

THE GLASGOW SCHOOL OF ART

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FRANCIS HENRY NEWBERY
AND THE GLASGOW SCHOOL OF ART

Thesis presented to
the Department of Architecture of the University of Glasgow
for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis takes the form of a biographical study of the art teacher and painter Francis Henry Newbery. Its focus is Newbery's thirty-three year association with the Glasgow School of Art. The first two chapters examine Newbery's early life and his educational background in Dorset and London where he attended the National Art Training School at South Kensington. John Beard, Newbery's headmaster at the Bridport General School in Dorset, the educational theory of Friedrich Froebel and the modern approach to art teaching of Edward Poynter the Principal of the National Art Training School are all identified as formative influences in the development of Newbery's own approach to pedagogy at Glasgow. The first two chapters are also concerned with Newbery's training as a student and an art master under the Department of Science and Art and examine how the Department's system operated in Bridport School of Art, a small school in a rural county. This acts as an introduction to Chapter 3 in which the development of the very different Glasgow School of Art in the years preceding Newbery's arrival is examined. Chapters 4 and 5 are both concerned with Newbery's adaptation of a pupil-centred approach to the requirements of the Department of Science and Art's regime. Chapter 6 discusses Newbery's association with the Arts and Crafts movement and views his introduction of craft studios at Glasgow School of Art against a national and local educational background. Chapter 7 looks at the development of the Glasgow Style in the Glasgow School of Art and identifies Newbery's role as an encourager and promoter of the style. It sees the Style as growing out of the design ideology and teaching which was available in the School. The Arts and Crafts movement, however, with the new exhibition opportunities which it made available is seen more as a context in which the new form language could thrive rather than a source for the style itself. Chapter 8 reviews Newbery's part in the building of a new School of Art to the design of Charles Rennie Mackintosh and demonstrates the headmaster's crucial role in the planning of the building and his overriding concern for functional accommodation. Chapter 9 examines Newbery's development of his own educational regime after the School had severed its links with South Kensington in 1901. It shows how he was able to build on his School's reputation through its association with the

Glasgow Style to attract highly capable practical artists and craftspeople to teach on its staff. It also examines how Newbery and his governors sought to develop a teaching practice based on the best British and continental models with varying degrees of success. Chapter 10 discusses the measures that Newbery took to increase and develop the artistic culture of Glasgow and Scotland through the medium of the School and its influence. Chapter 11 looks at Newbery's work as an artist and examines his *oeuvre* in the context of his educational ideas and late nineteenth century movements. The years of Newbery's retirement in which he was extremely active are also examined in this context.

CONTENTS

	page
Abstract	2
Contents volume 1	4
Contents volume 2	6
Figures	7
Dedication	8
Acknowledgements	9
Abbreviations	10
Chapter 1: Bridport	11
The Bridport General Schools	12
The Bridport School of Art	17
Notes	28
Chapter 2: London 1875-1885	32
London Middle Class Schools 1875-1881	32
The National Art Training School 1877-1885	34
Notes	44
Chapter 3: Glasgow School of Art 1870-1885	49
The School and its Students	49
The Years of Relative Decline: Robert Greenlees and the late 1870s	52
The Regime of Thomas Simmonds 1881-1885	56
Notes	63
Chapter 4: Newbery as a Head Master under the Department of Science and Art, Part 1	69
Newbery's Character and his Relationship with his Committee	69
Newbery's Educational Philosophy	70
Newbery's Approach to Teaching	74
Newbery and Staffing: the Artist Teacher	77
Notes	83
Chapter 5: Newbery as a Head Master under the Department of Science and Art, Part 2	88
Students and the Curriculum	88
Newbery's Relations with the Department	90
The School's Relations with other Institutions in Glasgow	96
Finance	103
Notes	106

Chapter 6: The Arts and Crafts Movement and Glasgow School of Art	112
The National Context	112
Newbery and the Arts and Crafts in Scotland 1885-1893	115
Newbery and English Arts and Crafts Ideology	118
The Technical Studios	125
Women in the Arts and Crafts Classes	130
Technical Art Teaching in other Institutions in Glasgow	136
Notes	139
 Chapter 7: Newbery and the Glasgow Style	147
The Glasgow School of Art Club	148
Design at Glasgow School of Art before the Glasgow Style	150
The Development of the Glasgow Style	152
Newbery's Promotion of the Four's work	156
The Glasgow Style, Continental Art Nouveau and the English Critics	161
Notes	163
 Chapter 8: The Building of a New School	169
Background Negotiations and Money Raising	169
Newbery's Plan	171
The Competition	173
The 1897 Plans Compared with Existing Major British Schools of Art	174
Newbery's Arrangement of the Accommodation 1899-1906	180
The Completed Building	183
Notes	190
 Chapter 9: The University for Art Part 1, Glasgow School of Art 1901-1918	194
Drawing and Painting	197
Modelling and Sculpture	202
Architecture	204
Design and Decorative Art	208
Notes	217
 Chapter 10: The University for Art Part 2: The School and the Wider Community	227
Courses for Teachers	227
The Central Institution and the University	233
Relations with other Scottish Central Art Institutions	235
Artistic and Cultural Education in the Wider Community	236
Newbery's Retirement from Glasgow School of Art	238
Notes	240
 Chapter 11: Newbery as an Artist	246
Newbery's Influences 1875-1890	246
Newbery's Paintings 1890-1914	250
The Glasgow Masques 1903-1909	262

Newbery's Later Work 1915-1938	266
Notes	287
Chapter 12: Newbery: An Assessment	296
Notes	320

CONTENTS VOLUME II

Contents

Bibliography	322
---------------------	-----

Appendices

341

1. The National Course of Instruction	342
---------------------------------------	-----

2. Arts and Crafts Classes at Glasgow School of Art 1893-1915	345
---	-----

Tables	348
--------	-----

List of Plates	351
----------------	-----

Plates	355
--------	-----

List of Figures

1. Glasgow School of Art, floor plans, 1897 (adapted from Glasgow School of Art, <u>Prospectus</u> (1907-8) to comply with 1897 plans in Glasgow City Archives)	184
2. Birmingham Municipal School of Art and Crafts, floor plans, 1884-90 - not to scale (supplied by Professor John Swift, University of Central England).	186
3. Manchester School of Art, floor plans, designed 1878, opened 1881 (Stuart Macdonald, <u>The History and Philosophy of Art Education</u> (London: University of London Press, 1970), p.184)	187
4. Glasgow school of Art, floor plans, 1900, showing Newbery's use of the rooms, 1899-1907 (adapted from Glasgow School of Art, <u>Prospectus</u> (1907-8)).	189
5. Glasgow school of Art, floor plans, 1909, (adapted from Glasgow School of Art, <u>Calendar</u> (1909-10)).	193
6.a. Edinburgh College of Art, floor plans of first phase of building including projected second phase (Edinburgh College of Art Archive Collection, Edinburgh College of Art, <u>Prospectus</u> (1908-9)).	196
6b. Edinburgh College of Art, floor plans of the completed building (Edinburgh College of Art Archive Collection, Edinburgh College of Art, <u>Prospectus</u> (1914-15)).	197
7. Glasgow School of Art, projected plan of second floor, April 1907 (Glasgow School of Art Collection).	198

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Abbreviations

CI	Central Institution
DCL	Derby Central Library
DCRO	Dorset County Record Office
DSA	Department of Science and Art
ECL	Edinburgh Central Library
GCA	Glasgow City Archives
GL	Guildhall Library, London
GM	Glasgow Museums
GSA	Glasgow School of Art
GSAA	Glasgow School of Art Archives
GSArch	Glasgow School of Architecture
ML	Mitchell Library, Glasgow
NLS	National Library of Scotland
RIBA	Royal Institute of British Architects
SED	Scotch Education Department
SRO	Scottish Record Office
SUA	Strathclyde University Archives

CHAPTER 1

BRIDPORT

Francis Henry Newbery was born on 15 May 1855 in the village of Membury in the Blackdown Hills which form the eastern bastion of Devon, with Somerset to the north and Dorset to the east. Membury lies in the valley of the River Yarty, a tributary of the Axe, where not far away in the village of Stockland, the child's father William Newbery, a shoemaker by trade, had been born in about 1824. His wife's maiden name had been Mary Elliot. She was about a year older than her husband and came from the Dorset town of Bridport, some fifteen miles away.¹

It may be that William was having some difficulty establishing himself in his trade as there are indications that the family had previously been living in the local market town of Axminster, where their first two children had been born. Indeed, they were only to remain in Membury until 1858 - a stay of about five years - before making their final move to Mary's home-town of Bridport, possibly because opportunities were better there and probably to allow Mary to be nearer her family.² There William was able to ply his trade and Mary, with another two mouths to feed, attempted to supplement the family income by working as a dressmaker.³

The 1861 and 1871 censuses reveal that there were six children in the family. The oldest, Thomas George, was about five-and-a-half years older than Francis, and the second, Sophia Ellen, also known as Mary Ellen, was about two years older. Another boy, William Alex had been born in about 1857. He was followed by Sidney Elliot and Eda Agnes who both saw the light of day in about 1860, but did not live long enough to be entered in the 1871 census.

Bridport was a bustling market town and sea port, whose population (including contiguous villages) was recorded in 1861 as 7,672. It was a town of some antiquity, having been a borough since the reign of Henry III returning two members to Parliament, as well as being a seat of the County Court. The port which could take vessels of two hundred and fifty tons, lay on the coast, about a mile south of the town, and was largely occupied in the importation of timber from Canada and Norway, and of coal from Wales and the North of England, which, with other articles of general

consumption were distributed among the adjacent towns.⁴ This trade was facilitated by the rail link with Dorchester and the rest of the country, opened in 1857, and by the town's situation on the "great western road", between London and Bath. Bridport's size, and historical importance, however, owed almost everything to its situation at the centre of a hemp and flax growing region. It had a long tradition of supplying ropes, cables, cordage and sailcloth to the Royal Navy. In 1794, this industry was employing about 1,800 in the town and 7000 in the surrounding area.⁵ Its rope and netting industries had also enabled it to forge its trading links with Canada, where it supplied the Newfoundland fishing industry, and Norway, from whence, by the 1850s, it was importing most of its flax and hemp. Some of the timber imported from these countries was also used by the local boat-building industry.

Bridport's plan is T-shaped with the tail of the letter, running almost due south towards the coast along South Street, which had formed the principal street of the medieval town. The cross of the T, running east-west along the great western road, became the main thoroughfare in the coaching period, when large inns sprang up along its route. This street, with the fine town hall, built in 1785-6 at its centre, is divided at that point, in name, if not in any geographical sense, into East Street and West Street. Between these three broad, well-paved and gas-lit promenades ran a series of narrower lanes, and it was on one of these, Folly Mill Lane, which runs west from South Street, that the Newbery family were living in 1861. In 1871 they had moved to 5, Prospect Terrace on King of Prussia Lane, also known as King Street, which runs South from East Street to join Folly Mill Lane. Both residences were in extremely close proximity to the two public buildings which were to play a decisive role in shaping the young Frank Newbery's future career. These were the Bridport General School, which lay at the junction of King Street and Folly Mill Lane, and the Literary and Scientific Institute, which housed the School of Art, just across East Street from the top of King Street.

The Bridport General Schools

Newbery's residence in Bridport, with its General School, would have provided far greater opportunities to the son of a shoemaker, than he would have met with if the family had remained in Membury. The Blackdowns were, and still are, a predominantly agricultural community and experienced the indifference, even downright hostility, to educational provision which tended to exist in such areas. It was said of the neighbouring Dorset parish of Chardstock that its "farmers are like farmers elsewhere. Having little education themselves they are very jealous of any instruction that is offered to the labouring classes whom they fear will tread on their heels."⁶ The Blackdowns themselves were also remarked on for their educational backwardness. As late as 1863 it could still be said "the majority of people could neither read nor write...in some districts there existed as gross ignorance and superstition as are to be found in many so-called heathen lands".⁷ From the evidence of Newbery's birth certificate, William Newbery, himself, had not had, or taken, the opportunity to learn his letters, being only able to sign the document with a cross.

By contrast, Bridport, because of its long-standing association with religious nonconformity, was particularly well fitted to give the young Newbery a good elementary education. Basil Short's account of local government and religious dissent

in Bridport from the 16th century to 1835, ⁸ shows that the Town's ruling oligarchy, until the implementation of the Municipal Corporation Act of 1835, had been dominated by a few families who belonged to dissenting congregations. This was despite the fact that the Test and Corporation Acts, not repealed until 1828, were supposed to ensure that only communicants of the Church of England were eligible for seats in local government. Some of these families like the Colfoxes, and the Gundrys were prominent in the community in Newbery's time and were represented on the committees of various educational institutions in the town. They tended to belong to the Congregationalist and Unitarian persuasions. Added to these there was an influential Quaker element. All three communities, on a national level, were noted for their advocacy of non-sectarian education and individual freedom of conscience. The Unitarians, in particular, had an important impact on early nineteenth century thought through the agency of Jeremy Bentham and some of his followers. Bentham himself had been instrumental in founding University College London, as a higher educational institution unconnected with the established church. His Utilitarianism was an essential ingredient in the ideology of the Philosophical Radicals who advocated such measures as state-aided education, free libraries, and the spread of "useful knowledge" to the poor. One of their number, Henry Brougham, the chief protagonist of "useful knowledge", was also a leading founder of the Mechanic's Institute movement, with its emphasis on self-improvement for the artisan.⁹ That Bridport, with its links to religious dissent, was likely to have been more interested in the education of its working classes than many other communities, is seen in its opening of its "general public school of the children of the labouring classes of all religious denominations" which was in part paid for by the educational bequest of Daniel Taylor, a local Quaker, with additional subscriptions from local families.¹⁰

The General School had three departments on one site. The Girls' and Infants' Schools were housed in a two storey edifice connected to the schoolmaster's house, while the Boys' School occupied a separate one-storey building. Newbery first entered the Infants' School when he was about five and was admitted to the Boys' School in October 1861.¹¹

Although school attendance was not compulsory until 1870, and the fees of 2d per week ¹² must have been difficult for some parents, the Boys' School was well patronised with an average daily attendance of 240 out of a roll of 290 pupils in 1873.¹³ This was probably a mark of the high standard of education provided, which the government inspector, in 1871, had noted was "quite beyond anything (in his experience) through the Southern counties". ¹⁴ In 1873 he could write that the School was "in every class, far above the average",¹⁵ with all of the 191 pupils who took the government examinations, obtaining passes.

The curriculum offered by the school, which it taught in a single schoolroom, divided into classes by curtains, ranged from the basic 3Rs to include rudimentary algebra and geometry, English grammar, geography, and English history.¹⁶ There were also drawing lessons given by the master of the local school of art.¹⁷ These subjects, with the exception of the last, were laid down as compulsory under the Government's Education Code. This was observed in the School, because, besides being funded from local sources, it was also in receipt of state aid. In the Revised Education Code of 1862, the Committee of Council on Education had sought to create added incentives amongst

school teachers, to increase attendances and maintain standards through the application of what was, in effect, a free trade market philosophy. Under the Code, government grants were based on numbers of regular attendances and the proficiency of pupils in the 3Rs, as assessed by the government inspector in an annual examination. Thus the greater number of pupils reaching the government standard in a school, the larger would be the teacher's grant. This system known as "payment on results" was a major instrument of government educational policy throughout the remainder of the century and will be considered later in its relation to art education. However, it had the effect, as far as elementary education was concerned, of forcing teachers to keep to the government curriculum, and curtailing experimentation; and school inspectors were almost unanimous, along with most informed opinion, in claiming that standards in almost everything except mechanical learning had been depressed by it.¹⁸

Despite the strictures placed on its curriculum the School was fortunate in being run by an extremely gifted and industrious headmaster, who did not allow himself to be restricted by an unimaginative application of the Code. Newbery would owe a great deal to his example as an educationist, be inspired by his character and probably owed to his influence his initial choice of a career.

John Beard had been the Headmaster of the Bridport Boys' General School since 1854, and during his forty years service was to have an acknowledged influence on several generations of pupils.¹⁹ In 1923, Newbery gave Bridport a painting, as a gesture of gratitude to the town where he had grown up. The work entitled *A Romance of Bridport* was the painter's attempt to sum up the essence of the town and its history in symbolic terms. It also contained personal elements. Alongside representations of the town's trades and its most famous sons, Newbery included portraits of his own father and John Beard (plate 77b).²⁰ Newbery was also one of many ex-pupils who subscribed towards an illuminated address on Beard's retirement, in 1894,²¹ and a memorial plaque on his death, in 1910.

To accompany the unveiling of the memorial in the General School the subscribers also published a short appreciative biography.²² The description of Beard's qualities, therein outlined, could almost equally have been enumerating Newbery's virtues as head of Glasgow School of Art. Firstly there was a strict regard for duty: "during the whole of forty years he was absent from his post in school but three or four days, when illness compelled him to remain in his room"; "he gave his life for his profession"; "Mr. Beard would let nothing stand in the way of duty being performed" and this applied to his expectations of his scholars as well as himself. Needless to say, he also had a vast capacity for hard work: "the amount of work he got through was prodigious".

In addition to his daytime duties as a schoolmaster, Beard was always ready to take on extra work after school hours. One example was his establishment of a Science School in 1869 affiliated to the government Department of Science and Art. In order to do this he had to study for and obtain certificates in the subjects he intended to teach, by taking examinations at the Department's headquarters at South Kensington. Once "certificated" he would then be able to obtain payments on the passes his pupils obtained in the subjects for which he held qualifications, in much the same way as he already obtained payments on results for his teaching in the General School. Thus, between May 1870 and May 1873 he obtained certificates in Pure Mathematics,

Physical Geography, Animal Physiology, Accoustics, Light and Heat, and Magnetism and Electricity. The Science School was held on the General School's premises in the evenings and was the first of its kind in Dorset.²³

Beard was also remembered as a good and fair disciplinarian and an excellent, imaginative teacher, who would use his holidays abroad to collect material, and developed the habit of summarising his lessons on the blackboard, to help his pupils. "His great success as a teacher was to be found in the practical and attractive way in which he imparted information and developed the best in the scholars by leaving them to reason and think for themselves." Lastly, there was his concern for the development of each of his pupils as individuals. He took pains to bring on the least able of them and was always ready to coach any pupil to fit him for a future career or even help him to gain a position. This concern for individuals and the development of their full potential, could be seen as the germ of Newbery's later efforts at Glasgow to develop his students' individual abilities, as opposed to simply putting them through an educational regime.

Beard's influence must have been strong as it inspired both Newbery and his brother William to embark on careers as teachers. By March 1869, both had become monitors in the School, and in November Newbery had been enrolled as a pupil-teacher.²⁴ William, strangely, does not appear as a pupil-teacher in the School records, but he is recorded as such in the 1871 census. This probably indicates that he had transferred to another school. The Bridport National School may be a possibility, as this was an Anglican school and Newbery, despite having been previously enrolled at an Independent Sunday School, attended the Parish church rather than one of the town's nonconformist chapels.²⁵ The fact that they had become monitors indicates that they were among the better pupils as the position required them not only to supervise the other boys but also to teach them. Beard had the onerous task of teaching most of the boys from a four or five mile radius around Bridport, with no adult help. This meant that he had to resort to the, then common, practice of training some of the older, cleverer, scholars to pass on lessons to the others. This *modus operandi* had been devised by Dr Bell of Swanage, in the Madras Orphan Asylum, and was employed in most elementary schools as a cheap means of spreading education among the poor. The obvious extension of the method known as the "Madras" (or "Lancastrian") System was its use in the training of children to become ultimately professional teachers. A child who had proved his worth as a monitor, could enrol as a pupil-teacher. In this capacity he would receive instruction from the master for five hours per week outside school hours, be responsible for the examination performance of the pupils under him, and be examined himself by the government inspector on what he had learnt, when the latter made his annual visits.²⁶

Despite Newbery's father's probable illiteracy, his mother's family could point to something of a tradition in education. One of his maternal grandmothers had been a teacher in the earliest Sunday School to have been set up in Bridport, at a time when these institutions were one of the very few means of acquiring literacy available to the poor.²⁷ There must also have been a good measure of parental support for both the boys being allowed to enrol as pupil-teachers. Children embarking on this course, were in effect taking out indentures as apprentices to the school master for five years and it was required of the school managers that they certify that the candidates and their families were of good moral character such as to justify "an expectation that the instruction and

training of the school will be seconded by their own efforts and by the example of their parents".²⁸

The School's five or six pupil-teachers,²⁹ who each received a payment of £15 per annum, were required by the Code to satisfy the school managers as to their religious knowledge and to attend church regularly. Newbery attended Bridport's Saint Mary's Parish Church and was a member of its choir.³⁰ His time as a scholar and pupil-teacher, under Beard's able tutelage, thus very likely, helped him to develop his abilities as a practical and imaginative teacher, his taste for English literature and for writing, which he was to foster throughout his life, as well as a love of music and singing. The need to control pupils not much younger than himself, also enabled him to begin to build the persona of authority which in the later years of his career had acquired an almost imperial caste. Newbery's abilities probably had some impact on the glowing inspector's report and excellent results already noted from the 1872-3 session. In that year Newbery gained the highest marks for his class in arithmetic and reading, and on 31 March 1874 became a fully qualified teacher.³¹ Beard's confidence in him is itself displayed in another entry in the School records, where one of its managers reported that "Mr Beard having been unavoidably called away for a few days on private business, the School was left in the charge of Mr F. Newbery, a late pupil-teacher, and the present pupil teachers. The conduct of the boys was exceedingly good."³² The fact that Newbery's name is given first and that as a "late pupil teacher" he was no longer in the School's employ, suggests that he was called in as the best person to supervise the classes in the absence of its headmaster.

The reason for Newbery's leaving the School and for his abandonment of a career in general education, which occasioned it, was that he had now embarked on his life's vocation as an art master. For want of any evidence to the contrary, it would seem that his decision to change over to pursue his new career was taken as a result of attending the Bridport School of Art with the primary and initial aim of increasing his repertoire of skills as a teacher in general education. Although one cannot assume that Newbery had not always had leanings towards art, there is no evidence of any long cherished desire to follow an artistic career before this. That his name does not appear, at all, in the lists of children in the General School who obtained passes in the annual drawing examinations run by the local school of art is curious.³³ It could surely not suggest that he had no talent for drawing? Possibly he had taken no interest in what were essentially extremely rudimentary and uninteresting tests of drawing skill and had not even been entered for the examinations.

It is most likely that he first entered the art school as an evening class student in the session of 1871-2, as he passed his first examinations there in the spring of 1872.³⁴ There is nothing, however, at this point, to suggest that he was intending to use the skills thus acquired for anything other than further to equip himself to teach in general education. He was also attending Beard's science classes at this time, passing the examination in physical geography in 1871,³⁵ and that in acoustics, light and heat, in 1873,³⁶ neither of which were subjects likely to benefit a prospective artist, or art teacher. Nor does the fact that he had taken art subjects in 1872, really indicate that he had made up his mind at this stage, as pupil-teachers and trainee teachers in the training colleges were strongly encouraged to take art subjects in order to acquire the government's "second grade certificate", which was specially designed to enable people

in their profession to give instruction in drawing to elementary school pupils. The papers passed in 1872, in freehand and perspective, were two of four required for the certificate.³⁷ Of the other two, model drawing (drawing from geometrical solids), was passed in 1873.³⁸ It is not clear when Newbery passed the last paper, geometry, but it may have been in the same year, as he obtained the full Second Grade Certificate that summer. It only remained for him to demonstrate his skills in drawing from memory on the blackboard before a government inspector, probably during a special visit to a teachers' training college, in November, for him to convert this into a full Second Grade Certificate for teachers of drawing in elementary education.³⁹

It was probably in 1873 that Newbery finally decided on his new career, as it was from that time onwards that the subjects he was taking in the art school indicate a definite change in gear if not in direction. In addition, the last entry of his name in the General School's account books is for the half year ending May 1874, but he had already decided to approach Beard for his advice on the matter some time before this. The evidence for this was provided by Newbery in 1923 when he recalled speaking to Beard about his intention of "becoming an artist" if the latter would not stand in his way. The positive answer that Beard gave was extremely important to him as it was crucial that he be allowed to retain his post as pupil-teacher while he continued his studies at the art school. Beard's only stipulation was that Newbery must ensure that "none of his pupils would suffer in their instruction or fail in the yearly examination".⁴⁰

The Bridport School of Art

Newbery would remain at the School of Art until 1875, qualifying himself to earn a living as an art master in the government's art educational system. It was under this system that he would work for almost thirty years and it was through an imaginative accommodation with its requirements that he would, arguably, gain his greatest successes in Glasgow in the 1890s. The Bridport school was his first experience of working under this regime and although there is little in the surviving records of the institution (which exist in the reports of its annual meetings in the *Bridport News* and in the statistical information in the Department of Science and Art's annual reports) to indicate how it might have shaped his future career, the discussion which follows of the institution's relations with the Department of Science and Art will serve as an introduction to the programme and objectives of the government's art educational policy and its impact on local schools, which will be further developed in relation to Newbery's work at Glasgow.

Bridport might seem an unlikely location for a school of art, as a town with a small population in a rural county. Yet since its establishment in 1853,⁴¹ the government's Department of Science and Art, had actively pursued a policy of setting up such institutions in all population centres throughout the United Kingdom. Henry Cole, the Department's General Superintendent, in fact maintained that he desired that all towns of 5,000 inhabitants and above should have schools.⁴² The purpose of the Department, in its encouragement of schools of art, was "to improve the taste and art-knowledge of

all classes of the community, having special reference to the influence of that taste and knowledge upon the manufactures of [the] country".⁴³

In helping to establish schools the Department sought to retain control over what was taught, while insisting on local self-sufficiency in financial matters and in management. In order to enforce its teaching regime, the Department expected all schools to employ masters who held at least one of its "third grade" or "art master's certificates". These were proof that they had been trained by the Department and were competent to teach its prescribed "National Course of Instruction". It also insisted that each school should hold evening classes at least three times a week for a duration of two hours each. These were mainly for the benefit of the working classes, generally referred to as "artisans", whom the government stipulated should be required to pay minimal fees. In return for this a school was guaranteed government aid in the form of grants. These were calculated on the results of the artisans in an annual examination sat locally each spring, and an annual "National Competition" based on works produced in accordance with the National Course of Instruction by each school during the course of a year. The works were sent to the Department's headquarters at South Kensington in spring and the best were then selected for exhibition and awarded medals and book prizes by a panel of leading artists, architects and designers. The medals, awarded to the most successful students, were gold, silver and bronze, in order of merit, while the book prizes were either "Queen's prizes", or more commonly "third grade prizes". The grants and awards thus earned in competition with all the other schools were seen as an incentive to ever greater efforts on the part of the schools and a financial spur to the masters. Day classes had also to be held for the better-off members of the community, who would help to finance the venture by paying a higher rate, set at any level the local school might decide. Although only artisan students could earn grants for a school, the competition for medals, book prizes and certificates was open to all classes. Thus all students were motivated to follow the course.⁴⁴

As there were few scholarships or bursaries to aid students in following their studies, and as schools were seldom full, there were no entrance examinations, or obligatory periods of attendance. Fees in Bridport's case were payable on a termly or annual basis and many students only stayed for the period for which they had paid. Most began with basic tuition in drawing provided at the beginning of the course. Students who were more accomplished on entry, however, might, with the agreement of the master, begin at more advanced stages.⁴⁵ There was no leaving certificate or diploma, but certificates were awarded to students who passed the Department's examinations, which in the early 1870s were either in the elementary second grade subjects which Newbery had taken, or were for more advanced third grade subjects. These latter examinations were generally only taken by students intending to become art masters, and led to the third grade, or art master's certificates, examinations for which could only be taken at South Kensington. The main business and motivation of the schools, then, discounting the second grade examinations which were sat by large numbers, was concerned with the production of works which might be considered good enough to be sent to South Kensington, to earn either grants or awards in the National Competition.

The School of Art was housed on the upper floor of Bridport's Literary and Scientific Institute, a mutual improvement society, which had existed since 1854.⁴⁶ The art school itself, had been opened in 1865 as the first institution of its kind in Dorset.⁴⁷ and by

1870 was one of a hundred and seventeen schools affiliated to the Department of Science and Art.⁴⁸ At this time it was one of the smallest in the country with a roll of 85 students.⁴⁹ Like the General School, it owed its origins to the community's interest in, and support for, education. In common with so many schools of art in the nineteenth century, it had early links with other educational institutions and self-improvement societies for adults.⁵⁰ Its opening had been a direct consequence of an invitation to a representative of the Department of Science and Art, to speak to the Bridport Working Men's Institute on "the advantages to be obtained from the cultivation of a knowledge of science and art". That this was not just a meeting of working men with a desire for self-improvement through education, but was also prompted by an interest in the wider community, is attested to by the meeting being held in the premises of the Literary and Scientific Institute, an organisation with a cross-class membership, and being chaired by the mayor.⁵¹ The general committee of thirty-four members which was subsequently formed to consider the establishment of a school of art was composed of members of most of the leading families of the area, who were active on the town council and in various educational organisations.⁵²

The committee was ready to support the School by finding suitable premises rent-free and guaranteeing its finances in its first two years. This included underwriting the master's salary, which was expected to be covered by student fees, and paying for furnishings. The committee's reasons for opening a school, were broadly in agreement with the Department's policy of providing an education to all classes of the community. On the one hand, it intended to provide for the tuition of local members of the working classes in engineering drawing for the town's industries, and on the other for the education of potential students from the middle classes, several of whom were members' wives and daughters. At the opening meeting in March 1865, William Colfox pointed out the advantages of an art school training to artisans in mechanical drawing, both as a means of self-improvement and as a benefit to employers. The committee's decision to apply to the Department for a master "who had not only passed an examination in mechanical, but also in free-hand drawing" and that "it was most desirable that a school of art should be established in the town not only for the instruction of one particular grade but for the benefit of all" shows that its interest went beyond the mere training of artisans. That the school was meant to cater partly for the middle class interest in art as a social accomplishment, which was largely taught to women by private drawing masters in their homes or in expensive schools, was indicated by J.M.P. Montagu, the School's first chairman. In praising the quality of drawing tuition provided in government schools of art he compared them with "the better class of schools" where "teaching of drawing was lamentably defective", because "pupils after learning for some years, when they left school could just sketch and that was all".⁵³

Although this programme of supplying art education in mechanical drawing and accomplishment art was to a certain extent consistent with the Department's policy of providing art education for all classes it had only an indirect bearing on its primary purpose of improving the art manufactures of the country. This was because the committee had no interest in the training of designers, which was hardly surprising as the town had no artistic industries. To explain more fully the conflict between the committee's programme and that of the Department, and to understand why the latter was prepared to countenance a school in Bridport, it will be necessary to look briefly at the early history of government involvement with art education through its

establishment of “schools of design” between 1837 and 1852 and the changes in its policy under the Department of Science and Art from 1853.

The government's original and underlying motivation for supporting art education had first been expressed in 1836 by the House of Commons Select Committee on Arts and their connexion with Manufactures. It had observed that in Britain “a peculiarly manufacturing nation the connexion between art and manufactures is most important” and had regretted “the want of instruction in design among our industrious population”.⁵⁴ It was the direct result of its deliberations that a government funded “Normal School of Design” had been opened in London in 1837, and a number of provincial “government schools of design” almost exclusively in major manufacturing centres from 1842.[55] In these schools the Select Committee had seen the necessity for, “not mere theoretical instruction only” but had insisted that “the direct practical application of the Arts to Manufactures ought to be deemed an essential element”. For, unless this could be done, there was a danger that the acknowledged “deficiency of manufacturing-artists” in the country would “not be supplied”.⁵⁶

This, primarily economic, agenda of the schools of design with its emphasis on the supply of manufacturing artists to improve the aesthetic quality of products for the overseas and home markets, in the face of foreign, mainly French, competition, had resulted in a concentration on the training of designers and draughtsmen in the ornamental arts. This had meant that the curriculum generated from the Normal or “Head” School in London, and compulsorily applied to “branch schools”, was devised to cater exclusively for designers or ornamentists. All other persons interested in drawing or art generally, such as fine artists, architects, engineers, or amateurs were barred from entering as a matter of policy.⁵⁷

From 1852, however, the system, which had been heavily criticised, largely for not having sufficiently improved the standard of artistic manufactures, was restructured. In 1853, the schools of design, renamed “schools of art” were placed under the supervision of their own newly created government Department, designated the Department of Science and Art. Its managers Henry Cole, as General Superintendent and Richard Redgrave as Art Superintendent, devised a new bureaucratic structure and reorganised and amplified the curriculum. The resulting system, known as the “South Kensington System” was worked by all government schools of art down to the end of the century.

One of the major reforms undertaken was the extension of the art educational system to all social classes. This could still be justified in terms of the economic agenda of 1836, on the grounds that the restriction of art education to designers and decorative artists had failed to improve artistic manufactures. Redgrave observed that “artisans... have neither time to remain to profit by more than the elementary teaching, nor position in society to enforce a better practice or sounder taste arising out of advanced instruction, even if imparted to them”.⁵⁸ The extension to all social classes was therefore a means of attracting into the schools the manufacturers, who financed production, and consumers who bought the products. The purpose being, not necessarily to teach them to design, but to educate their taste for the better designed goods which were expected to result from the students who had undergone an art school training.⁵⁹ The added advantage of allowing the middle classes into the schools was that their higher fees would help the local schools to be financially self-sufficient, and by giving them the direct benefit of an

art school education encourage them to apply to the Department to set up its schools in more centres. This policy had been highly successful in that between 1852 and 1873 the numbers of schools of art had increased from 20 to 120.⁶⁰

However, there were also disadvantages in that although the artisans, as producers of the designs were still the schools' *raison d'être*, the other classes with their greater articulateness and financial power were able to dictate, to a certain extent, what was taught at local level, and thus obscure the primary purpose of the schools. This point had been forcibly made by a correspondent to *The Art Journal*, the leading contemporary art periodical. In discussing the clientele of many of the masters in the newer art schools he affirmed that

Those who formerly went to a private drawing-master come to him, and this is the reason that almost all those new masters are landscape painters - that department being in greatest request by young ladies and others who pay high fees. The Department encourages the masters to acquire the power of teaching landscape, knowing that will enable them to gain the paying classes...That such schools do not constitute the class contemplated by the establishment of the schools of design, under the (1836) parliamentary enquiry, cannot be doubted. They are merely private drawing classes.⁶¹

The lack of artisans was the basis for the criticism of the Bridport School's 1867 annual report which also appeared in *The Art Journal*.

So far as the real object of the establishment of such institutions is concerned, the report cannot be considered altogether satisfactory: for it states that, though "the attendance at the morning class shows how highly it is appreciated by the ladies of the neighbourhood," yet the "evening class" that we presume which artisans and others chiefly would attend, "has diminished, but the progress made by the regular attendants is very satisfactory".⁶²

In fact, during its first eight years, up to the resignation of its first master, J.A. Dewar Campbell,⁶³ in April 1873, the institution had been preponderantly a middle class school. It held three classes of one-and-a-half hours' duration on Tuesdays and Thursdays each week. These were a morning class between 10 and 11.30 a.m., "for the highest class" at 3 guineas per annum, an afternoon class from 4 to 5.30 p.m. at 2 guineas per annum, and an evening class from 8 to 9.30 p.m., which in accord with its lower status dispensed with guineas altogether and cost 10 shillings. (There were also two one-and-a-half hour classes per week for children of the General and National Schools, held between 12 noon and 1.30 pm. at eight shillings).⁶⁴ Between 1867 and 1873, the first six years for which statistics exist, the two day classes between them provided most of the students and the major part of the school's income. Together they averaged 54.5 members and generated an average of £110-13s in fees, per annum. This easily eclipsed the average attendance of 37.6 attained by the Evening Class, which only provided an average of £12-3s-1d in fees and £33-13-9d in government grant.⁶⁵

As a government school of art, the Bridport School, followed the National Course of Instruction, devised by Richard Redgrave, the Art Superintendent, in 1852. The course was an amplification of that previously followed by the schools of design and as such was essentially a design course.⁶⁶ It was the central piece of machinery around which

the teaching of the Department's schools and its examination system and grants policy were made to operate. It had been devised as a means of establishing a uniform standard of instruction across the country, and, in its connection with payments on results based on the annual examination and National Competition, of continually raising those standards by means of competition between the schools. It was once described as “the most perfect system of national art instruction ever devised”.⁶⁷ Indeed, for its day, it was almost exhaustive in its subject coverage, arranged under the four heads: drawing, painting, modelling and composition, which contained twenty-three graded stages, divided into more than sixty sections, set out in a rigorously logical and progressive sequence. To each section of most stages, were attached approved examples, from which students were expected to work, and on which they were examined. (Appendix 1)

In order that taste should be educated, the examples, which were either engravings or lithographs, or casts of ornament and the figure, were chosen so that students would only copy from models whose aesthetic quality was beyond doubt. This had some justification in 1852, when the level of taste in the country was everywhere acknowledged to be at an extremely low ebb. The possibility of educating taste was justified by the Department's philosophy that there were principles underlying all good design which could be apprehended intellectually and which it was the Department's function to disseminate.⁶⁸ These were to be discovered from a study of examples from the history of art so that errors could be avoided and good practice acquired. Examples from the “best periods” such as ancient Greece and the Italian Renaissance were particularly valued as their study would help in the elucidation of the principles underlying the good practice in ornamental construction which they exemplified. The other major object of study for the designer was nature which was taken to be the underlying source of all ornament. Thus, a student would only be able to produce good original designs if he understood the principles or rules of ornament, derived from the best practice of the past and was able to utilise natural, mainly botanical, elements in accordance with those principles. The principles of decorative art were enumerated and expounded by Redgrave and published in such works as his *Manual of Design* and Owen Jones' *Grammar of Ornament*, used as texts in the teaching of the course and as government prizes.

Redgrave's discussion of the structure of the course in 1853, helped to show how it was meant to operate, and to a certain extent what its objectives were.⁶⁹ He considered that it afforded “complete instruction in technical means of drawing, painting and modelling, and...some insight into ornamental composition”. As the course was a complete syllabus, useful to all the needs of the draughtsman, Redgrave started with instruction in drawing with instruments at Stage 1. This included linear geometry, mechanical drawing and details of architecture, and linear perspective. He justified placing geometry at the beginning because, as he pointed out, geometry was “the basis of all ornament”. Perspective, more problematically, was included here because it was an important means of aiding the student “in comprehending the changes of form which take place on any change in his relative position as to the object he is drawing from, and which, to draw it correctly, he must... understand”. The inclusion of perspective, and Redgrave's justification of it would cause untold problems for teachers for much of the remainder of the century, because he was encouraging them to attempt to use what was essentially a geometrical system for creating an illusion of depth on a two-dimensional plane, as a means of teaching the drawing of three-dimensional objects placed before

pupils.⁷⁰ The unsuitability of this for the drawing of a spray of apple blossom is obvious. The inclusion of architectural and mechanical drawing was not explained by Redgrave, but they found their place as other types of drawing, requiring the use of instruments.

The drawing course proper began at Stage 2. This was a thorough and structured approach to drawing, based on the copying of set examples (there were more of these than those set out on the tabulated course, which were mainly meant for examination purposes). The examples used in Stage 2, were linear representations of ornament. This stage was designed to give “power to the hand and correctness to the eye; the first being obtained by drawing the long flowing and graceful curves of ornament...; the other,...arising from the nicety required to imitate the pure curves of ornament, and its symmetry and exact balance of parts; qualities not usually found in natural objects, as seen and drawn perspectively”. Thus, a severely linear approach, with a pencil-line of “steel-like hardness”⁷¹ was being encouraged with clarity and accuracy being particularly required for designers and draughtsmen for machine production (plate 2). Redgrave was fully persuaded that starting the inexperienced student in this way had proved itself as the most effective grounding and required that this stage should be mastered before the student could proceed to Stage 3. Here the student was given his first experience of drawing from the round, from geometrical solids known as “models” and from casts of ornament. Building on what had gone before, however, he was required to do this in outline.

Geometry and linear perspective in Stage 1, and ornament drawn in outline (also known as freehand drawing) in Stage 2, together with the drawing of models in Stage 3, were deemed so important by Redgrave that he had inaugurated the annual local second grade examinations to encourage all local schools to teach them. As an incentive to students to take the examinations, he gave certificates for passes in each of the four papers, and prizes of boxes of instruments or of colours or books. The designation “second grade”, was to distinguish it from the first grade examination taken by pupils of elementary schools and the third grade examinations taken by art masters.⁷² At Stage 4 the student passed from outline to shading, but in order that his task should be as simple as possible, he was again set to copy from “flat” examples. At Stage 5 he used the knowledge just gained in shading from the round, again using the ornamental casts and models but rendering them in chalk with hatching (plates 3&4). Stages 2 to 5 comprised the basic drawing course. Once linear drawing and shading had been learnt they could be applied through Stages 6 to 10 which moved the student on to botanical and human forms, first from the flat, then through antique casts (plate 5) to living models in the latter case, from the flat to studies from nature in the former (plate 6).

The painting and modelling courses followed a similar graded structure. Painting began with monochrome from the flat at Stage 11 and progressed to the figure in colour at Stage 17, while modelling began with modelling ornament from casts to modelling the figure and objects of natural history from nature.

Other subjects included were anatomy as an aid to the understanding of the figure, still-life, viewed as a colour exercise at Stage 15, and landscape painting both from copies (generally chromo-lithographs in practice, but oil and watercolour paintings were

also loaned by the Department) and from nature. Other features were drawing, painting and modelling from memory, and time-sketching in all three disciplines.

At the end of the course came Stages 22 and 23. These were also its culmination as being purely devoted to design. Stage 22, “elementary design”, was intended to prepare the student for the practice of decorative design by “the careful study of ancient ornament; by the analysis of foliage and flowers, with a view to the new ornamental forms to be derived from them; and by the study of the geometrical and other laws which govern the agreeable distribution of ornamental details, either as to form, colour, quantity, or symmetrical combinations”. Redgrave illustrated this by showing how a sketch of a plant, could be used as the basis for ornamental arrangements, derived from its different elements such as the form of its buds, its open blossoms, its seed vessels, its leaves and their setting on the stem. These forms had to be generalised or “conventionalised” for ornamental treatment (plate 7). The practice, which was meant to “open out original treatments not to be obtained by copying former ornamental renderings”, was followed by the study of filling spaces (plate 8) with the ornament thus derived, and of arranging repeats, by which units of ornament were distributed over large surfaces.⁷³ Following on from elementary design was Stage 23, the culminating stage, where students were taught the application of ornament to particular materials and manufactures.

Despite its structure, all the stages of the National Course of Instruction were not obligatory nor had they to be followed completely systematically. Elementary drawing was insisted on for most entrants but beyond this point the student was expected to pursue “the technical study of art in the direction required by his occupation”.⁷⁴ The master's role was crucial here as he was effectively the Department's representative at local level and was expected to ensure that the teaching was practically related to the needs of local industry.⁷⁵ In Bridport's case, however, where there was no local industry related to the decorative arts, and the students were mainly middle class, the Department was still at pains to ensure that the course did not stray too far away from its purpose of sound drawing and the inculcation of the principles of design.

As the local master was fairly free to follow his own inclinations in adapting his school to local needs or demands, it might be expected that Dewar Campbell and his successor Thomas Baker would have sought to gratify the wishes of their more wealthy clientele by concentrating on those stages of the course like landscape from copies and flowers from copies and from nature. These, as pointed out by *The Art Journal's* correspondent above, were the traditional studies of middle class ladies in the tuition of which private drawing masters had tended to specialise.⁷⁶ There is some evidence that the master did give some ground in this direction but there is also evidence of a heavy concentration on the basic drawing course and even for efforts to teach design. These last two, were prompted by the Department, and supported by the local committee and master who were in turn aided by some of the leading women students, who as the wives of committee members occupied a position of social leadership in the School and used it to set an example.

It seems clear that the majority of the students in the day classes were middle class women. The *Bridport News* speaks often of “the ladies of the morning class” and its report for the first year of operation, the only one to give occupations of the successful students listed, shows that most men winning awards were from the artisan class, while

most of the women were of no occupation or more rarely engaged in teaching.⁷⁷ If one can assume that the gender/class ratio did not change markedly in the next seven years, then subjects taken by male and female students should help to indicate how the School was being used by each. Looking first at passes in the second grade examinations, in the period 1866-73 there is a concentration of women students in the area of freehand and model drawing, while male students are more thinly spread over all four subjects. Of 68 passes obtained by male students, the largest number, 28, were in the freehand paper. Similarly, of the 58 passes obtained by women, the largest number, 36, were also in this subject. This was to be expected as the paper was a test of drawing skill of use to all students, no matter what their occupations. The second most popular subject for female students was model drawing, in which they obtained 19 passes. These papers were taken by some members of the Committee's wives, who were also some of the best students, to encourage their younger classmates.⁷⁸ The model paper was the least popular for men who only gained 8 passes. This is probably because the subject, which required the student to observe and depict three-dimensional objects in freehand on paper, was of more use to a person interested in fine art than a mechanic or joiner. In geometry and perspective, however, of which tradesmen would have more need, the men obtained 20 and 12 passes respectively, while the women only gained 6 and 7.

Other subjects taken are more difficult to quantify as there are no records of classes, and works sent up to South Kensington for the National Competition are only described when they won prizes, which was not very often in the first seven or eight years. There were also prizes offered by the friends of the School, probably in consultation with the master, with a view to encouraging the students to work in certain directions. These show, as might be expected, that male students, only, were taking an interest in mechanical and architectural drawing, the latter including measured drawing, perspective and, on one occasion, a design for a cottage. Both sexes won awards in other subjects, which show that the school was teaching most areas of the curriculum, from outline and shaded drawing of casts of ornament, to the figure from the antique. Some modelling of ornament was also in evidence in 1869 and 1870. Life drawing was not practised, but drawing and painting from plants was very popular (more commonly among women) in outline, in watercolours and in oils.

There always seems to have been a potential conflict between the fine art (or more precisely accomplishment art) aspirations of some of the middle class students, and the Department, over the way in which the elementary drawing course was taught. In this, the Committee and the master tended to take the side of the Department. In its annual meetings the Committee and its guest speakers were always at pains to praise the thoroughness of the drawing course. That they needed to do this was probably because some students were complaining about their slow progress from the elementary stages to more interesting work. For example, the Reverend Broadley, whose wife was one of the School's best pupils, noted that one lady had expressed the opinion that "a school of art is all very well, but there is a sort of keep back system about South Kensington". He disagreed with this view saying "she would have spoken more correctly if she had said that the system at South Kensington involved long and patient study on the part of the pupils. Art could not be acquired without it. Many young and ardent spirits wished to run before they could walk but that would never make them artists."⁷⁹

The Department expressed its own concern on this issue in a circular, dated 3 March 1868 in which it admitted that its policy of payments on results “had tended to induce the master to identify his interest less with the sound instruction encouraged by the Department, than with the capricious wishes of the middle classes who at present rather resist such sound instruction”. In an attempt to rectify the situation the Department proposed to award annual bonuses to masters on the basis of the general amount of satisfactory work considered against the numbers under instruction, irrespective of social class. This would have appealed to Bridport especially, because as a small school it could never hope to compete in the national awards tables with the larger institutions. A contemporaneous increase in grants on artisans also made the recruitment of such students a more attractive option.[80] To this might be added the new regulations with regard to national medals: when gold, silver and bronze medals were instituted in 1866, and the gold medals were limited to ten, all in advanced subjects. These included six in design, one each in modelling from the figure, drawing from the antique cast, and painting a still-life as a study in colour, and one more to be awarded in any subject at the discretion of the examiners.⁸¹

The conflict between the Department's drawing requirements and the desires of the students for more interesting work, came into sharper focus in Bridport's case in 1871.⁸² Still-life from plants in watercolours was largely the province of some of the female students and one of these, Gulielma Stephens, had offered a prize in “sketching from nature” (depicting botanical specimens in watercolours). At the same time the master had agreed to run classes in the subject. When however, the committee secretary, the Reverend R.L. Carpenter had visited South Kensington to discuss its examiner's report on the progress of the Institution, he had been advised that they should not practise watercolour drawing from nature until “the earlier practice of modelling with the point (shading in chalk) had been mastered” and this, he had been informed, was not sufficiently in evidence at Bridport. The criticisms of the Department, he was told, were designed “to impress on the teachers of schools of art the great importance of thorough and refined completeness in every stage of study” and that the master should feel strengthened by this to “insist on those studies which were more essential than agreeable”. The offer of the prize was accordingly withdrawn, and presumably the class was dropped from the School's curriculum.

