command of the human figure, developed by Polingsby's teaching, could be readily adapted to the currently fashionable movements in Europe and England. A number of Polingsby's students, like Rupert Bunny (83), Bertwen Blackwood (44) and Emmanual Phillips Fox, became ex-patriate artists. Their later achievement of official success abroad even much to the imagination and direction Polingsby lent to their art.

On the other hand, Polingsby encouraged the accepted academic practice of doing landscape sketches directly from nature, prior to the finished work in the studio. Perhaps this practice to some extent facilitated his students' known tendency towards plein-airiste landscape paintings. (43)

Although Polingsby's teaching methods were later to be the subject of criticism, because he taught his students to block in their figures with bitumen and vermilion, it must be remembered that in art, there is no innovation without tradition. After his death in January 1889, the Trustee made the following assessment of Polingsby:

"He first took students away from copying pictures in the Gallery to original work, and laid the foundation of what may become a school of art of which the subjects are purely Australian. From his own training and practice - which had been devoted almost exclusively to figure-painting - his pupils were naturally led the same way, but landscape was not neglected." (44).

Polingsby had established the National Gallery School on a firm basis, through his own art, teaching methods and demanding personality. From the strength afforded by this combination of qualities, Polingsby managed to resolve the conflicting views of the Gallery School's purpose. The School had become a fine art institution with the capacity to offer adequate training to the potential artist.
Conclusion

From 1870 to 1890 there occurs at the National Gallery School, a process of evolving self-definition leading to a more unified conception of the School's nature and functions.

This process of change was necessitated by the ambiguities surrounding the establishment of the school, when a number of competing views were held as to its precise role in the future. (Section I) By the time of Colin sby's death, however, I have argued that these conflicting views found a comfortable resolution as the school had become a firmly established fine art institution with the capacity to train the potential artist.

This drive towards self-definition was largely determined by the interaction of a number of discernible forces. Included here were the students and their teachers, the Trustees of the Gallery, and the wider public. Finally, the development of the School can be related to the broad cultural changes and expectations of the colonial society of the period. The position of the Gallery School as a new institution in colonial society, without a long tradition of teaching and training artists, made it more amenable to rapid and radical changes, than would have been possible in established academies overseas.

It is possible to isolate the different forces whose interaction impelled the school in a certain direction. However, naming these forces tends to imply that the forces were homogenous, whereas in fact there existed within the various groups further diversity created by a number of heterogenous elements. For example, when one mentions the students, the group so named is composed of sub groups, varying in terms of background, previous art education, social class, and motivations for attendance. I have described the ladies seeking accomplishments, gentlemen "amateurs", artisans and potential artists. What facilitated change in the School was the imbalance between the expectations and aspirations of its students and the teachers' perceptions, of both, the legitimate aims of the School and what they took to be appropriate aspirations on the part of the students in relation to these aims.
Thus, the expectations of the ladies acquiring accomplishments and the gentlemen amateurs did not challenge the status quo of von Guérard's insistence on copying pictures. Similarly, the artisans seeking industrial training formed a small and transient population in these years. But those students who wished to become artists creating original compositions, had expectations of their teachers' instruction which were not so easily satisfied. By virtue of their ambition and longer stay in the School, they were led to question the type of instruction they received. The imbalance between their expectations and those of their teachers was further widened by the structuring of the School into two separate departments. (Section 11)

The teachers, von Guérard, Clark, and Campbell shared certain broad concepts such as the priority of drawing in composing original works of art, the importance they attached to the study of the human figure and a belief in educating the "taste" of the future artist. But it was the way in which they applied these theories in practice which brought differing responses from their students. Von Guérard's teaching was tied to the notion of "fostering taste" and because of his low estimation of the students' abilities, he confined their attention to copying pictures.

Clark, however, opened up the possibility of chance by introducing his students to more progressive methods of teaching. Although his instruction may have been haphazard, Clark managed to contain the growing dissatisfaction of his students by his enigmatical personality. With the arrival of Campbell, the demands of the ambitious students became more articulate. Their belief in their own hard-won progress was negated by his insistence that this was a false belief and that they return to the fundamentals once more. By this stage, many of the more experienced students clearly saw themselves as potential artists in need of higher instruction. Campbell's unpleasant personality and the restricted scope of his teaching caused the students to focus their general dissatisfaction upon the demand for a life-class. Ironically, the conservative Campbell had precipitated a desire for rapid change amongst the students.