The School never offered a prize for design and there is no evidence that lectures in the subject were ever given, nor did students select any of the Department's recommended design texts as prizes in the National Competition. Despite this, a growing if not strong, interest, encouraged by South Kensington, the committee and the master, can be detected in this area. It was also probably aided by the growing maturity of the School's experience in working with South Kensington and the advanced students' increasing awareness of what was required by the Department. As most of the advanced students, who had been in the School for the longest time were middle class ladies, these rather than the men tended to excel in this area.

In 1869, the Department, with an eye to interesting female students in design, introduced a country-wide competition in fan design, only open to women. It elicited a good response in Bridport, when the School won its first real national successes. In 1869, Mrs Broadley obtained a prize, with Mrs Colfox, wife of a committee member, being commended. Mrs Broadley repeated her success in 1870 alongside a Mrs Evans.⁸³ This, together with the Department's gradual exclusion of elementary works

from national awards, noted in the School's 1871 annual meeting acted as an encouragement towards a concentration on the more advanced elements of the course among which design was included. When the Reverend R.L. Carpenter had visited South Kensington in 1871, he had taken time to walk round the annual exhibition of national competition drawings and was struck by the kinds of works that won prizes. These, he noted “were chiefly of a useful description, showing taste and skill in designs for manufactures... designs from Coventry for ribbons and the backs of watches; from Nottingham for lace; from Halifax for carpets; from the potteries for sets of china &c, so that it seemed the chief object of the Department to encourage those who aimed at some practical end”.⁸⁴ These observations were not lost on some of the more advanced students, who began to enter designs for some of the manufactures mentioned. Mrs Broadley was already moving in this direction and had obtained a prize in 1870 for a design for the capital of a pilaster, executed in plaster. She followed this in 1872 with a design for a dessert service and was joined by Mrs Colfox in 1873 who entered a design for twelve plates ornamented with wild flowers and a butterfly, for each month of the year. The year 1875 however, saw the most successful attempt by a student. This was a design for watch case backs by Newbery, which won a national bronze medal.⁸⁵ If the Department's encouragement of drawing and design tuition was beginning to have an effect in Bridport its promotion of the teaching of artisans also began to see results with the appointment of a new master in 1873. Thomas Baker's appointment came at a time when the School was losing money, largely because of the decline in numbers in its morning class, which had not been counterbalanced by any increase in other classes. (In fact the evening class which had never been numerous had also lost students.) Because of the lower income of the school, Baker's salary had been fixed at a mere £90 per annum, £20 less than Campbell had enjoyed. Rather than try to revive the morning class which, because of its high fees, could only appeal to a limited clientele, he declared his intention to build up the evening class.⁸⁶

How he did this, beyond advertising the School in the newspapers, is not explained, but in the session 1875-6, he had raised attendances to the unprecedented figure of 66 (The average evening class for Campbell's six years had been 37.6 compared with 57.3 for Baker's first three years). The latter also entered far more students for the second grade examination and sent far more works up to South Kensington, both of which measures were likely to earn him more government grant. In 1875 he sent up 543 works followed by 654 in 1876 and his average grant for his first three years of £81-18s far exceeded Campbell's of £33-13s-9d. In addition he was able to win a bonus of £20 in 1875 being judged as the seventeenth most successful in a list of sixty art school headmasters.⁸⁷

Another advantage in building up the evening class numbers was that Baker was allowed a pupil-teacher to help him with the classes.[88] Thus in the 1874-5 session, he was able to appoint Newbery to this post, the latter being paid by the statutory pupil-teacher's grant of £15 from the Department and a additional £15 raised by the School's lady students.(These had established a committee, run by Mrs Colfox and Mrs Broadley which organised fund-raising events). Later Baker would describe the young art master, whom he would promote to the position of assistant master as “thoroughly energetic in his work, and extremely fond of it” adding that the success he, Baker, had achieved in that session was “in a great measure” attributable to his “able assistance”.⁸⁹

Newbery's progress, in the session 1873-4, since obtaining his 2nd grade certificate, is not recorded, owing to the issues of the *Bridport News*, which carried reports on the annual meeting for 1874, being missing. However, in the following session, besides teaching in the art school on two days each week, he was also pursuing his career as a student. It was common for assistant masters and mistresses to continue to take parts of the course alongside the other students and it was required of all pupil teachers to take steps to improve their qualifications. Some of Newbery's time was therefore spent in preparing works for the Group 1 Art Master's Certificate, which would entitle him to obtain a post as a master in a school of art. The purpose of this certificate was to show that its possessor was capable of teaching subjects in the elementary drawing sections of the national course of instruction. In order to earn it Newbery had to prepare ten sheets of drawings, based on the relevant stages of the course. These included all the sections of Stage 1 (drawing with instruments) and included: one sheet of geometrical problems; one of mechanical drawings; one of perspective diagrams; and one of architectural details. In Stage 3 (drawing in outline from the round) he was required to submit a drawing of a portion of the pilaster from the gates of the Madeleine. For Stages 5a and 5b two sheets of shaded drawings from the round were stipulated: from geometrical models in chalk or pencil for the former; from ornament from the cast for the latter. For Stage 6, he had to prepare an outline of the figure from the flat; for Stage 10, a sheet of foliage drawings from nature; and for Stage 13, a sheet of flowers painted from the flat. These had all been prepared and sent to Department headquarters by early 1875, where they were deemed good enough for Newbery to be invited to South Kensington to sit a set of examinations.

Armed with a second class rail fare, and a grant of ten shillings from the Department, for each day the examinations lasted he thus went up to London. There were four examinations. As a test of his teaching ability he had to instruct a class in the presence of the examiners in one of the second grade subjects. To test his draughtsmanship and the authenticity of the ten sheets of drawings he had originally submitted, he was required to execute an unspecified work under the eye of the examiners and sketch a group of models in a given time. Lastly, to demonstrate his grasp of the subjects in Stage 1, he had "to solve in writing", questions on geometry, perspective, orthographic projection, and "the rudiments of constructive architecture".⁹⁰

During the remainder of the year he also competed for the prizes awarded to students by local dignitaries in elementary and advanced watercolours, and came away with the former. His effort was, in accordance with the stipulations of the competition, "a landscape from the flat accompanied with a leaf and flower from nature". The leaf and flower, according to the reporter who saw his entry in the School's annual exhibition, were "very fairly painted". Even more important, however, were the works he sent up to South Kensington for the National Competition. Among these were a full length shaded copy from the cast, of the *Discobolus* in chalk (Stage 8b), "a group in oil", (a still-life) (Stage 15) and a monochrome drawing from Flaxman's *Pandora*. One of these, almost certainly the last, obtained a 3rd grade book prize in the shape of Aaron Penley's *Sketches from Nature*, a guide to the amateur watercolourist. However, his other entry, a set of designs for watch-case backs, gained the prestigious award of a national bronze medal, never before obtained at the Bridport School.⁹¹

In his annual report for 1874-5, R.L.Carpenter, could categorically state that Newbery, who had obtained the Group 1 art master's certificate, was "making art" his

“profession”.⁹² Whether this meant that Newbery intended to use art teaching as a springboard from which to launch himself as a freelance professional artist, or whether his ambitions lay solely in an educational direction, is not clear. Whatever his final goal, as a boy from a humble background in a small provincial town, with no connections and no private means, and with talents as yet not fully developed, he could hardly have begun an artistic career in any other way.

Notes

DCRO = Dorset County Record Office, Dorchester.

DSA = Department of Science and Art

GSAA = Glasgow School of Art Archives, Glasgow.

1. Office of Population Censuses and Surveys. Birth certificate.
2. F. H. Newbery, [Letter], Dorset Year Book (1926), p.120.
3. Office of Population Censuses and Surveys, Census returns for 1861 and 1871. These record William's age as 37 in the former year and as 48 in the latter, while Mary's is given as 37 in 1861 and as 50 in 1871. The discrepancies become even wider on their gravestones in Bridport Cemetery, where William's dates are given as 1827-1897, and Mary, who died in 1888 “aged 63” would have had to be born in about 1825.
4. Kelly's Directory for Dorset, (1867), pp.19-20.
5. Luke Over, Bridport: the Evolution of a Town. (Bridport: The Author, 1988), p.29.
6. M.B. Weinstock, Old Dorset (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1967), p.149.
7. The Blackdown Hills Landscape (Cheltenham: Countryside Commission, 1989), p.24: quoting from W.J.B. Brearley, Always Abounding : or Recollections of the Life and Labours of the Late George Brealey, Evangelist of the Blackdown Hills (John F.Shaw, 1889).
8. Basil Short, A Respectable Society: Bridport, 1593-1835 (Moonraker Press, 1976).
9. Asa Briggs, The Age of Improvement, 1783-1867 (London: Longman, 1959), pp.222-223..
10. DCRO, DC/BTB/BCI, Draft lease containing proposals for Bridport General Schools...Report of Annual Meeting 1845-1850: Application of school committee for part of Killingham, 1845.
11. DCRO, S 117: 3/1/1, Boys' General Boys' School, Admissions Registers, 1850-1908. These give the date of Newbery's admission as 14 October 1861. They also record that he had previously attended the Infants' School from the age of five. However, they erroneously give his age as seven years and one month. His younger brother William was admitted in October 1862 also at the age of “seven”.
12. DCRO, S117, Bridport General Boys' School, Report, 1873.
13. Ibid..
14. DCRO, S117: 2/1/1, Bridport General Schools Logbook, Boys' School, 1862-1909, 24 May 1871.
15. DCRO, S117.
16. Ibid..
17. Bridport News, 2 September, 1865.
18. Geoffrey Best, Mid-Victorian Britain, 1851-75 (London: Fontana Press, 1979), p.176.
19. Bridport News, 9 March, 1923.
20. Ibid..

21. Bridport Museum Collection.
22. John Beard Memorial Committee, John Beard: a Brief Biography (Bridport: John Beard Memorial Committee, 1911).
23. Bridport News, 20 August, 1869, 12 August, 1870, 11 August, 1871, 9 August, 1872, and 8 August, 1873.
24. DCRO, S117:7/1/2, Bridport General School (Boys) Accounts, 1869-93.
25. DCRO, S117:3/1/1 and Bridport News, 9 March 1923.
26. Committee of Council on Education, Revised Education Code, (1862).
27. Bridport News, 9 March, 1923.
28. Committee of Council on Education, Revised Education Code.
29. DCRO, S117: 7/1/2.
30. Bridport News, 9 March, 1923.
31. DCRO, S117: 2/1/1, 13 September 1872, 6 January 1873 and 2 April 1874.
32. DCRO, S117: 6/1, Bridport General School Inspector's Book, 1850-1887, 10 March, 1875.
33. These appeared in the Bridport News each August.
34. Bridport News, 9 August 1872.
35. Bridport News, 11 August, 1871.
36. Bridport News, 8 August, 1873.
37. Bridport News, 9 August, 1872.
38. Bridport News, 8 August, 1873.
39. Ibid., and DSA, 16th Report (1868-9), p.27, footnote.
40. Bridport News, 9 March, 1923.
41. Henry Cole, Fifty Years of Public Work of Sir Henry Cole, K.C.B., Accounted for in his Deeds, Speeches and Writings, 2 volumes (London: George Bell & Sons, 1884), I, p.305. The Department, known during 1852, as "the Department of Practical Art" was renamed in 1853 when various governmental scientific institutions were placed under its care and it was given responsibility for scientific education.
42. House of Commons. Select Committee on Schools of Art, Report (1864), p.225, par.4316.
43. Ibid., p.224, par.4313 - Henry Cole's evidence.
44. DSA, 15th Report (1867-8), p.187.
45. House of Commons. Select Committee on Schools of Art, Report, p.8, par.17 - Richard Redgrave's evidence.
46. Mate's Illustrated Bridport Guide (1902).
47. Bridport News, 2 September, 1865.
48. DSA, 19th Report (1872), p.359.
49. Ibid., p.227.
50. Parallels could be drawn with Derby School of Art which originally co-existed with a Mechanics' Institute or Glasgow School of Art which was set up by the managers of Glasgow's Mechanics' Institution.
51. Bridport News, 25 February, 1865.
52. Bridport News, 2 September, 1865.
53. Bridport News, 1 April, 1865.
54. House of Commons. Select Committee on Arts and their connexion with Manufactures, Report (London: 1836), p.iii.
55. Quentin Bell, The Schools of Design (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963) is the fullest discussion of the development of these schools.

56. House of Commons. Select Committee on Arts and their connexion with Manufactures, Report, p.v.
57. Glasgow Herald, 14 June, 1844. Report of a meeting held to set up the Glasgow Government School of Design at which the regulations for entry were read.
58. DSA, 1st Report (1854), Appendix B, p.12.
59. Bridport News, 25 February, 1865. J.C. Buckmaster, the Department's spokesman in Bridport explained the reasons behind its policy on the education of all social classes thus: "So long as people were ready to purchase articles devoid of taste the manufacturers made them. There was no reason at all why the commonest article should not have some pretensions to taste. Every man, no matter what work he was engaged in should try to give that work something like finish and proportion - to throw into it the elements of beauty as far as he could."
60. Cole, Fifty Years of Public Work. II, p.347.
61. The Art Journal (November, 1863), p.225.
62. The Art Journal (October, 1867), p.237.
63. The School's two masters in Newbery's time were J.A. Dewar Campbell and Thomas Baker, not the "Mr. Broadley" suggested in Isobel Spencer, 'Francis Newbery and the Glasgow Style', Apollo (October 1973), 286-293 (p.286).
64. Bridport News, 2 September, 1865.
65. DSA, 14th-17th and 19th-20th Reports, (1867-70 and 1872-3). There is no explanation for the failure to give the stipulated six hours per week tuition to the evening classes, but this may have been by special arrangement with the Department. The master who ran the School single-handed also operated another small school at Dorchester, (established in 1867) on other days of the week.-DSA, 17th Report (1870), p.239 and subsequent years.
66. DSA, 1st Report (1854), Appendix B, p.25. In introducing his new course, in reference to that employed in the schools of design, Redgrave stated "it is thought more expedient to enlarge that arrangement than to supersede it".
67. F.M. Redgrave, Richard Redgrave, C.B., R.A.: A Memoir, compiled from his Diary. (London: Cassell & Company, 1891), p.336, quoting Edward Poynter.
68. DSA, 1st Report (1854), Appendix B, p.12.
69. Department of Practical Art, 1st Report, (1853), Appendix 1, pp.50-54.
70. Edward R. Taylor, Elementary Art Teaching: an Educational and Technical Guide for Teachers and Learners. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1890), pp.76-9 criticises this tendency.
71. Richard Carline, Draw They Must (London: Edward Arnold, 1968), p.129, quoting Selwyn Image.
72. Stuart Macdonald, The History and Philosophy of Art Education (London: University of London Press, 1970), pp.198-9.
73. Richard Redgrave, Manual of Design (London: Chapman and Hall, 1882), pp.165-8.
74. DSA, 19th Report (1872), p.213.
75. House of Commons. Select Committee on Schools of Art, Report, p.294 states: "Masters, are recommended, on their arrival in a locality, to lose no time in making themselves acquainted with the particular branches of industry followed by the inhabitants...and thus make the school as directly useful to the locality as possible".
76. Carline, Draw They Must, p.63 points out how Jean-Jacques Rousseau had suggested that girls, rather than place their delicate constitutions and fair complexions at the mercy of the elements, should attempt drawing from plants indoors. A large proportion of the private drawing master's tuition, however, consisted of drawing or

making watercolours as copies of his own work or from engravings made by others - see eg. *ibid.*, pp.61-73 and Fitzwilliam Museum, Gilpin to Ruskin: drawing masters and their manuals, 1800-1860 (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 1988), p.11.

77. Bridport News, 4 August, 1866.

78. Bridport News, 11 August, 1871. Mrs Broadley was recorded as one of several advanced students who had set an example by sitting the local examinations with the youngest pupils.

79. Bridport News, 13 August, 1875.

80. DSA, Circular, (3rd March, 1868).

81. DSA, 16th Report, (1868-9), p.190.

82. Bridport News, 11 August, 1871.

83. Bridport News, 20 August, 1869, and 12 August, 1870.

84. Bridport News, 11 August, 1871.

85. Bridport News, 12 August, 1870, 9 August, 1872, 8 August, 1873 and 20 August, 1875.

86. Bridport News, 20 August, 1875.

87. DSA, Reports and Bridport News.

88. Bridport News, 8 August, 1873. In 1872-3 the artisan class had not reached the minimum number of 20 students which the Department required before it would give a school a grant of £15 to pay a pupil teacher.

89. GSAA, F.H. Newbery, Testimonials (London: April 1885), p.8.

90. DSA, 16th Report (1868-69), pp.195-6 & p.39, footnote and Bridport News, 20 August, 1875.

91. Bridport News, 20 August, 1875. A silver medal, also without precedent, was obtained this year by the School. This was for a still life in oil and was obtained by John Dunham a student of some years standing who frequently won local prizes for works in oil and intended to become a professional artist.

92. *Ibid.*.

CHAPTER 2

LONDON 1875-1885

With his Group 1 Art Master's Certificate and his teaching experience in the Bridport General Schools and School of Art, Newbery was ready to seek for more remunerative employment. This he was able to find in London where he first obtained an appointment as Art Master at the City Corporation Middle Class School, Cowper Street, City Road.¹

The ten years spent in London would be the main formative period of Newbery's career. His six years as an art master in London schools would help him to evolve a student-centred approach to teaching and the time he spent as an art-master-in-training at South Kensington would not only enable him to collect an impressive array of paper qualifications but would also allow him to appropriate the sound approach to art training, developed in the Parisian ateliers, which was being promulgated by its new Principal, Edward Poynter. Working under him and the handful of other French-trained

artists whom he had introduced onto the staff would convince Newbery of the superiority of this approach when compared with the slow, laborious, British system which had prevailed in the Department's Schools since their foundation. Additionally, his association with these men would introduce him to the concept of the artist as teacher, as initiator into the mastery of his craft: a concept which was far removed from the Department's tradition of teaching art through the agency of art teachers whose only credentials were their possession of government certificates. Newbery would emerge from the Training School as an aficionado of both approaches, able to utilise the effective methods of the one whilst being fully cognizant of the weighty bureaucratic strictures which the other represented. This would enable him to run a school in Glasgow which could, at one and the same time, nurture artistic talent in an imaginative way while it fully satisfied all the requirements of the South Kensington System.

London Middle Class Schools, 1875-1881

The City Corporation Middle Class School as its name suggests catered for the sons of the lower middle classes, small tradesmen and skilled artisans. Newbery's appointment as a master with a Group 1 certificate, a qualification, deemed good enough for the head of a school of art, is evidence of the high standards at which the School aimed. The children were between ten and fourteen years old, as parents of this class generally could not afford to keep their offspring in school much beyond this age. (Most boys stayed only about three years, although some did not leave until aged eighteen.) The classes contained about fifty boys each, and Newbery was one of three subject-specific masters not allocated their own classes, the other two being responsible for the teaching of writing and chemistry. The class teachers were responsible for all other subjects including French. Latin, however, the mainstay of traditional education for the upper classes, in accordance with the more practical vocational aims of the School, was only taught as an extra.²

Newbery was to remain at Cowper Street only until December 1876, but during that time he impressed its head master as “an unusually active, powerful and methodical teacher...an absolutely perfect disciplinarian” with “an enthusiasm for art which he” managed “in a wonderful manner to impart to his pupils”.³ His leaving was prompted by the offer of a better appointment in another school. This was the new Grocers' Company's Middle School, at Hackney Downs.⁴ He, and all the other masters, were appointed by the head master, Herbert Courthope Bowen, who had previously been second master at the Cowper Street School, on which the Hackney Downs School was closely modelled.⁵

The Grocers' Company's School, which had been opened in September 1876, in new buildings, initially had 210 male pupils between the ages of ten and twelve, each paying an entrance fee of £1 and annual tuition fees of £6. The staff comprised a head master and five assistant masters. The numbers, however, had grown by 1879, to 376 boys, ranging to age fifteen, arranged in ten classes, each with its own master, to maintain a good staff/pupil ratio.⁶ The broad curriculum, adapted to the practical needs of lower middle class boys and based on that at Finsbury, included English language and literature, history, commercial and physical geography, arithmetic, mathematics,

surveying, writing and bookkeeping, drawing, French, vocal music and the elements of science. In addition, classes in Latin, shorthand and watercolours could be taken after school hours for extra fees.

Newbery's task was to establish the teaching of drawing in all the classes of the School and to prepare large numbers of the older boys, in a limited time, for the Department's second grade examinations. Once again he established himself as an effective member of staff, "managing his department without friction or hitch of any kind" and securing excellent results.⁷ Bowen, who paid him £120 per annum, presumably referring to Newbery, maintained that he would prefer to pay £150 to retain the services of a good art master.⁸

The three inspector's reports that survive also express high satisfaction with his conduct of classes.⁹ That Newbery devised his curriculum on traditional South Kensington lines is at once apparent. Firstly, he was concentrating on teaching drawing as a discipline. One inspector reported that "in drawing Mr. Newbery explained to me his method of teaching which appears to me to be very judiciously adapted to train the eye and the hand, while it keeps in check the very natural but misleading ambition of school boys to produce finished pictures all at once".¹⁰ The suggestion, here, that Newbery was concentrating rigorously on the technical and observational aspects of drawing rather than imaginative work would indicate that he was following the Department's approach. This is further confirmed by one of the other inspectors who observed that "drawing in outline from such designs as are furnished by the Science and Art Department is ...taught throughout the school".¹¹ It is clear too that drawing from three-dimensional objects was also being taught through the use of geometrical models.¹² A final piece of evidence, however, indicates that Newbery was ready to go further with boys who showed "a special taste for the copying of figures, models or water colour drawing".¹³ This might suggest nothing more than that he was a conscientious master. Yet the fact that he was concerned to develop his pupils' talents and encourage positive motivations towards art where they existed, shows that he was avoiding a strictly utilitarian approach to the teaching of drawing, which regarded the inculcation of a set of skills as its sole end. In its place, he was demonstrating an interest in individual development at least in those students who showed an aptitude. It has already been observed that John Beard, Newbery's head master at the Bridport Boys' General School, took a particular interest in the individual welfare and advancement of his pupils and that he almost certainly provided a role model for Newbery, but there is also a possibility that the latter was coming under the influence of new educational theories at Hackney Downs which would justify him in embracing an increasingly pupil-centred approach.

The Head of the Grocers' Company's School, Herbert Courthope Bowen, was a progressive educationist who would later become the Principal of the Finsbury Teachers' Training College. In his book *Studies in English* he saw the teacher's task as one of "drawing forth... and training to finest growth the finest properties of our nature"¹⁴ and in this he strenuously opposed the view that education should mainly be concerned with the amassing of information. The two main sources for Bowen's views were the philosopher Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) and the German educationist and founder of the kindergarten movement, Friedrich Froebel (1782-1852). Spencer disapproved of "the coerced attention to books...making the pupil a mere passive recipient of other's ideas, and not in the least leading him to be an active inquirer or self-instructor". By contrast he urged that education be based on an understanding of

the psychology of the child.¹⁵ Froebel's theories and his development of the kindergarten system, which began to interest Bowen during this time, had also demonstrated the value of a pupil-centred approach.¹⁶ For Froebel, as for Spencer, humanity was essentially dynamic and creative rather than merely receptive. The teacher's purpose, therefore, was to act as a guide in the child's growing relationship with himself and the world, relating his teaching to the child's own perceptions and abilities, endeavouring to develop them via a controlled widening and deepening of experience. This contrasted strongly with the more traditional approach to the pupil who existed as a passive recipient of externally imposed information and skills. Each child, and by extension, each human being, was seen as having been born with innate propensities, which it was the educationist's task to nurture. Part of the child's innate equipment which was appropriated and stimulated in Froebel's programme was the need to make drawings and objects, to respond to his environment artistically. The concept that human beings were born with artistic motivations and aptitudes that could be drawn-out and developed through a well-devised educational programme, would stay with Newbery throughout his career and would form the basis of his educational philosophy.

Newbery's appointment at the Grocers' Company's School did not take up the whole of his time as he also, with equal success, held a similar post for three years at the Prisca Coborn's Foundation Schools at Bow in East London.¹⁷ Additionally he continued to use the evenings to enhance his qualifications through attendance at science and art evening classes.

The National Art Training School, 1877-1885

No evidence has come to light of Newbery's having attended any of the local London schools of art, so it is probable that he did not resume his own art training until he entered the National Art Training School in 1877, two years after his arrival in London.¹⁸ The School (now the Royal College of Art) was housed in the complex of buildings known as the South Kensington Museum (latterly the Victoria and Albert Museum). It occupied an L-shaped building at the north-western corner of the museum site off Exhibition Road, the male school comprising two storeys above ground floor galleries and barracks for a detachment of sappers who were employed on the Museum staff.¹⁹ The "special object" of the School, as laid down in the Department's *Calendar*²⁰ was "the training of art teachers of both sexes, of designers, and art workmen". These were known respectively as "students in training" and "National Scholars" the latter being students from provincial schools who had shown some special aptitude for design and the decorative arts. The attendance of all these students was financed by maintenance grants provided by the government. In addition to their classes, however, there was also a "school for the instruction of general students" who, like students at local schools of art, were required to pay their own fees. This school served partly as a practising school for the students in training. During the early 1880s, the 750 or so students who attended at South Kensington included about 35 students in training, 20 National Scholars, a further 80 or so students who did not pay fees but who did not receive grants, such as ex-students in training who had stayed on and "free students" who had passed higher grade examinations. The remainder, who numbered over 500, were the general students. The majority of these were women as most of the

non-general students were men and the ratio of males to females for the whole school was about 360 to 400, with an average daily attendance of about 380 (i.e. about half the number on the register).²¹

A new regime had taken over the National Art Training School, and the Department's Art Division itself in 1875, with the appointment of Edward Poynter (1836-1919) as Director of Art and Principal of the South Kensington School. His assumption of office marked the beginning of an orientation away from the Department's methods of teaching drawing and painting, developed in the late 1840s and early 50s, and inaugurated their gradual replacement by an approach derived from that developed in the ateliers of Paris which Newbery, as an intelligent trainee art master, was well placed to absorb.

Poynter's possible influence on Newbery as an art educationist has been ignored by previous writers on the subject. One reason for this is the assumption that Newbery as an artist, whose work would be more in sympathy with Whistler and the Glasgow School, would have been opposed to Poynter, an idealist painter of subjects derived from the ancient world, on ideological and stylistic grounds.²² However, there is no evidence that Newbery had objected to Poynter's approach to painting. Nor does any of the former's known work date from any earlier than the 1890s when he was already in the orbit of the Glasgow School. In fact this is a little beside the point because, even if Newbery had already marked out a different artistic path for himself by 1880, it does not follow that he could not benefit from Poynter's teaching regime or even seek to adopt it. Poynter's published lectures indicate clearly that he was concerned to teach drawing and painting as a craft and that matters of style and subject were not considered as central,²³ an approach which would also characterise Newbery's regime in Glasgow.

Newbery would describe Poynter as "above all things a schoolmaster".²⁴ His abilities as a teacher who enjoyed a mastery of his subject were to a certain extent confirmed by Frederick Brown, later head of the Slade School, who was a student at South Kensington until about 1876. He noticed Poynter's effectiveness as a pedagogue²⁵ and it was the latter's own credentials as the successful Professor of the Slade School of Art which had recommended him for his posts at the Department. The Slade had been set up in 1871 as the fine art school of the University of London. It was an independent institution, unconnected with South Kensington or the Royal Academy. As a fine art school it had the same objectives as the latter in teaching painters and sculptors from the figure. Poynter had adopted the French *atelier* approach to tuition at the School, basing his teaching on the nude model, concentrating on the inculcation of confident, intelligent, analytical, draughtsmanship in the delineation of form and on a tonal approach to painting. This contrasted radically with the cast-based approach at the Academy and the Department which insisted on a long apprenticeship in drawing from the antique before work from the life could be attempted and which elevated quality of finish above analysis of structure.²⁶

Poynter approached his task at South Kensington in the same reforming spirit, but would modify his emphasis to fit in with what he recognised to be the different objectives of the Department's schools. He accepted that "in the various branches of the Government Schools, the primary object is confessedly the study of ornamental design, as applied to the industrial arts, and attention is only paid to high art in so far as the study of the figure is necessary for some particular branch of ornamental

manufacture”.²⁷ Thus he would have no intention of making the figure the basis of the course. In a footnote to a lecture delivered at the Slade in 1873, he had already maintained the distinction of approach in the training of fine artists and designers. After arguing that it was most appropriate for the Slade student to begin with the study of the figure he added “it must be understood that these remarks are throughout addressed to students of figure-painting for pictures. For ornamental design a more extended course of outline drawing from the first is necessary”.²⁸

Poynter's reforms at South Kensington, therefore, would be largely directed at improving its approach to drawing and the way in which it was taught rather than in attempting any basic changes in the structure of Redgrave's design oriented National Course of Instruction with its attached grants system. He summed up his fundamental approach to effective art teaching with a quotation from Sir Joshua Reynolds, who had stated that “no method of study will lead to excellence yet it may preserve industry from being misapplied”.²⁹ As South Kensington, in his eyes, was a prime example of misapplied industry, he aimed to make the course more effective by cutting out the over-application of effort in various stages of the course where he felt it to be counter-productive.

He identified four areas which an artist had to master to produce work of a high order. These were form, tone, colour and composition. A consideration of what he said under the first two heads, where he dealt with South Kensington practice, will indicate the areas where he felt reform was most necessary.

The aim of the study of form was to train the student to produce a clear and correct rapidly rendered outline with a steady hand. In the teaching of this he considered that the government schools wasted a good deal of time by concentrating on methods which were only appropriate for students who had absolutely no competence in drawing. Thus he was only prepared to countenance the making of drawings from copies in outline or in outline from models as required in Stages 2b and 3a of the course as a means of aiding the least confident students.³⁰ In clarification, however, he probably regarded the making of outline studies of ornament from flat examples as admissible for training designers, as it could be combined with exercises in the analysis and construction of ornament. But his preferred method was to start most students on outline drawing from the round. Once done, the student could aim to do this rapidly by drawing continuous lines from one point to another.³¹

Once form had been mastered, the student was ready to progress to tone drawing. He regarded tone as “the most subtle the most complicated and the most comprehensive” area of study as well as the most important, at least for the fine artist. This, for him, was the area in which British artists were the most defective, largely because of the system of training adopted in their art schools.³² The time wasted on laboriously executed drawings from the antique, cross-hatched and stippled with the point of the chalk and picking out the black spots with breadcrumbs,³³ in which the primary object of an intelligent understanding and reproduction of the appearance of the model was subordinated to the acquisition of a highly-finished style of lithographic shading, tended to concentrate the student's attention on minute details which blinded him to the general effect. It caused British artists to confuse the rendering of light and shade with tone. Poynter defined the perception of tone as “the perception of that harmonious unity of

effect, under every circumstance which necessarily pervades all objects and scenes in nature”.³⁴ He thus regarded the Department's Stage 12, painting from the cast in monochrome, as “the most dangerous part of their system” because it failed in its ostensible purpose of preparing students to use colour as it involved no attempt to imitate the tone of the cast. For, as Poynter said, “the only method of educating the eye for colour” was “by teaching the student from the very first to match his tones to the model”.³⁵ To help in inculcating the perception of tone, Poynter advocated the introduction of shading with the stump (powdered black or brown chalk worked with leather or paper stumps and heightened with white chalk). This allowed the rapid production of broad effects of tone and was, he believed, easier for the beginner to manage. He also laid down rules for painting in monochrome from the cast and in colour from nature which followed the *atelier* approach of painting *au premier coup*, teaching strict discipline in the setting out of the palette to match the tones and colours of the subject so that the work would require little retouching. His rules, probably because of their unbending character were referred to by the students as “the Laws of the Medes and Persians”.³⁶

He criticised the over-reliance on the antique cast, as opposed to the living model, as another reason for the inferiority of British art. Drawing from the model, where poses could only be retained for short periods of time, required the student to work more broadly and rapidly, while the static cast in a steady north light could be drawn from for months. That this had a bad effect on designers is all too apparent from the comments of the manufacturer Godfrey Wedgwood who found Department-trained employees to be “slow” draughtsmen.³⁷ As a remedy at the Training School, Poynter introduced the practice of posing the model for a maximum of six days, and discouraged the making of over-elaborate drawings from the antique.³⁸ For the benefit of all the schools he introduced a gold medal for life drawing, elevating it to the level of drawing from the antique. (Before this the highest medal possible for life studies was a silver medal.)³⁹ He also inaugurated a higher level of local examinations than the existing second grade papers. This new tier of “advanced” or “third grade” subjects, which included life drawing, was intended, by placing a time-limit on work which was produced under examination conditions, to encourage masters and students to aim at more rapid and confident execution.⁴⁰ Lastly, he drafted in new judges for the National Competition, painters like Philip Hermogenes Calderon and Henry Stacey Marks, who were trained in Paris and were likely to support his views.⁴¹

The problem with a reform based on teaching method was that to be effective it necessarily required a programme of retraining for the masters in the provincial schools who were heavily versed in the old methods. This became apparent when Poynter tried to introduce the practice of drawing with soft chalk and the stump. Rather than producing good studies in tone the schools were only capable of works characterised by extreme blackness.⁴² However, Newbery as a pupil of Poynter would be able to reap the benefits of his regime to pass it on to the students in Glasgow.

Another reason why Poynter has been disregarded as an influence on Newbery is that, despite being seen as a progressive and an innovator in Britain, he had failed to introduce an *atelier*-based programme of education wherein students were taught by practising artists, at South Kensington. Instead, Poynter largely retained the Department-trained art teachers he found in the Training School in their posts along

with the old system which they represented.⁴³ This has been contrasted, by Stuart Macdonald, with Newbery's approach at Glasgow which was strongly marked by its adoption of the atelier system.⁴⁴ However, Newbery's move towards this system, as will be demonstrated later, was gradual and by no means complete until 1901, some twenty years after Poynter had resigned his offices at South Kensington. Indeed, Newbery's school would remain fairly close to the South Kensington type throughout most of the 1890s, when, arguably, it was producing its most innovative work.

Moreover, there are, in fact, good grounds for supposing that Newbery's atelier-based approach took its inspiration from Poynter himself and some of the men that he had introduced onto the staff of the National Art Training School. The strength of the atelier system lay in its emphasis of teaching by practical example. Endorsing this approach Newbery maintained that only artists knew enough about art to write on art education, and it is a significant indication of his attitude to Poynter as an artist and teacher that he could praise his *Ten Lectures on Art* which was mainly on the subject of art training. His remark that Poynter was "above all things a school master" was made in the context of the same argument that artists should teach.⁴⁵ Moreover, if artists should teach then his recruitments onto the staff at South Kensington included some notable examples. Two were the sculptors Aimé-Jules Dalou and Edward Lanteri whom Poynter introduced as his modelling masters. Both were outstanding teachers who have since been seen as largely responsible, through their pupils, for the flowering of sculpture in late 19th century Britain.⁴⁶ Newbery, was taught by Dalou and possibly Lanteri as well. A third appointment, was the painter, draughtsman and etcher Alphonse Legros. Newbery, who attended his etching classes, praised him as a master of line. If anything, Legros had been even more scathing than Poynter about the prevailing approach to drawing, describing it as "slow, vicious, feeble and antiquated"⁴⁷ and as Poynter's successor at the Slade he would do much to continue, and develop, the reforms in fine art teaching that the latter had introduced. All three men were French expatriates, trained, like Poynter, in the Parisian *ateliers*. Poynter praised the *atelier* approach to teaching by example, because an artist thus trained acquired his *métier* or craft knowledge at the hands of a master.⁴⁸ In an address given in Glasgow on the occasion of an exhibition of Legros's work, Newbery was picking up this point when he described Legros and Dalou as "masters of material".⁴⁹ Further, when Lanteri visited the Glasgow School of Art on Newbery's invitation in 1889, to give a series of sculpture demonstrations, the latter would acknowledge the value of practical teaching with the comment that "an ounce of practice is worth a pound of precept", words that related closely to Poynter's maxim "example is always better than precept".⁵⁰

Before proceeding with an examination of Newbery's progress at the National Art Training School it will be useful to deal briefly with other possible influences which he would have encountered in London. It has been claimed, on the basis of his later career, that Newbery at this time came under the influence of William Morris in the decorative arts, and James McNeill Whistler in painting.⁵¹ Even if Newbery has left no record of any acquaintance with their work at this point in his development, or of his contemporary attitude towards it, his obvious admiration for both men expressed from the later 1880s onwards would make such a claim seem more than reasonable. Both Whistler and Morris were well-known figures on the London art scene. Whistler had gained notoriety through John Ruskin's scandalised response to his work at the first Grosvenor Gallery exhibition in 1877 and the subsequent famous libel case which the

artist brought against the critic. As a great self-publicist he was often talked about in the art press and his artistic credo, spelt out in his *Ten o'clock lecture* in 1885 was also well-reported in the press. Newbery would come to admire Whistler as a progressive force in art and his own painting would show the latter's influence. Morris's work was highly fashionable during Newbery's London years and could be seen by any art student at his shop in Oxford Street. He was regarded as an "original" designer whose work, whilst drawing on old examples was seen as a new departure, owing nothing in its derivation to the work from across the channel which British manufacturers had always taken as their model.⁵² Nor was Morris unconnected with the art educational system. Poynter, who was a close acquaintance, had drafted him in as adviser to the South Kensington Museum and as one of the judges in design for the National Competition.⁵³ Morris also began to give public lectures on artistic, economic and social issues which Newbery, could read about in such journals as *The Artist*. These placed Morris's achievements in a theoretical context. Newbery who regarded Morris, like Whistler, as a progressive artist because he had led a revival in British decorative art, placing it at the head of international developments, would come to share much of Morris's ideology on the unity of the arts, the social importance of art and design and the relation of the artist or designer to his material, but it does not necessarily follow from this that Morris had to be his source for these ideas, some of which can be found in the writings of Ruskin while others were derived from men such as Richard Redgrave and Owen Jones and had formed the basis of art school teaching on design since the 1850s. Moreover, an examination of Poynter's own addresses on design, delivered and published before Morris himself began to lecture, shows how he occupied a similar position to the latter. Newbery probably imbibed his mature opinions on the arts and crafts, from all these sets of ideas which were being aired at the Training School and in artistic circles in Glasgow in the 1880s.⁵⁴ They would come to the notice of a wider public in the second half of the decade through the agency of such groups as the Century Guild, the Art Worker's Guild, the National Association for the Advancement of Art and most notably the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society. By this time, Newbery would have associations with all these bodies either personally or through artists on his staff.

Despite being eligible, as the possessor of a Group 1 certificate, to apply for admission as an art master in training, Newbery had first enrolled at the Training School as a general student and spent part of his time between 1878 and 1880 working in Dalou's modelling class.⁵⁵ At the same time he was also working on one of the Department's "science subjects", "practical plane and solid geometry", which were taken by art school students and passed this with a first class advanced certificate in 1878. A similar pass in another of the art school science certificates, "machine construction", was also obtained at some point in his career at the Training School.⁵⁶

During his period as a general student, Newbery also continued with his drawing and painting studies, his capacity for drawing and colour, being noted by Poynter⁵⁷ who endorsed this by giving him a first prize, for a set of sketches of landscape on two occasions in the South Kensington Vacation Sketching Club.⁵⁸

Newbery would remain a general student until the end of 1881, when he resigned his appointment at the Grocers' Company's School to embark, in February 1882, on a full-time course as an art-master-in-training.⁵⁹ From this time he began to work in earnest to acquire more of the Department's Art Master's Certificates to equip him for a career in a school of art. He was now able to pursue his training free-of-charge and to

receive a government allowance of from ten to thirty-five shillings per week, the sum renewable on a sessional basis.⁶⁰

There were seven certificates in all. Newbery already possessed the Group 1 certificate and would acquire three others in the course of the next three years as well as passing parts of a fourth. These certificates were proof that their possessor was considered competent to teach those stages of the National Course of Instruction which they each covered. Taking each of the seven certificates in turn, the Group 1 Certificate, as has already been stated, covered the elementary drawing stages. Next in numerical order were Group 2 (Painting, Drawing and Design) and Group 3 (Drawing and Painting the Figure and Still-Life). These three, taken together, covered all the fine art stages with the exception of those associated with modelling, as well as some design. Groups 4 and 5 between them covered all the modelling sections. The remaining two certificates were Group 6 (Domestic Architectural Drawing) and Group 7 (Ornamental Design). As with the Group 1 Certificate all the certificates required a student to submit examples of work for various stages and to sit written examinations, as well as timed examinations in the production of art work.⁶¹

Newbery first took the Group 2 Certificate, as was usual for new students in training. This, which he had obtained by 1883 ⁶² contained both fine art and design elements. The mix of fine art and design subjects and the way in which they were made to complement each other illustrates the design bias in the Department's curriculum. For the fine art subjects students were required to submit satisfactory specimens of drawings from the nude and draped antique figure shaded in chalk; a landscape in oil, either from nature or from an approved painting; and a still-life from a group of flowers in watercolour. This last was included primarily to test the candidates' ability to arrange objects in a harmonious colour relationship rather than as a test of their skill as still-life painters. They also had to pass a timed examination in drawing in chalk from the antique figure and a written paper on "the history and technic of painting". The latter tested the candidate's knowledge of painting from Ancient Egypt to the Renaissance and beyond, including the Italian, Spanish, Flemish, Dutch, French and English schools, based on an observation of pictures from the National Gallery and from a list of set books. The technical questions expected the student to have "a general idea of the method of treatment best suited to the different purposes to which painting is applied, and the qualities... those different purposes...call for, such, for instance as mural decoration, the painting of religious and historical subjects, and the painting of domestic life...also of the limitations imposed on painting when applied to purely decorative purposes".⁶³ It is most likely that Newbery was drawing on this material when he gave a series of lectures on the development of painting and its different national schools to students and the general public in his first year at Glasgow.⁶⁴

The design elements of the group were given equal prominence. They included: the submission of a painting of ornament from the cast "in a manner suitable for decorative purposes"; a set of "fifteen studies of ornamental designs showing the treatment of diapers, friezes, borders...&c illustrative of modifications evolved during various historical periods"; and a drawing of a flowering plant together with three designs for patterns from it, modified to suit the technical requirements of three different processes, "the material being named for each design". The second set of drawings illustrate how students were expected to understand the historical evolution of ornament in order to

apply it to the requirements of their own times. The last two sets of studies further underline the importance which the Department placed, in theory at least, on design being adapted to particular processes and materials. This was consistent with its policy of urging art masters to understand the manufacturing processes employed in their local areas in order to teach students employed in them. They also illustrate the way in which students were encouraged to develop designs from nature, the plant being first studied and understood before an ornamental design was derived from it. In addition, the student was required to sit three examinations on design. These were in painting ornament in monochrome, elementary principles of ornament and designing ornament. The principles of ornament paper required a thorough knowledge of the functions, forms, composition, styles, applications and other aspects of ornament as set forth in such works as Owen Jones' *Grammar of Ornament*. The designing ornament paper required the student to make designs for certain specified purposes such as the decoration of a room, a repeating pattern for a printed cotton or a border for a table cloth, with due consideration of the methods and materials to be employed.⁶⁵

The first and second certificates were the most common ones held by art masters, and it was usual for students who stayed longer at the Training School to attempt, next, the Group 6 architectural certificate. Before discussing this, however, it would be more appropriate to look at the Group 3 certificate (Drawing and Painting the Figure and Still-Life) which Newbery took last, as it has more in common with the second certificate. This involved an extension of the principles employed in the latter but with particular emphasis on the figure. It was more weighted towards fine art but still contained design elements, which emphasised the use of the figure by the decorative artist. The figure studies for this Group were from the living model, in chalk, both nude and draped. There was also a painting of the nude in oil from a picture, and another from life. To these were added a test of the candidate's understanding of artistic anatomy in the shape of two drawings of the bones and muscles placed within the outline of an antique figure or of a study from the life or photographs, or a nude by Michelangelo from the Sistine Chapel. There was also a timed examination testing the candidate's memory of the anatomical construction of the bones and muscles. There were further timed examinations in drawing in chalk from the living model and the antique from memory. The requirement for the still-life specimen for this group was similar to that for Group 2, except that it had to be in oil rather than watercolour.