By the time of the life-class dispute of 1880, the climate for change had been created. The radical students won public support for their cause by writing to the newspapers, and the public now looked for evidence of "progress" from the School. With the support of the Trustees, the students' demands were met in the appointment of Polingsby. Polingsby's term of office created a harmonious balance between the expressed needs
of the students and the appropriate instruction to meet those needs. It was only when this mutual satisfaction between students and teacher was established, that the School's conception of itself was sufficiently secure to provide an environment which gave rise to annual exhibitions, the Travelling Scholarship and artists of the calibre of Longstaff, David Davies, McCubbin and R. Phillips Fox.
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL FOOTNOTES (Note: Numbers in red refer to illustrations)

SECTION I


2. McCulloch, A. Encyclopedia of Australian Art (1968) p.50. The first administrative body of the Institute comprised: C.J. La Trobe (later Governor La Trobe) (patron), Captain Lonsdale (president), the Reverend James Forbes (secretary), John Gardiner (treasurer), Thomas Burns (librarian). The original building was completed in 1843 but re-modelled in 1886. The administration was changed in 1872 and the name The Melbourne Athenaeum adopted.


4. I am indebted to Alan McCulloch for a number of points in this first section.


6. see. MacDonald, Stuart The History and Philosophy of Art Education. (University of London Press 1978); Bell, Quentin The Schools of Design (London, 1963); Pevsner, Nikolaus Academies of Art Past and Present (1940 Cambridge University Press.).

7. See further references to Peppercorn, especially pages 4,18 and footnote 28. Section L

8. quoted by McCulloch, Encyclopedia op. cit. p.141


13. For the idea of art as the lady's accomplishment see Bell, Quentin op. cit. and McDonald, Stuart op. cit. For a brief polemic on the issue see Nochlin, Linda "Why have there been no great women artists?" in Art and Sexual Politics. Edited Hess, Thomas H and Baker, Elizabeth C. (1973).


16. Fysh, E. Memoir of Charles Douglas Richardson (in Biographical pamphlets vol. 60, State Library of Victoria.) p.3. Art Gallery 1867-70 (State Library Archives) p.36. Charles Douglas Richardson in his application to copy states that his father at the time of his death was a drawing master in connection with a Public School.

Hutchison, Noel Bertrem Mackennal (C.U.P. Melb. 1973.)


19. References to H. J. Johnstone will be found in Moore, W. The Story of Australian Art and McCulloch, A. Encyclopedia.

20. Balfour applied to copy in the gallery on 26 August 1967 citing Buvelot as a referee. Letters Received Art Gallery 1864-8 in State Library Archives.


23. For example, Charles Douglas Richardson's mother kept a private school at St. Kilda for some years. Fysh, E. op cit p.3. Both Thomas Wright and William Ford lived in St. Kilda during the '70's. Box 10 State Library Archives.


Moore vol I p.57 points out that a future student at the Gallery School and the son of a prominent Melbourne family, Edward & Beckett had the distinction of being number one on the roll of the Melbourne Church of England Grammar School.
26. For the South Kensington system see Bell, Q. *op cit* and MacDonald, Stuart *op cit* especially chapter 8 and Appendix C where he gives an outline of *The National Course of Instruction for Government Schools of Art in Britain* (up till 1889). *National Gallery Folder 1857-70*, p.150 (State Archives) mentions the existence of Drawing Book of the Government School of Design.

27. see Jordens, Ann-Kari "Cultural Life of Melbourne 1870-1880," N.A. thesis 1967, p.51. The 1872 Education Act standardized the requirements for school art teachers. The programme of Examination for a Certificate of Competency was a more advanced certificate which required in the drawing from the round, a drawing from a plaster model of a head, hand or foot of the human figure.

28. For example, Peppercorn wrote to the Trustees on the 2nd June, 1870. - "I take the liberty of forwarding the accompanying paper thinking it might be of some use to the Honourable Trustees in the organization of the proposed central School of Art Melbourne and I beg to say I expect to be in possession shortly of the most recent information from the Department upon the Subject." *Folder inscribed National Gallery - 20th June 1870 to February, 1872* State Library Archives.