The design elements for the group were less prominent. The candidates were, however, required to submit "varied studies of historic styles of ornament sufficiently extensive to represent the history of the styles selected, sketched from works in the South Kensington Museum". (Newbery gained a Queen's prize for his work in this section, awarded in the National Competition.)⁶⁶ They were also expected to pass a written examination on the styles selected for their sketches. That even this Group had a fairly strong design bias is demonstrated in the stipulation that if figures were included in the chosen examples they should be shown in combination with their architectural or ornamental surroundings. Lastly the student had to produce "a design of ornament and figures as applied to decorative or industrial art,... neatly executed in light and shade, with figures forming an important feature of the design," and to sit a time examination in composition from a given figure subject. Newbery was engaged on work for this certificate during 1884 as he won a silver medal for a chalk drawing of the nude as "one

of a number of prizes given to students of the Training Class”⁶⁷ and had completed the group with the exception of two examinations, in April 1885.⁶⁸

He was already working on the Group 6 certificate (Domestic Architectural Drawing) in 1883, when the press noticed a design he had produced of “a Middle Class School which showed considerable feeling for Queen Anne details”, and for which he won a national bronze medal.⁶⁹ It is significant that he should have chosen the type of school in which he had taught, and the most modern style of architecture then being employed by E.R. Robson for the design of the new London Board Schools.⁷⁰ This was probably the “design with plans and sections” which formed one of the required examples of work for the certificate. It was regarded by the architectural master, Henry Hargreeves as one of several “excellent practical designs” which Newbery produced while under his charge.⁷¹ The other specimens stipulated for this group were mainly testing the student's ability to produce perspective and measured drawings. They included: a sheet of exercises in sciagraphy (shadow projection); and “a tinted drawing from measurement of some architectural subject” for which he received a further national bronze medal. These were supplemented by the usual examinations which included a sciagraphy paper, another on architectural ornament, and two more which required a deeper understanding of the problems involved in designing buildings. These were on architectural design and building construction.⁷² The Department's 1883 Directory is not very clear on what these papers involved but it would appear from a later Directory that the architectural design paper required the student to design a building “based on a well-known example”.⁷³ It was probably similar to the usual third grade paper set by candidates in architectural design, which required the student “to plan and design a building in conformity with a statement of requirements and conditions...”. He was expected to work in a chosen style, although Renaissance or Gothic were preferred, correctness in the use of the style selected being considered of more importance than originality. Despite this insistence on stylistic conformity there was a strong emphasis on the practical requirements of building design. Candidates were warned to look on the plan as the basis of the building with a satisfactory exterior and good architectural interior features. Additionally, they were advised to consider “the conditions of the problem as regards accommodation, communication, lighting, &c.”.⁷⁴

The building construction paper which reinforced the practical aspects of the architectural design course was directed not only at the possibility of its possessor being required to teach architecture students, but also the multitude of artisans involved in the building trades who attended schools of art. Its purpose was to acquaint them with a sound knowledge of the principles and practice of the subject, the syllabus which governed it being divided into elementary, advanced, and honours stages. The first two stages, taken by Newbery, required a knowledge of brickwork, mason's work, timber joints and different modes of roof construction, and the ability to calculate stresses in structures. Cast-iron construction, lead-work and slating, as well as the scale drawing of details such as doors and windows and floors were also studied and examined on a theoretical level.⁷⁵

The architectural training undergone by Newbery, covered practically all the subjects in this discipline recognised and taught by South Kensington. (The only exception was the honours portion of the building construction certificate.) In Department terms he was thus qualified to teach architecture in a school of art. His experience also gave him

enough expertise to draw up the competition brief which formed the basis for Mackintosh's Glasgow School of Art building, and to attempt a small amount of architectural work in the 1920s. Moreover, the authorities in the Training School were so well satisfied with his abilities that they appointed him, as part of his training, assistant teacher in their architecture class for a year.⁷⁶

As part of his training Newbery was also required to teach in other local schools.⁷⁷ Students in the Training School had for many years been asked to undertake the teaching of classes in elementary schools,⁷⁸ but Newbery was asked to teach at a higher level in the Bow and Bromley Institute, where he took a class of some fifty artisans in the 1883-4 session. Apart from the added experience this gave him, the fact that he was such an able teacher, would have been another reason why the authorities chose him as one of only five students sent out that year, as students in training earned payments on results for the Training School. Needless to say Newbery impressed the directors of the Bow and Bromley Institute by improving his pupils' results to the extent that 90% obtained grant payments as opposed to 24% in the previous year and as many as 20 prizes and medals were won.⁷⁹ He also taught at a school in Dorking⁸⁰ and although we have no dates for the latter it is not unlikely that he was attending both at the same period.

It was probably in the 1884-5 session, which was his last at South Kensington, that Newbery was given further responsibilities for the tuition of the general students. He taught in the antique room in the Female School and was given charge of "a large and advanced class for drawing from the life in the Male School". These posts according to John Sparkes, Poynter's successor as Principal, were the highest the School had at its disposal and were "given only to the student who" showed "the best aptitude for teaching".⁸¹ His abilities were further recognised by his being appointed a "special temporary examiner" for second grade examination papers sent up from schools of art throughout the country.⁸² He had also met with enough success in painting to gain acceptance of one of his works at the Royal Institute of Painters in Oil Colours.⁸³ By 1885 he was being described as "senior master in training".⁸⁴ Whether this referred to his age, or the number of his qualifications, or his level of experience and ability is not clear, but he was by now well enough qualified in all these respects to appeal to the committee of management of any school of art.

Art masters in training were required to take up appointments on the recommendation of the Principal of the Training School and could not accept posts without his permission.⁸⁵ In March 1885, the post of Head master at the Glasgow School of Art was advertised in the School.⁸⁶ Newbery applied, and was warmly supported by Sparkes. In support of an impressive *curriculum vitae*, Newbery was able to muster glowing testimonials from Sparkes, Poynter, Hagreen and the principals at the schools where he had taught as well as the head masters of the Manchester and Preston Schools of Art who had known him at the Training School. There were eighteen other candidates considered, among them eight head masters at schools of art in Coventry, Derby, Hanley, Southampton, Wakefield, Burslem, Belfast and Great Yarmouth, as well as Glasgow's deputy head master and a previous deputy head.⁸⁷ Almost all of these had held posts in industrial locations, which was an advantage when applying for a school like that at Glasgow which catered for the needs of many art industries. In addition all the applicants, with one exception, were older than Newbery. In Newbery's favour were

his warm recommendation from Sparkes, and his qualifications. (Only four other candidates had the same number of completed certificates as Newbery: Groups 1, 2, 3, and 6) Newbery alone, however, had qualifications in the 4th (modelling) certificate.) In order that his high qualifications should carry as much weight as possible, Newbery submitted an official document prepared by the Training School which demonstrated statistically, how the results of schools of art in the National Competition were related to the level of qualifications of their head masters.⁸⁸ Another factor that interested the Glasgow authorities was Newbery's employment as an official examiner for the second grade examinations. As these examinations were large grant earners for local schools, being the most popular with new students, it was useful to have a head master who was thoroughly conversant with the kind of work the Department was seeking. Only three other candidates had also acted as examiners and two of these, who had had recent contact with the National Art Training School, were shortlisted along with Newbery. These were George Trobridge, and S.J. Cartlidge, heads, respectively, of the Belfast and Hanley Schools.⁸⁹ Despite Newbery's lack of experience in running a school of art, the sub-committee appointed to look after the vacancy were sufficiently impressed by his application to send a representative to London to interview Sparkes and Newbery. The result of this visit and their enquiries into the other two candidates, on whom Sparkes was also asked to comment, was that Newbery alone was invited for interview at the offices of Sir James Watson, the committee chairman, in Glasgow, on 19th May. He was asked to take with him some examples of his work in the higher branches: antique; life; design; and oil and watercolour painting. On the following day, five days after his thirtieth birthday, he met the whole committee and was offered the post.⁹⁰ He would remain in Glasgow for the next 33 years.

Notes

DSA = Department of Science and Art.

GL = Guildhall Library, London

GSA = Glasgow School of Art.

GSAA= Glasgow School of Art Archives

1. Isobel Spencer, 'Francis Newbery and the Glasgow Style', *Apollo* (October 1973), 286-293 (p.286). The School was known as a 'middle' or 'middle class' school. *The Dorset Year Book*, 1926, p.121, quoting Newbery's entry in *Who's Who*, refers to the School as the 'Middle Class Corporation Schools, Cowper Street'.

2. GL, MS 11, 633/1, Grocers' Company's School, Hackney Downs, Minute Book no, 1 (June 1873-June 1884). Interview with Reverend William Rogers regarding the Finsbury Middle School, another name for the Cowper Street School.

3. GSAA, Francis Henry Newbery, Testimonials (London: 1885) p.5.

4. GL, MS 11, 634/1, Grocers' Company's School, Hackney Downs, Cash Book, p.6 This records Newbery's first monthly salary as having been paid in January 1877.

5. Alderman, Geoffrey, *The History of Hackney Downs School*, formerly the Grocers' Company's School (London: Clove Club, 1972), p.9 and GL, MS 11, 633/1, Grocers' Company School, Minutes. These indicate that the advice of William Rogers, based on the arrangements at Finsbury was followed closely. As Bowen was the deputy at Cowper Street/Finsbury he already knew Newbery and appointed him on the basis of his record.

6. Ibid., 5 November 1879.
7. GSAA, F.H. Newbery, Testimonials, p.6. and F.H. Newbery, *Curriculum Vitae* (1885).
8. GL, MS 11, 633/1, Grocers' Company's School, Minutes, 10 January 1877.
9. Ibid., 10 January 1877, 24 July 1878, and 5 November 1879.
10. Ibid., 19 July 1878.
11. Ibid., 10 January 1877.
12. Ibid., 19 July 1878.
13. Ibid..
14. Alderman, The History of Hackney Downs School, p.6.
15. Herbert Spencer, Education: Intellectual, Moral and Physical (London: Williams & Norgate, 1911 (1st edition 1878)), pp.34-36.
16. Herbert Courthope Bowen, Froebel and Education by Self-Activity (London: William Heineman, 1893) p.v.. Bowen states that his “attention was first called to his (Froebel's) system when...head master of a large London school.” Alderman, History of Hackney Downs School, p.13 indicates that Hackney Downs was Bowen's only headship.
17. GSAA, Newbery, Testimonials, p.7 and *Curriculum Vitae*.
18. GSAA, Newbery, Testimonials, p.1. J.C.L. Sparkes, Principal of the Training School, states that in 1885 Newbery has been a student for eight years.
19. Christopher Frayling, The Royal College of Art: one hundred and fifty years of art and design (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1987), pp.50 & 54.
20. DSA, Calendar (1884), p.29.
21. DSA, 29th Report (1882), p.481.
22. Isobel Spencer, ‘Francis Newbery and the Glasgow Style’, p.286.
23. Edward J. Poynter, Ten Lectures on Art (London: Chapman & Hall, 1879), pp.135-164.
24. GSAA, GSA, Press Cuttings Book 1907-1917, p.185. Unattributed cutting dated 28 January 1914.
25. F. Brown, ‘Recollections’ Artwork, 6, no.3 (Autumn 1930), 149-160 (p.154). Brown, who left the Training School soon after Poynter took over had regarded the teaching there, up to that date as farcical. He only had two lessons from Poynter and so did not wish to express an opinion on his teaching but found it “a vast improvement on anything previous” and noticed how in drawing the outline of a leg he based his teaching on its anatomical construction something which had been absent from the previous teaching in which the figure was not understood.
26. Shirley Fox, An Art Student's Reminiscences of Paris in the Eighties (London: Mills & Boon, 1909), pp.52-54 describes the response of the French Academician Bouguereau to the beautifully finished but absurdly proportioned drawing of an ex-South Kensington student at the *Académie Julian*.
27. Edward J. Poynter, Ten Lectures on Art, pp.95-96.
28. Ibid., p.139, footnote.
29. Ibid., p.113.
30. Ibid., pp.137 & 140. Outline drawing from drawing models was described as “a pure waste of time” only useful to “young and helpless students”.
31. Ibid., pp.137-138.
32. Ibid., p.142.
33. George Moore, Modern Painting (London: Walter Scott, 1893), pp.65-66.
34. Poynter, Ten Lectures on Art, p.144.

35. Ibid., pp.160-161.
36. Hon John Collier, A Manual of Oil Painting (London: Cassell and Company, 1894), pp.51-57.
37. Royal Commission for Technical Instruction, 2nd Report, 5 volumes (London: 1884) III, p.85.
38. Stuart Macdonald, The History and Philosophy of Art Education (London: University of London Press, 1970) p.264 quoting from The Art Journal, 1881 p.28. While saying this, however, Macdonald has reservations about the true extent of Poynter's reforms. He states that the practice of making laborious drawings from the antique nude "which occupied months" was followed as a prelude to admission into the life class. Macdonald's evidence comes from 1903, by which time he says that these classes were taking years rather than months. This later practice was certainly different from that advocated by Poynter himself for the Slade, where drawing from the antique, as in the Parisian *ateliers* and at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, was only used as a means of gaining facility over a short period before attempting the life class -Poynter, Ten Lectures on Art, pp.107-8. Even if Macdonald is right in claiming that students were kept in the antique class for a considerable time, it does not necessarily follow that they would have been kept at one drawing for a long period. It would seem that under Poynter, at the Training School, and under his successor Sparkes, a strict time limit was placed on the making of drawings from the antique. Sparkes himself advocated this in 1876 and spoke in 1884 of its advantages since its adoption in the Training School -J.C.L. Sparkes, Schools of Art: their Origin, History, Work and Influence (London: William Clowes and Sons for International Health Exhibition, 1884) p.88.
39. DSA, Reports, Medals tables.
40. Sparkes, Schools of Art, p.87 and GSA, Annual Report, (1876), p.5
41. DSA, 28th Report (1881).
42. Edward R. Taylor, Elementary Art Teaching (London: Chapman & Hall 1890), p.125 states that "the result of the first year's work in the new method was such as to appal Mr Poynter himself. It resulted only in the substitution of blackness and smear for niggles, crosshatch, and stipple, but the true artistic expression was no nearer being realised."
43. DSA, Directories (1875-1881). These give the staff of the Training School. F. Brown, 'Recollections', p.154 in referring to Poynter at the Training School says that "apparently he had to accept the existing staff".
44. Stuart Macdonald, 'Newbery and "the Four": A School for Europe', in Thistlewood, editor, History of Art and Design Education: Cole to Coldstream (London: Longman, 1992) p.83. I fully endorse Macdonald's assertion that Newbery drew his belief in the atelier or workshop basis for art education from his stay in London but take issue with what appears to be a sweeping dismissal of Poynter's regime at South Kensington. Without him, neither Legros, Dalou nor Lanteri would have been on the staff at the Training School and Newbery would have had far less opportunity of experiencing the breathtakingly different kind of teaching to be had at the hands of a gifted atelier-trained master- Susan Beattie, The New Sculpture (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983) pp.19 and 25, illustrates the impact of Dalou's teaching on students.
45. GSAA, GSA, Press Cuttings Book 1907-1917, p.185. Unattributed cutting dated 28 January 1914.
46. Beattie, The New Sculpture, especially pp.9-28.
47. Royal Commission on Technical Instruction, 2nd Report, III, p.199 par.2057.

48. Poynter, Ten Lectures on Art, p.100 and Beattie, The New Sculpture, pp.14-19.
49. GSAA, GSA, Press Cuttings Book 1907-17, p.185.
50. F. H. Newbery, 'Sculpture demonstrations by M. Lanteri at Glasgow', Scottish Art Review, 1, no.12 (May 1889), 340-341, (p.340) and Poynter, Ten Lectures on Art, p.viii. Newbery here stressed the value of practical demonstration compared with an ordinary art lecture.
51. Macdonald 'Newbery and the Four', p.83.
52. Royal Commission on Technical Instruction, 2nd Report, III, p.150 (William Morris's evidence) and pp.180-181 (H.H. Mott's evidence).
53. DSA, 25th and 28th Reports, (1878 and 1881).
54. Christopher Hussey, The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens (London: Country Life, 1953) p.14 indicates the interest taken in Morris's ideology by students at the School in the mid 1880s.
55. GSAA, GSA Press Cuttings Book 1907-17, p.185. Newbery claimed to have been a pupil of Dalou who was teaching at South Kensington from 1878 until 1881- Beattie, The New Sculpture, pp.14-19.
56. GSAA, Newbery, Curriculum Vitae and GSA, Correspondence to DSA 1882-1887, p.772.
57. GSAA, Newbery, Testimonials, p.2.
58. The Artist (1 November 1880), p.329. This was in section B, a category reserved for general students. In GSAA, Newbery, *Curriculum Vitae*, he noted that he obtained a similar prize on another occasion.
59. GL, MS, 11,634/1, Grocers' Company's School, Cash Book. Newbery's last salary entry is for December 1881. DSA, Report, 1883, p.501 records Newbery's enrolment as an art master in training in session 1881-2. As students could enter either in October or February, Newbery would have commenced his full-time studies in the latter month. This suggests that Newbery's entry in George Eyre-Todd, compiler, Who's Who in Glasgow, 1909, (Glasgow: Gowans and Gray, 1909), p.158, is inaccurate in its assertion that he was "elected a student in training in 1880" unless there was a lapse of a year between Newbery's being allocated a place as an art-master-in-training and his beginning his course.
60. DSA, Directory (1883), pp.42-43.
61. DSA, Directory (1889), pp.259-262.
62. DSA, 30th Report (1883), p.131.
63. DSA, Directory (1889), pp.254-5.
64. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 19 January, 1886.
65. DSA, Directory (1883), pp.104-5 with some amplification provided in the 1889 Directory, pp.259-60.
66. GSAA, Newbery, *Curriculum Vitae*. Newbery described his Queen's prize as being for museum studies in water colours.
67. Janice Helland, 'The New Woman in Fin-de Siècle Art: Frances and Margaret Macdonald' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Victoria, 1991) p.22 quoting from The Artist, (1 August 1884), p.242.
68. Newbery may or may not have completed these as the Department's reports never listed this certificate among his qualifications. Newbery, however, did claim to have obtained it in the annual returns he made to South Kensington from Glasgow School of Art.
69. The Artist, (1 August 1883), p.242.

70. Mark Girouard, Sweetness and Light: the Queen Anne Movement, 1860-1900 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977) pp.64-70.
71. GSAA, Newbery, Testimonials, p.4.
72. DSA, Directory (1883), p.107.
73. DSA, Directory (1889), p.262.
74. Ibid..
75. Ibid., pp.142-144.
76. GSAA, Newbery, Testimonials p.1. It is not specified whether this was session 1883-4 or 1884-5.
77. DSA, Directory (1883), p.43.
78. Macdonald, History and Philosophy of Art Education, p.165 records the instance of one student who taught in eight schools for an hour's lesson each week. Macdonald, almost certainly referring to the practice in the 1860s, under Redgrave, suggests that all students in training were required to teach in local schools at that time. DSA, Directory (1883), p.43 also made this a requirement. However, according to DSA, 31st Report (1884), pp.229-230, out of thirty-four students in training, only six were then giving instruction in London Schools.
79. GSAA, Newbery, *Curriculum Vitae*, and Testimonials pp.7-8. There is some contradiction in the sources here as Newbery's testimonial from the Bow and Bromley Institute suggests that he was there from 1883 to 1884, while the Department's Reports for 1883 and 1884, imply that he was also there in 1882, an implication which the testimonial, with its assertion that he was there for 12 months, would appear to rule out. A possible explanation may be that he was appointed late in the 1882-3 session, early enough for this to be noted in the Report for that session, but was only there for a full session in the following year.
80. Building Industries, 17 August 1915, p.73. The Department of Science and Art Reports do not mention this.
81. GSAA, Newbery, Testimonials, p1. Thus Spencer, 'Francis Newbery and the Glasgow Style', p.286, is not quite accurate in suggesting that Newbery "had graduated to the staff" of the School. Nor is there any evidence for her statement that he was giving anatomy lectures.
82. GSAA, Newbery, Letter, 11 May 1885 in support of his application for the post of head master at Glasgow School of Art.
83. GSAA, Newbery, *Curriculum Vitae*.
84. GSAA, Newbery, Testimonials, title page.
85. DSA, Directory (1883), pp.42-43, footnote.
86. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 18 March 1885.
87. GSAA, GSA, Applications for head mastership, 1885. Manuscript sheet, listing applicants, their qualifications and experience, and GSA, Minutes, 24 April 1885.
88. GSAA, DSA, Statistics relating to Schools of Art for the Years 1876-80 (London: National Art Training School, 1882).
89. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 24 April 1885.
90. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 20 May 1885 and GSA, Correspondence 1883-1887, pp.177-8.

CHAPTER 3

GLASGOW SCHOOL OF ART 1870-1885

Newbery's appointment as head master of Glasgow School of Art must have seemed a great achievement to the thirty-year-old art master. The city of Glasgow with its 704,000 inhabitants, in 1881¹ was second in size only to London, and proudly styled itself "the Second City of the Empire". It was a great mercantile and manufacturing city, which had grown rapidly up to the 1860s on the back of the cotton trade. The city had developed its industries to cater for this branch of manufacture at every stage of production, from the building of steam engines and machinery, using local coal and iron, through spinning, weaving, dyeing, printing and finishing. Great chemical and engineering works had also grown up as an adjunct to the staple manufacture, and had developed into industries in their own right. From the 1860s cotton, while remaining paramount as an employer, suffered a relative decline, although heavy engineering, locomotive construction and shipbuilding continued to expand. The city, however, supported a multitude of other trades and industries, including carpet manufacture, ornamental cast iron founding, pottery, and glassmaking. Shipbuilding itself spawned a host of ancillary trades and industries as did the physical expansion of the city itself, with its need for architects, surveyors, builders and building workers. Work and goods of an artistic character or requiring the skills of the draughtsman might thus be expected to have found a market not only from Glasgow's many customers throughout the United Kingdom and the world but also among its own middle classes, grown wealthy from its trade and manufactures. It was, of course, the ostensible purpose of the School of Art to train the work force to supply these multifarious products.

The School and its Students

Where Newbery might have expected that he had come to a thriving institution, ready to allow him to develop his educational ideas, he soon found instead that he had walked into a complex set of problems which had been only partially confronted by his two predecessors and which had, in fact, caused both to resign. It will be necessary then to look at what these problems were, how far and in what ways they had been addressed by the two previous head masters and the circumstances which either helped or hindered them, before going on to look at Newbery's approach. Before doing this, however, one should attempt to discuss the main characteristics of the School as it existed between 1870 and 1880, looking at its accommodation, the social complexion of its students, the classes it ran and the staff who provided the tuition. This will in turn provide a starting point from which to pursue the further discussion.

The School had been opened in January 1845, as the Glasgow Government School of Design, with premises in Ingram Street. It was the first government school to be set up in Scotland,² and was seen by its founders, most of whom were local manufacturers,³ as a means of improving the competitiveness of the city's industries.⁴ Since 1869, the School now renamed the Glasgow School of Art and Haldane Academy,⁵ had occupied premises in the "Corporation Buildings", on Sauchiehall Street, one of the city's main commercial thoroughfares, on the route into the centre from the wealthy West End. The buildings, also known as "the McLellan Galleries" after their founder and builder Archibald McLellan, from whose estate they had been purchased by the Town Council in 1856, stood on a rectangular site, containing shops on the ground floor facing

Sauchiehall Street. In the centre of the rectangle, accessible from the street via a corridor, were the galleries containing the City's art collection, most of which had also been purchased from McLellan's estate. The sides and rear, as well as the upper storeys on the outside of the rectangle, originally contained dwelling houses, but those in the upper stories of the main street frontage had been converted in 1868 to house various learned societies, a suite of galleries for temporary exhibitions and the School of Art. Its accommodation was on the first and second floors at the Eastern end of the complex on the corner of Sauchiehall Street and Rose Street.⁶

The available evidence ⁷ suggests that the first floor contained the elementary rooms - possibly two of these for male and female students - and a room for mechanical and architectural drawing, which were taught on alternate evenings.⁸ There was also a head master's room and possibly staff and other accommodation. The advanced rooms were on the second floor. They included a large cast gallery at the western end. (This had originally been the easternmost of the suite of galleries fitted out in 1868 and had been acquired by the School from the Corporation in 1874.) ⁹ There were also rooms for a life class, still-life and ornament. Above these, in the roof-space were a further two rooms. One was a lecture theatre and the other served as a modelling room.

Throughout most of the 1870s, the School was the largest, in terms of student numbers, in the United Kingdom.¹⁰ There were no entrance requirements beyond the ability to pay the fees. The students, were drawn largely from the artisan and middle classes, representing a large number of occupations. In 1878, by far the greater proportion of students attended the cheaper classes, either in the early morning, between 7am and 9 a.m., or in the evening from 7 to 9 p.m. (137 attended in the morning and 710 in the evening.) The evenings represented the most active part of the School's day. Only then could students attend classes in architectural drawing, engineering drawing, modelling and life; or lectures on anatomy, perspective and geometry. These were in addition to classes in elementary outline and model drawing, drawing from casts of ornament and the figure, and still-life painting, which were available at all times of the day. The more expensive "forenoon classes" were given between 10 a.m. and 12 noon to "Ladies" and "Gentlemen", some of whom also practised landscape painting in oil and watercolour, by copying existing work. Classes for drawing and painting from the School's good collection of antique figures were also run for these students between noon and 3 p.m.. The forenoon classes were also well attended, with 214 students on the books (175 women and 39 men). Most of these were entered in the registers as "art students" or under their fathers' occupations. This type of student, however, did not attend the forenoon or "day" classes exclusively, as a further 103 were enrolled in the morning or evening. Of the students in employment in 1878, the largest category (76), gave their occupation as "clerk"; there were also large numbers of engineers (62), joiners (53), architects (40), masons (36), draughtsmen (32) and house painters (31).¹¹ The School's intake covered a wide age range, from a small number of school children under twelve - 8 in 1878 - to mature students, some of whom were as old as 35. Most, however, were between the ages of 15 and 21, with the greatest concentration at age 18. Many of those in work, were apprentices, attending the elementary, mechanical or architectural drawing classes. The length of time spent in attendance was very short for the majority, with most students only appearing on the registers for one session¹² and, judging from the complaints of the School authorities, many only stayed for part of that time.¹³ In following the National Course of Instruction, students were required to work at a

particular set of its stages until they could satisfy the head master that they had reached a level of proficiency sufficient for them to be allowed onto more advanced sections of the course.¹⁴ Thus students would stay as long as they were interested or were gaining some benefit from their studies. As with other schools affiliated to the Department, there was no set number of years which students had to work through before they “graduated” as there were no leaving certificates of any kind. The only certificates obtainable at the School were the second grade certificates for elementary drawing, a new art class teacher's certificate, introduced in 1878, which tested more advanced work¹⁵ and the art master's or third grade certificates, reserved for those who, like Newbery, intended to teach in schools of art. New advanced third grade local examinations introduced by Poynter in 1878 also had their accompanying certificates which could be competed for by students who did not necessarily intend to become art masters. In addition, the School entered students for some of the science examinations which required drawing skills. These were in mechanical drawing, building construction, and practical, plane and solid geometry, and also carried with them the usual awards of certificates, prizes and payments on results. There was, a core of students, many but not all of whom had taken the second grade examination, who stayed for anything up to ten years, taking a variety of classes. Some of these were from the day school, as might be expected, as they had private means, but others were in employment, attending morning or evening classes, and it was these long-stay students who tended to win the most prestigious prizes. Some of these, like the Orr brothers who carried off national gold medals in 1866 and 1867, were tradesmen (in their case house decorators).¹⁶ A number, however, competed for awards in the fine art sections of the course, such as William Ewing, who won a gold medal for modelling a figure from the antique in 1874.¹⁷ There was also a significant number of teachers on the books (1878, was rather a lean year with only 19; there were 32 in each of the following two years).¹⁸ These, like the young Newbery would be there to improve their drawing skills for general education. There were others however, both teachers, “art students” and tradesmen, who would go on to take the government examinations to qualify them as masters or mistresses in Schools of Art. One such was Jessie R. Allen, an art student, daughter of a ceramics manufacturer, who obtained the art class teacher's certificate and art master's certificate of the 1st Group and went on to specialise in teaching watercolours in the Art School.¹⁹

During the 1870s, the School saw its role as catering for all trades and professions where drawing was required, including engineering and many branches of industry, not now associated with art and design. Apart from training drawing teachers on the premises for general and art education it supervised the teaching of drawing in Glasgow's two teachers' normal seminaries up to 1874.²⁰ It also trained architects, and designers both in two and three dimensions, and provided tuition in the fine arts of painting and sculpture, both as an adjunct to design but also in their own right.

The staffing provision attempted to cover these areas, doubling during the decade from 6 permanent members and two pupil teachers in 1870 to 12 permanent members, 2 pupil teachers and 2 visiting staff in 1880.²¹ The head master from 1863 to 1881 was Robert Greenlees (1820-1896), who carried responsibility for all the advanced teaching. This involved him in the oversight of the life, antique and painting classes as well as design teaching.²² He was assisted in other specialist areas by professionals. Thus the engineering and architectural classes were both taught by practising engineers and architects, and the modelling class was supervised by a professional sculptor. (The

architects who taught in the school under Greenlees included David Thomson (1858-1874), John James Burnet (1877) and Henry Edward Clifford (1878-1885) and the modelling class was under the surveillance of John Mossman, Glasgow's leading sculptor, with an assistant.)²³ These classes, with their professional staff, were provided in very few other schools, and had been introduced by Greenlees' predecessor, Charles Heath Wilson. Greenlees, however, was himself responsible for introducing a life class, in 1870, a fairly unusual provision for its date.²⁴ This was in response to a student request and was not exactly an innovation for the School which had had its first life class in 1850, although it appears to have been abandoned some years later.²⁵ Greenlees, can also be credited with the introduction of anatomy lectures from the 1878-1879 session, given by Dr Knox from the University of Glasgow, as an adjunct to the School's teaching of the figure.²⁶ During the decade Greenlees, had been able to acquire professional assistants to help the architect and engineer in their respective classes as well as adding to the staff establishment for elementary and general teaching. In 1870, he had two assistants with art master's certificates; by the end of the decade he had increased this to three (viz.: 1870, Robert Brydall and David Banner; in 1880, Robert Brydall, Duncan McKinlay and James J.F.X. King). They took charge of the general morning, day and evening classes, probably under the supervision of the Second Master, who was David Banner in 1870, and Robert Brydall at the end of the decade. The increase was partly justified by the opening of a branch school in Glasgow's East End in the 1877-78 session. This was an evening school run largely by King. Greenlees had also introduced his daughter, a successful ex-student onto the teaching staff probably as assistant to the existing woman teacher, Elizabeth Patrick, in the Ladies' Day class.

Despite the policies of the Department, which emphasised the primacy of teaching ornamental design, many students used the fine art aspects of the course as a means of furthering their careers as artists. John Lavery, for example, attended classes for three years, beginning with elementary drawing in outline, but eventually moving on to the antique and life rooms.²⁷ His intention was always to become a painter and as such he ignored the design sections in the course. The fine art elements of Redgrave's course figured more prominently at Glasgow during the 1870s, partly because of the pressure of the middle class students, who were generally interested in landscape, still-life and the figure, and those like Lavery who worked at other occupations during the day, but had artistic ambitions,²⁸ but also because of the boom in the market for pictures by contemporary artists and the high rewards available to the successful which made painting a more attractive profession than it had been earlier in the century.

The Years of Relative Decline: Robert Greenlees and the late 1870s

Despite its size and the variety of classes which it offered, the School, during the 1870s, was running into difficulties. Up to the mid 1870s it had achieved consistently good results in the government examinations. In the 1867 session it came first among all the provincial schools in the National Competition, with two gold medals and a silver, all for design, and managed to carry away 6 more third grade prizes than the National Art Training School.²⁹ The many awards it had to its credit in the National Competition, included a large proportion in the more advanced subjects, particularly in design and modelling. Between 1876 and 1881, however, it failed to win a single medal, although it was still fairly successful in the annual examinations.³⁰

The reasons for this situation are not altogether clear, but they probably reflect a decline in the provision of design teaching, as well as a failure to come up to improving standards in fine art. At least some of the blame for this must be laid at the door of the headmaster, Robert Greenlees, with whose period of office the decline coincides. (Although he had held his post since 1863, he had only been in sole charge of the School from 1868, when his predecessor as headmaster, Charles Heath Wilson, retired from his supervisory role as Honorary Director.)

Greenlees, who had previously been Wilson's deputy, had been apprenticed as a glass-stainer, but had pursued a career as a painter of landscapes, portraits and genre pictures.³¹ Every indication suggests that he was popular with his staff and students and was on good terms with his committee. However, there is little in the School's annual reports or minute books to indicate that he was particularly gifted as an innovative manager. He seems to have been less likely to introduce ideas of his own than to respond to the demands of others, whether innovations proposed by the Department or the demands of students. To his credit, he welcomed the new, more rapid, system of drawing from the cast and the life model instituted by Poynter in 1876 and praised the announcement of the introduction of the new third grade local examinations in the same year, because they tested a student's real ability.³² On the other hand, unlike his predecessor, he failed to provide adequate training for designers.³³ In fact, he ran no formal design classes at all, throughout the 1870s. This seems strange, in view of the fact that Glasgow was a major manufacturing centre and the whole of the Department's educational policy was supposed to be geared towards this end.

Greenlees' ostensible reason for his abandonment of design teaching was that there was little point in holding a design class as it was unlikely to attract much interest. An attempt to start one had only had one respondent.³⁴ The textile industry which was in relative decline in Glasgow, by the 1870s,³⁵ had previously supplied the School with most of its design students and Greenlees tended to continue to think of design education in this context. His headmaster's report of 1876 with its comments on the decline in numbers of designers and pattern drawers in the School, together with his criticism of employers for buying designs from France would point to this conclusion.³⁶ The view is further reinforced, by his comment to Fred Barwell, a Department Inspector, in 1877, that Glasgow had no staple manufacture requiring design, and by Barwell's reply that there were "masons, decorators, cabinet makers and iron founders".³⁷

The lack of a design class, however, was only part of the problem. The School's committee saw its institution increasingly as a fine art school but neither it nor its headmaster seem to have taken any pains to keep pace with the improving standards in the area which were being expected by the Department. In 1876, the Glasgow Committee observed that the previous interest in design amongst its students had given place to a desire to study landscape painting.³⁸ This, however, probably has more to do with the popularity of the subject in the School's large forenoon ladies' class and the predilections of the headmaster than any move on the part of the students, *en masse*, in this direction. Greenlees, however, must have observed a certain shift to fine art in the School as he remarked that artisan students were increasingly inclined to want to become artists rather than designers, as the calling of the former was thought by them

“to be a more remunerative profession”.³⁹ However, Greenlees, whilst perhaps laying more emphasis on some fine art subjects popular with his middle class students, seems to have done so at the expense of an adequate grounding in sound drawing in the intermediate stages of the course. This meant that he was unable to adapt sufficiently to the new emphasis on improved drawing, largely associated with the study of the figure, brought in by the Department after Redgrave's retirement in 1875. As a result, other schools began to outstrip Glasgow in the medals tables.

National Competition medals were awarded for the more advanced stages of the course. In the early 1870s, under Redgrave, more of the highest awards tended to go to design than to fine art. In 1869, six gold medals were given for advanced design at Stage 23, with only four for the fine art stages.⁴⁰ When Poynter succeeded Redgrave, however, more emphasis was placed on the advanced fine art stages. In 1877, for example, out of twelve gold medals only five were awarded for design, while eight were given for fine art.⁴¹ Thus it was incumbent upon any headmaster who wanted to obtain the highest results not only to continue to concentrate on design teaching, but to give increasing time to fine art. The new areas where Poynter was placing more emphasis were in nude life drawing and painting, and drawing the draped figure. This was in addition to still-life painting and drawing and modelling from the cast which had earned gold medals under Redgrave. The schools, at Edinburgh, Lambeth and South Kensington by concentrating effort on fine art, were even able to deny Glasgow the medals for modelling the figure, which it had previously been used to winning, as well as taking most of the highest awards for life studies in drawing and painting.⁴²

Greenlees sought to excuse his students' lack of success in winning South Kensington's awards by pointing out that they were labouring under at least two disadvantages, when compared with students from some other schools. In the first place, they could not compete with middle class students in such schools as Edinburgh. These, unlike the Glasgow artisan, could devote their whole time to their studies. Secondly, because Glasgow was a large school, the headmaster, whose task it was to look after the more advanced students, had less time to spare for them than he would in a smaller institution.⁴³ Although these reasons might indicate some of the difficulties under which Greenlees was working, they can hardly have been the basic causes of the School's comparative decline. The success of the next headmaster, under exactly similar circumstances, alone, would belie this. But there is also evidence from another quarter that suggests that Greenlees had been too lax in his control of the kind of teaching which the School was required to offer.

On the School's request an inspector visited Glasgow in November 1877 to give the Department's suggestions on what might be wrong with the tuition and to propose remedies.⁴⁴ His main criticism was that the headmaster had not been thorough enough in ensuring that students were well enough grounded in the intermediate levels of the course before being allowed to move onto more advanced studies. The inspector, Fred Barwell, found it “remarkable” that the School should not do better in view of the fact that it was well equipped and drew on a large population. He praised the careful grounding in the early stages of instruction. But he felt that too much time was being spent on these stages and that students ought to be pushed on to simple examples of ornament in low relief far sooner than they were. It is probable that Greenlees, who had been trained under Wilson, was still following the slow, gradual, methods based on

drawing from the flat, advocated by Redgrave and favoured by teachers of his generation, and had failed to keep pace with the new methods which aimed at a rapid advance to drawing from the cast, proposed by Poynter in the previous year. Barwell in fact found that the intermediate stages of the course were largely being neglected. The students, for example, had failed to master drawing in light and shade before being allowed into the class for painting the living nude model, nor had they acquired any sound knowledge of anatomy. His criticism here was not dissimilar from that meted out to the Bridport school by the Department when Redgrave had still been in charge, in its insistence on the mastering of drawing in light and shade before students be allowed to move onto drawing from nature. Barwell had seen “very little shading from the ornamental cast, very little monochrome, no study and treatment of historic styles, hardly any painting from groups or still life (included in the Department's course to encourage the manipulation of colour) and design generally appeared absent”. He felt that Greenlees, through a fear of losing the more wealthy students, had allowed them to do what was either useless or beyond their powers. He singled out the morning ladies' class for particular criticism. This was run by the popular Miss Elizabeth Patrick, who was employing methods and examples favoured by private drawing masters in the 1840s, which formed no part of the government system.⁴⁵ This class was an important source of income, containing about seventy pupils who to Barwell's obvious disapproval “almost monopolise[d] the School every morning”.

That Greenlees had failed to keep pace with what were more exacting standards both in design and fine art was hinted at in Barwell's final and most damning comment: “Mr Greenlees is conscious of trying his best, but his best does not confessedly bring the desired results in the higher branches of instruction”. Greenlees' response was to attempt to give more stringent instruction in the intermediate levels. He posted up copies of the National Course of Instruction in all the class rooms,⁴⁶ and presumably applied himself more firmly to the task of not allowing students into more advanced classes until they were ready (His contract stated that he was required to inspect all students' work each month and that he was responsible for their transfer from class to class)⁴⁷ He also reacted to Barwell's criticism on the students' inadequate knowledge of anatomy, by securing the appointment of an artistic anatomy lecturer.⁴⁸ He increased the hours when middle class students could study from the antique and new prizes were offered for design.⁴⁹ There is some ambivalent evidence that he had largely succeeded in restructuring the course by 1880. When Alphonse Legros, Slade Professor at the University of London, and the most highly regarded teacher of drawing in Britain, visited the School, he was impressed enough to declare that “with the exception of South Kensington, more real and thorough work was being done in the Glasgow School of Art than in any provincial school he had visited”.⁵⁰ The improvements, however, had little effect on the School's results. All that might be claimed for them is that they prepared the ground, in fine art, which would be more thoroughly exploited by Greenlees' successor.

Another problem for Greenlees, however, was the School's precarious financial position. Its three principal sources of income were fees, subscriptions and government grant. Between 1867 and 1877, fees had increased from about £832 to £1,173. Government grant also increased from £160 to £344, despite poor results in the National Competitions, while subscriptions remained fairly level at about £150. The largest proportion of expenditure was taken up by salaries and the property which was rented

from the Corporation. In the ten years from 1867, the additions to staff, together with increases in salary had resulted in an enlargement of the salary bill from £720 to £1200. The rent itself remained steady throughout the period at £300, and was partly met by an annual grant of £100, from the Haldane Trust, a local educational charity. Despite this, however, it was a heavy burden on the School which would have been in a far better position if, like many others, its locality had provided its accommodation rent-free (e.g. Bridport and Derby). During the decade up to 1877, its treasurer had just managed to keep the School solvent but from 1878 a decline in student enrolments brought with it a financial crisis.⁵¹

As has already been seen, practically the only strength of Greenlees' school, as far as the Department was concerned, had been its elementary teaching. In 1876, however, the Glasgow School Board took the step of opening art evening classes on its own account to train artisans in the early stages of the government curriculum. The School's committee even welcomed the classes as potential feeders for its own institution.⁵² However, because they gave similar elementary instruction at cheaper rates and in the artisans' immediate neighbourhood the classes had the effect of cutting the School's student intake. The results were at first masked by a trade depression, caused by the collapse of the City of Glasgow Bank in 1878,⁵³ but became apparent when the slump ended in 1879. (Numbers had fallen from 1167 in 1877 to 868 in 1879, while fees fell from £1713 to £1523). As student numbers were now at lower levels than at any time in the last ten years, the Committee looked for a solution in voluntary resignations or even cuts in salaries.⁵⁴ Greenlees' response to their request that he restructure his staff was in line with what has already been suggested about his character. Popular with staff and students, and being loath to sacrifice that popularity, also having probably suffered a severe jolt to his own self-esteem as a headmaster from Barwell's report, he tendered his resignation, indicating that he had been thinking of taking the step for the past three years (which one may assume was ever since Barwell's visit).⁵⁵

The Regime of Thomas Simmonds, 1881-1885

If the School's weak financial position had been an underlying cause of Greenlees' difficulties in 1879-1881, it would continue to make difficulties for his successor, Thomas Simmonds, an ambitious, energetic and resourceful head master, thwarting his schemes for extending its effectiveness and, ultimately, bringing about his resignation. Simmonds, building partly on the foundations that Greenlees had left, but also extending them, was able, despite his difficulties, to leave Newbery a legacy which he in turn was able to develop.

Thomas Charles Simmonds (1842-1912) was selected by the Committee on the recommendation of John Sparkes and after a deputation had been chosen to interview him and two other short-listed candidates at their respective schools.⁵⁶ Several factors had impressed the deputation when they visited Simmonds at his school of art in Derby. His school was similar in size and make-up to that at Glasgow, with about 600 students and a large proportion of artisans.⁵⁷ In twelve years he had built it up from nothing; he had started schools in other neighbouring towns, which he also superintended; and had induced his committee to build a new school at Derby which was "well contrived and equipped and entirely planned by him".⁵⁸ Simmonds had also impressed the deputation,

by his “system”, an area in which Barwell had found Greenlees to have been wanting, by his “great energy and ability and special talent for organisation”. Yet another factor in Simmonds' favour was his business acumen. He made no secret of the fact that his interest in the Glasgow post was prompted by his expectation that it would bring him a better income. His activities in Derby and neighbourhood already netted him between £1,000 and £1,200 per annum,⁵⁹ far more than Greenlees' modest £400 salary and £90 payments on results obtained for the session 1880-1881.⁶⁰ This factor in itself, promised to offer the Committee a way out of its financial difficulties, with Simmonds being prepared to make a sacrifice, in the meantime, while he built up the School.⁶¹

Simmonds accepted the post very much on his own terms, terms which he was used to at Derby, and which represented the great faith which the Glasgow Committee was ready to place in him. Under them he was to receive all students' fees and Government allowances, to appoint, control and pay all staff, excepting the Secretary whom the Committee would appoint but whom he would pay. The Committee was to supply and pay for the premises, furniture, casts and examples and to receive for this purpose all local subscriptions and contributions. Simmonds' income would consist of the surplus of receipts over expenditure, and he would only agree to give up any of this income if it exceeded £1,500 and the Committee should find itself unable to pay the rent.⁶² This contract, together with Simmonds' aggressive independent approach, would cause the Secretary, Edward Catterns to complain that the School was no longer Glasgow School of Art but should be renamed “Simmonds' School”.⁶³

Simmonds only possessed one art master's certificate, not a very impressive paper qualification when compared with Newbery's or even the latter's teachers at Bridport where Dewar Campbell had three and Thomas Baker, four ⁶⁴, but he made up for this in experience and ability. His early art training had been supervised by Ruskin's teacher, the landscape water colourist J.D. Harding, who even drew praise from that exacting critic. Simmonds had exhibited at the Royal Academy, and as such might have been expected to have conducted successful classes for the higher fee-paying students. He was however probably more interested in promoting decorative art and design, and throughout his career made many designs for manufactures, in particular for carpet firms in Kidderminster and Halifax. He had an intimate knowledge of the technical aspects of weaving, wall-paper production and china painting, as well as designing several schemes of interior decoration.⁶⁵

Simmonds believed in promoting art education in an aggressive manner, in taking it to the community and in developing it at all levels, from elementary drawing to the life class and advanced design. He accepted that the task of the local master was to make the school of art relevant to local industry, relevant to the needs of the artisan. From first arriving in Glasgow he embarked on a strenuous programme to take art classes to the people whom he hoped would find them beneficial and want to use them. If the School Board of Glasgow had robbed the School of potential fees by setting up its evening classes in close proximity to students' homes, then Simmonds would attempt to forestall any further damage by also establishing evening schools in the suburbs.

The School had already made a beginning by opening a branch in the Buchanan Institute, in the East End. Since its move from its original premises in Ingram Street in 1869, its management had been aware that it had become too distant from the large

numbers of artisans resident in that part of the city. Some of the committee, like J.S. Templeton the carpet manufacturer were strongly in favour of a branch school from which their workers could benefit. The East-End Branch, opened in 1878, was well enough established, when Simmonds arrived, to be paying its way, and he saw it as an indication that a more ambitious art school could be made to run at a profit in the area. His promptings caused the Committee to attempt to acquire larger premises at the Victoria Halls, East Canning Street, and it was expected that these could be paid for out of subscriptions from East End manufacturers.⁶⁶ Unfortunately, Simmonds had overestimated the interest of these gentlemen: the building was let to another party,⁶⁷ and the School continued with its smaller premises.

He was to meet with greater success in his attempt to establish evening classes in other parts of the city. He was opposed to the Glasgow School Board's own classes, criticising them for offering inferior instruction at the hands of masters who only possessed the Department's second grade certificate.⁶⁸ His real reason may well have been that he disliked the threat that they posed to his and the Art School's monopoly on instruction. He had opposed the setting up of School Board evening classes in Derby,⁶⁹ and he would probably have preferred a network of elementary branch schools on the Birmingham model, whereby a central school of art undertook all art teaching in its locality.⁷⁰ His answer to the encroachments of the Glasgow School Board was to come to an arrangement with the Govan Parish School Board, which allowed him to open evening classes in its schools. As a pilot scheme he obtained permission to use three schools, with the expectation that, if matters went well, it could be extended to others. The schools were in three locations: Melville Street, Pollokshields; Broomloan Road, Govan; and Anderson Street, Partick. A large number of local manufacturers and ship builders were contacted and urged to encourage their operatives to use the schools, the hope being that full classes would give them a high profile and would ensure their success. The classes first opened in October 1881, on two nights per week from 7 p.m. to 9 p.m.. All the masters were supplied by the Art School and held third grade certificates. Simmonds claimed that they were adapted to the needs of their neighbourhood and offered freehand drawing, plane geometry and the use of scales, orthographic projection and descriptive geometry, machine construction and drawing from actual measurement and building construction with special attention to the work of the joiner - a curriculum particularly suited to the artisan class. The instruction was to be further developed where necessary, and was offered to artisans at six shillings and to non-artisans at eight shillings per quarter.⁷¹ The Partick branch was a failure and had to be abandoned⁷² whilst the two others met with a moderate success but this was not great enough to justify expansion of the scheme to other schools.

As in the case of the East End School, Simmonds' ambitions went further than mere evening classes. He also succeeded in interesting the people of Helensburgh and Dumbarton in the opening of schools in their own towns. These were superintended by Simmonds, who would profit from any government grant they earned as well as from the fees of the students they attracted. They were branches of the Glasgow School, from which they drew their staff, but functioned under a local committee.⁷³ That at Helensburgh was largely middle class, with a thriving day class but a poorly attended evening class. The Dumbarton School was closely associated with William Denny's shipyards which provided much of the funding for the premises.⁷⁴

Simmonds also endeavoured to ally art teaching to that provided in existing Glasgow institutions. He tried, unsuccessfully, to negotiate the introduction of a day class at the University.⁷⁵ There is no information on what form he intended this class to take but it may have been the kind of scheme favoured by Ruskin, in founding his drawing school at Oxford⁷⁶ and promoted even earlier by Benjamin Robert Haydon in the 1830s as a means of educating the taste of the upper classes.⁷⁷

Lastly, he also started an evening class at the Glasgow Technical College, in Well Street, hiring a room at his own expense,⁷⁸ but this was also unsuccessful and was closed after only a few months.⁷⁹ Again, there is no evidence of what he hoped for from this class. It may have been similar to the branches opened in the Govan Board Schools or he might have intended to integrate the teaching more closely with the classes for textile workers which were given there.

While making such strenuous efforts to promote art education in the city and region, Simmonds was also busy reforming the Art School in Sauchiehall Street. He set himself the task of revitalising the design teaching which had languished under Greenlees and at the same time increasing the fine art teaching. By so doing he was attempting to increase the institution's relevance to Glasgow's manufacturing effort, and to improve its performance as a school in the Department's examinations and National Competitions.

One of Simmonds' most important innovations was the opening of a design class in which he gave a course of systematic lectures on the principles of design. To make his lectures effective, he introduced a local prize scheme, which offered rewards for designs illustrating the principles explained in the lectures.⁸⁰ The design class was a marked success with between seventy and ninety regular attenders.⁸¹ The Prize Scheme, which was supported by donations from Committee members and manufacturers, was also used to encourage students to design for representative local manufactures. Thus, there were prizes for designs for calicoes, carpets, wallpapers, ceramics and decorative schemes including ship interiors. Another significant innovation was "a special technical class for the purpose of teaching design, china, glass and tapestry painting, and general decorative work". This last was in response to "a demand consequent on the growing taste for artistic homes".⁸² Here was an attempt to give the students practical experience of carrying out work in different materials, rather than just making designs on paper. The scope was limited in that from a technical point of view it amounted to little more than painting on different supports, but it did allow the students to engage the practical problems of decorating different media, an opportunity which was denied to students in almost all schools of art at this time. (One of the few schools operating such classes was the Lambeth School in collaboration with Doulton's Potteries, where students were encouraged to make "art pottery".)⁸³ There can be little doubt that Simmonds did what he could, given the meagre resources at his disposal, both in terms of money and space. He had hoped to be able to expand the technical classes to include wood carving and silver chasing, but he was unable to attract the funding.⁸⁴ That Simmonds was also looking for opportunities to make the Art School relevant to industry, if he could obtain the support of the manufacturers, is clear from his relationship with the ship builders, William Denny & Sons at Dumbarton, where he was able to set up a class for "craft studies... with the object of it producing high-class decorations for the saloons of the steamers such as figure panels, painted tiles, stained

glass and wood carvings".⁸⁵ He also invited and won commissions from Glasgow citizens for paintings and designs done by students.⁸⁶ He saw the commissions as of utmost importance as they provided opportunities for practical experience of designing for particular materials.⁸⁷ This was in stark contrast to Greenlees who had to decline commissions on the grounds that students had insufficient expertise to carry them out.⁸⁸ In order to make his design class and lectures more effective, he made more use of the South Kensington Museum loan scheme than Greenlees had done, borrowing examples of Indian textiles, Persian carpets, and a copy of Bowes' sumptuously illustrated *Keramic Art of Japan* to familiarise the students with Japanese ornament.⁸⁹ His efforts in design were further aided by a positive intervention by the Department itself in the persons of Thomas Armstrong, Poynter's replacement as the Department's Director of Art and Sir Philip Cunliffe Owen, Director of the South Kensington Museum.

Armstrong visited the School in March 1882 to explain the help that the Department was ready to give, in terms of loans of artefacts, to improve Britain's performance in some areas of artistic manufacture and to maintain its lead in other spheres where it was pre-eminent.⁹⁰ Owen was instrumental in furthering this policy by loaning works to the Corporation for a series of three exhibitions on Oriental, Italian and French decorative arts, which were shown in three consecutive years, 1881-1883, along with items from the City's and other collections in the Corporation Galleries.⁹¹ Simmonds was able to make full use of these by encouraging his students to make sets of drawings from the exhibits, by offering prizes which gave preference to those accompanied by original designs based on the principles which were illustrated in the exhibits.⁹² He also made arrangements for students to study from the plants at the Glasgow Botanic Gardens.⁹³ This in itself would greatly benefit design teaching which relied so heavily on plant form as a source of ornament. Finally he was able to arrange for an exhibition of National Competition works from all the schools in Britain, to be shown in the Corporation Galleries. This in its turn must have been of benefit to the students in demonstrating the kind of work which the Department's examiners expected of them.⁹⁴

Similarly, Simmonds improved the fine art teaching. Greenlees, already offered life classes to both sexes. Simmonds increased their frequency, making them available not only to the evening class but to the morning and day classes as well. He boasted that his provision of life classes was "the most complete in the kingdom, with the single exception of South Kensington".⁹⁵ He must also have done much to motivate the students in the other fine art classes. Both drawing and painting from the antique and from still-life obtained far more national awards under him, and even the modelling classes for which he was probably not directly responsible, obtained far better results than for many years, both in modelling the figure and for decorative schemes such as plaster reliefs.

Simmonds knew that to obtain success on South Kensington's terms as well as in Glasgow, it was not only essential to provide good teaching, it was also necessary to attract students, engage the support of the manufacturers, not only for the School but also for those students who were employed by them, and to retain the students in the School long enough to give them adequate training. As in the case of the branch schools this involved vigorous advertising among the manufacturers. Letters were not only sent to them but in some cases permission was obtained to erect signboards at their works advertising classes.⁹⁶ Ideally too, the manufacturer would be induced to pay the fees of

his workers if they attended, as did Robert McFarlane, the decorative cast-iron manufacturer.⁹⁷

Despite his efforts, however, Simmonds was ultimately unsuccessful in attracting more students. The Committee's propaganda in its annual public meetings and reports, masked a falling roll at the Head School, on Sauchiehall Street, by comparing figures for all its Schools with those for the two Schools previously run by Greenlees. Thus it was able to show that numbers had risen in Simmonds' first two years from 786 in session 1880-81 to 942 in 1883-4. The actual figures for the Head School, however, which it did not publish, show a slight fall from 728 to 725, and these were even less encouraging in the next session, when, as a result of a trade depression, they fell to 648 and these may have fallen again in the following year when there was a further decline in numbers in all the schools of 66.⁹⁸

On the other hand it seems probable that Simmonds had met with some success in inducing some students to stay at the School for a longer period. That this meant more to him than to Greenlees, is apparent in his recurrent complaint in his annual headmaster's reports that too few students attended for more than one term, let alone a whole session.⁹⁹ Quite apart from Simmonds' obvious need to retain a student in the School for long enough to begin to develop his abilities, the Department itself stipulated that no student would be allowed to enter its examinations or competitions unless he had first attended at least 20 lessons.¹⁰⁰ Simmonds did not give figures for entrants in the examinations but statistics are available for numbers of students sending works to South Kensington. These rose from 578 in Session 1880-1881 (Greenlees' last year) to 611 in the following session.¹⁰¹ At the same time, the fact that far more students were sending in advanced, as opposed to elementary works, indicates that they were remaining at the School longer. (In 1881, 479 students sent elementary works, while only 77 sent in advanced work, compared to 453 and 158 in 1882. This represents more than a doubling of students in the advanced category.¹⁰² The trend is even more impressive in session 1883-1884. Student numbers in that year had been badly affected by a trade depression and fewer students (585) sent work to London. Of these, however, as many as 223 were in the advanced category.¹⁰³

The trend away from elementary to advanced work gave the School two advantages. Firstly, it enabled it to escape from having to compete with the cheap elementary teaching of the Glasgow School Board evening classes, casting it in the role of an advanced institution to which School Board students could go once they had passed through the elementary stages. The existence of the Board's classes also meant that the School could reorientate itself towards teaching a more exclusively advanced course. Although this would not be firmly addressed until some years later, under Newbery, Simmonds must be given the credit for beginning the development towards more advanced teaching which would make it possible. The second advantage of the concentration was in the increase of government awards and grants which it brought to the School. In the National Competition for 1881, Greenlees' regime had netted, in descending order, 2 national bronze medals, 1 Queen's prize and 15 third grade prizes. In 1883, Simmonds' second year, it attained to the position of leading School in Scotland in terms of awards, increasing its grant by about £200, the largest obtained by any School in the Kingdom.¹⁰⁴ In the following year, Simmonds' efforts obtained for the School, 4 national silver medals, 9 bronze medals, 9 Queen's prizes, and 48, third grade

prizes.¹⁰⁵ In that year also, the School stood highest in Scotland, and third in the Kingdom in the number of medals awarded, only being surpassed by Birmingham and Lambeth, with 16 and 14 respectively.¹⁰⁶ The number of awards obtained in design was impressive, there being as many as 37 in 1884, many for original designs for different manufactures, but these were almost matched by the awards for fine art (33), where for the first time prizes were being won for life studies, in painting, and drawing, as well as studies from the antique, and still life. The institution was also beginning to reassert itself as a leading school in modelling from life and the antique.¹⁰⁷ Thus, although the Committee recognised that Simmonds had “raised the School to a position of eminence, especially in design”,¹⁰⁸ it should also be acknowledged that he had improved its position in fine art almost as effectively. Simmonds' achievement was one on which Newbery could build, taking the School even further in terms of national awards and standard of teaching provision.

Simmonds should also be given the credit for awakening his committee and the city in general to the need for new purpose-built premises to house the School. During his period as head master he had attempted to improve the accommodation, putting in a new ventilation system, improving the lighting and acquiring extra rooms from the Corporation for use as modelling and ornament class rooms.¹⁰⁹ These measures, as he recognised, were only makeshift. The new ventilation system was inadequate, and had only been adopted because financial support was not forthcoming from the Corporation, for Simmonds' preferred system. The daylighting, from skylights and badly-placed windows, could never be wholly rectified and the accommodation, which was a conversion from what had been dwelling houses, would always be ill-adapted to a school of art. From the outset, then, Simmonds argued for new premises. He mentioned the need, in the strongest terms in each of his annual reports,¹¹⁰ thereby obtaining a good measure of verbal support from some members of the Town Council.¹¹¹ In an effort to convert this into practical action, he and the Committee invited Eyre Crowe, a Department inspector, to produce a report on the inadequacy of the premises,¹¹² This and the influence of Sir Philip Cunliffe Owen were used to persuade the Lord Provost, John Ure, of the need for a new School.¹¹³ Owen and Ure presided at the School prize distribution in December 1882, where sketch plans for an art school, museum and art gallery, and public library were put on show.¹¹⁴ They also colluded in setting up a committee of influential citizens to attempt to put the scheme into effect. The site chosen for the proposed building was a vacant one, adjacent to the Corporation Galleries, ground finally occupied by the School's new building in the 1890s.¹¹⁵ All these efforts realised no immediate results. They did however produce the seed for the later Corporation scheme to build a museum and art gallery in Kelvingrove Park. This scheme, which did come to fruition in 1901 was originally to have included a school of art and the fact that it did not was to lend more support to the School's efforts to obtain finance from the Corporation for its new independent buildings, under Newbery.

Despite his undoubted achievements, Simmonds' career in Glasgow was a disappointment to him. Some of his schemes had been still-born or had not survived beyond infancy. The drawing classes at the University and Technical College had either, in the first case, failed to obtain approval from its governing body or, in the second, had been abandoned because of failure to attract students. The evening classes on Govan School Board premises, had also had to be abandoned. That at Partick was

abandoned because it was not paying and the other two had to be closed because they infringed a Department regulation. The Helensburgh and Dumbarton Schools were still in operation when Simmonds left Glasgow but their connection with the Glasgow school was severed shortly thereafter. His technical classes in design subjects do not appear to have survived after he left the School either. The failure to attract adequate support for much of what he was trying to accomplish, both in terms of setting up branch schools and in providing new premises for the head school constituted a severe disappointment to him and must have contributed much to his decision to resign his post in March 1885. He blamed both the local manufacturers, who on the whole showed little interest in helping their employees to attend the School and its branches, and the Corporation which was a difficult landlord. Simmonds had been quite emphatic in his view that it was the Corporation's duty to provide its town's art school with rent-free premises.¹¹⁶ He believed that if this were done he would have a much freer hand to improve the teaching in advanced subjects. Instead, however, his efforts were constantly being thwarted, not only by the heavy rent but by the Corporation's unhelpful attitude. His attempts to improve the inadequate premises were a continuing drain on income and had to be initiated and paid for by the School rather than by its reluctant landlord. In 1883, the former curator's flat, on Rose Street, adjacent to the School's entrance was acquired from the Corporation, to provide much needed extra space and to give the modelling classes improved accommodation. This, together with alterations to rooms vacated by the modelling department cost the School some £200.¹¹⁷ Its landlords were extremely reluctant to help with this in any way, despite continued pleas from the School, until the latter, badly affected by the trade depression had to admit that it was unable to pay its rent. This occasioned some members of the Glasgow School Board who had no love for Simmonds to claim that the Art School had no right to ask for a remission of rent, because the committee had been guilty of ineptitude in "farming out the school to the superintendent (Simmonds), who provided certain assistance and materials and pocketed the surplus".¹¹⁸ The decline in Simmonds' financial prospects with the onset of the trade depression in 1884 was probably another major cause of disappointment. Like the previous depression of the late 70s, this affected the student intake and fee income. Numbers and fees declined in all the schools (from 942 in 1883 to 776 in 1885) and Simmonds' income from fees and government grant fell over the same period from almost £2400 to £1640.¹¹⁹ This could hardly have encouraged a man who accepted the position with the expectation that it would afford him a much increased income. Simmonds, in his resignation letter, however, was quite clear where he laid the blame for his misfortunes. He blamed them on "apathy towards the institution". Feeling that "to push" his "efforts further in face of the lack of appreciation in comparison with what is common elsewhere would be an injustice to" himself "with no equivalent but a forlorn hope to foster the art of Glasgow".¹²⁰ Simmonds, with so many achievements in Derby to his credit, lacked the patience to continue the task of building up the school in Glasgow. Newbery, a younger and less experienced man, would be more ready to take time to discover what was, and was not, likely to work, in the effort of promoting art education in the School and city. The problems, which his predecessors had left for him to solve were much the same as those they had faced: falling student numbers and fee income, the continuing need to assess what the School's function should be, both in terms of its role *vis-à-vis* local trade and industry and the level of artistic expertise it should seek to inculcate into its students. With the entry of the Glasgow School Board into elementary art education, it would no longer be adequate or even necessary for the School to concentrate many of its resources in that

area. Its task would rather be to reach an accommodation with the Board, to work with, rather than against it, supplying the advanced art training that Simmonds had so ably demonstrated it was capable of providing.

Notes

DCL = Derby City Library

GCA = Glasgow City Archives

GSA = Glasgow School of Art and Haldane Academy

DSA = Department of Science and Art

GSAA= Glasgow School of Art Archives

1. C.A. Oakley, The Second City (London: Blackie, 1949), p.149, quoting 1881 census figures for Glasgow and suburbs.
2. Stuart Macdonald, The History and Philosophy of Art Education (London: University of London Press, 1970), p.383.
3. GSAA, Glasgow Government School of Design, Laws and Regulations (Glasgow: c.1845), p.2.
4. Glasgow Herald, 1 December 1843. Report of speech of Archibald Alison supporting the foundation of a government school of design in Glasgow.
5. The School had been known as the Glasgow School of Art since the inauguration of the Department of Science and Art. The suffix “and Haldane Academy” was added in 1869, when the Haldane Trust, a local charitable body set up to administer the sum left by Robert Haldane for the support of art education in Glasgow, had agreed to aid the School in paying £100 of its annual £300 rent to the Corporation. The suffix was dropped in 1892 although the Haldane Trust continued to aid the School in different ways.
6. Glasgow City Corporation, Municipal Glasgow: its Evolution and Enterprises. (Glasgow: Robert Gibson and Sons, 1914) pp.34-5.
7. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 25 October 1882. These contain an extract from a report by the Department's inspector, Eyre Crowe, on the School's accommodation, which gives an account of the rooms on the second and third floors. The third floor Modelling Room was subsequently converted for use as an extra Life Room when the school acquired a ground floor flat, at 5, Rose Street, for use as Modelling Class Rooms - GSA, Annual Report (1883), p.4. The information on the first floor accommodation is largely based on a reading of the HMI's report on classes given in GSA, Minutes, 21 January 1878.
8. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report, 1874, p.11.
9. Ibid., p.5.
10. DSA, 25th Report (1878). In the 1876-1877 session GSA had 1,167 students. Its nearest rivals were South Kensington with 878, and Birmingham, with 805. Birmingham although smaller, catered for a further 439 students in branches.
11. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1878), pp.4 & 10-11.
12. GSAA, GSA, General Registers, 1881 et seq.. There are no registers extant for the 1870s.
13. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report, 1882, p.6.
14. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 24 June 1863, giving the head master, Robert Greenlees' contract of employment.

15. John C.L. Sparkes, Schools of Art: their origin, history, work and influence (London: William Clowes and Sons for the Executive Council of the International Health Exhibition, 1884), p.89 and DSA, Directory (1889), p.62. The award of an art class teacher's certificate required the satisfactory execution of works in Stages 1a, 3b, 5a, 5b, a first class pass in perspective in the second grade examination, a pass in geometrical drawing in the Department's science subject 1, and in stages 3b, 5a and 5b of the third grade examination.
16. GSAA, GSA, Press Cuttings Book, 1864-1896, p.4.
17. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1874), p.8.
18. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1879), p.13 and Annual Report (1880), p.13.
19. Glasgow School of Art Library, Database of Students, 1845-1895. This is based on data drawn from GSA Annual Reports and Registers.
20. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1874), p.4. These were run by the Church of Scotland and the Free Church of Scotland.
21. GSAA, GSA, Annual Reports (1870-1881).
22. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 24 June 1863, giving Greenlees' contract of employment.
23. GSAA, GSA, Annual Reports (1870-1881).
24. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 8 December, 1870. Stuart Macdonald, History and Philosophy of Art Education, p.176 claims without giving supporting evidence that in "1863 only one in eight Schools of Art held (life classes)".
25. GSAA, Glasgow Government School of Design, Annual Report (1850), p.6.. GSA, Correspondence 1853-1882, p.535 provides evidence that there were life classes available to both sexes, by June 1881, taught separately, although there is nothing to suggest that this was not the case from 1870. GSA, Minutes, 21 January 1878 indicate that the class employed male and female models, both draped and nude. The Departmental Inspector's Report which they contain records "about twelve painting in oil from a nude male model". Kenneth McConkey Sir John Lavery 1856-1941 (Belfast: Ulster Museum, 1984), p.9. includes a photograph of a male class with a nude female model, dating from about 1879.
26. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1879), p.7.
27. Walter Shaw Sparrow, John Lavery and his work (London: Kegan Paul, Trench Trubner & Co., n.d.) pp.27-30 and McConkey, Sir John Lavery, p.9.
28. McConkey, Sir John Lavery, p.9. Lavery was apprenticed to a photographer as a hand tinter and retoucher.
29. GSAA, GSA, Press Cuttings Book, 1864-1896, p.4, unattributed report of 1867 Prize distribution.
30. GSAA, GSA, Annual Reports (1876-1881).
31. The Bailie, no.381, 4 February, 1880, p.1.
32. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1876), p.5. and Sparkes, Schools of Art, p.87.
33. GSAA, Glasgow Government School of Design, Annual Report (1849), p.13, indicates that Wilson first introduced advanced design teaching in that year, immediately after his appointment.
34. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 21 January 1878.
35. Andrew Gibb, Glasgow the making of a City (London: Croom Helm, 1983) p.116 shows that from 1861 textiles declined as the major employer.
36. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1876), p.5.
37. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 21 January 1878.
38. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 5 October 1876 and 21 January 1878. Landscape as practised in the School at this time involved making drawings from prints or making oil

- or watercolour copies from paintings. This latter practice which had been common among the private drawing masters employed by the middle and upper classes from the late 18th century, was regarded by the Department as a useful means of learning to use colour, if the examples copied from were good ones.
39. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1876), p.5.
 40. DSA, 17th Report (1870). The fine art medals were one for modelling the figure, one for painting a group of still life as a study in colour, one for a shaded drawing of the figure from the cast and one for a time sketch of the figure from memory.
 41. DSA, 25th Report (1878).
 42. DSA, 23rd - 28th Reports (1876-1881).
 43. GSAA, GSA, Press Cuttings 1864-1896, p.9. Unattributed newspaper report, dated 16 January 1880.
 44. GSAA, GSA Minutes, 21 January 1878.
 45. Glasgow Argus, 1 February 1844. Advertisement by Edward Robertson offering “finishing lessons in chalk drawing” from “beautiful lithographs in imitation of classical studies by Julien of Paris”. In GSA, Minutes, 21 January 1878, Fred Barwell, the Department's inspector pointed out that “copying Jullien's [sic] heads, many of a very meretricious order, can do no possible good and sets a very bad example and though landscape copying may well be defended as a useful stage, to make it the end and aim is, as the Master admits, by no means desirable”.
 46. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 25 June 1878.
 47. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 24 June 1863.
 48. GSAA, GSA Annual Report (1879), p.7
 49. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 27 September 1878.
 50. GSAA, GSA, Press Cuttings Book, 1864-1897, p.9. Report of Annual public meeting, cutting dated 16 January 1880.
 51. GSAA, GSA, Annual Reports (1868-1880) and Minutes, 28 October 1880.
 52. GSAA, GSA Press Cuttings Book, 1864-1897, p.7 undated, unattributed report of 1876 annual meeting.
 53. Oakley, The Second City, p.150.
 54. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 7 January 1881.
 55. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 18 March 1881.
 56. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 6 May 1881 and DCL, School log book no.343, Derby School of Art, Minutes, 10 August 1881. The other two candidates were John Kemp of Gloucester, also recommended by Sparkes, but whose school had too few artisan students, and A.A. Bradbury of Hanley in the Potteries, who was appointed to Derby in place of Simmonds.
 57. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 24 May 1881 give the figure of “about 600”. This is a gross overestimate of the size of the Derby School which, according to the official returns in DSA, 29th Report, 1882, only had 369 students. The proportion of artisans, however, was impressive: 306 of the total attending the evening classes.
 58. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 24 May 1881. DCL, Derby School of Art, Minutes, 3 March 1873 show that the Derby School had been designed by Waller & Son of Gloucester, but the arrangements of the class rooms were almost certainly Simmonds' own. The Derby School of Art Minutes suggest that Simmonds had introduced the plans to his committee in the same meeting that he suggested they build a new school.
 59. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 24 May 1881.
 60. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 31 July 1872 give what appears to be Greenlees' final

salary position. The payment on results for 1880-1881 are from GSA, Minutes, 19 January 1882.

61. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 24 May 1881.

62. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 1 June 1881. Simmonds' Derby contract appears in DCL, Derby School of Art, Minutes, 23 March 1870.

63. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence, 1853-1882, p.580. Catterns' exasperation with the Committee's arrangement with Simmonds and with the latter's conduct is apparent here. He wrote: "I never heard of such an unbusinesslike bargain in Scotland before & to say it prevails in England is no argument for its adoption here - Mr Simmonds makes no secret that he will grasp all the power within his reach and of course the Committee choose to allow this. ...He wishes the money to be put in his own name and so virtually cuts off the Committee from all interest in the School. It may now be called "Simmonds School"[sic] no more "the Glasgow School of Art"".

64. DSA, 15th-22nd Reports (1868-1876): returns from Bridport School of Art.

65. Derby Mercury, 16 August 1912.

66. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 30 November 1882. These could be had for a rent of £45 per annum and could be refurbished for a further £250.

67. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 6 August 1883 and 27 September 1883.

68. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence 1853-1882, p.726 and 1883-1887, p.84.

69. DCL, Derby School of Art, Minutes, 9 September 1875.

70. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence 1853-1882, p.592.

71. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 4 October 1881 and Correspondence, 1853-1882 pp.592-3 and 595-6.

72. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 6 August 1883.

73. Ibid., 14 April 1882 for Helensburgh Branch.

74. GSAA, GSA, Press Cuttings, 1864-1896, p.20. Unattributed report on opening of Dumbarton School of Art.

75. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 19 January 1882.

76. John Ruskin, 'Lectures on Art delivered before the University of Oxford in Hilary Term, 1870: Lecture 1, Inaugural', Collected Works, edited by E.T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, 39 volumes (London: George Allen, 1906), XX, 17-34 (p.27).

77. Quentin Bell, The Schools of Design (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963) p.44.

78. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 4 October 1881.

79. Ibid., 19 January 1882.

80. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1883), p.22.

81. Ibid., p.8.

82. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1882), p.7.

83. Sparkes, Schools of Art, pp.102-3.

84. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence, 1852-1883, p.728a - a letter to the City and Guilds enquiring as to the availability of grants for technical classes.

85. Derby Mercury, 16 August 1912.

86. GSA, Annual Report (1882), pp.7-8.

87. Ibid., (1883), p.8.

88. Ibid., (1876), p.5.

89. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence, 1853-1882, p.573. This title was specifically requested as the School suffered "from a want of works of reference especially in Japanese Art". The request antedates the Oriental exhibition in the Municipal Galleries, when many Japanese artefacts were shown.

90. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 14 April 1882.
91. GCA, D-TC7/16/1, Kelvingrove Museum and Corporation Galleries of Art, Glasgow, Reports (1878-1902): (1881), pp.7-8; (1882), p.7; (1883), pp.3 & 5; (1884), p.5.
92. GSAA, GSA, Annual Reports (1882-1884).
93. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1882), pp.4-5.
94. Ibid., p.5.
95. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1883), p.8.
96. Ibid.
97. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence, 1883-1887, p.43.
98. GSAA, GSA, Annual Reports (1881-1885).
99. GSAA, GSA, Annual Reports (1882), p.6 and (1883), p.6.
100. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence, 1883-1887, p.104.
101. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence, 1853-1882, p.794.
102. Ibid.
103. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence, 1883-1887, p.68.
104. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1883), p.3.
105. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1884), pp.19-21.
106. Ibid., p.3.
107. Ibid., pp.19-21.
108. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1885), p.3.
109. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1882), p.5 and (1883), p.4.
110. GSAA, GSA, Annual Reports (1882), p.8, (1883), pp.8-9, (1884), p.8, (1885), p.9.
111. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1884), pp.9-15.
112. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 25 October 1882.
113. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence, 1853-1882, p.636. The Corporation's Oriental exhibition had been opened by Owen in late 1881. His support must have been promised to the School then, as several letters throughout the year show that he was prepared to come to Glasgow "to help in placing the School on a more satisfactory footing both as regards premises and also in respect of a better understanding by the general public"-GSA, Correspondence, 1853-1882, p.636.
114. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 18 December, 1882.
115. Ibid., 30 November, 1882; Glasgow Ordnance Survey Map, 1860; and Glasgow Post Office Directory Map, 1884. GCA, DT-C 14.1.9, Glasgow Corporation Miscellaneous Prints, volume 9, pp.303-304, contains two letters, dated 9 and 18 November 1882, which demonstrate Owen and Ure's collusion in the project.
116. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 14 April 1882.
117. Ibid., 1 May 1884.
118. GSAA, GSA Press Cuttings Book, 1864-1896, p.22. Unattributed undated report of a Glasgow School Board Meeting.
119. GSAA, GSA, Annual Reports (1883), p.12, and (1884), p.18.
120. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 2 March 1885. The letter, dated 25 February, appears to have been a surprise to the Committee. DCL, Derby School of Art, Minutes, 1 October 1884 reveal that Simmonds had been negotiating with the Derby Committee since the previous October to return to his old position. He went back to Derby in May 1885 and continued there until his death in 1912.

CHAPTER 4

NEWBERY AS A HEAD MASTER UNDER THE DEPARTMENT OF SCIENCE AND ART: PART 1

Newbery's Character and his Relationship with his Committee

The main sources for Newbery's activities as an educational manager are the minute books, annual reports, and other archival material held by the Glasgow School of Art. By their very nature, they describe the operations of Newbery as head master as they related to the School's committee of management, rather than Newbery's personal motivations and reactions to events, which would be brought out in private correspondence or in a personal journal. As a result, it is sometimes difficult to establish how far Newbery was initiating policy, and how often it came from other members. This, however, is not altogether a disadvantage, because Newbery's success owed not a little to a good relationship with his committee. A comparison of the same sources in their treatment of Newbery's two predecessors brings this out. Greenlees, as has already been argued, tended to respond to new developments and crises as they arose. His role as far as the committee was concerned was rather passive and reactive. Simmonds, on the other hand, set out to manage the School with as little reference to the committee as possible. He tended to make his own arrangements, which it then had to ratify. Newbery, however, had personal qualities which enabled him to take on a pivotal role at the centre of affairs, to work with and use the committee in the development of his educational programme.

Newbery's appointment marked the beginning of a new managerial relationship between the head master and the governing body. His contract required that he work far more closely than had Simmonds with the committee, as it reclaimed its powers to appoint and pay teachers, and control all finances. That left Newbery with the same role of

educational manager that Greenlees had enjoyed. As such he was to devote his whole time to the work of the School and its branches, doing no outside teaching, to control all teachers, to be responsible for the proper conduct of the classes, to consult and advise with the committee on all matters of import and run the School to its satisfaction and that of the Department. In return he was guaranteed a salary of £400 per annum with, in addition, one third of Government grant on the Head School and its branches.¹

Many heads of local schools of art were of a lower social class than their committees and found it difficult to establish good working relations with them.² Newbery, however, despite his humble origins, in personality, appearance, and sheer ability, was more than able to hold his own. He had already impressed Sparkes as “a man of address, a gentleman”,³ and was described by Sir James Watson, the chairman of the committee, as “a gentleman of culture and ability”.⁴ He impressed acquaintances as “dignified”,⁵ a characteristic enhanced by his dress. His appearance was well described by one of his staff, Peter Wylie Davidson, who remembered that “he was not long in Glasgow until his dignified and well-groomed figure became noticeable in the town. Even men in the street would ask, “Who is he?” as he wore a unique tall black hat and frock coat of the period”.⁶ He was marked by a “straightforwardness of character”⁷ and able “to hold his own in all discussions”.⁸ This fearlessness in speaking his mind could impress some as dogmatism, bombast even. Despite this he was also gifted with a marked streak of conviviality and a sense of humour⁹ and not a little personal charm. All agreed that he had great organisational ability, as well as being a first rate teacher and disciplinarian. Perhaps his most remarkable quality, however, was his superabundant energy which was frequently remarked on by those who knew him. W.B. Barton head master of the Preston School of Art, in his testimonial in support of Newbery's application in 1885, described him as “a gentleman of most untiring energy” and added “I really think that in this respect I do not know his equal”.¹⁰ The School's minute books show him to have been a man constantly presenting new ideas for the School's development; but they also demonstrate that he was a man who was able to work well with others utilising their skills and contacts to the institution's advantage.

Newbery's Educational Philosophy

It would perhaps be misleading to present Newbery as an educational theorist with a philosophy to expound. He was primarily a dedicated teacher and manager with a rare gift for encouraging students to discover and develop their own abilities. Nevertheless, he was able to rationalise his approach and present it as a consistent body of theory to numerous audiences throughout his career.

His philosophy was already fully matured when he entered upon his new post and would change very little. Its basic premise was that an art instinct was innate to all human beings and that it was the art teacher's function to help each individual in his charge to find his or her own personal expression of it. Newbery's pedagogic approach was spelt out in his first address to the School in October 1885 when he stressed, in terms which H. Courthope Bowen, his former head master, would have fully endorsed for their Froebelian orthodoxy, the view that the “teaching power was there to guide and direct not to put itself in the place of the powers of the student, but by means of an intelligent

and interesting course of instruction to draw out the latent powers of the student and direct them into the right channel".¹¹

In an address to the Froebelian Sloyd Association of Scotland, in Glasgow in about 1909 Newbery claimed that "the most colossal discovery in education was that every boy was a potential artist".¹² He amplified this in a lecture entitled 'Art Instincts' in 1911¹³ in which he maintained that "art could have no place in education unless they started from the basis that the artist was born, not made". The child came into the world with two basic instincts, the desire for food and "the desire for decoration", which latter was expressed in three different ways, "scribbling", "making mud pies" and self-adornment.¹⁴ Thus in "doing something to please himself" the child was effectively beginning his art education. Here, Newbery was echoing Froebel's concept of education by "self activity" which saw all worth-while education as growing out of the child's own interaction with his environment conditioned by his level of understanding and development. In this context Newbery saw graffiti on the walls of public buildings, in those days made with chalk, as a welcome expression of the same instinct. The important point here was that this type of activity while often considered "dirty" or anti-social by adults should not be suppressed, but channelled. "If the teacher saw the child making marks he should not smack it but educate it." If children's activities demonstrated the existence of a universal art instinct then it could also be found in primitive and folk art. Thus he drew parallels between children's graffiti and the ornamentation of Norman architecture and primitive vases and showed traditional freestone drawings in Scottish country districts as evidence for "a desire to satisfy the aesthetic instinct in the humblest walks of life". Yet a further indication of the existence of an art instinct was the layman's delight in art which demonstrated that "every man and woman had the germ of the artist in them. One did not require to be a practical artist to be an artist. There was the appreciation which sprang up in everyone who saw a beautiful picture... and these were all testimonies that everyone was an artist."¹⁵

In arguing that art was innate, Newbery was siding with the influential writer and critic, John Ruskin, who maintained that rather than teach a person to become an artist "you have always to find your artist, not to make him: you can't manufacture him, any more than you can manufacture gold".¹⁶ He, like Newbery, saw the educationist's task as one of drawing out artistic ability through encouragement, training and discipline. Ruskin's choice of the term "manufacture" and his general position can be traced back to Thomas Carlyle's earlier discussion of the nineteenth century as a "mechanical age" which sought to manage human affairs by setting up apparatus and machines, such as committees, institutions and educational systems, to address all problems, which had previously been solved, in his view, by people of natural gifts. These, he affirmed, could not be replaced by any such agency, maintaining that: "Science and Art have from first to last been the free gift of Nature. ...These things rose up, as it were by spontaneous growth, in the free soil and sunshine of Nature. They were not planted or grafted, nor even greatly multiplied or improved by the culture or manuring of institutions. Generally speaking they have gained only partial help from these."¹⁷

The wide currency and support for these views by the 1880s is evident in articles of the contemporary periodical *The Artist*, where, for example, the London School Board was castigated for "manufacturing art teachers", in only approving those who had Department second grade certificates, which the periodical's editor felt to be an

inadequate measure of ability.¹⁸ Newbery would, as will be demonstrated below, also express a dislike of systems and methods, preferring to approach each student as a unique individual.

Whilst Newbery believed that art was innate and could not be imposed from outside he also maintained that it was only those who found out how to express their art instinct who became artists. As he claimed: “the expression of artistic personality really made the artist. Art might be and probably was, a quality possessed by every human being, but it was only he who expressed that personality, whether he worked in clay, wood, iron, or anything he liked that became the artist”.¹⁹

It may be that the concept of “artistic personality” had not been developed by Newbery in 1885, but such an understanding was logically consistent with his known views in the late 1880s. In his 1885 address he had asserted that, in their training, “students should be individualised” and that “no two students after reaching a certain point need be treated alike, each to be taught with a distinct view to the ultimate end of his studies” and “in this the personality of the student was very important”.²⁰ When Newbery said this his main concern was to show how the individualising of training would relate to the student's occupation and thus to the School's usefulness to the Glasgow economy. The way in which personality was deemed to be important, was not spelt out. However, in 1889, Newbery, speaking again of art teaching, was looking beyond mere training for the work place. He maintained that the teachers were there to ensure that the student should: “draw and paint to the best of their ability to teach him. That is to draw and paint not in and after some antiquated method, but with every care that his individuality and method shall be nurtured and cultivated; and should he care to become an artist, that should be his own affair.”²¹

This emphasis on individuality was shared with many of Newbery's contemporaries as an index of artistic worth and an aspiration for artists and designers. The architect and designer C.F.A. Voysey, for example, wrote an essay entitled *Individuality* based on the premise that human existence on earth was “for the purpose of growing individual characters”²² and the leading art magazine, *The Studio*, carried an article on the place of individuality in art in its series *The Lay Figure*, which it generally used as a forum for airing opposing points of view on the burning artistic issues of the day.²³ However, Newbery seems to have made the concept a highly prominent, if not completely unique, aspect of his educational programme as was frequently noticed in the press.²⁴

By the beginning of the new century at least, the process of the discovery of individuality through education was referred to by Newbery as the “evolving” or “educing” of the “artistic personality”. The former term might be taken to describe the process of maturation and change within the individual while the latter more aptly refers to the action of the educationist upon him in “educing” or “drawing forth” innate potentialities. There are, once again, parallels with Froebel, especially as he was understood by H. Courthope Bowen who spoke more generally of the role of the teacher as one of helping in the “evolution” of the mature individual.²⁵ For Froebel, also, each individual was unique and it was this unique individuality which it was the educationist's task to nurture. As Bowen put it “The particular destiny, the particular vocation of every perceiving and rational human being is to develop his essence, his

individuality - to become himself'²⁶ and Newbery's use of the term "personality" was in turn suggestive of the expression of this realised unique individuality.

As each artistic personality was different the task of the ideal art school was necessarily a wider one than that of training designers only, as not all artists would find design their most appropriate means of expression. As Newbery explained in an address given at Glasgow School of Art in 1911:

The ideal he had always held before himself was that the school should be a centre of art culture, art education and technical education which should make for the good of the commonwealth as a whole by furnishing it with workers in every medium, means or material, whereby beauty could reveal itself through art. These ends were accomplished by educating any member of the community who came there - future producer or future consumer, lay or professional. In the instruction the teachers gave in art and the educational means each one took to attain his end, they were educating the artist from every child who came under their ministrations and helping them to reveal the personal quality without which art was soulless. To have a high ideal of art among the citizens was to include all those channels whereby the necessary material for the maintaining of any strength was supplied and had the Glasgow School of Art confined itself to the idea of educating the designer only for the purpose of industrial art, men like D.Y. Cameron, John Lavery, E.A. Walton and George Henry - not to mention a host of others among painters - the architect of that school (Charles Rennie Mackintosh), and practically every young architect in Glasgow, workers in stained glass and sculptors, whose names were beginning to be known, would have been lost to the community and their genius to the world.²⁷

The address contains echoes of the Department's programme, laid down by Henry Cole, for training the designer, manufacturer and consumer in the school of art with a view to the general improvement of taste; but in placing its emphasis on the education of artistic personalities, whose end was individual expression through various technical means, it could not allow itself to be limited by the Department's narrow design orientation. Nor could Newbery rest content with, on the one hand training designers for industry, and on the other, training amateurs in art as a social accomplishment to while away leisure hours. There was nothing inconsequential or light-weight about a programme which made the discovery of the artist in the student its end. Each student, successfully educated, whatever the professional means by which he later sought to express himself, was essentially an artist.

Furthermore, by seeing the necessity for the art school to nurture all kinds of artistic activity, Newbery had no need to follow the Department in excluding the fine artist from his agenda; but rather he could partially accommodate the popular conception that schools of art existed to turn out picture painters. In this he was helped by established traditions at Glasgow School of Art. Under Greenlees, in particular, the Glasgow School had catered for would-be landscapists and figure painters, partly because of Greenlees' own interests, partly, as has been argued, because he liked to please his clientele but also because the School received an annual grant from the Haldane Trustees, whose particular function was the fostering of fine art in the city.²⁸ The School's committee had thus come to expect the institution to cater for fine art as well as design even though

the government had no direct interest in the former. The School's continuing interest in painting was stressed by the chairman, Sir James Watson, in his address to its annual public meeting in January 1886:

Perhaps, however, I may be allowed to say in regard to painting that this department has always held a foremost place in our Institute. It is under the immediate care and superintendence of our head master, whose aim will always be to bring his students up to the highest style of art, so that when they leave the School they may take their places among the artists of the day, should they be so inclined.²⁹

Newbery's concept of artistic personality would also enable him to welcome and encourage artistic innovation. As art for him was "soulless" unless it possessed a personal quality, innovation in art was valuable primarily because it had its "place in the evolution of the instinct of some man". It showed that "someone was thinking, somebody was moving, never mind how".³⁰ With this attitude Newbery would be able to act as a stimulus to inventiveness among his students. As *The Studio* expressed it in 1900:

The originality and strength of his personality, and the freshness and vigour of his manner on artistic questions, become strongly conducive to originality in the students who pass through the school. His unwillingness to tolerate anything merely conventional or commonplace, and his encouragement of original effort are most important factors in settling the taste and convictions of his pupils.³¹

Newbery's view, already discussed, that artists should teach in order to pass on their mastery of materials was also given support from his theory of artistic personality. As far as mastery of materials was concerned, Poynter's assertion that "the first essential of a good artist is that he should be a good workman"³² was fully endorsed in Newbery's ideology. The latter spoke of his School as being "a school of working craftsmen"³³ and when Jean Delville the Belgian Symbolist was appointed as life class master he was appointed as "a capable artist workman".³⁴ For Newbery, as for Ruskin, art education could only hope to pass on technical skill. In claiming that "John Ruskin never uttered a truer aphorism than "Drawing may be taught by tutors, but design only by heaven""³⁵ he was maintaining that "art instruction" could "make a student only a craftsman".³⁶ Craftsmanship, of course could be acquired most economically from a master. Thus Newbery strongly disagreed with George Bernard Shaw's epigram "He who can does, he who cannot teaches" maintaining rather that "unless a man could do he could not teach"³⁷ and Newbery referred to such a person not as an art teacher but as an "artist teacher". Yet the artist teacher had more qualifications than the mastery of materials alone. As an artist was, in Newbery's definition, one whose own artistic personality had been educed, he or she was consequently best fitted by experience to educe the same in others.³⁸ This was different from the mere teacher giving art lessons in accordance with any art educational system, either that outlined in the 1850s by Redgrave, or a more modern approach such as that devised by T.R. Ablett for school children. Thus, when a Miss Houston, an ex-student applied for a post as an art teacher in a school which had adopted Ablett's system, Newbery advised her to devise her own way of teaching, pointing out to her "that as an artist, he" (Ablett) was "considerably inferior to" her, and

adding that he did “not much believe in systems at any time and” did “not think methods advisable”.³⁹

Amplifying this point on another occasion, Newbery stressed how, as he saw it, it was only the artist and his work which could act as a means for the teaching of art. Speaking of educationists who believed that it was possible to write books on art training he said:

They seem unable to grasp the fact that art and its education cannot be schemed and time-tabled and printed, and that it does not lend itself to theoretical philosophisings. Its lesson is written and can be read from a painted piece of canvas, in the curves of a piece of sculpture, in a piece of paper lined upon with a cunning hand, on the cover of a tooled book, and in the scribblings on the walls and pavements of a city. ...[and quoting from Leonardo da Vinci] “Thirst shall parch thy tongue and thy body waste through lack of sustenance before thou canst express in words what art instantly sets before the eyes.”⁴⁰

Thus the individualising of training was something more than the need to cater for a student's vocational needs, it was there so that the student's individuality could be nurtured.

Newbery's Approach to Teaching

How then was the art school to produce artists from the raw material which entered its doors? Newbery left hints as to his approach throughout his career.

First of all, basic artistic skills could only be acquired by a training in the reproduction of the appearance of objects by graphical means. In his address to the School's annual public meeting in January 1886, speaking of the acquisition of technique, Newbery advised his students that “that style of work is the best which best renders a drawing or painting a copy of the original and which accomplishes this result in the shortest possible time”, adding that a student's “method should be a labour saving as well as a labour doing process”.⁴¹ The debt, and similarity, to Poynter's teaching is striking. The latter had spoken of art as labour saving and had also insisted on reproducing appearances by the most economical means.⁴² This, together with Newbery's claim that his course of instruction was “intelligent”⁴³ suggests that he was teaching the students to reproduce what they saw via a process of intelligent analysis. By being taught to look at the formal structure of the object of study and the relationship of its parts to one another, the student would be able to reproduce its appearance more quickly and more accurately. The emphasis on intelligent drawing in turn relates back to the *atelier*-based approach of Poynter and Legros. The latter for example maintained that instruction should give the student “the appreciation of form” as opposed to aiming at high finish⁴⁴ and it also relates closely to the views of Newbery's counterpart at the Birmingham School, E.R. Taylor, who advocated the teaching of “intelligent drawing as distinct from copying”.⁴⁵

One practical way of teaching students an intelligent approach to drawing, heavily employed in the School at this time, and probably resembling fairly closely the methods advocated by E.R. Taylor,⁴⁶ was to lecture to students in a classroom situation, demonstrating points by means of drawings on the black board. This was a method that

Newbery would employ throughout his career and he made use of it in his opening address to the full school (committee, staff and students) given in October 1885. The newspaper reporters who were present wrote how he “proceeded to explain by means of diagrams and a model of the human figure the various preliminary stages it was necessary for a student to go through”⁴⁷ and how “he took each subject in detail - showed how it should be approached, on what lines it should be taught and the ultimate end of such a method”.⁴⁸ The fact that this address was given to the staff as well as the students suggests that he was here showing them how he wanted them to teach. Consequent upon this, by 1888, he had established a very full lecture programme, employing various members of staff, covering all aspects of the National Course of Instruction which were appropriate to this approach. The lectures which were also open to non-students dealt with the four second grade subjects of geometry, freehand, model and perspective, each treated separately, and were shared by the second master, an art master and a male pupil-teacher. The pupil-teacher also lectured on elementary design while the art master gave a course on the elementary principles of ornament. The design master carried this further with lectures on the analysis of ornament and design and drawing plants from nature. Another art master was allocated the task of lecturing on elementary modelling, presumably with demonstrations in the material, whilst the architecture master taught building construction, elementary architecture, which concentrated mainly on the classical orders, and architectural design. Other subjects given to the second master were advanced perspective and sciography. This left Newbery to teach anatomy, and figure composition.⁴⁹

As well as, and more important than, demonstrations from the blackboard, students were encouraged to learn by carrying out their own drawings, paintings and sculptures from examples and models set before them. Bearing in mind that Newbery always aimed at the acquisition of “labour saving” methods of work, his additional advice to students “that they should aim to get every atom of good from every study” should not be construed as an exhortation to follow the old South Kensington line of slaving over a drawing for six months in the belief that it had some virtue. “Studies” for Newbery were means of improving artistic understanding by intelligent inquiry, of exploring the subject and the manner of its depiction. In this the old South Kensington reverence for “finish” could not be of any ultimate importance. What concerned him more was the learning process which went on while the student was making the work, through the problems he encountered and overcame in its production.