He wrote again on the 9th August, 1878 offering to lecture on drawing - "The value of primary drawing lying as it does at the foundations of art, whether special or applied in manufactures." *Box 8 - State Library Archives.*

As of a ghost from the past, he wrote to the *Argus* May 10, 1887 p.7 concerning the students exhibition - "some considerable concern....arising from a consciousness of a great lack in a matter which is of infinitely greater importance to the colony than high art, viz., "industrial art". In the same letter he mentions the failure of the "Technological Evening Schools" and recommends the South Kensington system as the possible salvation.


31. See Bell, Quentin *op. cit.* and MacDonald, Stuart *op. cit.*


35. For the names of the schools and their location see the Exhibition catalogues, for example, *Sixth and Seventh Annual Exhibition of the Schools of Design* (1877, 1879) in *Art Pamphlets* volumes XIV and XVII, State Library of Victoria. Sutherland, Alexander, *Victoria and its Metropolis: Past and Present* Volume I - (1894), p.505 states that during the first twelve years the movement increased from six schools with 600 pupils to thirty-nine with 2,300.
36. Sixth Annual Exhibition of the Schools of Design op. cit.


38. See ahead Part II p.

39. Sec Moore, W. Story of Australian Art vol. I. p.216. As the schools were only open for a couple of hours one night per week, teachers tended to teach in more than one school at a time. Similarly, secondary and sources are unreliable as to what subject area particular teachers taught. There is a useful note in Jordens op. cit. p.53. f.n.55. Of the more important teachers: Samuel Hartley Roberts taught at the Trades Hall School (ornamentation); Richard Shepherd, the Government lithographer, taught figure drawing at the South Melbourne School and Emerald Hill School (folder National Gallery 1870-71 State Library archives); Harry W. Paterson taught at the Preston School (McCulloch, A. Encyclopaedia, p.372; Julius Hamel taught at the St. Kilda School of Industrial Art. Students also appear to have attended more than one school at a time.

40. Spate, Virginia. Tom Roberts and Australian Impressionism 1869 to 1903 M.A. Thesis (Melbourne University 1962) p.15. Information received from David Thomas.


43. Ibid. p.216

44. Spate op. cit. p.p. 5-6 sums up these conflicting accounts.

45. MacDonald, J.S. The Art of Frederick McCubbin (Melb. 1916) p.45.


47. Richardson op. cit. p.6., also c.f. McDonald, J.S. op cit. "The Artisans' School of Design now that he had exhausted whatever training it could offer him, appeared a dull, useless place, for in his heart he was aware that it was not what he sought." Years later Roberts wrote, "I was led on to painting by the School of Design in the Old Court House at Collingwood - so thanks to it," quoted in Crawford, R.M. "Tom Roberts and Alfred Deakin," in Studies In Honour of Sir Daryl Lindsay (edited by Philipp, F. and Stewart, J.) p.167.


51. Ibid p.12.


The members of the commission were at first divided as to what should constitute the collection. One group led by Argus critic James Smith and Charles Gavan Duffy wanted to spend the most part of the government grants of £1,000 made in 1863 and 64 on the acquisition of copies of famous works of art. This policy was opposed by Sir Redmond Barry, Charles Summers, Augustus Tulk and Mr. Verdon. It is interesting to speculate that already Sir Redmond's conception of the collection implies that he will be antithetical to the practice of students merely copying works of art.


60. Passed by the Trustees on the 29th of January, 1868. A copy may be located in Art Gallery 1867-70 p.123. State Library Archives. Rule No. 1 required that an application to copy "shall state residence, profession, or employment, if any, and the names, residence, profession or employment, of any two persons, resident in Victoria, to whom reference is made." My claims as to the social composition and backgrounds of the early students are largely substantiated in these applications available in the State Library archives.

61. December (?) 1869 - Art Gallery 1867-70 p.148 in State Library Archives. In June 1868 they expressed their hope that "selection may fall on either - Buvelot, Chevalier, or von Guerrand as being the best known to the students for their talent and capabilities." Ibid p.74.
62. 7 December, 1867 — "The majority of the students are teachers in Common Schools and the only day that they have at their own disposal is Saturday." Art Gallery 1867-70. State Library Archives. Up till 4th February, 1869 the regulations forbade the practice of copying after 1 p.m. Numerous other letters in the above and Letters Received — Art Gallery 1864-8.

63. Mennel, Philip. op. cit. p.463 says that she was one of the three students who first obtained permission to draw from life casts and copy pictures at the Melbourne Public Library.