Newbery's emphasis on drawing as a learning process, under the guidance of a master, was an effective means of discovering a personal mode of expression through the acquaintance it gave with the capabilities and limitations of materials in conveying the appearance of the object depicted. This was most obviously useful to the painter or graphic artist who set out to describe appearances by graphical means. However, drawing from ornament and buildings was also a potent tool for the ornamentist or architect, both of whom, like the painter or modeller, were being taught to look for the essentials in the formal structure of the object under study, whether the facade of a building, a Renaissance frieze, or an antique cast of the figure. Intelligent analysis also fed the artist's memory far better than uninformed copying, allowing him to exploit what he had learnt in future work. As Newbery advised: “Start with the assumption that every study, whether it be a freehand outline or a painting from the life is your master, but end

with the satisfaction that it is your servant. By these means, and these only, will you lay up the store of knowledge which will last you through all needs.”⁵⁰

This in its turn fed the imagination. The emphasis on learning by doing, though the inescapable basis of any art educational programme, might again be profitably referred back, in Newbery's case, to Froebel's concept of education by self-activity under the guidance of the teacher, in that both aimed to bring about self-discovery through guided, disciplined work. Though sustained practice could only, at best, guarantee a measure of mechanical dexterity it was also capable in some cases of educating the artistic personality. The process was not a new discovery with Newbery, but goes back as far as the practice of art in human society. Poynter in advising his students at the Slade on the formation of a personal style described something very similar to be achieved by similar means:

Your work from models, which are daily set for your regular study, is not only to enable you to paint what you desire with ease and skill, but is to have a better result than this in forming your ideas of the beautiful, and enabling you to distinguish good from bad; for the study from nature is not the end of art, but merely a means of enabling you to express your ideas. Mr. Ruskin says on this point in his *Modern Painters*- “He who has learned what is commonly considered the whole art of painting, that is the art of representing any natural object faithfully, has as yet only learned the language by which his thoughts are to be expressed. He has done just as much towards being a great painter, as a man who has learned how to express himself grammatically, and melodiously, has towards being a great poet.” This power of selection you will not find come easily to you for some time, nor indeed is it desirable that it should do so until you have obtained a certain command over your powers of execution; but as you grow in knowledge a light will break in upon you, so that you will take more pleasure in whatever characteristics of beauty you may find, and as the eye gains practice, and the hand gains facility, you will be able to draw and paint with more freedom and certainty, and thus to acquire that style, without which art must be limited to mere reproduction of the ordinary aspects of nature.⁵¹

That Newbery did follow similar methods, with similar results is clear from the importance he placed on copying nature, at one time going so far as to say that “true art” consisted in this.⁵² Moreover, his similar approach and its effectiveness, was described, in rather laboured prose, by one of his students in 1900.

I went to the School of Art thinking that there if anywhere, would be earnest workers - workers not there merely to pass the time, but to work in the sweat of their brow for daily bread for body and soul. And this indeed I found it. “All hope abandon ye who enter here” should have been written over the entrance. All hope of ever escaping the toils of enthrallment and enchantment of the place, and all hope of ever doing well enough that which was set for me to do. Hour after hour, day after day, I stood at my easel trying hard that my drawing should be perfect, even as these Greek gods and goddesses were perfect, or as those poor hard-worked sore limbs and muscles of living men and women were perfect. As I worked, however, I had “flashes struck from midnights,” and “fire

flames noondays kindle,”... I have said nothing the while of the vital force of the master who by his wise encouragement did not quench the smoking flax, and by still wiser discouragement did not allow the child to run before it could creep. Eventually there came to me the new birth, a wonderful factor in the art life of every student, when everything is transmuted, and the transmuting power is in his own eyes - eyes that before were blind and saw not. It is as if the heavens opened.⁵³

Thus, this process of drawing from examples of historical art and architecture, from the life model (and also, in Newbery's and South Kensington's system, from plants) trained the eye and the “power of selection”, gave a growing confidence in expression and stocked the memory. If it also fed the student's pleasure “in whatever characteristics of beauty” he found and he delighted in artistic invention then in the case of an intelligent and enquiring student there was no reason why a strong artistic personality should not evolve.

Newbery and Staffing: the Artist Teacher

Another major aspect of Newbery's art educational approach was his stress on practicality. This can be seen partly against the background of the Department's own objectives that each school should adapt itself to the particular needs of the artistic industries of its locality. In recognising this Newbery stressed that no two schools would be alike as their nature would be determined by the occupations of the students attending them.⁵⁴ In speaking of his own situation he stressed that his aim was to make his school “pre-eminently what she should be, the art school for Glasgow” and added “it is for Glasgow to say what is required either by her art loving or manufacturing public, it is for the School of Art, without imperilling her fealty to the Department, to adapt herself to such requirements. The real problem is how to make the School useful, not how to make the people use the School.”⁵⁵ With this in view it was essential to make the School's course “highly practical”.

One means of achieving this was to employ teachers who were “working specialists” in the subjects that they taught ⁵⁶ and Glasgow under Newbery, as Stuart Macdonald has pointed out would be particularly noteworthy in the pursuit of such a policy.⁵⁷ However, despite Newbery's being in favour of such recruitments the policy was not initiated by him nor, outside the sphere of arts and crafts teaching, would it be carried very far by him before 1900. In 1886 Newbery was able to claim that his School had: a mechanical drawing master who was a practising engineer; an architectural master who was a working architect; a modelling class that was visited by, if not taught by, a professional sculptor; and a design master who was a designer conversant with the manufacturing needs of Glasgow;⁵⁸ in addition to which Newbery, himself was a painter. Newbery's only contribution to this scenario was the creation of the design post, which he had “strongly urged” in a report on the School he had submitted soon after his appointment.⁵⁹ The architectural master was also new, but his post, always occupied by an architect, had existed since the 1850s.

The post of mechanical master was discontinued in June 1888 when student numbers had declined, almost certainly because of competition from the School Board evening classes,⁶⁰ and the only addition to the establishment thereafter was the appointment of a

professional painter to assist in the life classes and to teach outdoor landscape work.⁶¹ The two major reasons for this were the School's financial weakness and the Department's policy of only giving grant on tuition by certificated masters and mistresses.

Thus two parallel policies had to be pursued, one guided by Newbery's desire to appoint practical artist teachers, the other circumscribed by his need to comply with the Department's requirements. Wherever possible he would endeavour to obtain staff who would satisfy both objectives and his need for high teaching quality. Where Newbery was able to appoint professional artists these additions to the staff were significant ones. The most important of these were the sculptor, William Kellock Brown, in 1888, following the death of John Mossman, the modelling visitor, and the painter, Thomas Corsan Morton in 1894. Kellock Brown an ex-National Scholar, who had studied at the Royal Academy, had been a member of the Century Guild and was a member of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society. Morton was an associate of the "Glasgow Boys", was strongly recommended by one of their leaders, James Guthrie, and had been trained at the Slade, under Legros, as well as in Paris.⁶²

As both were full-time artists (a situation of which Newbery approved) their appointments were only for a few hours each week. Kellock Brown, initially, only gave one lesson per week, but in 1890 he was contracted to give five lessons of two hours each week. Morton was originally drafted in to give outdoor landscape classes in the summer, a subject which Newbery had inaugurated soon after his appointment ⁶³ but this was soon extended to include life classes. As an ex-National Scholar, Brown could earn payments on results, but Morton, in spite of having no Department qualifications, would not prevent the School from earning grant on his students as he was employed as an assistant in Newbery's class earning grant on Newbery's certificates.

In his appointment of other Departmentally recognised masters, Newbery also chose the best men available. The two most important of these for the future of the School, like Newbery and Kellock Brown, were recruited from London where they had pursued successful careers at the National Art Training School. Both Arthur Aston Nicholas and James Morton Dunlop were probably already known to Newbery as fellow students at South Kensington. Nicholas who was hand-picked by him as design master, was an ex-National Scholar who had originally come from the Potteries. The establishment of his post acknowledged the importance of design to a manufacturing city like Glasgow and built on the efforts made in design teaching by Simmonds. Unlike his predecessor, however, Newbery, by this appointment, was able to concentrate more effort on this specific area, allowing himself to specialise more exclusively on painting and the figure.

The appointment of James Morton Dunlop as second master in 1886 demonstrates most clearly the importance Newbery placed on teaching quality as it involved a considerable sacrifice on the latter's part. The second master, when Newbery first entered the School, was Duncan McKinlay, Simmonds' deputy, who, to judge from the hundred and fifty student signatures he had collected in support of his candidacy for the post of head master, was a popular teacher.⁶⁴ Part of his duties involved taking the head master's classes in his absence. These included advanced subjects such as antique, life and still-life. He also had personal charge of advanced ornament, elementary antique and the training of students in the requirements for the art class teacher's certificate.⁶⁵ It had

become clear to Newbery, however, that McKinlay was unable to give enough assistance in the advanced classes.⁶⁶ He only possessed the first art master's certificate and the School secretary, Edward Catterns, was probably expressing Newbery's own thoughts when he wrote that McKinlay was "behind the day as a first class teacher".⁶⁷ Thus, Newbery saw that the only course, if he wished to raise the School's standards, was to dispense with his services. This the committee was reluctant to do as McKinlay had been on the staff for thirteen years and Newbery was asked to find him a post elsewhere. When, however, he was unable to do this the committee resolved to secure his resignation by offering a gratuity of £100. As the School was in severe financial straits the money had to be raised by an appeal to friends of the institution, and the difficulties in raising the sum, along with a continuing decline in student fee income, which the management had been unable to arrest, brought on a financial crisis. Newbery's only obvious course in attempting to resolve this was to agree to take a cut of £100 per annum in his own salary. In these circumstances, although obviously annoyed at the Committee's mismanagement of its funds, he was still able to express the underlying belief in the value of art education which had helped him to make the sacrifice saying that "the success of the School was more important to him than any possible emoluments he might derive from it".⁶⁸

Newbery's attitude to the appointment of McKinlay's replacement was expressed again by the Secretary when the latter wrote to the National Art Training School for its advice on possible candidates. He said that the School hoped that the person appointed would "be most influenced by the desire to raise the School to a higher standard of excellence". Dunlop's accession to the staff gave Newbery all that he wanted: a master almost as highly qualified as himself,⁶⁹ and with a dedication to the School; as the Secretary expressed it, he was a master "of higher attainments as no second - rate teaching will do with us now".⁷⁰

A further indication of Newbery's concern for high quality teaching, and for practicality, is seen in his treatment of the anatomy lecturer, Dr David Neilson Knox. Knox had been teaching anatomy at the School since the late 1870s. It seems highly likely, however, that Newbery felt that his lectures were too remote from the needs of the artist. As a result he offered to take over the anatomy lectures and to ask Knox to "give demonstrations". What this meant is not clear, but it may have involved the giving of lectures using corpses as the means of explaining anatomical structure. This attempt to use Knox where his greatest expertise probably lay, removing him from an area with which Newbery was better qualified to deal, was unsuccessful, causing Knox to resign, but it further shows Newbery's desire to use his staff to the best practical advantage.⁷¹

Newbery would continue to follow a policy of appointing high quality teachers from outside the local area for the remainder of his career, with the emphasis being shifted to notable artists after his severance from South Kensington in 1901 allowed far more freedom in devising his own curriculum. His other staff, however, were far more frequently recruited from local sources, usually from students and ex-students of the School itself, people whom Newbery knew and whose qualities he had tested. This is not to say that none of the senior staff were not ex-students. Kellock Brown had begun his career at Glasgow School of Art and Dunlop had been a student at the nearby Kilmarnock School. Newbery began with two assistant art masters who looked after most of the elementary teaching. One of these J.J.F.X. King (known to the students, for

obvious reasons, as “Alphabetical King”) stayed with Newbery throughout his career and attended the School for most of the hours it was open. Robert McLelland, the other teacher in 1885, taught four evenings only, working as an accountant during the day. The complement of assistants was gradually increased over the years. By the session 1893-4, there were three male assistants: King, James Gray, and Emmet Brady, and two assistant mistresses had also been added by this time. In addition, the School always had two pupil teachers on the establishment helping with the elementary work while taking examinations and certificates to increase their qualifications.

Newbery's concern to acquire technical experts in the service of his School did not, however, limit itself to staff appointments, subject as they were to Departmental restrictions. Almost from the outset he began to interest other practical experts in the operation and development of the School. Already by October 1885 he had prevailed upon three architects, William Leiper, John James Burnet and Henry Edward Clifford to visit the architectural class to advise on the teaching and to bring it more into line with drawing office practice.⁷² These set monthly projects as an incentive to the students which they criticised, and on which they awarded prizes. In support of this policy the committee also gained the aid of the Glasgow Institute of Architects to offer and set the conditions for an annual prize.⁷³

Newbery later extended the idea of visiting experts to include painters and manufacturers to advise on their respective areas of the curriculum. Monthly visits by the painters James Guthrie and Joseph Henderson were officially approved by the Committee in 1891,⁷⁴ although less formal links had been established soon after Newbery's appointment. In his first year he had inaugurated a “Glasgow School of Art Club” for past and present students “for the encouragement of the fine art section of the School's curriculum, more especially as regards figure and landscape composition and drawing; the means taken being the issue and criticism of set monthly subjects, both advanced and elementary”.⁷⁵ Newbery was its president and criticised the monthly subjects but it also held an annual exhibition in the autumn of work produced in the summer vacation which was judged by leading local artists. These included a large number of the notable painters who resided in and near Glasgow: Joseph Henderson, James Guthrie, John Lavery, Alexander Kellock Brown, R. Macaulay Stephenson, Alexander Roche, W.Y. McGregor and Francis Powell.⁷⁶ The close links Newbery thus established with the Glasgow painters emboldened him to ask James McNeill Whistler to lecture to the students in 1890, claiming that his efforts in art teaching had “met with both the help and the approval” of “the art of Glasgow as represented by its younger men”.⁷⁷ A similar approach was taken in modelling and design, where subjects were also set on a periodical basis as part of the course.⁷⁸

The Committee of Management was also invited to take a closer interest in the School's teaching activity. In 1887, the body was divided into a series of sub committees for drawing and painting, modelling, architecture, design, and mechanical drawing, so that the expertise of the membership in these areas could be put to full use.⁷⁹ In addition Newbery attempted to induce the Haldane Trustees, the School's main local benefactors, to inaugurate a competitive travelling scholarship for design which would enable its holder to visit leading European art centres to make copies of artefacts which would then be used by the School for the benefit of design teaching.⁸⁰ When this failed he gained the support of the committee to establish a more modest prize which had the

same objective.⁸¹ By the means of his monthly subjects, the expansion of the prize scheme which Simmonds had used, and the collaborative help of local experts, Newbery was able to encourage students to improve their work and to bring it more up to professional standards. At the same time by strengthening the bond with local interests he was beginning to establish a sense of semi-autonomy, which would grow over the years to result, eventually, in a complete severance from South Kensington.

The judges' reports on the students' works for the Local Prize Scheme help to highlight some aspects of the teaching, what it was meant to achieve, and the influence of the outside experts upon it. The areas of work for competition purposes were divided into: architecture; modelling; design; mechanical (up to 1888); and elementary and advanced drawing, and antique, life and still life (up to 1893), after which the elementary and advanced sections were dropped. Each section had its own panel of judges. Taking each area (with the exception of machine drawing) in turn, the architect judges helped in forwarding the School's interest in teaching building construction, the understanding and application of historical styles and their attendant ornament to contemporary requirements and tuition in architectural draughtsmanship. They had to look at work submitted for the Glasgow Institute of Architects' prize and for the monthly subjects which they had set themselves. The former competition required the submission of drawings of architectural ornament from the cast, measured drawings of existing buildings and lecture notes on building construction. The light and shade studies from architectural ornament from the cast together with the measured drawings were considered to be "absolutely indispensable to the education of the architect. Than measurement drawings and a thorough consultation of the architectural works of the school and other libraries, no other means exist whereby the student is enabled to obtain a knowledge of style."⁸² This emphasis on the knowledge of style was further underlined by their comments on the original designs of parts of buildings, such as staircases or oriel windows, required for submission for monthly competitions, which they wished "had more relation to the knowledge gained by a study of past work".⁸³ The importance of such knowledge was further in evidence in an additional annual competition for the design of a specified building. In 1891, for example, the judges reported that "the design for a Presbyterian Church elicited a close competition. The prize being ultimately divided between a work by Charles R. McIntosh full of artistic treatment but non-descript in style, and a drawing by John G. Gillespie which exhibited a knowledge gained by research." Despite the closeness of the competition, Gillespie won the prize.⁸⁴

Modelling was an area that Newbery wished to develop. Much of the work required in Glasgow was for the ornamentation of buildings and a good proportion of students working in this area were tradesmen: masons, stone carvers, modellers, wood carvers and plasterers. Newbery was also encouraging designers and architects to attend modelling classes. Most of those who did joined the elementary classes only, where the modelling of ornament was taught. In Newbery's first year, judging from the local competition entries, this was where the School had been concentrating its efforts.⁸⁵ In the report for 1886-7, however, John Mossman, the examiner was recommending the inculcation of "a fuller knowledge of the figure...both in the antique and from the life". In the following session such studies were in evidence, aided by monthly sketch designs. On Mossman's death, the judging was taken over by the men who examined the architectural section, possibly because they and Newbery were concerned to develop the

application of sculpture to architecture, a concern which was gaining increased attention in advanced artistic circles and which Newbery would have encountered at the National Art Training School where John Sparkes was a notable advocate.⁸⁶ In keeping with this approach the architect judges, while praising the good work in the Life classes noted that the ornamental designs, which perforce related to architecture, were “redolent of bad tradition in some cases”.⁸⁷

The judges in the Design section included manufacturers, architects, and after the introduction of arts and crafts classes in 1893, “artist decorators”. The judges in Newbery's first two years, were exclusively manufacturers, mirroring the traditional theoretical relationship of art schools to local industry. They included, James Templeton, carpet manufacturer, Alexander Drew, calico printer, and Edward Howell, House and Ship Furnisher. After 1890, possibly for purely accidental reasons, their places were taken by architects. This of course was consistent with the prevailing orthodoxy, that the decorative arts arose from and should properly be attendant upon architecture. From 1894, after the artist decorators had been introduced as judges, manufacturers again appeared on the panel providing a mixture of representatives from all three groups. The works submitted for competition were designs, mostly on paper, rather than in the material, for manufactures and decorative media produced in Glasgow: printed textiles; muslins; carpets; wrought iron; ceramics; decorative schemes; stained glass; book covers; embroidery. Most of these media were also dealt with by the Department's judges in the National Competition and some of the works had already been submitted to that tribunal. Although in some cases the Glasgow judges could agree with Morris and his colleagues on the Department's panel, this was not always the case. In 1888, when J.J.F.X. King won a national gold medal for a carpet design which was commended by the South Kensington judges for showing in his “details that he understands the principle of carpet designing”, J.S. Templeton had scoffed, “the carpet design (which secured the gold medal) is drawn on lines so fine as to be practically useless to the manufacturer”.⁸⁸ Sometimes, however, the judges of the local competition were so impressed by the designs that they urged that Glasgow manufacturers should take them up.⁸⁹ On another occasion they criticised carpet designs for being “too realistic and” again “too small in scale. Where an historic style was chosen there was too slavish an adherence to the style.”⁹⁰ In this they were expressing the common view among design theorists that although nature was the main source for design, it was necessary to conventionalise it and that where historical styles were used, their essential qualities rather than their superficial appearance should be appropriated.

The drawing, antique, life and still life sections were judged in Newbery's first two years by the lithographer A.G. MacDonald, the publisher Robert Blackie, and the house and ship furnisher, Edward Howell, underlining a “practical” design bias even in these fine art areas. From 1889, professional artists, however, came into prominence, although they sometimes shared the work with some of the architect governors. Their comments show that they favoured the graded academic approach promoted by the Department and give some indication of how Newbery was directing the teaching. The examiners stressed the necessity of making outline studies from the cast and from plants as a good training in developing expressive linear draughtsmanship for life drawing and painting.⁹¹ They also stressed the value of monochrome tonal painting from casts of ornament as a good basis for still-life work in colour.⁹² They however disapproved of work with the stump (as recommended by Poynter) in drawing from the antique and the

life, because work in this medium tended to “woolliness of texture” and “a tendency towards blackness”⁹³ only recommending it as a training for painting, generally preferring outline drawing as an aid to the understanding of form.⁹⁴ The drawing of draperies, parts of the body from the antique, and memory drawings of antique and life models were also encouraged.⁹⁵ The students were commended for the variety of different methods employed⁹⁶ and individuality of expression was encouraged.⁹⁷

Notes

GCA = Glasgow City Archives
 GSAA= Glasgow School of Art Archives
 GSA = Glasgow School of Art
 DSA = Department of Science and Art.
 SUA = Strathclyde University Archives

1. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 20 May 1885.
2. Stuart Macdonald, The History and Philosophy of Art Education (London: University of London Press, 1970), pp.214-216.
3. GSAA, F.H. Newbery, Testimonials, (1885), p.3.
4. Glasgow Herald, 16 October 1885.
5. Quiz, 6 December 1894, p.46.
6. Davidson Family Collection, Peter Wylie Davidson (Unpublished autobiography), pp.44-51.
7. GSAA, Newbery, Testimonials, p.9.
8. The Bailie, 25 May 1898, p.2.
9. Quiz, 6 December 1894, p.46.
10. GSAA, Newbery, Testimonials, p.10.
11. Glasgow Herald, 16 October 1885.
12. GSAA, GSA, Press Cuttings, 1907-1917, p.57: undated cutting, circa February 1909.
13. Glasgow Herald, 25 December 1911: report of a lecture entitled ‘Art Instincts’ delivered on 23 December, at Glasgow School of Art.
14. GSAA, GSA, Press Cuttings, 1907-1917. pp.188 & 195: unattributed cuttings circa March 1914 of a lecture delivered at the Watt Hall, Greenock.
15. Ibid., p.162: report dated 5 March 1913 of an address by Newbery at the opening of the 6th annual exhibition of the Paisley Art Club.
16. John Ruskin, ‘A Joy for Ever’ in E.T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, editors, The Works of John Ruskin, 39 volumes (London: George Allen, 1905), XVI, 29-35 (p.29)
17. Thomas Carlyle, ‘The Mechanical Age’ (from *Signs of the Times*, 1829) in Alasdair Clayre, editor, Nature and Industrialisation (Oxford University Press, 1977), 229-234 (p.234)
18. The Artist, 1 December, 1885 p.381.
19. Glasgow Herald, 25 December 1896. Report of a lecture by Newbery entitled ‘Art and Personality’.
20. Glasgow Herald, 16 October 1885.

21. Newbery, 'The Place of Art School's in the Economy of Applied Art', in Transactions of the National Association for the Advancement of Art in its Application to Industry: Edinburgh meeting, 1889. (London: 1890), 447-451 (p.449).
22. C.F.A. Voysey, 'Individuality', in Stuart Durant, C.F.A. Voysey (London: Academy Editions, 1992) p.128 (first published in London by Chapman & Hall, 1915).
23. The Studio, volume 12, 1898, p.292.
24. The Bailie, 25 May 1898, p.2 is one example: "He believes in each student developing his own individuality. To give full and judicious play to temperament is with him the road to the best results". The Studio, volume 19, 1900, p.233 supports this: "In the work produced by the Glasgow School of Art, this principle of individuality is the one quality underlying all the productions".
25. Herbert Courthope Bowen, Froebel and Education by Self-Activity (London: William Heinemann, 1901 -first published 1893), pp.91-2.
26. *Ibid.*, p.94.
27. Glasgow Herald, 25 December 1911: report of lecture entitled "Art Instincts" delivered on 23 December, 1911 at Glasgow School of Art.
28. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1885), p.12: Sir James Watson used this argument for the School's teaching of painting.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
30. GSAA, GSA, Press Cuttings, 1907-1917 pp.188 & 195: report of an address delivered by Newbery at an exhibition which included work by the Scottish Colourists at the Watt Hall Greenock, circa March 1914.
31. The Studio, 19 (1900), p.51.
32. E.J. Poynter, Ten Lectures on Art (London: Chapman and Hall, 1879), p.133.
33. Scotia, 'Scottish Society Notes' Madame (6 January 1900), p.15.
34. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 8 May 1900.
35. Newbery, 'Students' work at South Kensington - a reply', Scottish Art Review, , 2, no. 18, (November 1889), 167-8 (p.167).
36. The Bailie, 25 May 1898.
37. Glasgow Herald, 20 November 1911.
38. GSAA, GSA, Press Cuttings, 1907-17, p.129: lecture "Art instincts" delivered on 23 December 1911 at Glasgow School of Art.
39. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1905-6, p.408.
40. GSAA, GSA Press Cuttings, 1907-17, p.129, F.H. Newbery, Letter, dated 20 December 1911 to Glasgow Herald. This letter is signed "Elliott". Newbery used his mother's maiden name on several occasions to disguise his identity in letters to the press and in articles.
41. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report, (1886) p.17.
42. Poynter, Ten Lectures on Art, pp.113 and 159. The latter refers specifically to painting.
43. GSAA, Newbery Press Cuttings Book, p.1, unattributed, undated cutting, ca.1885-6.
44. Royal Commission on Technical Instruction, 2nd Report, 5 volumes (London: 1884), III, p.200, par. 2063.
45. Edward R. Taylor, Elementary Art Teaching: an Educational and Technical guide for Teachers and Learners (London: Chapman and Hall, 1890), pp.54-62 explain Taylor's method of teaching drawing by guiding pupils in schools to look at ornamental forms analytically and in terms of proportional relationships, by means of demonstrations on the blackboard.
46. *Ibid.*.

47. GSAA, GSA, Press Cuttings, 1864-1897. p.17: unattributed cutting dated 16 October 1885.
48. Glasgow Herald, 16 October 1885: cutting in GSA Governor's Minutes, 15 October 1885.
49. SUA, G/28/8/2, GSA, Syllabus of Lectures, Session 1888-89, p.3. The prospectuses for 1893-4 and 1900-1901, the only full prospectuses to survive for the period under the Department of Science and Art, confirm that this lecture series remained substantially unaltered.
50. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1885), p.17.
51. Poynter, Ten Lectures on Art, p.121.
52. GSAA, Newbery, Press Cuttings, p.37. Letter to unattributed newspaper from Adam Drysdal, dated 6 April 1891, criticising Newbery for maintaining that 'true art is to copy nature'.
53. The Studio, 19 (1900), pp.52-3.
54. Newbery, 'The Place of Art Schools in the Economy of Applied Art', p.447.
55. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report, (1885), pp.15-17: Newbery, Address to Annual Meeting of Glasgow School of Art on 11 January, 1886.
56. Glasgow Herald, 16 October 1885: report of Newbery's address to staff and students.
57. Stuart Macdonald, 'Newbery and 'The Four': a School for Europe', in David Thistlewood, editor, Histories of Art and Design Education: Cole to Coldstream (Harlow: Longman, 1992), 80-104, (p.83).
58. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence, 1883-1887, pp.462-3: letter dated 17 December 1886.
59. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 31 July 1885.
60. GSAA, GSA, Minutes 25 April 1888 and 6 June 1888.
61. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 20 March and 20 December 1893.
62. Scottish Arts Council, The Glasgow Boys, 2 volumes (Edinburgh: Scottish Arts Council, 1968) I, p.63 and GSA, Minutes, 20 December 1893.
63. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1887), p.11 records the existence of an "open-air sketching class" in the summer months of 1886.
64. GSAA, GSA, Manuscript list of applicants for post of head master, 1885.
65. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence to DSA, 1882-1887, p.767. Letter dated 4 June 1886 outlining conditions for Second Mastership on McKinlay's resignation.
66. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 15 April 1886.
67. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence, 1883-1887, p.424.
68. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 5 November 1886. In the same meeting Newbery criticised the Committee for basing its salary arrangements with him on inadequate data - a criticism which the members accepted, excusing themselves on the grounds that their previous arrangements with Simmonds, whereby he paid all staff salaries, had made it difficult for them to establish reliable criteria.
69. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence to Scotch Education Department, 1899-1910 vol.1 p.12. Dunlop possessed the first, second and sixth Art Master's Certificates.
70. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence, 1883-1887, p.437.
71. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 22 December 1885, 19 January 1886, 2 April 1886.
72. GSAA, GSA, Minutes 22 December 1885: Leiper was an established architect. Clifford and Burnet were at the beginning of successful careers. The latter two had previously taught in the School and were ex-students. Both Leiper and Burnet would subsequently become governors, in 1889 and 1893 respectively.

73. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 22 December 1885.
74. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 14 December 1891.
75. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report, (1887), p.11.
76. GSAA, GSA, Press Cuttings: reports of Glasgow School of Art Club exhibitions.
77. Glasgow University, Whistler Collection, Newbery, Letter to Whistler, 8 January 1890.
78. GSAA, GSA, Minutes 27 April 1887 and Annual Report (1888), p.26.
79. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 16 December 1886 and 18 January 1887.
80. Ibid. 17.12.85.
81. Ibid. 22 December 1885 and 19 January 1886.
82. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1889), p.24. Report of judges William Leiper, John J Burnet and J.A. Campbell.
83. Ibid..
84. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1891), p.24. The Judges were the same as in the 1889 report.
85. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1887) p.31.
86. Susan Beattie, The New Sculpture (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), pp. 16-28. Beattie shows that Sparkes' interest in architectural sculpture was an important stimulus to its development in Britain. In a letter to the Department, dated 7 February 1893 -GSAA, GSA, Correspondence to DSA, 1888-1894, p.546, the School demonstrated its own identification with the movement by stating that its instruction in modelling consisted of the study of the model and its application for architectural purposes and that it wished to submit to the Department's examiners, specimens, both of work and its application.
87. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1891), p.23.
88. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1889), pp.14 & 23: Templeton must, however, have seen merit in the design as he awarded it a special prize.
89. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1891), p.23: The architects, Leiper, Burnet and Campbell regretted that "the manufacturers of Glasgow fail to recognise the merit of these productions, and effort to overcome this should be made."
90. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1896), p.23 -judges J.A. Campbell and artist decorator, John Guthrie.
91. Ibid., p.22 -Alexander Roche, William Leiper, W.Y. MacGregor.
92. Ibid., p.23.
93. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1888), p.25- Robert Blackie and A.G. MacDonald.
94. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1891), p.23 - J.J. Burnet, William Leiper, J.A. Campbell.
95. Ibid. and GSA, Annual Report (1894), p.23 -James Guthrie, Alexander Roche, J.J. Burnet.
96. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1891), p.23.
97. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1890) - Robert Blackie, James Guthrie, E.A. Walton.

CHAPTER 5

NEWBERY AS A HEAD MASTER UNDER THE DEPARTMENT OF SCIENCE AND ART: PART 2

Students and the Curriculum

The curriculum, based on the National Course of Instruction, was adapted by Newbery to meet his students' individual needs.¹ His starting point was to ascertain the students' objectives in entering the School and their level of ability as draughtsmen. As he explained:

A young man or young woman comes to me and says he or she wants to be an artist. Well, I don't listen to that. I put them on to make an outline drawing of a cast selected by themselves in the Antique Room, and from that drawing I see what the student can do, and I apportion for him work in accordance. He then goes through the course, learns to draw, and after that it lies with himself what special branch he will devote himself to.²

Whether he applied this rule to all applicants, seems unlikely. It would be far less appropriate to many artisan students. Newbery's desire to make the School of practical use to the people and economy of Glasgow, could be made to fit to a certain extent with his belief in the individualisation of instruction, but it would probably, in most cases, have been inconsistent with his ideal of educating the student's artistic personality. At the most simple level individualisation meant teaching the artisan student what he needed for his occupation. Most of Newbery's artisan students, who were in the majority in the School, only came to acquire basic drawing skills. For example the large number of joiners who attended, usually for no longer than a year, took the building construction course which enabled them to read plans. Even many of the designers attending would never need to do more in their employment than copy designs for transfer to some mechanical process and for them the standard of draughtsmanship required for the elementary drawing sections of the course was sufficient and this could be acquired through mass classroom teaching rather than in an individualised studio setting. In fact awards were given in the Local Prize Scheme for the best set of notes of lectures on construction of ornament and freehand, and similar prizes for notes for model drawing, geometry and perspective, and building construction. Nevertheless, Newbery was always on the lookout for the talented student, from whatever social background, whom he could encourage or advise in the development of his artistic personality. Peter Wylie Davidson, an apprentice silver chaser, for example, recalled how Newbery, on seeing his work in the evening classes, had urged him to join the day classes so that he could concentrate on developing his abilities as a painter.³

However, for the student with creative leanings, ready and able to give more time to his or her studies, Newbery's entrance test would help in deciding where on the course the student should be placed. By doing this Newbery was saving both the student's and the School's time.

Nor was the student's time wasted during the course itself. An examination of the new student intake for 1891 shows that about two thirds (188 out of a total of 275) worked at some stages of the preliminary drawing course.⁴ This course accounted for 249 of the total number of the 449 works sent up to South Kensington from new entrants that year. The most intensively worked stages, as far as entries for the National Competition was concerned, were in descending order of numbers of works: 77 at Stage 5b (shading from ornament from the round); 55 at Stage 2b (ornament in outline from the flat); 48 at

Stage 5a (shading from models); 26 at Stage 3a (outline from models); 26 at Stage 3b (outline from ornament from the round); and 14 at Stage 10b (flowers shaded from nature). This at once shows Newbery's concentration on drawing from the round as opposed to the flat. His rapid promotion of students to more advanced subjects is also seen in the fact that 74 figure studies were sent up. Although the majority (53) were works shaded from the antique, a large number (35) were studies from the life (viz.: 17 heads; 5 draped; 11 nudes). Painting was also undertaken by a good number of new students. The most popular stages here were ornament from the cast in monochrome, and flowers and foliage from nature, closely followed by groups of still-life as studies in colour. There were also a few landscapes from nature and some studies of ornament in colour from copies and still-life from copies. In addition eighteen examples of modelling were sent in and thirty-one examples of design. Of these last, nineteen were at Stage 22 (elementary design) which included copies of historical ornament; natural objects treated ornamentally; and examples of ornament to fill a given two-dimensional geometrical shape. The other thirteen, however were original designs at Stage 23.

Newbery's flexibility can be further illustrated by looking at the case of one student. William Findlay was a talented painting student who attended the School from 1888 to 1894. In his first year, rather than put him through the elementary drawing course, Newbery set him to draw from the antique. By his second year he was drawing the nude from the life as well as continuing to draw from the antique and studying anatomy. He had now also begun to paint, studying the antique in monochrome and still life as "compositions in colour". In his third year he had graduated to painting the nude from the life in colour and painting his own figure compositions as well as continuing with his drawing in the areas covered in previous years. In his fourth year, in addition to continuing with his usual subjects, he was also painting landscapes from nature, but if he might seem to have now attained to the pinnacle of the Victorian fine art student's ambition, other subjects he proceeded to take in this year would take him back to earlier stages of the course. He began to draw ornament from the cast in outline (Stage 3b) and to do shading from models (Stage 5a). His fifth year witnessed a digression from the drawing and painting course when he took Stage 18a (modelling ornament from casts) and in his last year he was working at shading ornament from the round (Stage 5b) and drawing antique details. This last, in the traditional academy course, always preceded drawing from the full-length antique figure, and certainly came long before the student was allowed to work from the living model. This all underlines how Newbery sought to individualise his teaching. As the master in charge of the life, anatomy, and advanced antique courses he would have been responsible for directing Findlay's studies. He was thus probably helping his student to explore the limitations of painting by encouraging him to take up the very different medium of modelling, encouraging him to look at picture composition, obliquely, by making him draw from ornament, and improving his ability to draw hands and feet, subjects which life students found difficult, by encouraging him to go back to drawing antique details.⁵

One possible result of Newbery's flexible, individual, approach to students might be seen in his ability to retain them for longer periods in the School. In the session for 1883-4, Simmonds enrolled 492 new students, as against 289 in 1891-2: the decline in numbers which Simmonds had witnessed having continued under Newbery. However, the proportion of students staying on for a second year under Newbery had significantly

increased: only 125, that is about twenty per cent of Simmonds' students returned while 101, about one third, of Newbery's came back.⁶

All of this must have contributed to Newbery's success in establishing the School at the forefront of Government schools of art. His first year, 1885-1886 saw no falling off in awards, 63 prizes being taken in the National Competition, including 3 silver and 2 bronze medals, an improvement on Simmonds' last year, with an increase of government grant to a level higher than 1882-3 which had been Simmonds' best year (£761-13-0 as against £758-19-1). In the 1887-8 session the School won its first national gold medal since 1874, and from that time onwards it never looked back, taking as many as 3 golds, 8 silvers, and 24 bronzes in session 1896-7, a year when it also came first among the country's schools. During the period it also consistently won more medals than all the other schools of art in Scotland added together.⁷

The success *vis-à-vis* other schools of art was only one way in which Newbery's success should be measured, the other index of achievement, which represented a fundamentally more important objective for the Department's head masters in manufacturing centres, was the amount of impact his educational activities had made on the aesthetic quality of local manufactures. This is almost impossible to measure. What is clear however is that the vast majority of medals won between 1885 and 1900 were obtained by students in employment, for subjects which related to their occupations. Of 242 medals almost half (116) were won for design. The successful students in this area comprised as many as eighty-nine directly engaged in design and craft work, mostly in Glasgow's textile industries: calicos; carpets; lace; and muslins; with a further four engaged in retailing merchandise. Of the others a further ten were art teachers, training to teach future designers and artists, another ten were art students (usually middle class women with no occupation, some of whom, like Jessie Rowat, Frances Macdonald and Jessie M King, went on to become designers and prominent practitioners of the Glasgow Style). Sixty-seven medals were also won for architecture, all by trainee-architects attending the School in the evenings. The medals for modelling were also largely obtained by workmen: (twenty-one medals, of which seven were won by carvers in stone or wood, four by modellers, two by art teachers, and six by women art students and designers). The remaining thirty-eight medals were obtained for drawing and painting, a large number, again, being won by artisans in Glasgow's industries. Almost half (sixteen) went to lithographic artists. (Others, however, were obtained by people who went on to make a name as painters such as the optician, John Quinton Pringle, and the art student, Bessie McNicol.)⁸

Newbery's Relations with the Department

Newbery had seen his drive to make his teaching useful to the needs of Glasgow as possibly calling the School's "fealty to the Department" into question. Since the inception of state-aided art education, tensions and conflicts had frequently arisen in this area. One of Newbery's predecessors, Charles Heath Wilson, for example, had objected in 1863 to the Department's elementary drawing curriculum because of its poor adaptation to the needs of Glasgow's calico designers.⁹ The irrelevance of some parts of the National Course of Instruction to local needs and the unimaginative application of it by some art teachers was one reason why students did not stay for very long in the

schools. Newbery was obviously under no illusions about this and had to tread a fine line between the Department's requirements as his paymaster and the practical needs of his students.

It should be stressed that there was no possible way that he could have made his teaching “useful” by discarding the Department's curriculum and replacing it with one of his own devising. The Department's annual directories set out the way in which schools were meant to operate if they intended receiving government grants, and it is clear that the Glasgow School was largely run in accordance with its stipulations. However, the Department only examined the results of teaching, while it left the individual schools to decide on the methods to be employed. This gave Newbery quite a large amount of room in which to operate.

The inspector's report of 1887, praised Newbery's course for the “different ranges of subjects taught with a thoroughness which is rapid and progressive”.¹⁰ Glasgow, unlike many schools, because of its size and the varied needs of its students, offered all the advanced subjects set out in the *Art Directory*. Its architecture, modelling, life and design classes were not a common feature in many schools. The difference between Newbery's endorsement and the experiences of Greenlees and the Bridport School at the hands of the inspectors is particularly noteworthy. Whereas they were criticised for giving students work for which they had been inadequately prepared, Newbery, despite moving students quickly through the course, was commended for training students in a practical and thorough labour-saving way with each stage of a student's training progressing from, and building on, that which went before it.

The School's prospectuses, covering the years 1888 to 1900, most of which survive only in the *Calendars* of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College, show that Newbery was running his courses very much on the lines of the National Course of Instruction. The prospectuses like the Department's annual directories divide the course into the same elementary and advanced subjects. The elementary section, as indicated previously, included the four subjects of the second grade examinations, with the addition of drawing in outline from the cast (3b), shading from models (5a), shading from casts (5b), drawing from plants and flowers, and “modelling simple objects”. The advanced subjects, similarly, reflected the *Art Directory*. The only exceptions were Newbery's offer of pastel painting, gesso and etching in the day classes, which could be easily accommodated as they broke no rules.¹¹ Even the surviving lecture programme covering the 1888-9 session, which the School maintained indicated “the advanced nature of the instruction”¹² in its fairly detailed description of the contents of the lectures, which cover aspects of the Department's course, copies almost verbatim the outline of their treatment given in the *Art Directory*.¹³

The only discernible departure from the course occurred in the 1893-4 prospectus when Newbery abandoned the teaching of all elementary drawing from flat examples.¹⁴ He pointed this out in a press interview in 1895 as one way in which his School was unique, stating that “there is no drawing from the copy and until the student can draw well and paint well no copying from pictures is done”.¹⁵ In this he can be seen to be applying ideas which Poynter had expounded in his lectures which cast doubt on the utility of this part of the curriculum.¹⁶ Thus in Newbery's course, from 1893 onwards the earliest drawing stage “Outline from the flat with analysis of ornament” was replaced by

“Drawing from the cast”.¹⁷ Newbery's inclusion of copying from paintings in his programme was in accordance with the best academic practice as followed by *Beaux-Arts* students in Paris. His requests to the South Kensington Museum lending scheme frequently included watercolours and oils of plants and landscapes for students to copy.¹⁸

Newbery's abandonment of drawing from the flat was made possible because the Department ceased giving payments on results on most elementary subjects for works sent up to London in 1888, ensuring that his abandonment of the stages of the course which included copying from the flat, would not heavily penalise the School.¹⁹ However, as grant was still awarded on the second grade freehand paper in the local examinations, Newbery continued to enter his students for this, giving them a period of tuition prior to their sitting, to ensure good results.²⁰

Outline from the flat with analysis of ornament, in fact, when well taught, did have its benefits especially for the trainee designer as was explained by E.R. Taylor, the head of the Birmingham School of Art, who advocated training in design from the beginning of the course.²¹ Prior to 1893 the stage had almost certainly been used by Newbery in this way, but thereafter the students' preliminary teaching in design became associated in the prospectus with “drawing from plants and flowers”,²² probably the Department's Stage 10a (Drawing plants in outline) which was meant in the National Course as a preliminary stage in the teaching of the design process, leading up to the making of original designs based on plant growth. In linking the teaching of ornament more closely with the study of nature Newbery may have been giving greater emphasis to the doctrine that all ornament was ultimately derived from nature, as opposed to the other parallel doctrine that an ornamentist should learn his trade by studying good historical examples. This is not to say that Newbery was abandoning the latter course, far from it, but it does suggest a possible orientation in his approach away from the dangers of drawing from historical examples, which tended to encourage mere copyism and would have helped to provide a corrective for it. It also fitted more closely with the needs of the large number of textile firms in the city whose designs were based on plant form. The importance of botanical drawing in Newbery's regime, is further borne out by the early contacts he made with Glasgow's Botanic Gardens, to obtain permission for his students to draw on its premises at all hours of the day and for cut specimens to be regularly provided for use in the School.²³ Nicholas' teaching was also heavily orientated in this direction. In the School's lecture programme of 1888-9, he as Design master gave lectures on designing from plants, while the elementary master, J.J.F.X. King, was allotted the task of lecturing on the principles of ornament and historical ornament. Thus the natural derivation of ornament was being stressed not only at the most elementary but also at the most advanced level. Moreover, the fact that Newbery and Nicholas were applying their major efforts to the teaching of design from plant form, in preference to teaching from historical ornament (on which Simmonds had concentrated) may indicate that the School was now placing more emphasis on the invention of original designs.

Newbery was also encouraging a more flexible approach to drawing style. The Department had never actually stipulated that a particular style of drawing should be followed by the schools affiliated to it. However, the fact that under Redgrave, the masters had been trained to teach the severe linear style of outline and the laborious style of light and shade drawing favoured by the academicians of his generation, and

students had been examined in accordance with it, meant that this style came to be associated with South Kensington, especially among young artists who had discovered the methods employed in the Parisian *ateliers*. Since Poynter's term of office, however, it seems unlikely that the earlier style could have continued to have been insisted on by the younger examiners brought in by him. William Morris corroborated this in his evidence to the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction, claiming that he and his fellow judges looked for "the fundamental qualities of the draughtsman, his perception of form, and so forth" and not for high finish as an end in itself.²⁴ Further, Lewis F. Day, another examiner, referred to the popular belief that South Kensington favoured "a hard and wiry pencil line" in its outline drawing as misconceived.²⁵

Newbery was not satisfied with drawing that displayed no personality and the wire-like pencil line was no longer being insisted on in the School. Another reason for its curtailment, however, was the need to make drawing style more compliant to occupational needs: a more practical approach which was welcomed by the Department. The East End Branch was closed at the end of the 1887-8 session, having ceased to pay its way, only to be reopened in the following session by the carpet manufacturer J. S. Templeton as a school for the exclusive training of his designers. Templeton, who was a member of the Art School committee, employed Eben T. Hoeck, a teacher provided by Newbery as the master of this class. The School sent a letter to the Department stating Templeton's reasons for establishing the class, one of which was that schools of art did not generally teach drawing "in a way conducive to the purposes of manufacture". He found little use for "fine drawing" but wished to encourage "a broad firm touch" achieved by the use of charcoal on coarse paper, the School Secretary adding that work at Glasgow School of Art in the elementary departments met, "in almost every respect", the requirements mentioned by Templeton.²⁶ The Department's seal of approval was set on the class by Thomas Armstrong, the Director for Art himself in a visit in 1889, when he took away some examples of work for the Department's own collection.²⁷

If Newbery's approach to teaching created no problems for him at South Kensington this does not mean that he, along with other head masters, did not experience continual difficulties complying with its bureaucratic strictures which did have the effect of preventing him from making his teaching as effective as he would have wished. He was ready to acknowledge in public that it was "slightly red-tapish"²⁸, and referred to its restrictive "dead rules" in private.²⁹ As South Kensington's main point of contact and control over what went on in the local schools was through its examination system, it was in this area that it was able to frustrate Newbery's efforts to make the teaching as practical as he felt necessary.

The Department, as a bureaucratic organisation attempting to cater for a large number of schools in different areas with different art industries or with none at all, found it difficult to respond to individual needs while attempting to maintain standards by which all could be judged. Thus, when a head master in his efforts to make his school's teaching more appropriate to local requirements took measures which went beyond the government's rules he was likely to be penalised by loss of grant in the examinations. There was no vindictiveness on the part of the Department in this. The problem was one which tends to attach itself to bureaucracies, with their officials applying rules which they have no authority to set aside or interpret in a generous manner. Newbery's

comparison of the Department to Dickens' Circumlocution Office in *Little Dorrit*³⁰ was very apt, and is fully borne out in the School's correspondence with headquarters.

Thomas Smith, the architectural master, possessed a second class certificate in advanced building construction, which did not allow for the award of payments on his teaching in areas of the curriculum, like Stage 22d (Historic ornament) and 23b (Architectural design), which were only covered by art masters' certificates. However, although he had been appointed in 1885, the Department continued awarding grant on his teaching without demur until 1892, when one of its officials must have noticed Smith's lack of qualifications. When the School received a letter from the Department pointing this out, the latter was mollified by being shown that Newbery, under whose supervision Smith acted, did possess the requisite certificates. In his reply to the Department the Secretary argued the advantages of the School's policy in employing working specialists, at the same time indicating why it was so successful in its architectural teaching. He wrote that:

the ordinary teacher with a building construction certificate has usually but a very superficial knowledge of his subject, practically, whereas a practising architect such as is Mr. Smith, is enabled to bring the students into the closest possible touch with the every day requirements of the building trade and architect's profession, and the committee very much regret if so important a school as this is has to depend upon the instruction of the students (by anything but) the best teachers obtainable. It is much to be regretted that practising architects so seldom interest themselves or are interested in the work of schools of art and the Institute of Architects of this city warmly approves of the method of instruction followed by Mr. Smith.³¹

Another problem which also concerned the architectural course was to occur in 1897 over the elementary perspective examination paper. In that year the results were poor. This was mainly because, as the School pointed out, the students had found that the sheet provided was too small to do the three set problems by the "ground plan or direct method" employed by architects, it being only possible to do them by following the "measuring points system". The Department had not stipulated that the latter method should be employed: in fact its Directory indicated that either was permissible. This disadvantaged the Glasgow school as its perspective classes were largely composed of architects to whom the measuring point system was "practically useless".³²

The Department's approach to art education did not always meet with Newbery's approval, and if he felt that the need to prepare for certain examination papers made it necessary for his School to train students along lines with which he disagreed, he sometimes had to remain silent. One instance of this was the anatomy paper. In 1893 a new anatomy examination paper was introduced and the School wrote to South Kensington approving of the approach to the subject which it embodied, being "a complete departure from the surgical knowledge formerly required and" containing "a much desired correlation between figure drawing and anatomy".³³ There were probably other instances where Newbery felt that the examination system prevented him from developing his courses in more appropriate ways. In fact, in later years, when he no longer worked under South Kensington, he was free to say that the system fostered a narrow approach to teaching.³⁴

In addition, despite its praise for Newbery's rapid progression of students through the course, the Department could sometimes frustrate this progress. Thus in 1898 the School had to write complaining that the regulations were preventing some students from earning grants on successes in certain subjects if they had not already obtained certificates in more elementary stages of the same subject, pointing out that "in the Glasgow School of Art where advanced instruction prevails, students take advanced subjects immediately".³⁵ Such situations presented the School with the choice of either following the regulations or doing what was best for its students; and sometimes it did take the latter course even though it meant a loss of revenue.³⁶

Throughout the period up to 1901, Newbery had little option but to run the courses prescribed in the Department's directories and to prepare his students for its examinations. However, it was this system, in Newbery's hands, which nurtured and developed the talents of a group of students who originated a new decorative art style, and it was this system in the shape of its examiners which frequently acknowledged their talents by granting them high awards in its competitions. If the system was hide-bound in some ways, Newbery regarded it as progressive in others.

This was why he was always ready to defend South Kensington in public. Even if his defence was in part political, in that in championing the Department he was defending his own school, it was nevertheless sincere. A major reason for championing the Department was that he believed that "in its annual competition art schools were judged by the best outside men in their relevant branches of art work the kingdom" could "afford" (viz. William Morris, Walter Crane, Lewis F Day) which represented a "desire...not only to be in touch with, but to be closely allied to, all that is best in the country in the way of living progressive art".³⁷ Their judgements and criticisms, in his view, could only be healthy for the schools, and, he maintained, made the national exhibition of art schools' work at South Kensington, one of the most progressive shows of design work anywhere.³⁸ In fact, at times, instead of criticising the Department for failing to recognise talent which broke new ground, Newbery was ready to claim that the Department was "ever ready to recognise conscientious if unconventional effort".³⁹

In pursuing the foregoing argument, however, Newbery also made other statements which offered an opposing point of view. He complained in 1892, in reference to the National Competition results, that what was regarded as good art in London was not always seen as good art in Glasgow,⁴⁰ and also in 1895, after stating to a press reporter that South Kensington treated the School's designs remarkably well, he joked that it had admitted more than once that "it wasn't quite educated up to our designs...but we never thought that it was but hoped it would be some day".⁴¹ Although these comments and the foregoing disagreements with the Department would indicate a considerable amount of frustration with it, this does not on the whole indicate that Newbery found the South Kensington to be a retrograde force opposed to the advancement of art and design. In some respects, the opposite was quite clearly the case.

Newbery sought to counter those who maintained that the schools of art produced feeble work because of their association with South Kensington. In acknowledging that the performance of some schools left a great deal to be desired he laid the blame on them rather than on the Department. In arguing his point he claimed that it was a mistake to

maintain that South Kensington shackled “students with its methods, its tests, examinations, rules and regulations” not because these did not exist but because he refused to accept that there was any “South Kensington system of teaching, [or] any codified method of instruction applicable to the ordinary student emanating from the Department”.⁴² Thus it was an injustice to the Department for badly run schools to take refuge behind “what some people (were) pleased to call “the South Kensington system” ”.⁴³ Furthermore, even if these schools were unsuccessful because they followed a South Kensington system of teaching this could only have been that embodied in the now antiquated methods advocated by Redgrave and no longer insisted upon by the Department. As far as the bureaucracy was concerned, Newbery himself had demonstrated that it was not necessary to follow it slavishly. A looser reading of the regulations had not prevented his school from gaining outstanding successes in the examinations and meeting with the approval of its inspectors.

The School's Relations with other Institutions in Glasgow

The success of Glasgow School of Art in the last fifteen years of the nineteenth century, not only depended on Newbery and his teaching regime and the high quality of students that it attracted, but can also be attributed to the committee of management. It was responsible for establishing and maintaining good relations with other influential local and national bodies, which helped, indirectly, to increase the School's educational effectiveness and to raise its public profile. Newbery, as a member of the committee, played a not insignificant part in this process.

Like committees of art schools throughout the kingdom the body was composed of influential members of the local community, mostly with a personal interest in art and design education, many, although not all, as manufacturers in artistic industries. Under the constitution which pertained until 1892, most of the committee was elected from the subscribers. The President, *ex-officio*, however, was always the Lord Provost, the leader of the Town Council. With him as *ex-officio* vice presidents were the Deacon Convenor of the Glasgow Trades House and the Lord Dean of Guild of the Merchants' House. The Lord Provosts' association with the School gave it the public, if not the financial, support of the Town Council. While seldom attending meetings, they were always supportive of the School, acting as mouth-pieces for Newbery and the Committee at many of the School's annual public meetings which were reported in the press. In the eight years up to 1892, they presided on no less than four occasions. On two of these there is evidence that they were briefed as to what to say.⁴⁴ The other four meetings were addressed by two members of parliament, both briefed beforehand or by the Committee Chairman. Thomas Armstrong, the Director for Art, also gave an address in 1887. Thus the School was expressing its point of view to the community in as influential a way as possible. The Lord Provosts' connection with the School often went beyond their *ex-officio* membership, with some, like Sir James King and Sir James Watson, serving on the committee after demitting office. The latter was even the committee's chairman until his retirement in 1887.⁴⁵

The Lord Provost's good offices were also drawn on in the School's relations with its landlords, the Town Council, and it would be with his help that it obtained a more equitable rent when the School's lease came up for renewal in 1882. The Trades House

and Merchants' House had occasionally provided grants to the School, especially during Simmonds' incumbency. Applications, which depended on the support of the *ex-officio* vice presidents, were also made in Newbery's early years, with some meagre success.⁴⁶

The Committee also had representation from the Haldane Trust, through its Honorary Secretary, Mark Bannatyne, who was chairman of the latter. The close links with this body as the School's greatest benefactor, were apparent from the School's full title "The Glasgow School of Art and Haldane Academy". The Trust would often come to its rescue when it was in severe financial difficulties. Several committee members had good contacts in London, such as James Alexander Campbell, M.P., who was able to represent the School's interests in Parliament and to the Department, and James Fleming, the Chairman from 1887, who had excellent relations with South Kensington's Director for Art, Thomas Armstrong. These supplemented Newbery's own wide contacts in the capital, both with the Department and increasingly with artists and artistic bodies.

The merchants and manufacturers on the Committee, as already indicated, represented a cross-section of Glasgow's artistic trades. Apart from those already mentioned they included the publisher, Sir William Collins, several engineers and ship owners and ship builders, a calico printer, a muslin manufacturer and a ceramic manufacturer. Some of the members had links with educational bodies in the city: James Fleming on the School Board; David Sandeman, a manufacturer, and the most prominent member of the committee of the Glasgow Weaving College.

Several of the leading artists and architects, many of them ex-students, were also on the Committee. These included the architects James Burnet and his son, John James Burnet, William Leiper, James Thomson and James Sellars; the sculptor John Mossman, and the painters Joseph Henderson, and Francis Powell. These in turn, along with Newbery, were able to draw on the support of Glasgow's official and semi-official artistic bodies, such as the Glasgow Art Club, the Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, the Glasgow Architectural Association and the Glasgow Institute of Architects, in developing the scope of the teaching, in providing examiners and in furnishing prizes and contacts.

In 1892, the School adopted a new constitution under the Companies Acts of 1862 and 1867. By this means it was able to establish more formal links with city institutions, each of which were required to elect representatives for its Committee, now designated a Board of Governors. As well as the Lord Provost, three other councillors were co-opted, along with members from the Merchants House, the Trades House, the Chamber of Commerce, the City Educational Endowments Board, the Institute of Engineers and Shipbuilders, the Fine Art Institute, the Institute of Architects, the University, the School Board and other bodies, the largest representation of five members, coming from the Governors of the Haldane Trust, which still remained as an important financial support to the School although the latter now ceased to be known as The Glasgow School of Art and Haldane Academy, taking the shorter title of Glasgow School of Art. (The Haldane Trustees asked that Haldane Academy be dropped from the name because it was felt that the School's association with the Haldane Trust had caused the public to withhold their financial support from an institution which was erroneously believed to be well endowed by the Trust.) Many of the original members remained on the Board of Governors as representatives of the different bodies, while others joined, such as the architect John Keppie, whose partner John Honeyman was an important

member of the committee of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College, which would later form links with the School in architectural teaching. Other prominent figures to join the new Board were William Forrest Salmon also an architect, the painter, James Guthrie, David Tullis and Patrick Smith Dunn. Some of these, together with Newbery, J.J. Burnet and Fleming, would form an inner core of governors who were most active in the School's interest from the mid-nineties into the new century.

In addition, as time passed, the management became progressively more active. During the period, it began to restructure itself, dividing into permanent sub-committees for finance and staffing. It seems to have taken its work more seriously than before, too, instituting, not long after Newbery's appointment, regular monthly meetings, in place of less frequent ones.⁴⁷ The Committee would often choose from its number, certain members, usually the core group, to act as deputations for the investigation of other schools, petitioning the government or the town council, or just as a committee of experts to choose new casts for the School.

One of the Committee's functions was to enable the School to establish better relationships with other educational institutions in the city. The most important of these were the Glasgow School Board, the Weaving College and the Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College, as they were engaged to a greater or lesser extent in advanced art education.

As an educational manager, Newbery at once set about building on Simmonds' legacy. Of central importance was the need to establish the School's position as the advanced art educational school in Glasgow. Simmonds had done much to ensure this, not only in his development of life and design classes, but also, more publicly, with his successes in the Department's examinations and National Competition. Newbery's success in consolidating and maintaining this position could help to enhance its prestige in the city and hopefully attract more support for it both in terms of student intake and financial backing from city institutions.

The successes were obtained as a result of a concentration on the more advanced parts of the curriculum. The equal attention given to more elementary subjects that was seen in the 1870s was no longer possible, advisable, or necessary. In the first place, as has already been noted, the Department, to encourage its schools to concentrate more on the advanced stages, had stopped giving grant on elementary works in the National Competition in 1888. Secondly the School's earlier role as sole art educational institution in the city had been lost through the establishment of evening art classes and schools of art, by the Glasgow School Board, and others. (Other schools of art also existed in the city during the 1880s and 90s, most notably St George's School of Art at St George's Cross, run by Greenlees' one-time second master, Robert Brydall, and the Athenaeum School of Art. The Athenaeum School, at least, was run on the National Course of Instruction. Other classes unconnected with the Glasgow School of Art, offering teaching on the South Kensington curriculum, existed at Alan Glenn's School, at the College of Science and Art (formerly the Mechanics' Institution) and after 1887 at the new Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College which took over the College of Science and Art.)

The School Board's classes had been seen by Simmonds as a particular threat because they catered for the more elementary stages at lower fees than the School was charging. In 1879, three School Board evening drawing classes had been in operation.⁴⁸ and by 1881, 254 students were attending these classes.⁴⁹ Simmonds, as has been seen, had attempted to counter this by opening rival institutions under better qualified teachers in collaboration with the Govan School Board.

In October 1884, the challenge had become more serious when nine “advanced” evening drawing classes were established, with 408 students on the books.⁵⁰ They taught, and were examined in, several of the subjects on the Department's syllabus, some of which had previously been monopolised by the Art School. In addition to “drawing” (which would have encompassed the second grade subjects) and modelling, were the “Science” subjects, practical plane and solid geometry, machine construction and building construction.⁵¹ Although these could be mainly seen as elementary subjects, it did appear that encroachments were being made in more advanced areas and a more direct threat to the School's position as the only art school in the city seemed to be posed when three of the Board's classes had been opened as “schools of art” by 1887. (These were: High School, Elmbank Street; Thomson Street; and Garnet Hill.) Their new designation implied that they held day as well as evening classes (for example, Garnet Hill school had a morning class)⁵² Although the evidence for advanced subjects in the Board's schools and classes is fairly sparse, advanced classes did include life drawing from the nude model in one instance at least,⁵³ and the Kennedy Street School held classes in “technical and practical design” in the 1887-1888 session.⁵⁴

The Committee was also sensitively aware that its premises did not bear close comparison with those in which some of the School Board's classes were held. When one of its members, David Sandeman, was tactless enough to compare the latter's facilities with those of the School in a public lecture, he was soundly reprimanded by the Secretary.⁵⁵

Despite these problems and the abandonment, in 1884, of the School's attempts to set up rival classes throughout the city. Simmonds' obvious success in developing the advanced work gave the School a firm foundation on which to build for the future. The first necessity was to agree on a working relationship with the School Board which was based on agreed roles for the two institutions and a line of demarcation between the educational territories which each occupied. The presence (which must have been an exasperation to Simmonds) of James Fleming, the prime mover of the Board's “advanced” evening drawing classes,⁵⁶ on the Committee would certainly have helped in the easing of tensions for the new regime in the School.

In 1886 a letter from the Committee to the Board set out the School's proposals for a *rapprochement*.⁵⁷ It stated that the School now concentrated on advanced art subjects and saw the elementary teaching as largely the responsibility of the Board and other classes in the city. A conference between representatives of each body, in the following year, further clarified the position. Although the Board had powers to teach advanced art, and did so to a limited extent it “had no desire or powers to erect a central school of art instruction”. It rather supported the Committee in improving its school so that students could be passed on to it from the Board's art classes for higher instruction.⁵⁸ This *modus vivendi* was made public at the School's 1888 annual meeting where the

School Board's chairman, Sir John Neilson Cuthbertson, announced that he saw his classes as "feeders" to the Art School. The Committee attempted to give some substance to this statement by canvassing the School Board to set up a number of bursaries, tenable at the institution, to be competed for by its pupils.⁵⁹ Although this met with no success, because the Board had no powers to allocate funds, it did support the School's application to the City Educational Endowments Board for the establishment of similar awards.⁶⁰

Newbery also attempted to strengthen relations by offering to give a series of lectures to the Board's teachers on practical art teaching.⁶¹ These not only showed a concern for better standards in the Board's classes, but would also presumably help to ensure that entrants into the School's more advanced classes would have been better prepared. The success of the arrangements in allowing the School to concentrate on advanced work may be a reason why it did not complain to the Department over its abandonment of grant on elementary works in 1888.⁶² (Other schools with sole responsibility for elementary art teaching in their localities argued that the government should continue to aid their teaching of new students who in many cases did not understand the rudiments of drawing.)⁶³ If the arrangement with the School Board did work in this way, this would have been an immensely significant factor in the School's success in the Department's examinations and competitions as its new students, by already possessing some artistic facility, would give it an advantage over many of its rivals.

The good relations thus established with the School Board helped in another crucial area. In May 1888 the School's twenty-year lease on its premises in the Corporation Buildings in Sauchiehall Street came up for renewal. The existing annual rent of £300 had proved too onerous and a reduction was sought under the new agreement. The debate that this occasioned in the Council, helps to highlight the difficulties that the School faced from certain quarters in making its purpose understood and the usefulness of art education to society at large appreciated. It also shows the importance to the School of its friends in every sphere of influence.

In arguing for a permanent remission of rent or at least a reduction to £100 the School's representatives pointed to the example of Birmingham, where the municipality provided a purpose-built central school of art in juxtaposition to a museum with seven affiliated branches, under an extension of the Public Libraries Act. They coupled this with a description of their arrangements with the School Board, whereby the School might be regarded as a "Central Institution to which the School Board classes be practically affiliated branches". Thus they were attempting to shame the council into offering something approaching the level of support which was given in Birmingham to a scheme, which, as far as the School and the Board had been able to take it, was modelled on that of the English city.⁶⁴

The whole argument, as far as some members of the Council were concerned, hinged on the need for an advanced (or "high class" as one councillor chose to call it) art education in Glasgow. The Lord Provost, James King, supporting the School's interests with the help of a letter from its allies on the School Board, opened the discussion by pointing out that in reducing the rent the Council would not be expending rates for the purpose of duplicating what was already being carried out by the Board as the Art School's classes supplemented its teaching by carrying it to a higher level. There was thus no rivalry between the two organisations. Councillor Waddel who confused quality in education

with social class objected that “this high class teaching should be paid for by high class people and not by the mass of rate payers”. When another councillor corrected him by pointing out that the Art School did not seek “assistance for high class people but for the artisan class” it was suggested that the artisan classes could be equally well served by the School Board evening classes. The Lord Provost then enlightened the previous speaker by showing that the money paid by high class people “for their superior education” not only paid their share but left a surplus which went towards paying for the teaching of the artisan classes.⁶⁵ The whole tenor of this debate displays an ignorance of what the Art School stood for, in its assumption that it catered for the upper classes, and presumably for high art, as opposed to the advanced art educational needs of the workers in Glasgow's manufacturing industries, which were not met by the School Board's classes.

The equation of the School of Art principally with high art or the art of painting in the public mind, and the public's lack of interest in art was a problem with which the institution had to battle if it was to gain the support that it felt it deserved. It was not enough to gain high awards in the National Competition, which far outstripped anything remotely achievable by the School Board. The same problem was encountered when the School sought support for itself as a body giving “technical education” and in the different public perceptions of the School and the Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College. Much like the School Board the Technical College was seen as performing a useful educational function in the community and like the School Board its incursions into the Art School's territory was perceived as a threat by the latter, which had to be accommodated.

The College was established in 1886 by an amalgamation of the College of Science and Arts (previously the Mechanics' Institution), Anderson's Institution, Allan Glen's Institution and the Atkinson Institution under one governing body.⁶⁶ With its emphasis on technical training, it prepared many of its students for the Department of Science and Art's and the City and Guilds' examinations. As the government regarded the Department's art curriculum as “technical” it was quite within the realms of possibility that the new college with its interest in preparing the artisan classes for work in Glasgow's industries, would regard all art training as lying within its sphere of interest. Hence on its establishment, the Art School Committee moved quickly to establish an agreement which recognised the School's position as Glasgow's higher art training establishment.⁶⁷ The Committee also took measures to ensure that this agreement would not come under threat by having one of its members who was also a town councillor made a representative on the College's governing board.⁶⁸ This would presumably ensure that neither the Council in its relations with the College, nor the College itself would work against the School's interests. In addition, the School gained the College's agreement to have its syllabus included in the latter's calendars to alert its students and applicants to the contents of the School's courses,⁶⁹ passes in which went towards the award of the College's diploma.⁷⁰

Despite these efforts, in the session for 1889-1890, the College set up an architectural department, under a new teacher, the architect, Charles Gourlay. Previously it had only taught elementary drawing and building construction. This constituted a serious challenge to the School's architecture class, which up until then had been the only one offering architectural design courses in Glasgow.⁷¹ As a result Smith's class showed a

decrease of ten students in 1890 in what had been a total of thirty-four in 1889.⁷² A solution agreed by both establishments was that the School should open day classes, to be taught by Gourlay in addition to its other classes while the College should only offer courses during the evening.⁷³ This was the beginning of a co-operation which would eventually result in the establishment of a joint “Glasgow School of Architecture” in the next century, but it did not mark an end of friction, which would arise again in the 1890s over technical classes for artisans.

By contrast, relations with the Weaving College appear to have been amicable. The problem here was to demonstrate the usefulness of the Art School to its courses. Simmonds had already failed to attract enough interest in an art class on its premises to warrant his continuing it for longer than a term. Newbery renewed the links between the institutions by obtaining the College's agreement to start a class run by one of his staff, Jonathan Kirkpatrick, who was also a calico designer, in the session for 1886-1887.⁷⁴ This, seems to have been discontinued after about a year and further efforts were not made until the late 1890s when a design class was started under one of Newbery's ex-students, Joseph Sadler. This time the class was under the College's direct control and only had indirect help from the Art School in the form of public lectures given by Newbery and the use of the School's library.⁷⁵ The classes only attracted modest numbers, as few as eight in the 1899-1900 session, but despite this they were continued into the new century when they would be incorporated into a joint programme by the School and College for the training of textile designers.

In addition to establishing the School in a secure niche in the city's educational fabric by agreeing on a working relationship of mutual advantage with other educational bodies, and keeping the knowledge of its continuing existence before a wider audience by publicising its activities in its annual public meetings with the help of his committee, Newbery would also personally do much to raise the School's profile in the community.

He would almost certainly have shared John Sparkes' view that the art master's task was akin to that of a missionary to the heathen. Sparkes had warned his students: “You go as preachers of the art cultus and often feel yourselves as preachers to the winds”.⁷⁶ The master's role as a “missionary for art” (a phrase used by Newbery's predecessor, Charles Heath Wilson) was one for which Newbery was well fitted. He was described by Peter Wylie Davidson as “a showman” and part of his showmanship was a flair for publicity. In this context it is significant that his first public act on assuming office was to call a general meeting of the students, staff and management of the School to spell out its purpose as he saw it. That this was for more than the School's ears, however, was obvious in his extending an invitation to the press. Through them Newbery was able to proclaim the Department's and his own message that his School was intended to benefit the city's industrial and manufacturing community as a useful institution employing practical teaching for practical ends.⁷⁷ As he clearly saw that the public equated art with picture painting⁷⁸ it was his objective to make them see that art schools were concerned with the nurturing of a more general artistic culture which might result not only in the appearance of picture painters but also of designers for manufactures and other kinds of artists.⁷⁹

As a missionary for art and publicist for the School as an essential source of art in the city, Newbery worked hard to appeal to all elements in the community with art or design interests. In 1886 he embarked on what was to be a long career of public speaking by giving a series of lectures on the history of painting. These were given in the

Corporation Galleries using lantern slides and, as far as possible, items from the city's own collection to illustrate his points.⁸⁰ That this was an attempt to publicise the School by indirect means is supported by the disappointment expressed by the School secretary on the meagre coverage in the press of the first of the series.⁸¹ There was probably also a further purpose in the lectures in that they brought out the connection of art schools and art galleries as primarily educational tools overriding any recreational function that the latter might have. This early association with the Glasgow museums was continued throughout Newbery's career. A further lecture by him in the Corporation Galleries in April 1891 would act as a catalyst for the inauguration of an annual series of winter lectures promoted by the Galleries and running to the end of the decade, in which he would act as a principal speaker.⁸²

He would also be instrumental in the organising of exhibitions sometimes in co-operation with the art galleries, sometimes in alliance with other bodies. Thus he acted as convener of the sculpture and architecture sub-committee of the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888,⁸³ and would send a consignment of exhibits to the Corporation's East End Exhibition in 1890.⁸⁴ He also collaborated with the School Board in the previous year in bringing the National Competition exhibition to Glasgow as a stimulus to his students and as an advertisement for the activities of the School and the Board.⁸⁵

Additionally he supplemented the annual exhibition of the School's work which traditionally accompanied the annual prize distribution early in the new year, with an annual exhibition of non-curriculum-related work under the aegis of a newly-formed School of Art Club each November.⁸⁶ This local exhibition experience, only touched on here, would act as an apprenticeship for his successes in promoting the School further afield, in Britain and Europe as his career unfolded.

Lastly his lecturing activity established him as a well known and popular figure on the lecture circuit in and around Glasgow, lecturing on architecture to the Glasgow Architectural Association⁸⁷, on Ruskin to the Ruskin Society,⁸⁸ on weaving and its relation to art at the Strathaven Burns Club (the village of Strathaven, outside Glasgow, still being a centre of hand-loom weaving),⁸⁹ on art education to teachers,⁹⁰ on artistic matters to local amateur art associations⁹¹ and on photography to photographic societies.⁹² Many of these were reported in the press and he supplemented them with his own specially written articles on topics related to art and education.

Finance

During the years 1885 to 1892 Newbery and his committee had to grapple with the task of running an educational programme against a background of financial uncertainty. The situation was little different from that faced by Simmonds and by Greenlees, being mainly caused by a falling student roll and consequent decline in fee income. This meant that the School had to seek to make cuts in some areas of expenditure without jeopardising its educational effectiveness. Maintaining the latter was essential if the Institution were to retain and increase its public support, its grant income and its fee income. The situation would bring out Newbery's qualities as an educational manager, making the best of limited resources in improving the quality of the teaching.

From 1884 to 1890 the School's annual reports show that student enrolments declined from 648 to 470. (Figures are not given for 1885, the only information being that they had declined from the previous year.) At the same time fees fell from £1037-17-9 to £787-6-6. The largest single areas of expenditure were rent on the premises at £300 per annum and salaries, which in 1885-6 session stood at £1634-19-8. The School could not obtain an agreement with the Corporation to use the premises free of charge, despite evidence, supplied by English schools, of buildings provided rent free by local authorities or by public subscription. It did however manage to obtain some remission of rent on a year-to-year basis, paying only £150 in 1885-6, and paid no rent at all in the next two sessions. In May 1888, when its lease came up for renewal it failed to obtain a permanent remission, but did gain a reduction of £100. The new sum of £200 was thenceforth covered with the help of a grant from the Haldane Trust. (This was a vast improvement on the previous arrangement with the Trust, whereby it had given only £100 towards the rent, leaving the School to find the other £200.)

Salaries were even more of a problem because they more directly affected the teaching efficiency of the School. Newbery always stressed that it was essential to offer high salaries to attract the best teachers and was thus generally opposed to reducing expenditure in this area. Apart from his own salary cut he never sought a reduction of existing staff salaries without a concomitant cut in working hours. In considering this it should be borne in mind that nearly all staff worked part-time, with other appointments elsewhere, and their time was fairly flexible so that cuts in working hours were usually made by mutual agreement and never solely to save the School money. Aston Nicholas, the design master, for example, attended all morning and evening classes from Monday to Friday and the forenoon classes from 10 a.m. to 12 noon on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at a salary of £140 in 1886-1887. In the following session, however, so that he could devote more time to painting, he gave up all his morning tuition and only attended the forenoon classes when required by Newbery, taking a cut in salary of £50.⁹³ Sometimes, also, savings were made by employing competent students in return for remission of their fees such as Christina S. Anderson, who taught some evening classes in 1887-8.⁹⁴

Although, on the whole, Newbery had inherited a good staff from Simmonds and the new post of design master had presented no financial problems, as it was paid for by the jettisoning of the School's responsibility for the Dumbarton School, which Simmonds had set up, financial problems became particularly acute at the time of McKinlay's enforced resignation. The point in the School's life when this occurred, May 1886, was probably the most critical that it had yet faced. There was no certainty that its negotiations with the Corporation for remission of that year's rent would be successful, the Department had just announced that it would no longer be giving grant on elementary works, and the annual grant which the Haldane Trust had always been able to give no longer seemed secure as the City Educational Endowments Commission was busy reviewing all educational trusts. In addition Newbery had proposed, and the Committee had agreed, to cut the artisan fees to bring them into line with those charged by the School Board.

It was against this background, the circumstances of which the Committee maintained had come upon it unawares as a result of Simmonds' previous management of a large proportion of the School's finances, that Newbery was asked to consider a cut in

salary.⁹⁵ His new salary was to be £300 per annum and one third of Government grant which constituted a loss of a guaranteed £100 a year on his original contract. He could of course consider the open-endedness of the income from grant an incentive to his efforts to improve the School's performance, but this must have been a severe blow.

More savings were made in the appointment of McKinlay's replacement, who agreed to work for a £200 salary, a reduction of £50. Fresh from his ordeal Newbery could adopt the same payments on results policies as applied to his own case in his devising of the new staff member's contract. They were, after all, justified by his experiences with McKinlay. To help to ensure that Dunlop showed "effort and zeal", Newbery promised him an enhancement of salary up to £250, based on the amount of grant he earned for the School. Similar bonuses were also paid to the design and architecture masters on their results, while the mechanical master, whose contract had been negotiated in 1885 before the financial difficulties had become apparent, cost the School nothing at all, working purely for seventy-five per cent of all the grant and fees he could attract. The cuts in the salaries of the head and second masters together with other unspecified salary savings allowed the School to cut its salary bill from £1634-19-8 in the session 1885-6 to £1375-6-8 in 1886-7, a level which was sustained and even slightly reduced over the following three sessions.⁹⁶ (Given the scarcity of data it is not easy to see how this was done as Newbery managed to maintain staff numbers, and no existing salaries were cut. The design master's salary was actually raised in 1886 by £20 on Newbery's recommendation.)⁹⁷

Newbery's cutting of working class student fees, had no immediate beneficial effects as the numbers did not rise in the sessions 1886-7, and 1887-8, while fees were down by £142 in the former session, taking until the 1891-2 session to come within reach of the former level and only passing it at £1089 in 1891-2. This, however was not matched by a net increase in student numbers, which remained fairly steady between 490 and 520 between 1885 and 1892.⁹⁸ As the increase cannot be accounted for by more sustained attendances throughout the year (quarterly fees always dropping off in the final quarter)⁹⁹ they must be explained by an increase in students in the non-artisan day classes, which charged higher fees, rather than any great improvement in artisan attendances. Unfortunately, no comparative figures are available to allow this to be verified.

Newbery's scheme to replace school prizes with bursaries to be held mainly at the institution, was probably partially meant to raise artisan attendances by helping them to continue their studies. This, however, although suggested in 1887, would not come into effect until session 1893-4. The unsuccessful appeal to the School Board to offer scholarships to their students, tenable at the School, was another move in the same direction. The School, however was not wholly dependent on students' own pockets for fee income. Until 1886-7 the Hutchesons' Educational Trust had given the School £100 in scholarships and in the following session the Haldane Trust, who had taken over the administration of the Hutchesons' money, began to give bursaries tenable at the School obtainable to Glasgow citizens in competition. The £57-2-0 which came from these, and which was increased by 1891-2 to £118-12-6 for 90 bursaries, maintained the income from this source. That this may have had an effect on artisan attendances is suggested by the rise in student numbers to a figure above 500 in 1892. Numbers rose gradually to

reach over 590 by 1897, topping 600 in the following year and peaking at 838 in 1901.¹⁰⁰

The other local source of income, from private subscriptions, remained fairly steady between 1885 and 1895, fluctuating between £90 and £130, falling to between £80 and £100 in the last five years of the century. Government grant, despite the School's impressive performance in examinations and the National Competition, because of changes in policy, never brought in enough additional resources in the period up to 1892 to save the institution from financial insecurity. The hand-to-mouth existence would probably have continued to the end of the century had it not been for the passage of the Technical Instruction (Scotland) Act of 1887 and the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act of 1890. These enabled art schools to obtain moneys from government sources, allowed to local government in aid of rates, for technical instruction, which included all subjects covered by the Department of Science and Art. The Department as an organ of government readily advertised this fact in its annual directories and thereby urged schools to apply to their local authorities. The School applied to the Town Council in October 1890, and finally received the first of a series of annual grants in December 1891. The first grant of £387-4-8, followed by grants of £350 each year until 1897 when the sum was increased to £600 and in subsequent years to £900 and finally £1000 in 1900-1, lifted the School's finances.

This was also helped by a large contemporaneous increase in Department's grant. This had reached its lowest level, for Newbery in 1889, when it stood at around £560. In 1891 it reached just over £800, fluctuated between £775 and £900 up to 1895 and finally passed £1000 in 1896, after which it climbed steadily to £1777 in 1901.¹⁰¹ The increase in income from these two sources allowed Newbery to begin to develop the School along increasingly ambitious lines from 1892 onwards.

Notes

DSA = Department of Science and Art

GCA = Glasgow City Archives

GSA = Glasgow School of Art

GSAA= Glasgow School of Art Archives, Glasgow

SUA = Strathclyde University Archives, Glasgow

1. This is not to say that the course was not applied by others in this way. Redgrave himself had devised different courses, based on it, for designers, architects and general students and he would probably have further refined it for designers for particular industries -DSA, 1st Report (1854), pp.30-31. For instance, only some would require to study modelling and others such as calico designers would not require to study the figure. Newbery, however, was more selective and flexible than this.

2. Glasgow Evening News, 22 May 1895. Quoted in William Eadie, Movements of Modernity: the Case of Glasgow and Art Nouveau (London: Routledge, 1990), p.162. Dr Eadie sees this as a crude test on Newbery's part to discover the student's artistic individuality, which in turn should indicate the section of the School's work he would best thrive in. I would suggest however, that in most cases this would primarily act as a fairly sophisticated test of the applicant's ability as a draughtsman. In most instances this

would indicate whereabouts in the drawing course it was necessary to place the applicant; as Newbery said he would need to “learn to draw” and only after that would he be ready to devote himself to a “special branch”. In some few cases however, where the student was already a good draughtsman the drawing course would be less necessary and the student could be directed to the more advanced classes where he could concentrate on developing his individuality.

3. Davidson Family Collection, Peter Wylie Davidson, Unpublished Autobiography, pp.44-51.

4. GSAA, GSA Register, 1891 and GSA Letters to DSA, 1888-1894, pp.453-465 [lists of works sent up to South Kensington for examination] and pp.506-518 [“Art claim”]. These figures, unfortunately do not give a complete picture, being based on returns to the Department of classes taken by students eligible for grant and works sent up to South Kensington for examination. If there were extant detailed records of classes taken by each student it is likely that these would show that a larger proportion of the students took the drawing course.

5. GSAA, GSA Letters to DSA, “art claims” and GSA, Annual Reports referring to William Findlay.

6. GSAA, GSA Registers, 1883 and 1884, compared with those for 1891 and 1892.

7. GSAA, GSA, Annual Reports.

8. GSAA, GSA, Registers and Annual Reports, 1886-1901.

9. Parliamentary Select Committee on Schools of Art, Report (London: 1864) p.147, pars.2618 & 2622. Here Wilson stated his objections to uniformity being imposed on the different local schools from London. On p.151, par.2706, he attempted to show that areas with different manufacturing needs should be allowed to teach their students in different ways.

10. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 27 April 1887.

11. SUA, E/10/1/3, Glasgow & West of Scotland Technical College, Calendar (1889-90), p.249.

12. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence, 1887-1891, pp.291-2. Letter dated 8 December 1888.

13. SUA, G/28/8/2, Glasgow School of Art and Haldane Academy, Syllabus of Lectures, Session 1888-89, pp.4-8 and DSA, Directory, (1889), pp.246-255.

14. SUA, E/10/1/6, Glasgow & West of Scotland Technical College, Calendar, (1892-3), p.266, compared with calendar for previous year p.244 where freehand from the flat was still taught.

15. Glasgow Evening News, 22 May 1895.

16. Edward J. Poynter, Ten Lectures on Art (London: Chapman & Hall, 1879) p.137.

17. SUA, E/10/1/6, Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College, Calendar, (1892-3), p.244 and (1893-4), p.266.

18. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence with DSA, 1882-1887, p.715 requests the following paintings: Pyne, C.C. *House at Bruges*; Millard, C.S., *View on Welsh Coast*; Pyne, C.C., *Trieste Cattle*; Paris, W., *Coast Scene, Danish*.

19. GSAA, GSA, Minutes 6 June 1887. The DSA, Directory, (1889), p.69 excluded all copying from the flat from grant payments with the exception of Stage 2b. Newbery was still sending up works in this stage but had abandoned the others completely by this time.

20. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence with DSA, 1894-1901, pp.154-5: letter dated 17 October 1895.

21. Edward R. Taylor, Elementary Art Teaching: an educational and Technical Guide for Teachers and Learners (London: Chapman and Hall), p.151.
22. SUA, E/10/1/6, Glasgow & West of Scotland Technical College, Calendar (1892-3), p.244 includes in its elementary section, "freehand from the flat with analysis of ornament". E/10/1/7, Calendar (1893-4), p.266 replaces this combination with "design with drawing from plants and flowers".
23. GSAA, GSA Minutes, 23 October 1885.
24. Royal Commission on Technical Instruction , 2nd Report, 5 volumes(London: 1884) III, p.154, pars. 1595-1596.
25. Lewis F. Day 'What South Kensington is Doing', Magazine of Art, (1896), 472-475 (p.475). David Brett, C.R. Mackintosh: the Poetics of Workmanship (London: Reaktion Books, 1992), p.53, assuming that the Department was more rigid in its approach to drawing than was in fact the case has suggested that a shift took place in 1889, which allowed other approaches to be introduced. Unfortunately he gives no references for this suggestion. There is no evidence of any change in direction in the Departments' Directories, Calendars or Annual Reports of this period. If he is referring to a reference by William Eadie, Movements of Modernity, p164, to the Technical Instruction Act of 1889 and the accompanying Local Taxation (Custom and Excise) Act 1890, which allowed Schools of Art to attain greater financial independence from the Department in providing for more local funding, these in fact had no effects at all on the teaching of drawing in Glasgow School of Art, where the School curriculum continued to follow closely the rules laid down by the Department's Art Directory, there being no slackening in its efforts towards the attainment of government awards. Brett's contention that different approaches to drawing were possible at Glasgow, can rather be supported by noting Newbery's approach to intelligent drawing, his practical approach to the needs of industry and his belief in developing the student's artistic personality.
26. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence to DSA, 1888-1894, pp.75-78: letter dated 14 September 1888.
27. Ibid., p.215: letter dated 24 September 1889.
28. Glasgow Evening News, 22 May 1895.
29. Glasgow University, Whistler Collection, F.H. Newbery, Letter to Whistler.
30. F.H. Newbery, 'Students' work at South Kensington: a reply', Scottish Art Review, 2, no. 18, (October 1889), 167-8 (p.167).
31. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence to DSA, 1888-1894, pp.527-8: letter dated 9 November 1892.
32. Ibid., 1894-1901, p.333: letter dated 26 February 1897.
33. Ibid., 1888-1894, p.633: letter dated 4 October 1893.
34. GSAA, F.H. Newbery, Manuscript Report on a visit to London Paris and Berlin, 1910. p.7. In reference to an interview with Lindsay P. Butterfield, he criticised the latter's experience in preparing students for South Kensington Certificates and examinations, as "a class of work that" had "a cramping influence upon teaching". In a letter to John Quinton Pringle dated 19 March 1922, he referred to the School under South Kensington as "hide-bound in its work - forced to be so in fact or perish for lack of funds".-Sir Harry Barnes 'The Newberys', Charles Rennie Mackintosh Society Newsletter, no. 30, Autumn, 1981, unpaginated.
35. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence to DSA 1894-1901, p.493. Letter dated 25 January 1898.
36. North British Daily Mail, 2 February 1897: report of Annual public meeting 1 February 1897. The Chairman, James Fleming said that "in some respects" South

Kensington “was too rigid. Probably that was a necessity of a state institution; and they had not hesitated on more than one occasion in connection with the inspections in the School of Art to depart from the rules and regulations of that department, and to take the guidance of the teaching in their own hands, when they believed it was better for the students that they should do so; and he believed that the students had suffered in the number of prizes and awards given by the South Kensington Department”.

37. Francis H. Newbery, 'The Place of Art Schools in the Economy of Applied Art' in National Association for the Advancement of Art and its Application to Industry, Transactions of the Edinburgh Meeting, 1889 (London: 1890), 447-451 (p.449).

38. Newbery, 'Students' work at South Kensington: a reply', p.168. Newbery wrote: “I boldly contend that the standard of excellence sought for and arrived at in the works of the National Competition bears a more than passable comparison with the works now on show at the New Gallery” (i.e. The Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society show) “which latter are in the eyes of their exhibitors, not abreast with, but in advance of the art current in, and accepted by, the present market”. He also referred to the Arts and Crafts Exhibition as containing “all that is living and progressive in the art of today”.

39. Glasgow Evening News, 22 May 1895.

40. GSAA, GSA, Press Cuttings 1864-1897 p. 61c. Unattributed report of Annual Public Meeting held on 2 February 1893.

41. Glasgow Evening News, 22 May 1895.

42. Newbery, 'The Place of Art Schools in the Economy of Applied Art', p.449.

43. Glasgow Evening News, 22 May 1895.

44. GSAA, GSA Correspondence 1887-1891, pp.396-9 is an example. John Muir was provided with notes by the School secretary for the 1890 meeting.

45. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1888), p.9.

46. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1887), p16. The Trades House gave a grant of £50 for session 1885-1886. An application in the following year was unsuccessful because of the opposition of the Deacon Convenor. GSA, Correspondence, 1887-91, p.30. Letter dated 19 February 1887.

47. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 16 December 1886.

48. GCA, D-ED 1/2, Glasgow School Board, Minutes of Board in Committee, 1879-83, 19 June 1879.

49. Ibid., 12 December 1881.

50. GCA, D-ED 1/1, Glasgow School Board, Monthly Public Meetings, Minutes 1884-1890, 13 October 1884.

51. GCA, D-ED 1/7, Glasgow School Board, General Letter Books, volume 10, 1886-7, pp.127 & 175, 12 May 1886 and 17 June 1886.

52. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence to DSA 1882-1887, p.642: Letter dated 9 October 1885. That the Secretary should write a letter asking if School Board classes had “the right to be called schools of art” indicates the unease of the Committee.

53. GCA, D-ED 1/7, Glasgow School Board, General Letter Books, volume 10, 1886-7, pp.165-6, 31 May 1886. The Thomson Street School took nude life classes. The head of the Thomson Street day school, held in the same building, was warned to keep his pupils out of the “Art Room” “where nude figures are exposed”. These were not just antique casts as the class teacher, David Anderson was enquiring about seeing instructions for examinations in life drawing -ibid., p.175, 1 June 1886.

54. GCA, D-ED 1/1, Glasgow School Board, Monthly Public Meetings, Minutes, September 1884 - December 1890, p.285, 19 September 1887.

55. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence 1883-1887, pp.462-3. Letter dated 17 December 1886.
56. GCA, D-ED 1/ 2, Glasgow School Board, Minutes of Board in Committee, June 1883 - February 1889, pp.138 & 142.
57. Ibid., pp.306-7, 22 April 1886. Letter dated 16 April 1886.
58. GSAA, GSA Minutes, 11 May 1887.
59. GSAA, GSA Correspondence, 1883-1887, p.377.
60. GSAA, GSA Minutes, 18 January 1887. The City Educational Endowments Board administered educational trust funds within the city. The bursaries they offered could be competed for by School Board students and could be held at Glasgow School of Art and other institutions.
61. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 7 February 1887.
62. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 27 April 1887. The only complaint from the School on this matter was made in the 1886-1887 session, when the Department appeared to be introducing the new regulations to apply in that year without first informing the schools, thus causing the School to waste its time in preparing works to be sent up for inspection, which would not earn it any grant.
63. W. Stopford 'Our National Art Education: part 3', The Artist, (May 1888), pp.132-4. Stopford saw the new regulation as "a most suicidal policy designed to sap the most important branch of our art training, namely a good foundation". He wrote that the Brighton Committee had made a strong protest against the changes. The basic reason argued by him in a previous article in The Artist, (April 1888), pp.100-101 was that according to Walter Smith of the Bradford Technical College "without exception the students who come for admission to the art department" (presumably at Bradford Technical College) "come for the purpose of learning to draw, instead of learning to apply drawing to design, more than fifty per cent being beginners, and with rare exceptions the remainder could draw only in the feeblest manner".
64. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 6 June 1887 and 13 July 1887.
65. Glasgow Herald, 15 July 1887.
66. SUA, E/10/1/3, Glasgow & West of Scotland Technical College, Calendar, 1887-8, p.15.
67. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 1 December 1887.
68. Ibid., 1 June 1888.
69. Ibid., 18 December 1887.
70. SUA, G/28/8/2, GSA, Syllabus of lectures, session 1888-9, p.13.
71. SUA, E/10/1/3, Glasgow & West of Scotland Technical College, Calendar, (1889-90), pp.149-153 and GSA Minutes, 3 February 1890.
72. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence 1887-1891, p.412. Letter dated 6 February 1890. Thomas Smith's son, Thomas Smith Jnr, in an interview with Philip McWilliams in 1992, recalled how Smith, who was a friend of and fellow student with Gourlay at Glasgow School of Art, had told him of the great popularity of Gourlay's teaching at the Technical College.
73. Ibid., p.420. Letter dated 28 March 1890. I am assuming that Gourlay was asked to take the day classes as part of the solution, from letters mentioning his employment in this capacity -GSA, Correspondence, 1891-4, pp.47-8 and p.50. The latter suggests that this was part of the arrangement with the Technical College, as it was addressed to the Principal, Henry Dyer.
74. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence 1883-1887, pp.462-3. Letter dated 17 December 1886.

75. SUA, G/6/1, Incorporated Weaving Dyeing and Printing College of Glasgow, Annual Report, 1899-1900, p23 and Syllabus 1900-1901, p.10.
76. The Artist, (May 1886), pp.135-7.
77. Glasgow Herald, 16 October 1885.
78. Newbery, 'The Place of Art Schools in the Economy of Applied Art', p.449.
79. *Ibid.*, p.450.
80. GCA, D-TC.7/16/1, Kelvingrove Museum and Corporation Galleries of Art, Glasgow. Report for the Year 1886, p.4.
81. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence 1883-1887, p.342. Letter dated 5 February 1886.
82. GCA, D-TC.7/16/1, Kelvingrove Museum and Corporation Galleries of Art, Report for Year 1891, p.5. "The lecture was so well attended and highly appreciated that it at once became obvious to the committee that a series of similar lectures on art subjects could not fail to be beneficial. ...Arrangements were accordingly made for the delivery of six popular expositions, with lantern illustrations, in the Galleries during the winter session 1891-2."
83. International Exhibition Glasgow 1888, Catalogue of the Fine Arts Section (T.&A. Constable, 1888), p.5.
84. GSAA, Newbery, Press Cuttings, p.36. Unattributed undated cutting. The exhibition was opened late in 1890.
85. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 28 October 1889.
86. See Chapter 7, pp.206-208.
87. GSAA, Newbery Press Cuttings, p.41, unattributed, undated cutting.
88. *Ibid.*, p.13, unattributed undated cutting.
89. *Ibid.*, p.36, unattributed undated cutting.
90. *Ibid.*, p.31, unattributed undated cutting.
91. *Ibid.*, p.59, unattributed undated cutting.
92. *Ibid.*, p.56, unattributed undated cutting.
93. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 24 April 1888, 14 May 1888 and 1 June 1888.
94. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 1 December 1887.
95. GSAA, GSA, Minutes 5 November 1886.
96. GSAA, GSA, Annual Reports, 1887 (1885-6) p.16, 1888 (1886-7) p.14., 1889 (1887-8), p.12, 1890 (1888-9), p.11, 1891 (1889-90) p.10. The salaries bill had actually risen in Newbery's first year from £1460-5-3 in 1884-5.
97. GSAA, GSA, Minutes 2 June 1886.
98. GSAA, GSA, Annual Reports.
99. GSAA, GSA, Annual Reports, Cash Abstracts.
100. GSAA, GSA, Annual Reports.
101. GSAA, GSA, Annual Reports, Cash Abstracts.