64. They were given permission to enter the school on the following dates: Richardson - 20 Oct. 1869; Reilly - 21 Aug. 1867; White - 20 Dec. 1867; A Beckett - 11 Dec. 1869; Calvert (probably already an established artist — see McCulloch, A. Encyclopedia p.110) - 6 Jan. 1869; Henry Burn - 23 Mar. 1870. This fact has never been published regarding the mysterious Burn. For Burn, see Turnbull, Clive "The Latrobe Library Collection of the State Library of Victoria". Art and Australia. Vol. 7. No. 1. June 1969.

65. Report of the Sectional Committee of the National Gallery to the Trustees 1870 p.69. State Library Archives. Hereinafter referred to as Trustees Reports. Armstrong op. cit. p.24. In March 1869 they decided to advertise for a Drawing Master, but apparently no definite action was taken.
Bibliographical Notes for Section II.


2. National Gallery Public Library Letter Book. 1870-77. p.328 State Archives. c.f. Trustees Report 1872. p.20 which briefly give the curricula as "Drawing from the round, from flat examples and from the living model".


4. Public Library, Museums, National Gallery of Victoria, Rules and Regulations 1870.

5. 30th July 1874 Box 10 State Archives.


10. No date, but must be between March and June 1970. National Gallery 20th June to February 1871. State Archives.

11. I am indebted to Ms. Anne Galbally who made available her research on Clark.


15. Galbally, Anne. Australian Dictionary of Biography 1851-90. A-C p.408. These were the gold medal for landscape painting and the first silver medal for engraving. See Applications for Drawing Master 1868-70 op. cit.

16. McDonald, Stuart op. cit. p.92. Dyce was appointed Professor in 1844 and resigned the post in June, 1845.

17. Bell, Quentin op. cit. p.106.

18. McDonald op. cit.

20. Langford op. cit. p.214. Further evidence of Clark's attitude can be seen in his early connection in 1842 with the parent body of the school, Birmingham Society of Arts. In that year he put an unsuccessful motion to the Committee that artists' representation should comprise one half of the board of management.


24. For example, Croll, R.H. Tom Roberts, Father of Australian Landscape Painting, Melb. 1935. p.7.


27. National Gallery 20th June 1870 to February 1871. State Archives. These drawings were later reproduced by the Government lithographer, Shepherd, and used in various Schools of Design. They included illustrations of the full front figure, side figure, back figure, face and details, hands and arms, feet and legs.


30. Ibid. See also Museum of Art Letter Book 1867-70. In 1868 Mary Hannay Black (Foott), later a student, donated five books of the "self-instruction" type.

31. Clark to Trustees 6 March 1875. Box 10 State Archives.

32. Ibid.

33. Trustees Report 1873, p.70. "This latter gentleman has since obtained the first medal for drawing from the living model in the Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh."


35. MacDonald, J.S. op. cit. p.50, 51. "A new student could start work on the hardest cast in the Gallery (and very often did), and flounder away for weeks without anybody attempting to put him right. Occasionally some words of mild criticism would be proffered by the master, but these were rare and far between."

36. Ibid p.51.
37. Box 8 State Archives. He later became Headmaster at the Prahran School of Design.


40. In 1868 von Guerard had been offered the position without a salary attached but fees to be collected directly from the students. He refused. His friend, Augustus Tulk (the Librarian) was probably influential in his attaining the appointment. The motion appointing Von Guerard was moved by Mr. Montefiore and seconded by Gowan Duffy. Duffy had favoured the purchasing of copies in the 1865 Commission. Sources: Minute Book of the Trustees of the Public Library Vol.2., Letters from Trustees 1867-70, Letter Book Public Library 1866-9, Art Gallery 1867-70. State Archives.

41. The account of von Guerard background has been drawn from the following sources: Tipping, Marjorie op. cit.; Pevsner op. cit.; Catalogue of the National Gallery of Victoria 1895(77); Thieme, U and Becker, F. Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Kunster Leipzig 1912; Novotny, F. Painting and Sculpture in Europe 1700-1880 (1960); Thomas, Daniel, Outlines of Australian Art: The Joseph Brown Collection; information from Brian Finemore.

42. Tipping, Marjorie op. cit. p.306.


44. 16 June 1870. National Gallery 20th June 1870 to February 1871 State Archives.


46. 12 October 1880. Box 2. State Archives.