CHAPTER 6

THE ARTS AND CRAFTS MOVEMENT AND GLASGOW SCHOOL OF ART

When the Art School Committee appointed Newbery, its members were looking for a man who could continue Simmonds' allegiance to design teaching. Newbery had impressed them as being more than capable of doing this. As one of his first acts as headmaster he had drawn up a plan which included the appointment of a design master.¹ It is strange, however, given Newbery's later espousal of the principle of workshop-based design training, that he did not seek to continue the technical classes already established by Simmonds. Their continuation, however, may have been Newbery's intention, as his plan for the School, which no longer survives, could not be fully implemented.² Furthermore, when the School was finally able to announce, in February 1893, that it would be opening technical studios, the Governors recorded that such provision was "a long cherished desire"³ and Newbery's probable intention to run classes from the time of his appointment may have been behind comments made in an address to the School in 1888 by the artist craftsman Walter Crane. In maintaining that an ideal school of art should contain a range of workshops for the practice of handicraft, Crane had remarked that "a master like Mr. Newbery who had such a wealth of ideas should not be hampered by insufficient space".⁴ A lack of space and financial resources were probably the two main reasons why Newbery had to wait for seven years before he could bring any plans that he might have had to fruition.

The National Context

The introduction of workshop training into the art school context was in line with the latest contemporary thinking in the 1880s on the training of designers and on industrial training generally. Newbery's emphasis on practicality, already noted, was, in part, a response to a growing perception in Britain that the workforce was inadequately trained

to meet the foreign competition for markets, that was increasingly challenging the country's economic position. The solution to the problem, according to the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction, which had reported in 1884, (First Report 1882, Second Report 1884) was the setting up of technical colleges which would supply scientific and technological training for managers and foremen to enable them to keep abreast of manufacturing developments and increasingly complex industrial processes. The call for a more practical approach in large scale manufacturing, which this embodied, was also echoed in some craft industries, like joinery and house painting where there was a recognition that the traditional apprenticeship system was failing to produce the best quality workmen and that extra training, outside that provided on the job, was necessary.⁵

The Science and Art Department which existed to provide such training, however, did not adequately address the needs of industry.⁶ The shortcomings of its programme, in the area of design, were most clearly demonstrated in its requirements for the National Competition awards. The Department, whilst stressing that entries at stage 23c (ornamental design) should be for specific industries and processes, such as designs for an Axminster carpet or a lace curtain, gave its awards and grants on the basis of drawings sent in, rather than for examples of the finished product. By exclusively rewarding designs on paper, South Kensington was giving no encouragement to schools to teach a hands-on understanding of materials to their design students. As employees of a government department, ultimately answerable to public opinion as expressed through Parliament, and in receipt of funding from that source, the South Kensington authorities felt that their policy of training designers, which stopped short of producing designs in the material, was as far as they could go. Earlier attempts to introduce technical training under Henry Cole had met with opposition at local level where manufacturers on art school committees were afraid of jeopardising trade secrets or forfeiting support for their schools from other manufacturers by introducing classes which competed with their industries.⁷ By the 1880s the giving of government grant for training in processes and materials was thus seen as being outside the Department's remit as involving an interference in trade.⁸

If the Department's hands were tied, several influential officials who worked for it at national level were well aware of the limitations of its policy and their views, rather than the Department's official position, far more closely reflect the South Kensington background against which Newbery should be seen. Edward Poynter, the Principal of the National Art Training School and Director for Art during Newbery's early years as a student at South Kensington, believed that it was essential for an artefact to be not only well designed for it to be considered as a work of art but for it to be well made also.⁹ Like Cole and Redgrave he was a strong advocate of loaning objects from the South Kensington Museum collection to provincial centres, not only because they were examples of good design but more importantly because they were examples of fine workmanship from which local craftsmen could learn. He warmly praised the opening of the School of Art Wood Carving, in London, in 1879 because it provided hands-on training under the supervision of a craftsman, pointing out that it was in the area of workmanship that British industry was most conspicuously in need of improvement.¹⁰ The head of the Department, Colonel J.F.D. Donnelly, himself, as a private individual, was an enthusiastic supporter of the School of Art Woodcarving.¹¹ Donnelly was also a prime mover in the establishment of the City and Guilds of London Institute for the

Advancement of Technical education in 1878.¹² The City and Guilds applied the funds of the City Livery Companies to technical education: offering payments on results for a series of “technological” examinations (originally set up by Donnelly under the auspices of the Society of Arts) open to the pupils of educational institutions throughout the country in practical subjects such as bricklaying, carpentry and joinery.¹³ It also supported wood carving classes in village schools¹⁴ and ran its own South London Art School in Kennington Road which catered for some local trades such as wood engraving, architectural sculpture and the pottery industry. Both John Sparkes and the National Art Training School's design master, Hugh Stannus, as well as the modelling master Dalou, were involved with the school.¹⁵

Poynter was a friend and associate of others who held similar opinions, such as Walter Crane, Thomas Armstrong, who succeeded Poynter as Director for Art, and William Morris. Morris, the leading artistic manufacturer in Britain in the 1880s, was appointed by Poynter as an examiner in the design sections of the National Competition and his deep understanding of the nature of materials as an element in design was made available to art masters and their pupils through advice given in his examiner's reports annually published by the Department.

Poynter and Morris were both influenced by the art and social critic, John Ruskin, and with him believed that the condition of the arts had been damaged by the growth of the industrial system and its raising of the profit motive above any other considerations, such as good design, quality of product, quality of life of the workforce and quality of the environment which mass manufacture affected. The shoddy goods which were produced relied for their appeal on novelty, changing fashion, and opulent, if misapplied, ornament which appeared to advertise the wealth of its owner. Ruskin and his followers sought to remedy the situation through an advocacy of a return to craft-based production pre-eminently on the grounds that it engaged the whole of the workman's humanity.¹⁶ This point relates closely to Newbery's own stress on artistic personality, because according to Ruskin: only by being allowed to exercise the whole of his humanity in his work could a workman produce art at all. Thus, as Morris put it, art was “an expression of the workman's joy in labour”. It was essentially an expression of delight and freedom of spirit allowing and enabling the workman to inject something of his own individuality into the work. A revival of such workmanship would bring with it a restoration of beauty and fitness to common objects of daily use and would re-establish the unity of the fine arts of painting and sculpture with what Morris called the “lesser arts”. The importance of this programme to art educationists like Newbery was that it was precisely these lesser arts with which they themselves were primarily concerned. The interest taken by Morris and other middle class artists in his circle in designing for the lesser arts, at once raised the prestige of that activity, making it respectable and enticing for members of their class and ridding it of the stigma of sole association with the industrial classes. Ruskin, indeed, had urged the middle classes to take up the crafts and manual work in order to develop their full humanity.¹⁷ He had also served the art educationists in another way by arguing that all the arts were essentially ornamental and best fulfilled their function as adornments of architecture.¹⁸ In making this point Ruskin was going further than design reformers like Owen Jones and the Cole circle in their argument that all ornament should be seen as subsidiary to architecture. While admitting that some sculpture and painting could be decorative, the Cole circle had regarded fine art as largely outside their province. Ruskin by contrast

argued that the greatest art, as exemplified by Renaissance fresco and Classical sculpture had all been produced as ancillary to architecture and that the portable canvases produced for sale at the Royal Academy, which were regarded by contemporaries as fine art, were an inferior genre because they had no such association.¹⁹

By arguing in this way for the unity of the arts, as species of ornament ancillary to architecture, Ruskin was opening the way for schools of art to integrate artistic activity, no longer teaching design as a truncated form of art but taking in the whole of the visual arts. The currency of the central idea of the unity of the arts at South Kensington is attested to by John Sparkes' advice to students leaving the National Art Training School in 1886. He urged them "to proclaim what the history of art will amply support, that in the old days no hard and fast line was drawn between the arts of utility and the so called fine arts. That is a distinction based on false reasoning and full of danger to artist and designer alike."²⁰

Coming from a background where such ideas were current, Newbery was equally likely to find support for practical workshop training from his committee in Glasgow. Apart from the fact that Simmonds had already introduced the concept into the School, several committee members and subscribers to the institution had been behind the founding of one of the earliest technical institutions in Britain in 1878. The Glasgow Weaving School was situated in Calton, the city's weaving district and had purpose-built premises; a weaving shed, run by a specialist weaver, who gave practical tuition on a selection of power-driven and hand-looms used in the manufacture of cotton, wool and silk textiles.²¹ Furthermore, the committee would have been aware of experiments similar to those conducted by Simmonds at the Sheffield School of Art and the Huddersfield Mechanic's Institute, and of the discussions about art school training in workshop processes for design students which appeared in the pages of evidence of the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction.²² They would also, through contacts with the Birmingham School, have been aware of its opening of a specialised school in that city's jewellery quarter for the training of tradesmen in their craft.²³

In addition, Thomas Armstrong, Poynter's successor as Director for Art had taken tentative steps to introduce more practical design training at South Kensington itself by instituting summer courses in the crafts in 1886. The first of these was a course in enamelling given by M. Dalpeyrat and was followed by a similar one run by Walter Crane giving tuition in several crafts: gesso, *sgraffito*, tempera, plaster relief work, stencilling, designing for embroidery and *repoussé* metalwork.²⁴

Newbery and the Arts and Crafts in Scotland 1885-1893

Although Newbery was prevented from introducing workshop training in the decorative arts, this did not stop him from taking measures to create a climate of opinion in the School and city which would support the innovations he desired. He did this by acquiring and using contacts among the leading designers and craftspeople of the day to give lectures on Arts and Crafts ideology and having these reported in the press to the wider Glasgow public.

Newbery first asked Walter Crane in 1886 to address the School's annual public meeting on 26 January 1887. Crane was unable to come but sent a letter which Newbery read to the gathering. Crane did, however, visit the School on 1 February 1888, when he addressed a reunion of past and present students. In the following two years similar visits were made by William Morris (12 and 13 February 1889) and Lewis F Day (14 February 1890).

Crane's letter²⁵ contained advice to students on the dignity of a calling in design and the crafts and pointed out that the latter were as worthy as painting and sculpture. He also suggested that artists should work in more than one medium so that they could learn the limitations of each particular art form. The themes introduced in his letter were further expanded on in Crane's lecture of the following year.²⁶ He began by stressing the importance of schools of design in industrial centres like Glasgow in that their great object was to train designers for handicrafts. It was therefore important that the designer should be acquainted with the industrial conditions to which his work was to be applied. However, in stressing that an ideal school of design should have a range of workshops for the practice of handicraft he betrayed his own interest in traditional craftwork as opposed to mass-manufacture, by claiming that such training was especially necessary as handicrafts were in danger of being lost in present industrial conditions.

Morris gave two lectures, the second being on Gothic Architecture. The first, however, was given the title "Arts and Crafts"²⁷ but the surviving press report gives little indication of what he said on this subject, choosing rather to remark on the advice he gave to the students as people considering pursuing an artistic career. Morris's advice was very close to that given by Newbery in October 1885, and was also consistent with the South Kensington line. He pointed out the function of art schools as educators of the whole community and stressed that they should not seek to follow the taste dictated by commerce but should seek to educate it. In advising the students specifically on their approach to their art training, he counselled them to learn as much as they could from the works of other artists, but this should only be seen as a means to an end. They should not imitate the mannerisms of others but should look hard at nature and create as she created. This was advice to go back to their own individuality, their own natural gifts, for "the pleasure of creating which would not have existed without their individuality was the greatest pleasure the world had to offer". The lecture was followed by a lengthy discussion on ideals in which the students participated and which lasted "far into the night". The occasion was later remembered as having had a significant impact on those who had been present.²⁸

Day's 1890 address²⁹ was more concerned with commercial conditions, condemning the effects that the profit motive had on the workman's quality of life and on his productions. He ended, however, by distancing himself from the more extreme Arts and Crafts position which tended to condemn machinery by pointing out that its use did not necessarily involve the degradation of art but that its misuse had that effect. Day's position was one which Newbery would also adopt.

In addition to inviting speakers to the School, Newbery also did what he could to encourage a practical understanding of processes and materials among textile design students in Glasgow. Weaving and textile printing were still regarded as Glasgow's staple industries. The School of Art, because of the Weaving College's existence, had

less need to teach the former, but had a large number of students who designed for textiles, including carpets. However, there was little possibility that the School, with its limited resources in terms of money and space, could have undertaken to supply much more than theoretical training in designing for these materials. In any case, textile design students would have been encouraged to learn about processes in their daily work.

When the opportunity presented itself, Newbery was ready to give design training outside the School to designers engaged in mass manufacture. As has already been noted he supplied a teacher to the East End Branch which was effectively a school for Templeton's carpet designers, between 1887 and 1892, as well as to the Weaving College.

Newbery's introduction of a design master into the Glasgow Weaving College during his first year in Glasgow, was an attempt to introduce instruction in the ornamentation of fabrics onto that institution's curriculum. Although this must have formed part of Simmonds' short-lived course at the College, there was no teaching of this nature currently being offered. In a lecture to its students, Newbery stressed the need for design to be related to material and process, and offered incentives for such an integrated approach. He pointed out that in that year's National Competition exhibition there had been an example of a weaving design prepared for the loom on point-paper, as well as an example of the fabric itself, and announced that a silver medal would be offered to the students of the College for a set of three designs similarly set out on point-paper and woven. The offer of this local award stimulated the master, Jonathan Kirkpatrick, and his students to send completed designs up to South Kensington for the National Competition in 1886.³⁰

The success of the experiment prompted Newbery to attempt to replicate it in his own school. Thus, in 1887 the School awarded a prize for textile designs carried out in the material, won by a woman student, Helen McQueen, with another woman student, Maggie Strang, being commended.³¹ As in the case of the Weaving College, similar completed designs were also sent to South Kensington, where Maggie Strang's designs won a National Gold Medal and the Princess of Wales Prize. This was the first gold medal won by a Glasgow woman student and the only time the Princess of Wales Prize, an accolade reserved for women, was ever awarded to the School.³² Despite this success the experiment was not continued in future years and there were probably good reasons for its abandonment. Most textile designers were male employees of firms who were either not approached by Newbery or his design master, Nicholas, to co-operate in producing students' designs for National Competition; or, more probably, were unprepared to do so. Both McQueen and Strang, however, were unusual in being designers for their own father's firms and able to draw on their resources. Thus an experiment which could be fairly easily carried out at the Weaving College, where the production facilities were available, was in most circumstances rendered almost impossible at the Art School.

In the 1880s also, Newbery became involved with the Glasgow and the Edinburgh Social Unions and in the latter organisation was associated with what was probably the earliest attempt to teach artistic handicrafts in Scotland. Although this seems to have had no impact on Newbery's work at Glasgow School of Art it is important as further

evidence of his interest in education in the crafts in the period before he introduced it into his own school. It is most likely that Newbery's introduction to the Edinburgh Social Union came via James Mavor, Professor of Political Economy at Glasgow University. Mavor was a friend of William Morris and a collaborator with the latter in the socialist movement and had been responsible for engineering Morris's visit to the School in 1889. In addition, he was also the editor of the Glasgow-based journal, *The Scottish Art Review*, for which Newbery wrote several articles. The journal had good Arts and Crafts credentials, with a title page design by Selwyn Image and a cover by Walter Crane, as well as essays by the latter. Gleeson White, the future editor of the *Studio* (the most influential Arts and Crafts periodical of the next decade) also contributed, along with a number of leading figures in the arts and letters resident in Scotland. Among contributors from Edinburgh were the polymath Patrick Geddes (1854-1932) Professor of Botany at the Dundee College and Gerard Baldwin Brown (1849-1932) Professor of Fine Art at Edinburgh University. Both of these were involved in the Edinburgh Social Union.

The Edinburgh Social Union had been founded in 1885 as an attempt to ameliorate the living conditions of the Edinburgh poor largely by means of self-help. It also had an artistic agenda which involved it in the commissioning of murals for public sites³³ and when Newbery and Mavor joined the Social Union in 1889, as its only Glasgow members, it was to serve on the Art Classes and Decoration Committee of which Baldwin Brown was the convener.³⁴ Newbery and Mavor also promoted the same interests in connection with the Glasgow Social Union which was set up in 1889³⁵ becoming involved in an affiliated "Scheme for the Promotion of Decorative Art" for which Newbery acted as convener.³⁶

The Edinburgh Social Unions' founders echoed much contemporary opinion in claiming that the hardships of the poor sprang partly from their "lack of healthy enjoyments" and proposed to combat "intemperance and other social evils by providing the opportunities for higher tastes and pleasures".³⁷ Geddes had become interested in this approach because it aimed to improve the cultural condition of the people alongside their environment, being convinced that the two concerns were inextricably linked.³⁸ He believed that an enlightened society should concern itself with the development of each individual's full potential, irrespective of class or gender, a belief which paralleled Newbery's own perspective on art education.

Unlike the Glasgow Union its Edinburgh sister also pursued educational arts and crafts activities from its foundation, opening classes in wood carving and brass-beating in affiliation with the Home Arts and Industries Association of London.³⁹ In 1891 a commercial studio, the Lynedoch School of Artistic Handicraft, under a working Jeweller, was opened. This school, drawing its inspiration from C.R. Ashbee's Guild and School of Handicraft, taught jewellery, silversmithing and "the finer classes of work in brass and copper";⁴⁰ classes in embroidery, bookbinding, leatherwork and gesso being added later.

Newbery and English Arts and Crafts Ideology

Newbery's close links with the two Social Unions and his contemporaneous friendship with the socialist Mavor, taken together with the organisations' concern for the condition of the working classes, raise the question of Newbery's own political position. It is useful to discuss it here as other writers, without offering any concrete evidence, have affirmed that Newbery was "a convinced socialist";⁴¹ and an understanding of Newbery's political views would help to shed some light on his approach to the socialist political agenda of some leading members of the Arts and Crafts movement such as Morris and Crane.

Newbery entertained a supportive attitude to the labour movement and to socialism in general but there is nothing to suggest that he was a revolutionary socialist or connected in any active way to any political party. The evidence that exists indicates that Newbery had a deep sympathy for, and real understanding of, the lives of working people, drawn from his own background as the son of a shoemaker. His understanding of the hardships they often faced in obtaining a livelihood is seen in his criticism of amateur craftspeople of independent means for underselling the productions of working people⁴² and in his refusal to romanticise the sometimes harsh working conditions of those engaged in traditional rural crafts.⁴³

Cecile Walton, the daughter of his friend the Glasgow artist E.A. Walton, who sometimes stayed with the Newbery family at their holiday home in Walberswick in Suffolk, remarked how Newbery "got on well with the fishermen, and there was not a farmer but would welcome him across his land".⁴⁴ Newbery's sympathy with their lives is seen in some of the paintings he made of these people engaged in their daily tasks or relaxing from work in a local inn. His attitude to the work of the humble labourer is particularly well brought out in one painting entitled *The Nimbus of Toil* (plate 44) which shows an old peasant woman carrying a circular wicker basket (her nimbus) on her head. Newbery here betrays a similar viewpoint to that preached by Thomas Carlyle, whose writings were an important influence on both Ruskin and Morris. Carlyle had claimed that "All work, even cotton-spinning, is noble".⁴⁵ Newbery's belief in the nobility of labour is perhaps attested to in the design of his father's gravestone, in which he doubtless had a hand. It carries, at its apex, the image of a shoemaker's hammer, the symbol, alike, of William Newbery's craft and of his life's work. The suggestion here is that Newbery thought that his father's profession carried with it a dignity which he would always associate with him. For Carlyle, once a man found his own particular work it was his sacred duty to pursue it.⁴⁶

Carlyle also stressed the necessity of work for the well-being and contentment of the individual and as the engine of the progress of civilization. Newbery referred to his own work as an artist and a teacher in Glasgow as his life's work, seeing it as his own particular calling.⁴⁷ Taking this point of view there was no reason for despising the necessary work of the manual labourer which could also be a calling and thus a person's sacred duty.

There is evidence of Newbery's sympathy with the labour movement in his official letters as head of Glasgow School of Art. These, for example, contain some correspondence discussing the possibility of his speaking on art to a local branch of the Independent Labour Party, for whose political aims Newbery expresses a warm sympathy.⁴⁸ In another letter Newbery declines an invitation to appear on the platform at a Fabian Society meeting, because of pressure of work.⁴⁹ Neil Thomas, his pupil and

assistant, during Newbery's retirement, remembered Newbery's political leanings as being towards the Labour party when he knew him in the 1920s. There is, however, no evidence to suggest that Newbery was a member of any political party. The only political association he appears to have joined was the Glasgow Liberal Club. Although such membership at the time was not inconsistent with a sympathy with the socialist movement, Newbery's own involvement with the Club was probably because of the useful contacts it enabled him to make in furthering the cause of art education. He would occasionally dine there with James Fleming, his committee chairman, who was one of Glasgow's leading Liberals. It is significant in this connection that he resigned his membership shortly after Fleming's death.⁵⁰

If Newbery sympathised with the socialist movement in its concern for social justice and the improvement of the lot of the working classes, he diverged from the revolutionary socialist views of Morris and Crane especially when addressing the subject of the relationship of art to commerce. As an art school headmaster who needed to court the alliance of capitalist interests if his school was to flourish, it would of course have hardly been tactful for him to have argued, as did Morris, that there was no hope for art as long as the *summum bonum* of human society was the profit motive.

Essentially he regarded Morris's views on the effects of commerce on art as unnecessarily pessimistic ⁵¹ declaring that they were contradicted by what he, unlike Morris, perceived to be the thriving condition of art and design in his own day. Flatly disagreeing with Morris he claimed that history demonstrated that commerce did not hinder art. If, for Morris, artistic freedom could only exist under socialism, for Newbery, artistic freedom was best guaranteed in a commercial society. In a review of the different alliances that art had forged throughout history - with barbarism, paganism, Christianity and commercialism - Newbery, perhaps partly in deference to his Glasgow audience, and possibly by way of a subtle plea for more patronage for the city's artistic community, claimed that commercialism had proved the most congenial. This was because it left the artist free to choose his own subject matter and way of approaching it. The only restriction it placed on him (a large one at that) was the need to ensure that the potential purchaser could understand his work and would deem it a good investment.⁵²

Newbery's point of view was a serious one based on a psychological rather than a socio-economic understanding of the bases of art. If art was an innate human instinct, whose potential he believed he could show had been developed to a high degree in nineteenth century commercial society, the Glasgow School of Painters being a good demonstration of his case, then there was no reason why art should not continue to develop under commercial conditions. However, he maintained that this could not be achieved if the needs of art were made subservient to those of commerce but only if art was valued and desired for its own sake: claiming that "art must become a necessity among necessities or be as a body from which the spirit had flown".⁵³ He, thus, criticised the government for attempting to subordinate art to commerce in its promotion of technical education in response to similar developments in continental Europe. This, for him, was a form of "international puss in the corner" which would "only sharpen the knife of competition" without improving the quality of art production.⁵⁴

Further, Newbery differed very little from either Ruskin or Morris in his analysis of the effects of modern workshop conditions, themselves a result of the commercial system,

on the crafts. He agreed with them that these conditions, by turning many workers into machine-minders had destroyed traditional artistic crafts, but maintained, alongside more mainstream opinion, that education rather than any change in the socio-economic order was capable of providing a remedy.⁵⁵

While pointing out that the quality of Morris's own designs along with those of his associates, Burne-Jones and Crane, showed that modern design in a commercial society was in a flourishing condition, he also argued that the Department of Science and Art, in making the designs of the past and the principles of design that underlay them available to the present through the medium of its museum and its schools, had done much to educate modern designers. Because this traditional work (traditional in that it was "handed down" from the past to the present) was thus made widely available, he maintained that it was erroneous to claim that the pre-industrial design tradition had died out, claiming that: "today we can do as well as in old days. Tradition in art is as strong and individual as ever it was. The past is seen on every hand for precedent. ...Men are striving to restore again the lost position of the decorative arts."

The case, however, was otherwise, as Poynter had seen, with the tradition of workmanship or rather the combination of art and workmanship. In exploring this line of argument, Newbery cited as examples old Scottish furniture, which it had become fashionable to collect, and Fife tomb stones of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. (He had studied these during summer holidays spent on the Fife coast in the early 1890s.) He pointed out that the furniture was collected not for nostalgic reasons, but because it exemplified fine craftsmanship. The Fife tombstones were a similar case in point. Their makers were not great artists, but they had inherited an artistic tradition "created in the brains of the great artists who first made the Renaissance a style, art came to the workman as an heritage and a common property and he learnt it by the use of the tools of his trade". In making these works the handicraftsmen "simply did what they were taught to do, and good art and good workmanship going hand in hand, the artist and the craftsman were one and the same person, and art and craft knew no separate existence". This state of affairs could be restored by giving schools of art the means to provide the kind of training in craftsmanship which had "traditionally" been enjoyed by such apprentices before the onset of the modern industrial system.⁵⁶

For Newbery, technical education was training in working with materials, and this was one half of the artist's education, the other being the realisation of his artistic personality. Unless the art student had training in materials he would lack essential means of expression. The Arts and Crafts movement opened up new possibilities of working with a larger variety of materials for art schools and thus allowed more scope for the exercise and discovery of artistic potential.

He also agreed with Morris (and for that matter with the earlier design reformers and with South Kensington policy) that art educationists should concern themselves not only with their students but also with the wider public in matters of design and that this could have its own effect on design quality by creating a demand for better designed and made goods. Taking a point made by Patrick Geddes ⁵⁷ he laid the blame for the poor taste of many contemporaries at the door of the educational system which had concentrated on training the ear rather than the eye (the literary rather than the artistic understanding) and agreed with Morris and Crane that unless art was allowed to have its effect on everyday objects taste would not be improved. As he put it: "men bought pictures and

became thereby patrons of art - learnt the phraseology and cant of the studios and blossomed into critics, built houses, put pictures in them on the walls of rooms whose furniture would best fulfil its legitimate use by being made a bonfire of out on the lawn".⁵⁸

If education was to blame for this state of affairs it was again the remedy. South Kensington had already helped to improve matters by educating the taste of the public to demand better designed products than they had earlier in the century and was thus partly responsible for creating the market for a new "class of artist designers" which was exemplified by Morris and his associates, "thanks to" whose "efforts the applied arts in Britain both in position and produce stood second to none in the continent of Europe". Newbery asserted that this had nothing to do with fashion and was beyond the sphere of commercial rivalry because the artist only produced what was required for a particular commission for the growing section of the public interested in the productions of such artist designers. As he pointed out, there were "no job lots or cheap sales of stained glass or mosaics".⁵⁹

It does not follow from this, however, that Newbery was an advocate of the abolition of the factory system, which he regarded as an inescapable fact of life. He urged instead that it was necessary for the artist, presumably in order to widen his sphere of operations and his effectiveness as an educator of public taste, to make an alliance with the manufacturer. Indeed, he maintained, if commerce had been to blame for separating the artist from the craftsman and relegating design to an inferior position, design only improved when commerce allied itself with the artist, as in the case of Flaxman with Wedgwood or of Alfred Stevens with Hele and Company of Sheffield.⁶⁰ In this he was once more employing an argument which had always been central to the art educationists and had been used by the design reformers and aired by the 1835-6 Select Committee.⁶¹

This last position was essentially that taken by Newbery in discussing the relationship of art to the machine. It was not for the artist to turn his back on the machine but to ensure that the machine should be fully utilised in reproducing his designs because the badly designed goods that were offered for sale were the results of poor education and the failure of manufacturers to ally themselves with artists.⁶²

The machine was a benefit to society in that it could be used to do work which could not be done as effectively by hand, and to save human labour. In saying this Newbery had no romantic views about craft work.

Ayrshire white work for upwards of a hundred years, starved and blinded scores of needlewomen in South West Scotland....The underpaid and underfed Coolie women of India have been taught to carry on the tradition. Then exploited labour competes for purchase in the shop windows of Glasgow, with the machine made products of the same article, and the machine is rapidly displacing the hand, because the mechanical substitute is so good, that no sentimental hungerings after handicraft will keep people from buying the cheaper substitute.⁶³

The problem for Newbery, then, was to define the areas where machines could most effectively be used and those where handicrafts had the advantage: (using a biblical allusion) “to render to the machine that which is mechanical and to conserve to the hand that which is properly manual”.⁶⁴

Despite his acceptance of the machine Newbery was at pains to point out that it could never produce art, which was “the emanation of the human mind and never the product of a machine”.⁶⁵ This was because the machine was a passive agent which unlike the artist had no personality, and as such could never replace the artist. In adding that art could never be cheap Newbery was also making a plea for the recognition of the high value of the artist designer and the need to pay him accordingly and indirectly criticising manufacturers for attempting to produce cheap designs without going to the trouble of employing an artist.

In arguing for a greater role in the marketplace for the artist-designer and artist-craftsman, Newbery was ready to criticise the machine for driving out artistic traditions from the workshop. He pointed out that it had a dominating and aggressive influence in the marketplace through the cheapness of its productions which habituated consumers to its products and set a demand for them, thus placing craft work at a discount. While accepting that the designer should be trained to produce good designs for the machine, it was essential that the machine should not be allowed to dictate the artist designer's activities. Newbery argued that he should be allowed much greater freedom than this, maintaining that one could not “have good art if the one end and aim be its production by the machine, for that can but end in the possession of an art which is at the level of the machine”.⁶⁶ This was not denying the machine its place but to claim that it had its limitations which, if not observed, would be detrimental to the future of art.

Thus Newbery welcomed the Arts and Crafts movement not only because of its emphasis on good design, which could be used in commercial machine production, but also because it constituted a revival of the decorative arts where good workmanship was at a premium, greatly enlarging the sphere in which the artist, designer, architect and art workman was allowed to operate. It had redeemed design from an over-association with the machine and mass manufacturing and set it free to return to all its traditional medieval heritage which gave the artist designer and craftsperson far more scope. This was a territory which art had largely abandoned when the artist had begun to concentrate on painting, sculpture and architecture.⁶⁷

In his emphasis on the artistic crafts, far from being actuated by an impractical romantic nostalgia for a lost mediaeval golden age, Newbery's opinions were informed by a practical recognition that there was great scope for these arts in a growing city like Glasgow with a large class of wealthy citizens able to pay for them in the adornment of houses, public buildings and churches.

As a result of the visits of Morris and Crane to the School, and probably through his continuing association with their mutual friend Mavor, Newbery was able to establish a friendship with the two men, visiting Morris on several occasions at his works at Merton Abbey ⁶⁸ and entertaining Crane at his home when the latter visited Glasgow. He also associated with Morris, Crane, Mavor, Geddes and Baldwin Brown in the

Edinburgh Art Congress of 1889, where he gave a lecture, to a meeting chaired by Morris.⁶⁹

His friendship with Morris and Crane enabled him to keep abreast of, and become involved in, the development of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society which they and other leading designers had established in London in 1888. In 1889 and 1890 he acted as a guarantor of the Society's exhibitions⁷⁰ and used his contacts to attract a considerable number of the 1889 exhibits to Glasgow for exhibition in the Corporation Galleries in 1890. This was followed by a larger show at the Queen's Rooms in Glasgow in 1895 which he also organised.⁷¹

Although Newbery himself did not exhibit with the Society, Kellock Brown and John Guthrie, members of Newbery's staff, had both taken part in its exhibitions from their inception, as did the firm of J. & W. Templeton, with whom the School had close links. Newbery's wife Jessie and other staff and students would also be represented at the exhibitions, and the School would continue to have links with the Society right up until Newbery's retirement.

The exhibitions of the Arts and Crafts Society were the main shop-window for the showing of Arts and Crafts designs and a major vehicle for promoting the ideology of the movement. It was consistent with his view that education rather than a change in the structure of society was the means of salvation for the arts that Newbery should welcome the Society's exhibitions primarily for their educational value to the public. His attitude to the first exhibition was expressed in a critical article in *The Scottish Art Review* written under the pseudonym "F. Elliot". He also contributed a further essay, in the same journal, under his own name, comparing the exhibits on view in the 1889 show with the National Competition work on show at South Kensington.

In his articles Newbery endorsed Morris's view that it was for the artist craftsman to educate the public in art by introducing better quality work into the market and thus setting a demand for it.⁷² The virtue of the Arts and Crafts Society and, in Newbery's eyes, of the art schools was that they were both producing good design which, while being based on tradition and a study of nature was generated by, and adapted to serve, present-day needs.

Thus, in reviewing the essays on the various crafts which prefaced the Society's 1888 catalogue, Newbery typically praised their educative value for the public. In doing this he was at pains to underline the public's ignorance, bad taste, and consequent need for education in matters of art and design. He blamed it for demanding poorly designed goods and its "servants" the manufacturers and middlemen for supplying them. In particular he praised the essays for pointing out that good design would always be based on the principles which could be learnt from a study of its history and condemned the view that designers should aim at originality as a primary goal.

In the thirst for originality which prevails today, it seems to be lost sight of that the heritage of past work is ours, and to accept it and to adapt it to our needs is but following the practice of all good designers at all times. If by the process a new style of architecture, and with it, of ornament, be evolved, such is simply a

repetition of history... The insistence upon the principles contained in the work of the past is apparent in the whole series of papers.⁷³

Newbery was arguing not so much against originality as for the education of the public and the designer in an understanding of good design and pointing out that an uneducated public would always prefer the excitement of novelty until, through training, it could become aware of the greater pleasure to be derived from a deeper aesthetic understanding. Originality itself was only of value if it issued from a similar process of education.⁷⁴

Pursuing this line of argument in his 1889 article, by drawing parallels with the training of designers in a good school of art, he explained that in such a school its

masters do not always think that because a design is derivative it is bad, or that a designer is working wrongly because he is swayed by the memories of former work not his own, neither the fashion of today nor the whim of yesterday, but work that has stood the test of years as proof of its goodness. Probably the designer is taught that originality as understood in trade circles is not always a desirable factor, and that novelty whether in composition or treatment done to please a public taste, may possess neither novelty nor newness in the best sense of his art.⁷⁵

For this reason Newbery felt himself able to argue that the Arts and Crafts Society and the National Competition exhibitions could be favourably compared with one another both in terms of objectives and results.

Both seemed animated by the same spirit of work, so much so that one could fancy that in many instances the same hands had executed the exhibits in the two places of exhibition. ...and [I] boldly contend that the standard of excellence sought for and arrived at in the works of the National Competition bears a more than passable comparison with the works now on show at the New Gallery, which latter are in the eyes of their exhibitors, not abreast with, but in advance of the art current in, and accepted by, the present market.⁷⁶

However, like other art educationists and arts and crafts practitioners, in his advocacy of the need to learn from tradition, he was far from promoting historicism or slavish copyism. The study of history was not an end in itself but only the best route to the different and more desirable destination of working in the spirit of the best designers of the past. This spirit embodied an understanding of the principles which underlay all good design: a resort to nature for inspiration; together with the exercise of creative individuality. Thus in attempting to characterise the common features of the exhibits in the 1888 show he believed that he could say that “whilst rigid adherence to first principles is insisted upon, each craftsman has been left free to give his individual fancy full play”.

This was a reiteration of a South Kensington orthodoxy as well as an endorsement of Arts and Crafts doctrine, and to illustrate his argument Newbery picked out William Morris's textiles whose designs he found to be “naturalistic with a fair sprinkling of adaptations from early Sicilian and North Italian textiles”. More pointedly, he also

praised Morris and Walter Crane for their wallpapers, “surpassed by the work of no country” in which “the use of the ornament of the various styles seems to have entirely disappeared, but has happily left us no cause to regret its absence”.⁷⁷

Newbery was to express the artist's debt to, and need to acknowledge, the educative role of tradition, before he could free himself as a designer, in advice given to architectural students much later in his teaching career:

Willy nilly [the student] finds himself immersed in the sea of tradition, and has to choose whether he shall sink beneath its weight, and become lost to all that is progressive, or be supported by its power, while directing his own ideas towards their fulfilment. ...For unless we concede to ourselves, fully and frankly, that we are Artists from the very first, and that Art is born with us to be educated and developed in us, then we had better retire from the field of Art and choose some other sphere of Labour. But if it be granted that our instincts as Artists must ever be trusted, then we can mix as freely as we should in tradition, steep ourselves in it, live in it, work in it, being quite sure that we shall never remain slaves of it. For tradition and the sum thereof, is to be used by us, not we abused of it, and having learned the letter of tradition, we may straightway forget all but the spirit of it. For the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life.⁷⁸

The Technical Studios

By 1892 the financial situation for the School was becoming much brighter. The economic depression which had blighted Greenlees' closing years, Simmonds' term of office and Newbery's first seven years was coming to an end. Secondly the School, largely through Newbery's excellent teaching regime, was beginning to increase its income from government grant, and thirdly and most importantly, the Government was now able to provide an alternative means of finance which would allow art schools throughout the country to develop more technical courses outside the South Kensington System.

The new source of aid was provided through a series of legislation, embodied in the Technical Schools (Scotland) Act of 1887, the Local Taxation Customs and Excise Act of 1890 and the Technical Instruction Amendment (Scotland) Act of 1892.⁷⁹

The three statutes defined the powers of Scottish local authorities to give grants for technical education. The 1887 and 1892 Acts defined the kinds of institution and types of education local authorities were allowed to aid, whilst the 1890 Act was largely responsible for supplying the aid itself by making money available for technical education from customs and excise duties. As technical instruction was defined as including “instruction in the branches of science and art with respect to which grants [were] for the time being made by the Science and Art Department”⁸⁰ art education was one of the beneficiaries, and the Department undertook, in its annual directories, to alert schools of art to the benefits they could derive from the legislation. Unlike English Schools of Art, which were governed by a slightly different series of statutes, Newbery's school was not made dependent on a local technical instruction committee for allocation of its grant but had to apply directly to the Glasgow Corporation for funding each year.

On application to the Glasgow Town Council the School received its first customs and excise residue grant, which amounted to £387.4.8, in December 1891.⁸¹ The first year's grant, however, was not applied to the funding of arts and crafts classes as the School's chronic space problem had first to be addressed. This was accomplished through the acquisition of extra premises in adjacent Bath Street, mainly for a modelling and a life class.⁸² The accommodation for modelling, despite Simmonds' earlier rearrangements, was poor. Newbery also proposed to use the new premises for a wood carving class and a press illustration class,⁸³ the latter being opened in May 1892.⁸⁴ The teacher was John Duncan who undertook to give "six practical demonstrations". These were repeated again in the following year.⁸⁵ The Bath Street building, known as "the atelier", was subsequently occupied until the School, as a whole, moved to new, purpose-built, premises in 1899.⁸⁶

Despite the absence of space and funding, however, Newbery's first arts and crafts workshop had been started under the modelling master Kellock Brown in *repoussé* metalwork in 1890, probably with help from one of the students, the silversmith Peter Wylie Davidson.⁸⁷ Kellock Brown had made a speciality of this craft and, as well as being a member of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society and of the Art Worker's Guild, had worked with A.H. Mackmurdo in the Century Guild. Newbery, thus, probably introduced the class at this time because of the fortuitous availability of expert staff whose talents could be put at the service of interested students. Unfortunately the class seems to have been abandoned mainly because of shortage of accommodation and its inauguration did not even merit a mention in the governors' annual reports.⁸⁸

The finance and space necessary for commencing technical instruction on a more permanent basis was made available to the School by the second residue grant of £374-6-0, covering the session 1892-3, received from the Corporation in November 1892.⁸⁹ The preparation for its institution had, in all probability, begun in the summer of 1892 when Newbery made a visit to Paris on expenses.⁹⁰ Although its purpose was not explained in the minutes, it is highly likely that he used some of his time in picking up ideas for the teaching of design in the material, as he would later praise France for its possession of "a very complete system of technical education" and for producing "workmen among the best in Europe"⁹¹ and claim that his technical studios were based upon the methods adopted in the *Ecoles Municipales* of Paris.⁹²

Also, at this time, the design master, Aston Nicholas, was experiencing a growing interest in his subject among his middle class students. As a result he increased his attendance in the day classes, his main purpose being to teach the figure as applied to Majolica, book illustration, mural decoration and other media, a field he could not venture upon with the evening students who were "mostly textile designers". He also asked to be able to take a class at the botanic gardens on two afternoons each week especially for these design students "who should get their inspiration direct from nature rather than from the conventional designs of others".⁹³

It was only on the receipt of the corporation grant, however, that the Governors themselves seriously began to consider plans for establishing technical studios.⁹⁴ In the following January they appointed a deputation to visit the schools of art at Manchester, Birmingham and South Kensington to ascertain what steps were being taken in the two

first named cities “to promote technical education in relation to art, to consult with the authorities at South Kensington as to what classes of work, under the heading of such technical education, could rightly be undertaken...and to enquire into the relation of municipalities to art education, and the civic control over museums and picture galleries”.⁹⁵

The membership of the deputation included, in addition to Fleming (the chairman), Salmon, Burnet, Leiper (all architect governors) and Newbery; the curator of the Corporation Art Galleries, James Paton, together with Councillor Robert Murdoch. Paton and Murdoch's inclusion demonstrates the close relations Newbery and his committee enjoyed with the Art Galleries at this time, probably owing to direct daily contact between Newbery and Paton who worked in the same building and who collaborated on lecture series and had worked together to bring the 1889 Arts and Crafts Exhibition to Glasgow. Moreover, in addition to appointing the deputation, the same meeting drew up an application to the Corporation Museums and Galleries Committee, the School's landlords, for extra accommodation which might be made available for some technical studio work.⁹⁶

As a result of this action the School was able to announce at its Annual public meeting on 2 February that the Corporation through Paton's mediation had agreed to grant the extra room and that steps were being taken to provide “instruction in glass staining, pottery, *repoussé* and metalwork, woodcarving and bookbinding”. The classes were to be carried on under the supervision of artist craftsmen and “this development, taken in conjunction with the work in textile fabrics, at present successfully carried on, will, it is hoped give a complete cycle of Technical artistic education applicable to the Industrial Arts of the City of Glasgow”.⁹⁷

The last point, that the classes were meant to serve the industrial arts of the city, is a significant one in that Newbery was once more stressing the practicality and usefulness of his school. The new subjects were an extension of the instruction already given in design and even if they dealt with small-scale crafts this does not mean that they were in any way less “useful”, given the demand for such work.

The introduction of the new classes was accompanied by a propaganda campaign for the benefit of students and public alike. A talk was given by the artist and member of the Edinburgh Social Union, William Hole, at the annual public meeting on 2 February 1893. His advice to the students, to adapt their talents to branches of art that were no less honourable than the more attractive but extremely precarious field of picture painting, was ordered to be printed and distributed in the School.⁹⁸ In addition, Newbery prepared the public for his new venture with an article in the press on art in relation to technical education, which argued the need for workshops where students would carry out designs in the material on the grounds that although the art of design had improved in the country in recent years there was a shortage of artistic workmanship.⁹⁹ If that was not enough, the subjects for the annual lecture series in the Corporation Art Galleries for the winter of 1893-4, almost certainly arranged between Newbery and Paton, all dealt with the crafts and were given by Newbery and others who became associated either with teaching in, or giving advice to, the technical classes.¹⁰⁰

The technical studios occupied “a large room” on the second floor of the Corporation Galleries, connected with the rooms already occupied by the School. It was refurbished and subdivided into small areas for Arts and Crafts classes to the designs of Alexander McGibbon, the School's architectural design master, to be ready for the new session in September 1893.¹⁰¹ In the first year there were eventually seven sections: stained glass; wood and stone carving; bookbinding; painting on china and earthenware; metalwork; needlework; and etching. [Appendix 2]

Initially, for reasons of economy, there were only two new instructors, the others being drawn from the existing staff: the new recruits were the stained glass instructor, Norman M. MacDougall who visited three evenings and one day each week and John C. Porter who took wood and stone carving on four evenings each week.¹⁰² Newbery himself took charge of the bookbinding classes which met on one afternoon and two evenings. Aston Nicholas, the design master, taught china painting on two afternoons and one evening, and Kellock Brown resumed instruction in hammered metalwork on two afternoons and three evenings. During the session two more classes were added: in October, Charlotte Dunlop began to visit two days each week to take a “technical sewing class” for which Aston Nicholas provided design instruction.¹⁰³ In the following month Susan Crawford began an etching class, and in March 1894, Helen Walton was appointed to replace Nicholas in china painting.¹⁰⁴

These classes were fairly small with thirty-eight students out of a roll of 538 for the session. The most popular class was needlework with fourteen enrolments, followed by stained glass with ten. The others had even fewer: etching had five; woodcarving, four; china painting, three; and metalwork, two.¹⁰⁵ They were open, free of charge, to students who had attained “a sufficient proficiency in drawing, still life painting, modelling and a knowledge of ornament and the figure”, and to outsiders for a fee of one guinea each term. It is unlikely that the outsiders would have been admitted without having attained skills in drawing and design and most if not all of them would probably have been ex-students working in the crafts who needed to use the facilities of the School.¹⁰⁶ The crucial role of the extra finance provided by the Corporation grant is seen in the accounts for the classes' first session which reveal that they had earned £5.10.0 in fees but had cost £69.19.0 in salaries.¹⁰⁷

In accordance with Newbery's practice of supporting his teaching with outside expertise, several of the classes had “visitors” attached to them: stained glass had the support of Stephen Adam, a noted local specialist; wood carving was visited by the sculptor William Sheriffs; bookbinding by the publisher and bookbinder James Maclehose; and china painting by the School's chairman, James Fleming of the Britannia Pottery.¹⁰⁸

Student numbers were not given for the following year, but it is probable that the size of the classes had increased as fees from outsiders had risen to £17.6.9 (The salary bill was £75.7.0). Glass staining was now being taught by Harry Roe and William Stewart, and Newbery's wife, Jessie had replaced Nicholas as design instructor in the needlework class.¹⁰⁹ 1895 saw a further increase in classes offered, with lithographic and poster design taught by Newbery, while Jessie Newbery gave classes in mosaic and enamel.

In 1897 the technical studios were given a director,¹¹⁰ John Guthrie, artist decorator, member of the Art Workers Guild and of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, and

head of the firm of J. & W. Guthrie, which had branches in Glasgow and London. By 1903 the classes included further subjects: interior decoration; block cutting; sgraffito and gesso; weaving; illumination; stencilling; colour printing; gold and silver smithing; and furniture design.[Appendix 2]

Newbery's policy of providing thorough training for his designers in the more general courses in the School before they were allowed to work in the material in the technical studios, rather than training them in the material from the start, was consistent with the conventional South Kensington view that a school of art's chief purpose was to train designers (i.e. to train students in a basic understanding of the aesthetics of design) rather than to produce designs as such. It was only when drawing skill and aesthetic understanding were developed that the student would be ready to practice the crafts or, for that matter, be of any use as a designer for the machine. This did not preclude an understanding of material and process, however, as Newbery was to stress that a design could never be considered as complete until it was worked in the material, and it should also be remembered that the designers for the machine who were trained in the School were evening students, who worked in the manufactory during the day and would understand the processes for which they were designing. The approach would be amended later with the development of material-based needlework teaching in 1911, an approach which would also be employed when the School began to make its own pottery in subsequent years.