47. Calquhoun, Alexander Frederick McCubbin, A Consideration (n.d., no page no's.) See also Trustees Report 1870 and 1871 for lists of pictures copied by the students. See also Robert's remark in Croll, R.H. op. cit. p.5. Also McDonald, J.S. op. cit. p.53.

48. Trustees Reports 1871-30, especially 1874 p.35.


50. Ibid.

51. 6 March 1875. Box 10 State Archives.

52. 30 July 1875. Ibid.
53. 13 August 1874, National Gallery Public Library Letter Book 1870-77
    State Archives.

54. Campbell exhibited with von Guerard at the Victorian Academy of the Arts. von Guerard later acted as a referee for his application to the post of Drawing Master. Thomas Clark had quarrelled with the Academy in 1870.

55. 15 February, 1875. Box 10. State Archives.

56. 13 February, 1875. Ibid.

57. Box No. 7, National Gallery Public Library Letter Book 1870-77.
Bibliographical Notes for Section III.

1. William Sutherland was a research physicist, Alexander an educationist, historian and literary critic.

2. She was the daughter of the Hon. William M.K. Vale who was a Trustee of the Public Library, Museum etc., and a member of the Sectional Committee of the National Gallery from 1882.

3. The Becketts were a prominent Melbourne family. Emma was a granddaughter of Sir William Beckett, first Chief Justice of Victoria. The Hon. Thomas Turner a Beckett was on the Sectional Committee of the National Gallery from 1870.

4. Her father was a talented organist.


6. Apart from her work as a sculptor, she became a prominent teacher. See Vidler, Edward A. Margaret Baskerville, Sculptor (Melb. 1929).


10. Trustees Reports.


13. Croll, R. H. op. cit. p.121


15. Richardson, Charles D. op. cit. p.6. This was perhaps the beginning of McCubbin's interest in historical themes which were later to be transposed to an Australian setting. In 1878 McCubbin painted Death of Socrates and in 1880 he exhibited A Sketch from Antony and Cleopatra. See Thomas, David "Frederick McCubbin" in Art and Australia June 1969.
16. Roberts said later, "I became acquainted with McCubbin and we gathered together a knot of men who used to work together". Sydney Morning Herald 3 August, 1920. p.6., quoted by Spate op. cit. p.12.

17. MacDonald, J.S. op. cit. p.54., Table Talk 31 Aug., 1888 Roberts mentions attending anatomy lectures at Melbourne University. Quoted by Spate op. cit. p.135.

18. MacDonald, J.S. op. cit. p.52; Ashton, Julian Now Came Still Evening On (Sydney 1941) p.94.


22. Gallow said later "I never was taught anything in the Academies, very seldom was I spoken to at all - if I could take advantage of that was in the Academy at my disposal - good - if not, why that was my affair. The students of the Royal Academy are left entirely to themselves and expected to be self-dependant". 14th October, 1880. Box 2 State Archives.


25. See footnotes 20 and 23.

26. See footnotes 20 and 23. Campbell was the first President of the Victorian Academy of Arts when it was founded in 1870. See also Thomas, David op. cit. p.66.


28. Trustees Report 1877. p.74


30. 16 November, 1876. Box No. 7 State Archives
31. 2nd August, 1876  Ibid Roberts, McCubbin, W.H. Horn, Donald Wilson, E.W. Minchen and 7 others write to the Trustees asking for assistance in paying the models.

32. Vidler op. cit. p.21, 18th Nov. 1878. Students apply to Trustees for use of an alternative room for their life-class. Box 8 State Archives.

33. Moore Studio Sketches p.71, Box 9 State Archives.

34. Colquhoun, Alexander. Frederick McCubbin op. cit.

35. 7 June 1879  Box 9 State Archives.

36. 24 June 1879, 31 June 1879. Ibid.

37. 20 June 1879. Ibid.

38. 18 May 1877 Letter from W.H.M. Watkins, Tom Roberts and Fred McCubbin to von Guerard Box 8 State Archives.

39. 3 December, 1877. Ibid.

40. Trustees Report 1877. p.74

41. 12 October 1880. Box 9 State Archives.

42. Trustees Report 1879. p.89.


44. Trustees Report 1879 p.53.

45. 7 October, 1880 Box 9.

46. Arrus 7 October, 1880.

47. 19 October, 1880. Box 9.

48. 29 October, 1880. Ibid.


50. 3 November, 1880. Ibid.
51. 19 November, 1880. *Ibid.* Secretary of Trustees to the Editor of the Age, forwarding minute of the meeting.


53. 26 October, 1880. *Box 9.*


55. 8 July 1879 *Ibid.*

56. 3 November, 1880 *Box 9.*

57. 12 and 14 October, 1880 *Box 9.*

58. 21 October, 1880.

59. See also footnote 51, and *Argus* 19 November 1880.

60. For Earle, See *Moore, William* *The Story of Australian Art* Vol. I. p.158.

61. *Argus* 18 November 1880.
1. I am indebted to Ms. Ruth Zubans who made available her research on Folingsby and the Gallery School.

2. 12 November, 1877. Box 9 State Archives. See also letter to Sir Redmond Barry, 3 November, 1878.

3. 22 January 1878 Museum of Art Letter Book National Gallery 1877 to 1886 State Archives.

4. 21 January 1878 Ibid.

5. Armstrong, op. cit., p.125. One of Folingsby's first commissions was to paint a portrait of Sir Redmond Barry.

6. 28 February, 1882 National Gallery 1877 to 1886 op. cit., William Ford was the only notable applicant.

7. 5 April 1882. Ibid.


9. The National Gallery of Victoria possesses landscape studies from various regions Folingsby visited, as well as a profile portrait of a middle-eastern youth.

10. Boime, Albert. The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century Phaidon 1971 p.32. Boime points out that the young Impressionists studied with Gleyre because they felt a knowledge of the figure would help them draw landscapes.


12. Boime, Albert op. cit. p.37

13. Ibid p.34

14. The account of Folingsby's background is largely derived from the following sources: Zubans, Ruth entry under Folingsby in the Dictionary of Biography p. 193-4; Thieme and Becker op. cit., p.151; Nowotny, F. op. cit.; Table Talk 9 Jan., 1891. p.1; Nina, Portrait in Youth Sydney, 1946.
15. The Age 20 Aug. 1932 p.4.

16. Pevsner op. cit. p.222. There were whole schools of genre painters in Munich at this time.


22. Ibid. p.34

23. Arrug 6 Nov. 1883. p.9. Review of the first student exhibition. "The studies in life have been made from armour and drapery, musical instruments, vases and jars, fruit and vegetables, and still life generally".

24. Arrug 14 Nov. 1889. p.11. "As we have remarked on a former occasion, our female artists seem to be developing a special talent for flower painting".

25. Vidler op. cit.

26. Trustees Report 1882. p.34

27. Trustees Report 1883 p.31

28. Croll, R.H. op. cit. p.13


30. 17 December 1886, 12 Feb. 1887. Secretary to Trustees 1886-7 State Archives.

31. Folingsby advocated the building of new s
   Report of the Trustees of the Public
   State Archives.
   Also see Trustees Report 1887 p.33
   State Archives.
   Colquhoun, A. Frederick McCubbin op
   studies were "temporary canvas eras!"
32. Argue 6 Nov. 1883 p.9

33. Colquhoun. Frederick McCubbin op. cit.

34. Age 22 December 1884. p.6.

35. Catalogues of Student Exhibitions in Art Pamphlets State Library.


37. For example Contes, D.H. The Life and Art of George Contes p.3; Murdoch, Nina op. cit. p.37 the picture was lithographed and published as a supplement by the Australasian.

38. Table Talk 29 April, 1887. p.8.

39. Table Talk 15 November 1889 p.6.

40. Colquhoun, Alexander V.A.S. op. cit. p.5

41. See Hoff, Ursula "The Phases of McCubbin's Art" in Meanjin, September 1956.


43. Bummy said later that he had "nothing to unlearn" from Felingsby. Quoted by McCulloch, A. The Golden Age of Australian Painting op. cit. p.16.

44. Felingsby evidently said of Mackennal, "Mark my words, Mackennal, will make a European reputation". Argue 13 July, 1891. Graeme Sturgeon referred me to this source.

45. On the question of Felingsby's attitude to plein-airisme - see: Spate op. cit; Armstrong op. cit. p.26; Croll op. cit. p.13; Mackennal, J.G. op. cit. p.56; Colquhoun, A. V.A.S. 1908 op. cit. p.5-6. (This, of course, is not to undervalue the enormous influence of Tom Roberts.)

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