Although the School claimed to be providing training for craft industries which existed in the city, it was also pioneering new industries, or acting as a centre where existing ones were further promoted. One new industry it almost certainly introduced was *repoussé* metalwork. A journalist reporting on Glasgow's 1890 East End Industrial Exhibition at Bellgrove, had written that this craft was "expanding" in the city. However, the only works in the medium which he mentioned were some sconces by Kellock Brown who had just joined the school staff after living in London for some years. Several of his students would go on to establish studios of their own.¹¹¹ Enamelling was also developed in the School with help and advice from expert visitors who had to be invited from other centres: Alexander Fisher from London; Arthur Gaskin from Birmingham; and Harold Stabler from London.¹¹² In the new century a co-operative experiment would also be made with a local publisher to afford work for women in book-binding and decoration¹¹³ and needlework and embroidery were revived through the instrumentality of the elementary school system, as a fine art.

The adoption of arts and crafts teaching was much easier for schools of art than making an attempt to replicate the conditions of mass manufacture, as it was more amenable to the limited financial resources and space available to most schools. Moreover, the process of working in the crafts was little different from drawing, painting and modelling, in that in all such processes the artist or craft worker was the unit of production. Craftwork was produced with limited resources and could be exhibited in galleries or retail outlets in much the same way as drawings, paintings and small-scale sculptures. This was especially the case after the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society had begun to exhibit craftwork in gallery conditions and had challenged the public to regard it as seriously as fine art. In teaching the crafts, then, the School was not only training workers who might be able to enter existing decorative art firms in the city but was also introducing students to skills which would enable them to establish their own businesses

in much the same way as students who were trained in academies with a view to establishing themselves as painters. This made the crafts particularly attractive to middle class students, especially women, who saw them as a means of livelihood, obtainable for the cost of a studio and the necessary equipment. Although quite a number of men also went through the School and later established themselves in their own craft studios,¹¹⁴ they had more opportunities to enter established firms than did the women:¹¹⁵ hence the large number of women students using the technical studios and later going on to a career in the crafts in the city.¹¹⁶

Women in the Arts and Crafts Classes

As was pointed out in an earlier discussion on the School's performance in the National Competitions, women, mainly from the middle classes, played a significant part in gaining design awards for the School during the period 1885 to 1901. Most of these students, however, even if they did produce design work for School competitions during the 1880s, were not likely, during that decade, to take up design as a profession. The few female designers then in the School, were invariably working class or more rarely, as in the case of Maggie Strang and Helen McQueen, worked as designers for a family firm. However, during the 1890s increasing numbers of women students began to enter their profession as “designer” in the School Registers. The increase was most marked over the two years between September 1892 and September 1894.[Appendix 3, Table 1]

The vast increase in designers, especially among women students, coincides with the introduction of the technical classes. An examination of registration data for the key session 1893-4 shows that many of the women had already been students for some years and that the majority of these came from a middle class background.[Appendix 3, Table 2]

As many as thirty-five of the fifty-two female designers enrolled in 1893-4 had attended in previous years and only four of these had previously been employed as designers or draughtswomen. This suggests that the opportunity to work in the crafts offered by the technical studios, along with the increased interest in design work noted in Nicholas' introduction of new day classes in 1892 had opened up a wider field of occupation for the school's middle class women students.

Although it is more difficult to ascertain the social background of the seventeen “designers” who enrolled for the first time in 1893-4, it seems most likely that the majority of these would also have been drawn from the middle classes if the above pattern to opt for design as a profession amongst women students was followed. This is more than likely as the School records would probably have noted any large addition of women designers employed by one of the city's manufacturing firms had this accounted for so many new designer entrants. It is probable also that the term “designer” was being increasingly chosen as a description of occupation in preference to “art student” when parental occupations were not entered on the registers and most likely indicated that the students had had designs accepted for production or had sold items they had themselves made.

The contrast with male students registering as designers in the 1893-4 session is striking. [Appendix 3, Table 3] Of twenty-seven men students, as many as fourteen were

already entered as designers or draughtsmen and others were in related occupations. Only two gave parental occupations. Some indication of the new prestige attached to design as a profession, which had probably influenced the women students and which owed much to the efforts of the Arts and Crafts movement, is offered by the choice of the designation “designer” by a student who had previously entered himself as an architect and in its use by the optician John Quinton Pringle who was an evening student concentrating almost exclusively on the figure classes. He is now remembered as a highly-gifted painter.

The path followed by many middle class women students from an earlier concentration on fine art towards design in an arts and crafts context can be discerned by looking at the career of Newbery's wife, Jessie Wylie Rowat.

Jessie Rowat was born in Paisley as the oldest of four children in 1868. Her father William and her uncles Robert and Thomas Rowat were successful merchants who had been involved in the shawl industry during the 1850s. In the 1890s, however, William was a director of the Doloi Tea Company.¹¹⁷ He was a staunch Liberal with a strong belief in women's education.¹¹⁸ Both he and Thomas had daughters who attended the Glasgow School of Art. Jessie went to art classes in Paisley prior to entering Glasgow School of Art in 1885. She probably travelled to Newbery's School in company with her sister Margaret, who had already been a student for one year, and their cousin Mary who enrolled with Jessie in 1885. It is recorded that “she engaged from the first the attention” of the new headmaster, “who recognised in her a student of exceptional promise”.¹¹⁹ Her abilities on entry assured her a place in several of the advanced classes, some of which were taught by her future husband. Practically all the classes she attended were related to fine art and the figure, centring around drawing and painting the head from life, the human figure, from the cast and from the nude (life), together with anatomy and a course in perspective. When she did take design this was at Stage 23d (Figure composition, and ornamental design with figures, as applied to decorative or industrial art), a course also run by Newbery. It was at Stage 23d that she was to win a national bronze medal in 1889 for a stained glass design, choosing William Morris's *Earthly Paradise* and Walter Crane's *Pan Pipes* as her book prizes.¹²⁰

During her time at the School she was also a frequent exhibitor of watercolours at the Paisley Art Institute.¹²¹ Many of the embroideries with which she would be chiefly associated in her later career were distinguished by a study of flowers from nature, but there is no evidence that she studied plant drawing or attempted design based on plant form when a student at the School. Although Newbery believed in giving all his students a fine art training, based on the figure as the best means of learning drawing, that Jessie's course was far less design-orientated than would have been common for a designer can be seen by comparing it with that pursued by the designer, Maggie Strang, who was a student at the same time (from 1884 to 1891). The latter, whilst not neglecting the figure (drawing from the antique and studying anatomy, but not from the life) concentrated far more on plant drawing (stage 14a) and on ornamental design (stage 23c).¹²²

After Jessie's marriage to Newbery, which took place in the then Scottish fashion at her parental home, St. Margaret's, Park Road, Paisley, on 28 September 1889,¹²³ the couple took up residence at 2, Queen Margaret Crescent in Kelvinside,¹²⁴ a Glasgow district where Newbery had lived since his move to the city. (He had previously lived in

Burnbank Gardens.)¹²⁵ There they had two daughters, Margaret Elliot (known as Elsie), born in 1890, and Mary Arbuckle, born in 1892.¹²⁶ That Jessie's activities were never restricted to domestic concerns is seen in her entering her profession as "artist" in the 1891 census. However, from the time of her marriage her production of watercolours was increasingly replaced by a concentration on needlework and the design of costumes particularly for children. Her needlework and dressmaking raised both activities above women's crafts to the level of creative artistic design. She exhibited needlework, metalwork and book covers at the Arts and Crafts Exhibitions in 1893, 1896 and 1899, and on the continent, in addition to taking up commercial design work which included book covers, patterns for Donegal carpets and Dunfermline linen.¹²⁷ Her concentration on needlework, as has been noted, resulted in her taking up the post of design instructor in that subject in the School's technical classes, a post which she held until 1908. She also had responsibility for other crafts classes: book decoration; enamels; and mosaics.

Many of the Art School's technical subjects were deemed to be appropriate female pursuits. Needlework was exclusively so, as, with some few exceptions, was ceramic painting. Other subjects were associated with both sexes, such as enamels, mosaic, gesso, etching, wood carving and book decoration. Stained glass, although some notable designs were done in the medium by women, among them Jessie Newbery, Margaret Macdonald and Dorothy Carleton Smyth, was more associated, as a trade, with men. An area restricted to men was stone carving, as it was believed that it required more physical strength than a woman could muster and involved the artist in outdoor work on buildings. The small-scale revived crafts where the work was produced by one person or a small group of friends in collaboration in the intimate surroundings of a studio workshop were more easily entered upon by women. *Repoussé* metalwork, despite the fact that two of the best-known teachers, Kellock Brown and Peter Wylie Davidson, were men, was an area which women made their own. The majority of the School's recorded entries for the National Competition in designs carried out in the material, after these were admitted in 1895, were examples of beaten metalwork by women.[Appendix 3, Table 4]

The predominance of women in the crafts is further attested to by a report on a School exhibition in 1898 which appeared in *The Scots Pictorial* suggesting that the comparative absence of what the Victorians liked to call "the sterner sex" was accounted for by the fact that "workshops and commercial requirements" tended to "engage their efforts, while women not yet considered a part of the army of craftsmen, have only this opportunity of displaying their powers".¹²⁸

If it is true that student craftswomen in Glasgow had few other opportunities of showing their work in the 1890s than through exhibitions which were organised by the School, the situation had gradually been changing as they established their own studios in the city and found retail outlets through such organisations as the Scottish Guild of Handicraft and the Scottish Society of Art Workers, both initiated in Glasgow in 1898 as well as through the longer-established exhibitions of the Glasgow Society of Lady Artists' Club.¹²⁹ Thus, J. Taylor, in *The Studio* in 1913, could observe, perhaps with a measure of hyperbole, that there were "a hundred studios and craft-shops in Glasgow" and remark, with no exaggeration that the movement which gave rise to these was "largely controlled by women".¹³⁰

In fact, in the same year, Newbery estimated more modestly that some thirty men and women were finding a living in Glasgow in the arts and crafts, who ten years earlier could find no foothold, and that their work was on display in the city's shops adding that these workers had all originated in the School.¹³¹

It was also in the School's arts and crafts classes where women were most prominent as teachers. Many of the major women decorative artists who had been students in the School would teach there at one time or another. Needlework was taught by Jessie Newbery, Ann Macbeth, Margaret Swanson and Frances Macdonald. Jessie Newbery and then Jessie M. King supervised book decoration. Dorothy Carleton Smyth and her sister Olive both helped to run the *repoussé* metalwork workshops. Other subjects and teachers were: etching, Susan Crawford; enamels, De Courcey Lewthwaite Dewar; mosaics, Jessie Newbery; *gesso* and illumination, Dorothy Carleton Smyth; block cutting and colour printing, Olive Ramage Smyth; ceramic decoration, Helen Walton and Jessie M. King; gold and silversmithing, Dorothy Carleton Smyth, Agnes Bankier Harvey and Frances Macdonald.

Opportunities to teach in the arts and crafts classes allowed more women to act on the staff of the School than had previously been the case. [Appendix 3, Table 5] Thus in 1900, two of the six women craft teachers were giving needlework instruction, whilst the other four were giving tuition in book decoration, ceramic decoration, enamels and block cutting, and *sgraffito* and *gesso*, and numbers working in the crafts accounted for over half of the School's female staff.

At the same time, however, a more rapid increase in numbers of male technical class staff worked adversely against the ratio of women to men. In fact, the increase in male appointments reflects the growing importance of the technical studios by 1900, which had necessitated the appointment of a male director, John Guthrie, who as head of a firm of artist decorators had trade expertise. The failure to appoint a woman to the position, must reflect women's continual association with amateur status, as well as their lack of experience in trade. The increase in male appointments specific to the technical studios in 1900 is also indicative of the replacement, by subject specialists, of general staff members, like Newbery, who ceased to teach arts and crafts classes. It also reflects Newbery's attempt (discussed below) to accommodate more male trade teaching, with the introduction of lithography, interior decoration and weaving classes.

If, however, the percentage of female staff employed by Newbery in 1900 is compared with the 9% on the establishment of the Birmingham School of Art's Central School at about the same time,¹³² it would seem that Newbery was pursuing an enlightened policy towards the employment of women. Yet, if such was the case, it had certainly not become apparent until after the establishment of the technical studios. Prior to 1881 Greenlees had had two female staff who were employed in the teaching of the ladies' day classes. Both of these had resigned on Greenlees' retirement and Simmonds had made no female appointments. By 1892, seven years after Newbery's arrival, there were once more just two women on the establishment and one of these was only a pupil teacher. These, again, were probably largely employed in the day classes teaching the women students. The number of women teaching in the general classes had risen to four by 1901, but as the staff in that area had increased to twenty-one members, the

proportion of women to men was only slightly improved from one sixth in 1892 when the staff numbered only twelve, to slightly over one fifth.

Newbery's attitude to women as staff and students engaged in art, however, was enlightened for his day. No women were denied entry into any particular class and Newbery never seems to have maintained, unlike some of his contemporaries, that women should be discouraged from attempting some areas of artistic work. William Richard Lethaby, the head of the Central School of Arts and Crafts in London, for example, tended to equate women artists with amateurs and in a report on the Birmingham School of Art, where women students had made an impressive showing in the crafts, deplored the attention given to them, seeing the School's primary purpose as the serving of men in local artistic trades.¹³³ Newbery, by contrast, rather than turning middle class women students away because they were amateurs, sought to eradicate the attitudes associated with amateurism from his students, substituting in their place an enquiring and perceptive professional approach. When asked in 1895 about the attendance in his school of "the dilettante young lady who would decorate tambourines and milking stools with impossible forget-me-nots and sunflowers". He replied that she had "been entirely weeded-out. She got no encouragement and is now, so far as the school is concerned, non-existent."¹³⁴

He never regarded women as artists as in any way inferior to men. This was because he believed that women were endowed with the art instinct in equal measure to men and could see that there was no reason why they should not be able to produce work of equal standard, given the educational opportunities and a social structure which would enable them to compete on equal terms. Evidence of what he thought of the contemporary lack of opportunities for women in art is negligible, but his letters as headmaster and director are full of encouragement, praise, and practical help, in obtaining employment or commissions for students who had shown real ability and dedication irrespective of their sex. One area in which Newbery sought to rectify the disadvantages suffered by women students was in the provision of nude life classes without which no woman could hope to compete as a figure painter. Although there is a paucity of data in this area, women may have been able to attend such classes in the School since the 1870s.¹³⁵ However, the records of work sent up to South Kensington for examination which begin in 1881 contain no reference to life class work from the nude (Stage 8c2) by women until 1887, from which date the numbers of works sent in by women steadily increase each year.¹³⁶ Newbery also recognised that architecture was an area which was almost closed to women, however, blaming this not on their lack of ability but on the office structure¹³⁷ and women would be increasingly admitted as architectural students from 1904.¹³⁸ Another area where women did not join classes was furniture design. The School had no prohibition against this, but when the first student applied to study the subject in 1915 Newbery welcomed her admission, remarking that previously he had not thought that women were interested in the class.¹³⁹

The only area which Newbery ever singled out as a woman's sphere was embroidery. His point that some women had an exclusively special instinct for the subject, however, may have been made because it never occurred to him that this instinct might also be possessed by some men who were unlikely to have developed it as it was regarded as an exclusively female preserve. In an essay on the work of Ann Macbeth, Jessie Newbery's successor as needlework instructress, he observed that: the association of the needle is

with the woman's hand. ...As the plough to the peasant or the pen to the writer, so the needle lives in our sentiments as the personal effect of the woman...embroidery - the art by instinct of the woman."¹⁴⁰

Even if it is granted that embroidery was regarded by Newbery as an innately female preserve, and Newbery did not commit himself on the point, this does not argue that women's abilities or instincts were regarded by Newbery as being in any way inferior. Rather, he seems to have regarded women's work in embroidery as a matter for admiration and as their special contribution to the collective arts of mankind. Putting it in Carlylean terms he went on to say:

The needle bears with it a dignity of labour that, if it be not greater than the plough, is yet one that puts it into the category of absolute necessities...And...much of the poetry which comes from the pen is not for a moment to be compared with those harmonies of form and colour which owe their origin to the art of embroidery...and this instinct, whether primitive or inherited remains with some women as a constant quantity - an artistic expression ever seeking outlet.¹⁴¹

If Newbery regarded women as equal to men as artists this was hardly likely to be reflected in their place in the School hierarchy, given the social position which women occupied and the traditional male dominance in the fine arts. However, the salaries which women were able to command do appear to have been equivalent to those of the male staff for equal work and hours.

In the nineteenth century, and well into the twentieth, women in Britain were paid lower rates than men, partly because men were expected to support a family and in some instances because women's work was regarded as inferior to men's. Jessie Newbery's receipt of an honorarium, rather than an official payment is evidence of the former expectation which saw a wife's role as providing domestic support for her husband rather than earning a separate salary. It is probably due to the Newbery's forward-looking attitude that she was employed at all in the School. Similarly, Frances Macdonald MacNair, was given a teaching post when married. In her case, both she and her husband were in some financial straits and Newbery was anxious to help to the extent of employing Herbert MacNair also for a short time. Few of the women teachers on the staff, however, did become married, one exception being Annie French who then resigned.¹⁴²

A list of staff and salaries exists for session 1910-11 when there were forty-two staff employed.¹⁴³ Of these thirty-three were men, as many as eight being employed as professors, five of whom were in fine art and two in architecture, with only one (the head of department) being in design and decorative art. (Design also had a male assistant professor.) This, in itself, indicates that the traditional fine art areas, despite Newbery's protestations that the arts were of equal status, still held more prestige than design, and that it was the men who were expected to work in these areas.

The title "Professor" was a rather loosely applied term, not always related directly to monetary reward. Thus, Professor McGibbon in architecture, was paid £165 for a twenty-eight hour week, whilst, Aston Nicholas, the assistant professor in design,

received £10 more for the same number of hours. No women attained to the rank of professor, Ann Macbeth earning the title of “Head of Section” for embroidery,¹⁴⁴ partly because of her undoubted merit and the size and importance of the area over which she presided. No other area of decorative art was designated a “section” although there is no reason to assume that the technical skill and artistic ability necessary to oversee them would have been any less than that required for embroidery. Macbeth worked a twenty-five hour week, for which she earned a salary of £150, the same as Peter Wylie Davidson who was in charge of metalwork and *repoussé*, but worked for twenty-eight hours. James Huck, however, who taught drawing and painting at non-professorial level earned the same amount for twenty-four hours, whilst his colleague David Forrester Wilson, for the same number of hours as Davidson, earned £200. (This was because he presided over the Life Classes in the absence of the Life Professor, Maurice Greiffenhagen, who in accordance with his prestigious post and his reputation as an artist earned £500 for 24 hours per week and attended for only six months of the year). Most of the craft teachers, with the exception of Macbeth and Davidson, were paid per visit (each visit being calculated as two hours) and attended for two to eight hours weekly. The most highly paid were William Petrie and Archibald Walker in textiles, at £1 and fifteen shillings per visit respectively, and the lowest paid was Jessie Macdonald in ceramics at five shillings. This does not mean that women were less-well paid, however, as six instructors, male and female, were paid £0-10-6d, with five more, four of whom were male, receiving £0-7-6d. It seems, therefore, that salaries were paid more on the basis of the prestige which was attached to a particular discipline, and perhaps also on artistic ability, than on the basis of gender, although in needlework's case, the fact that the discipline was a woman's sphere, may have depressed Macbeth's earnings. It is difficult however, to draw too many conclusions from this as salaries were negotiated in a rather haphazard way on a yearly basis and were arrived at pragmatically rather than in accordance with any agreed scale or system. In 1914, for example, when Macbeth was considering resignation, Newbery, in order to retain her services, raised her salary by £100.¹⁴⁵

Technical Art Teaching in other Institutions in Glasgow

The introduction of arts and crafts workshops into the School did not signal a reorientation of design philosophy or of purpose *vis-à-vis* mass manufacturing industry. The teaching catered no less than before to the training of designers for industry, as is seen in the School's impressive record in winning design medals.[Appendix 3, Table 6]

These were nearly all for designs on paper for mass manufactures with a dearth of arts and crafts productions (one needlework design) from the technical studios. That the majority were also by men who were usually in trade occupations indicates the School's contribution to Glasgow's trade interests. Indeed, Newbery saw the service of local industry of whatever kind as the main object of all schools of art, “to supply to the utmost the needs of every local manufacture in which the application of Art plays an important part. This should be its chief work”.¹⁴⁶

When *The Studio* undertook a survey of British arts and crafts schools in 1916, the report on the Glasgow School, based largely on material provided by Newbery, whilst emphasising the institution's practical usefulness to industry, made much of its marked

contribution to the modern decorative art movement, an essentially artistic achievement. Unlike many other schools there was far less of an attempt to justify its existence in terms of its technical training of workers for industry.¹⁴⁷ Although the major reason for this derives from Newbery's claim to focus on the education of artistic potential, irrespective of the use to which this might be put, a secondary reason was the existence of other institutions in the city which shouldered much of the burden of trade teaching, enabling the School to continue to concentrate on "high class" art teaching, whether of tradesmen or of others. When Newbery set up his technical studios in the autumn of 1893, he was acting as only one participant in a wider educational movement in the city towards a greater provision of technical education in the field of art and design. Apart from the Weaving College, which provided technical education in a related area, the School Board was also broadening its scope by offering classes in wood carving in 1892, a year before Newbery opened his own course, and it may have been the existence of these classes which prompted him to propose in that year that the School should offer such instruction in its newly acquired Bath Street premises. Wood and stone carving, along with modelling, were also on the 1894-5 syllabus of Glasgow's Athenaeum School of Art and this probably reflected the increased need for such skills in the adornment of Glasgow's more prestigious buildings.¹⁴⁸

The Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College, however, provides a closer parallel to developments in the School of Art. What was to become a fully-fledged series of technical design classes started in a small way in the 1892-3 session of the College, when "Art Classes" were added to its syllabus. These, which were run on Tuesday and Friday evenings, were ancillary to its architectural course, being designed to provide "all art subjects necessary for architectural students in preparation of work necessary for the examinations of R.I.B.A. [the Royal Institute of British Architects]".¹⁴⁹ They were run by Lewes R. Crosskey, who had come to Glasgow from the Birmingham School of Art in 1890 to join Newbery's own staff,¹⁵⁰ but had moved over to the College in 1892.¹⁵¹ Subsequently in the 1893-4 session, Crosskey developed his Art classes into a "Department of Industrial Art" which, like the School of Art, undertook teaching in technical studios with financial aid from the Corporation customs and excise residue grant.

The Department of Industrial Art was divided into three sections: general art; technical and applied art; and technical and trade instruction. All of these, like Newbery's technical studios, were geared towards training the student in working in the actual materials but unlike his they had a greater bias towards the traditional working class trades of an industrial community, as opposed to the more rarefied revived artistic crafts on which the Arts and Crafts movement and Newbery had focused. "General Art" followed the traditional South Kensington curriculum. It included the previous year's "Art Classes" with the addition of a life class and lectures on historic ornament and the principles of design, and met on five evenings each week (the absence of day classes indicating its working class orientation). Moreover, it no longer catered for architecture students alone but was also meant to prepare others for work in the technical and applied art classes by ensuring that they had a "certain proficiency in drawing" and where necessary "a knowledge of geometrical drawing". The prospectus also echoed Newbery in claiming that the instruction would give special consideration "to the profession or trade to which a student belongs". The other two sections catered for the specific needs of five different trades: house painting and decorating; ornamental

metalwork; lithography; cabinetmaking and furniture work, including wood carving; and tile and pottery painting. All of the classes except ornamental metalwork included practical work under specialist craftsmen. Each offered a series of lectures on technical and design aspects and the metalwork course included visits to local iron and brass foundries. In subsequent years other crafts were added. The house decoration class by 1897 moved closer to the Arts and Crafts movement changing its name to “Church and house decoration” and included instruction in “glass mosaic”, glass gilding and sign-writing. Other classes offered were modelling and hammered metal work and plaster casting. Crosskey, in proposing the setting up of most of these classes could say that he was acting on the special request of various trade organisations, the Master Painters' Association,¹⁵² “a group of leading lithographers”, and “men employed in several leading furniture warehouses in the town, who urged the need of classes connected with their trade to cover the deficiencies of their apprenticeship”.¹⁵³

Newbery was always aware that the Technical College posed a potential threat to the School of Art in its introduction of practical trade classes. In fact he had considered a scheme to attract more tradesmen to study at the Art School by approaching them through their trades union organisations with an offer of lower fees to members, until his chairman, James Fleming, refused to support it.¹⁵⁴

His failure to develop strong links with trade organisations was in some ways an advantage as it allowed him to maintain his individual approach to the student as a potential artist, which he might have found more difficult if he had to tailor courses to narrow trade requirements where those requirements were dictated by the trade itself. His failure to attract the support of trades organisations did not, however, prevent him from introducing some classes aimed at individuals working in some trades onto his curriculum. He himself taught a class in lithographic design from 1895 to 1897, which in 1899, under Alexander Webster acquired the use of a press and the services of a printer. A class in interior decoration, aimed at the trade, was introduced in 1897 and a weaving class with demonstrations on the loom in 1900. Furniture design would also be introduced in 1903.

The artistic, as opposed to exclusively trade, orientation of the above classes is attested to by Newbery's comments on the introduction of teaching in poster design in chromolithography. In considering its inauguration in 1894 Newbery wrote to [Andrew?] Allan, that he had been impressed by posters he had seen in London and Paris that year:

Now mind if we do it at all we must do it well and [it must] be a distinctly artistic attempt. The commercial is already well done...Of course I should propose carrying them right out as finished work and considering the good men who are lithographers whom we have in the School it should be possible to do one or two good things.¹⁵⁵

Newbery's artistic, as opposed to merely craft, approach to this class would enable it to make an international contribution to the development of poster design, as the medium became one of the most public vehicles for the expression of the early Glasgow Style.

Another contrast between the classes in the School and the College is seen in the far greater numbers of women who attended the former's classes. Although Crosskey advocated the opening of all classes in his department to women "as in his opinion there are many branches of industrial art for which women's work is eminently adapted",¹⁵⁶ the classes on offer, apart from the general course and ceramic painting, were not for occupations traditionally associated with women and contrasted with those in the Art School by being taught exclusively by men.

The Technical College classes while catering for, and presumably attracting, more tradesmen than did Newbery's classes, posed no real threat to the School on an aesthetic level. The Technical College, for example, never offered any competition to the School in the National Competition and, unlike the School, attracted very little interest from art periodicals.

Newbery's fostering of arts and crafts classes at Glasgow School of Art owed much to his own educational objectives and character as well as to his own background in London during the gestation period of the Arts and Crafts movement and to the links he was able to forge with leading figures in that movement. Newbery, had also, however, been aided by the contemporary movement for technical education, without which funding would have been unavailable and without which there would have been less support for practical workshop training in the context of the educational institution. Glasgow's own background as a pioneer of technical education also played its part, and partly accounted for the appearance of similar classes in other institutions in the city. The unique emphasis of the School's classes on artistic creativity as a function of individual expression, however, owed almost everything to Newbery and to Newbery's art educational philosophy as expressed through his teaching regime. His classes, whilst helping to revive and foster certain artistic crafts, were particularly useful in encouraging a number of middle class women students to enter upon careers as craftworkers, a factor which was reflected in the numbers of women staff and students in this area of the School's work. Most significantly the existence of the arts and crafts classes, would enable the School to make a major contribution to the burgeoning decorative art movement of the 1890s, not only in Britain, but also in Europe.

Notes

ECL = Edinburgh Central Library

GCA = Glasgow City Archives

GSA = Glasgow School of Art

GSAA = Glasgow School of Art Archives

ML = Mitchell Library, Glasgow

NLS = National Library of Scotland

SRO = Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh

SUA = Strathclyde University Archives

1. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 31 July 1885.

2. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence 1883-7, pp.188-9. Letter dated 11 July 1885.

3. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1893), p.3.

4. GSAA, Newbery. Press Cuttings, p.14 unattributed cutting referring to a meeting on 1 February 1888.
5. Royal Commission on Technical Instruction, 2nd Report, 5 volumes (London:1884), III, pp.211-212.
6. Ibid..
7. Ibid., p.107-Sparkes' evidence: referring to the Manchester manufacturers' opposition to technical instruction during the 1850s. Similar opposition can be found in GSAA, Glasgow Government School of Design, Annual Report (1852), pp.6-7 and 13-23.
8. John C.L. Sparkes, Schools of Art: their Origin, History, Work and Influence (London: William Clowes and Sons for Executive Council of International Health Exhibition...,1884) p.104.
9. Edward J. Poynter, Ten Lectures on Art (London: Chapman & Hall, 1879), p.7.
10. Ibid., pp.278-9 and 281-283.
11. Dictionary of National Biography, 2nd supplement, 3 volumes (London: Smith Elder, 1912), I, p.514. Donnelly induced the Society of Arts to form a class of wood carving and procured funds to carry it on as the School of Art Wood-carving from the City and Guilds and other sources.
12. G.W. Roderick & M.D. Stephens, Education and Industry in the nineteenth century: the English disease? (London: Longman, 1978), pp.67-8. Donnelly as head of the Department's Science Division had advised in 1873 that the livery companies should endow scholarships at provincial technical colleges and set up chairs and laboratories. The Dictionary of National Biography, 2nd supplement, I, p.515 claims that Donnelly was mainly responsible for the Society of Arts' technological examinations which were taken over and developed by the City and Guilds.
13. Royal Commission on Technical instruction, 2nd Report, III, pp.532-3.
14. Ibid., p.532.
15. Susan Beattie, The New Sculpture (London: Yale University Press, 1983) pp.23-28.
16. John Ruskin, 'The Two Paths', in E.T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, editors, The Complete Works of John Ruskin, 39 volumes (London: George Allen, 1905), XVI, 241-424 (pp.294-5).
17. John Ruskin, The Nature of Gothic: a Chapter from the Stones of Venice (Orpington: George Allen, 1899) p.19.
18. Ruskin, 'The Two Paths', p.320
19. Ibid., pp.320-321. This argument was picked up and used by Walter Crane in 'Of decorative painting and design' in Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, Arts and Crafts Essays (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893), pp.39-51.
20. The Artist (May 1886), pp.135-7.
21. SUA, G/6/1, Incorporated Weaving Dyeing and Printing College of Glasgow, 11th Annual Report, (1886-7), p.6.
22. Royal Commission on Technical Instruction, 2nd Report, III: Sheffield pp.554-5; Huddersfield, p.41. The debate on the applicability of the Department's courses to practical requirements is exemplified in the following evidence: J.C.L. Sparkes pars.1205-6; William Morris pars. 1637-1647; John Benn (cabinet maker) 2130-1; Matthew Channon (bricklayer) par., 2383; George Shipton (house painter) par. 3858.
23. John Swift, 'The Arts and Crafts Movement in Birmingham Art School, 1880-1900', in David Thistlewood, editor, Histories of Art and Design Education: Cole to Coldstream (Harlow: Longman in association with National Society for Education in Art, 1992), pp.23-37 (p.25).

24. Walter Crane, An Artist's Reminiscences (London: Methuen, 1907), pp.307-8 and Thomas Armstrong, Thomas Armstrong, C.B.: a memoir, 1832-1911(London: Martin Secker, 1912), pp.67-8.
25. GSAA, Newbery, Press cuttings, p.4. Report of 1887 GSA Annual Meeting.
26. GSAA, Ibid., p.14 : Crane's lecture was entitled "Imitation and Expression in Art". This, however, appears to have had a different text from the essay of the same title in Walter Crane, The Claims of Decorative Art (London: Lawrence and Bullen, 1892) pp.157-171.
27. GSAA, Newbery, Press cuttings. p.22, unattributed undated cutting.
28. J. Taylor, The Studio, 56 (1912), pp.318-9.
29. GSAA, GSA, Press Cuttings, 1864-1896, p.40.
30. GSAA, Newbery. Press cuttings, p.10: unattributed, undated cutting. I am assuming that this was in about 1885-6 because it was then that Jonathan Kirkpatrick one of Newbery's students acted as design master at the College and the College annual reports record the students sending up work to South Kensington on point-paper.
31. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1888), p.26.
32. Although Strang ostensibly gained her award for her drawings only, Morris, as one of the examiners was in favour of premiating designs in the material and it may be that this part of her entry would have helped her to win her medal.
33. Helen Meller, Patrick Geddes: Social Evolutionist and City Planner (London: Routledge, 1990), pp.73-84. Following the example of Ruskin's friend, the housing reformer, Octavia Hill, in Marylebone, the Social Union purchased run-down properties in the Edinburgh Old Town and rented them out to needy tenants whom it paid to carry out renovations. It also encouraged environmental improvements such as window-box gardening, the planting of gardens in courtyards, and communal social activities.
34. ECL, Edinburgh Social Union, Annual Report (1889), p.19-Newbery remained a member of the Social Union until 1897.
35. ML, Glasgow Social Union, 1st Annual Report (1891), p.6.
36. ML, Glasgow Social Union, 2nd Annual Report (1893), p.15. Apart from Newbery and Mavor other supporters of the "Scheme for the Promotion of Decorative Art" were Jessie Newbery, the Glasgow painters E.A. Walton and William Kennedy, the Art School governors, James Fleming, Francis Powell, William Leiper, J.A. Campbell, John Keppie and his partner, John Honeyman, and the President of the Glasgow Ruskin Society, William Jolly. The Scheme aimed to produce art work for public halls, mission halls, workmen's clubs, infirmaries, as well as more prestigious sites such as the City Chambers.
37. ECL, Edinburgh Social Union, Annual Report (1885), p.1 and pp.6-7.
38. Meller, Patrick Geddes, pp. 68-79.
39. ECL, Edinburgh Social Union, Annual Report (1885), p.7.
40. ECL, Edinburgh Social Union. Minute Book volume 1 (1885-1892), pp.75-78, 13 February, 1891.
41. Jude Burkhauser, Glasgow Girls: Women in Art and Design 1880-1920 (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1990), p.65 and Colin White, The Enchanted World of Jessie M King (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1989), p.9.
42. F.H. Newbery, 'The Exhibition of Decorative Handiwork at the Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh', Scottish Art Review, 1, no.7 (December 1888), p.189. "Lady amateurs who dispose of their labour at a low price, should bear in mind their poorer sisters in art, whom they may drive out of the market, which like other markets is in its lower departments greatly overstocked with applicants for employment."

43. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1916 Letter to Daily News and Leader, 23 October 1916.
44. NLS, Acc 18425, Cecile Walton. 'More lives than one'. An unpublished memoir (dated Kirkcudbright: 1951), p.250.
45. Thomas Carlyle, Past and Present (London: J.M. Dent, 1912), p.147.
46. Ibid. pp.189-190. "The latest Gospel in this world is, Know thy work and do it...: know what thou canst work at and work at it like a Hercules!... Blessed is he who has found his work; let him ask no other blessedness. He has a work, a life-purpose; he has found it and will follow it."
47. GSAA, GSA, Minutes 8 May 1918 contain Newbery's letter of resignation dated 18.4.18 in which he describes his work at the School as "the real work of my life".
48. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, Letter to H.M. Macleod, 6 April 1913.
49. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1906, p168.
50. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1914, S, 25 May 1914.
51. GSAA, Newbery, Press Cuttings, p.13. Unattributed undated cutting referring to a lecture on Ruskin's 'The Two Paths' to the Ruskin Society of Glasgow. He disagreed with Ruskin's, and by implication Morris's "pessimistic outlook". "Mr. Newbery protested against what he termed Mr. Ruskin's pessimistic outlook for the future of art and desired to take the present state of mechanical aids to manufacture as the new order of things."
52. Glasgow Herald, 23 October, 1897. Report on a Newbery lecture entitled "The Evolution of Art Centres".
53. GSAA, Newbery, Press Cuttings, p.31. Unattributed undated cutting.
54. Glasgow Herald, 21 December 1896.: report on a Newbery lecture entitled "Art and Commerce".
55. See debate in Hansard, 1 April 1881 proposing appointment of Royal Commission for Technical Instruction where MPs acknowledged that division of labour had destroyed the apprenticeship system seeking a remedy not in its revival but through technical education. That George Anderson, a Glasgow M.P., moved for the setting up of the committee, is evidence of the interest in Glasgow in the improvement of technical education.
56. F.H., Newbery, 'Art in relation to Technical Education', Evening Times, 12 April 1893.
57. SUA, T-GED 5/1/2, Patrick Geddes, 'Everyman his own art critic' (undated) Geddes maintained that educated classes received an education "mainly through the ear" and contrasted "ear-minded" and "eye-minded" people.
58. GSAA, Newbery, Press Cuttings, p.31. Unattributed undated cutting reporting on a Newbery lecture entitled "Art In School" given to the Glasgow Branch of Educational Institute of Scotland in which he spoke of "education being purely literary".
59. Glasgow Herald, 21 December, 1896: report on Newbery lecture "Art and Commerce".
60. Ibid.
61. House of Commons Select Committee on Arts and their connexion with Manufactures Report (London: 1836), p.44, pars. 553 and 557.
62. Scottish Art Review, 1.no.6, (November 1888), p.160.
63. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1916. Letter to Daily News and Leader, 23 October 1916.

64. Ibid.: the last quotation is Newbery's requoting of a previous article by Ann Macbeth, the head of GSA's needlework section in The Daily News and Leader, 17 October 1916.
65. GSAA, Newbery, Press Cuttings, p.42: unattributed, undated, cutting reporting on a lecture entitled "Decorative art its origin purpose and application" given as the first of a series of 12 lectures at the Technical Institute, Dundee.
66. F.H. Newbery 'Art in relation to Technical Education', Glasgow Evening News, 12 April 1893.
67. Ibid.
68. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence 1916, 23 October, 1916..
69. Newbery's association with Geddes and Baldwin Brown in the Social Union, probably secured him the appointment to speak at the Edinburgh Congress of the National Association for the Advancement of Art in its application to Industry in 1889, Report, p.vii and pp.447-451. Newbery's address on 'The Place of Art Schools in the Economy of Applied Art' was delivered at a combined meeting of the Sections of Applied Art and of Museums and National and Municipal Encouragement of Art, chaired by William Morris. Baldwin Brown as one of the secretaries of the Committee on Applied Art was probably instrumental in asking Newbery to speak - Scottish Art Review, 2, no.17, (October 1889), p.156.
70. Archive of Art and Design, London. Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, Catalogues, 1889 and 1890.
71. Glasgow Herald, 8 April 1895.
72. William Morris, 'The Lesser Arts' in Hopes and Fears for Art (London: Ellis & White, 1882) p.17.
73. 'F. Elliot' [F.H. Newbery], 'The First Exhibition of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society', Scottish Art Review, 1, no.6, (November 1888), 160-162 (p.160)
74. F.H. Newbery, 'Students' work at South Kensington - a reply', Scottish Art Review, 2, no.18, (October 1889), 167-8 (p.168).
75. Ibid..
76. Ibid., pp.167 and 168.
77. 'F. Elliot', 'The First Exhibition of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society', p.161.
78. F.H. Newbery, 'Tradition', The Vista: the Quarterly Magazine of the Glasgow School of Architecture Club, 1, no.1, May 1908, p.4.
79. The 1889 Technical Instruction Act cited by William Eadie, Movements of Modernity, p.164 only applied to England.
80. Technical Instruction Amendment (Scotland) Act, 1892, p.2.
81. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 14 December 1891.
82. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 5 October 1891.
83. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 11 January 1892.
84. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 2 May 1892.
85. GSAA, GSA, Prospectus, (1893-4), p.9.
86. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 7 March 1892 show that they were initially taken on a three year lease.
87. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 3 March 1890 record the opening of Brown's class but do not mention Davidson's appointment. Davidson, however, in his unpublished autobiography, appears to claim that he alone was asked by Newbery to commence the first *repoussé* class when he, Davidson, was "about sixteen" (i.e. in 1886). However, there is some doubt with regard to his statement as he also mentions that the Macdonald sisters were contemporaneously doing work in aluminium. As the Macdonalds did not

enter the School until 1890, it is more than likely that he is referring to the later date when classes were recorded as being begun under Brown.

88. Davidson Family Collection, Peter Wylie Davidson, Unpublished autobiography, pp.48-9 remembered how people complained of the noise created by the hammering.

89. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 7 November 1892.

90. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 24 May 1892.

91. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 24 May 1892 and Glasgow Herald, 11 March 1895, p.6.

92. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence, 1894-7 pp.64-5.

93. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 3 October 1892.

94. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 5 December 1892 state that "some conversation ensued as to the establishment of Technical Studios such as stained glass &c but left to further consideration".

95. GSAA, GSA, Report of Deputation appointed to visit Manchester, Birmingham, and London (1893), p.3.

96. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 9 January 1893.

97. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report, Session 1891-2,(Glasgow: 1893), p.7.

98. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 3 February 1893 and 27 February 1893.

99. Glasgow Evening News, 12 April, 1893.

100. GSA, D-TC. 7/16/1, Kelvingrove Museum and Corporation Galleries of Art, Report for year 1893, pp.6-7: Steven Adam -stained glass; James Fleming-pottery; William Shirriffs-bronze founding; George Adam-artistic ironwork; James Paton-glassware; Miss Dunlop- art needlework; Newbery- Lace; James Maclehoose-bookbinding; John Stevenson-chemistry of colour; Alexander Paterson-decoration.

101. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 27 February, 20 March and 1 June 1893.

102. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 4 December 1893 and 31 May 1894.

103. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 20 December 1893 and 31 May 1894.

104. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 31 May 1896.

105. Ibid..

106. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1897), p.5 noted that the technical studios had contributed work to the 1896 Arts and Crafts Exhibition in London. Most of the work shown was by ex-students, with some staff being represented.

107. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 31 May 1894.

108. GSAA, GSA, Prospectus, (1893-4), p.20.

109. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 16 May 1895.

110. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 17 November, 1897.

111. GSAA, Newbery, Press cuttings, p.36, unattributed undated cutting entitled 'East End Exhibition: Arts and Crafts Section'. GSA Correspondence 1887-91, p.366:

Kellock Brown's letter of appointment, dated 11 December 1889.

112. GSAA, GSA, Report of a Deputation appointed to visit English Arts and Crafts Schools, Guilds of Handicraft and Decorative Artists (1905), p.12. The School prefaced its efforts in running an enamel class by stating that "enamelling has not yet been seriously attempted in Glasgow but it might be possible through well-directed efforts to create a demand for it from the Trade, and also to prepare Students to establish themselves as independent workers". The same report records Fisher's visit. Gaskin's visits are recorded in GSA, Annual Reports, (1905-6), p.12; (1906-7), p.5; (1907-8), p.5. GSA, Minutes, 25 June 1915 contain a report written by Stabler on a visit to the School.

113. Dominion of Canada. Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education Report, 4 volumes (Ottawa: 1913) III, pp.699-700.
114. Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries, The Glasgow Style, 1890-1920 (Glasgow: 1984) contains some examples of male artists working in their own craft workshops, e.g. the Davidson brothers, Peter and William, pp.16-18, Hugh Allan, p.11.
115. Anthea Callen, Angel in the Studio: Women in the Arts and Crafts Movement, 1870-1914 (London: Astragal Books, 1979), p.42, demonstrates how difficult it was for women to break into established trades such as bookbinding where workshops were male-dominated.
116. See e.g. Burkhauser, Glasgow Girls, p.165 et seq..
117. Paisley Directory (1896-7), p.132.
118. Paisley and Renfrew Gazette, March 1920- I owe most of the information on the Rowat Family to David Roberts, Assistant Keeper of Local History at Paisley Museum and Art Gallery.
119. 'Women and their Work: Mrs. Fra H. Newbery', Evening News, 25 February 1913,.
120. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence with Department of Science and Art, 1881-1900, 3 volumes, gives classes attended by students. GSA, Annual Report (1890), pp.12-13 gives some information on Jessie Rowat's bronze medal. GSA, Correspondence, 1888-91, p.372 records her book prizes.
121. Paisley Art Institute, Catalogues, 1887, 1888, 1889 and 1903 show that Jessie Newbery exhibited thirteen paintings, ten of these were in 1887 and 1888, one in 1889 and three in 1903. Seven paintings were also exhibited at the Royal Glasgow Institute and the Royal Scottish Academy from 1892 to 1899, but none thereafter.
122. GSA, Annual Reports, and GSA, Correspondence to Department of Science and Art.
123. SRO, Marriage Certificate
124. Glasgow Post Office Directories.
125. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence to Department of Science and Art, 1888-1894, p.58, giving Newbery's address in May 1888.
126. SRO, Birth Certificates.
127. Evening News, 25 February, 1913.
128. The Scots Pictorial, 26 November 1898, 302-3 (p.302).
129. Elizabeth Cumming, Glasgow 1900: Art and Design (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 1992), p.109.
130. The Studio, 56, (1912), p.318.
131. Dominion of Canada. Royal Commission, Report, III, p.703.
132. John Swift, 'Birmingham Art School: its Branch Schools and Female Students 1880-1900' in Barbara Tilson, editor, Made in Birmingham: Design & Industry 1889-1989 (Studley, Warwickshire: Brewin Books, 1989), pp.46-64 (p.58). Swift's figure is for 1899.
133. Swift 'The Arts and Crafts Movement in Birmingham Art School', pp.28-29.
134. Glasgow Evening News, 22 May 1895.
135. See Chapter 3, note 25.
136. GSAA, GSA Correspondence to DSA, 1887, pp.887-894.
137. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence, 1904-1907, p.200 et seq..
138. GSAA, GSA, Registers, 1904-1911 indicate that Mary Drew Morrison was the first woman to go through an architectural course.
139. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence, 29 September 1915.

140. F.H. Newbery. 'An appreciation of the work of Ann Macbeth', The Studio, 29 (1903), pp.40-41.
141. Ibid. p.41.
142. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 21 January 1914.
143. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence, 1911.
144. GSAA, Liz Bird 'Threading the Beads: women in art in Glasgow, 1870-1920' in Uncharted Lives: extracts from Scottish women's experiences, 1850-1982 (Glasgow: Pressgang, 1983), pp.98-117 (p.108). She makes the point that as head of section Ann Macbeth was at professorial level, "although she was never given that title".
145. GSAA, GSA Minutes, 16 September 1914.
146. Dominion of Canada. Royal Commission, p.699.
147. Charles Holme, editor, Arts and Crafts: a review of the work executed by students in the leading art schools of Great Britain and Ireland (London: The Studio, 1916).
148. Dominion of Canada. Royal Commission, p.699 noted that Glasgow had a large trade in woodcarving and supplied architects with both wood and stone carvers.
149. SUA, E/10/1/6, Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College, Calendar, (1892-3), p.147.
150. GSAA, GSA Minutes, 22 September 1890.
151. Ibid., 6 & 24 May 1892.
152. SUA, E/1/1/3-4, Glasgow & West of Scotland Technical College, Minutes, 12 June 1892.
153. Ibid., April 1893, pp.14-15.
154. GSAA, GSA , Correspondence, 1894-7, pp.285 and 290-1.
155. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence 1891-4 p.420 letter dated 14 August 1894.
156. SUA, E/1/1/3-4, Glasgow & West of Scotland Technical College. Minutes, 1893-4, pp.14-15.

CHAPTER 7

NEWBERY AND THE GLASGOW STYLE

John Taylor, the Scottish correspondent of the leading art periodical, *The Studio*, writing about the School in 1916, enumerated its major strengths and achievements in the field of design education.

The Glasgow School of Art...is in many respects a unique institution, the success of which is largely due to the efforts of the present director, Mr. Fra. H. Newbery, a well known painter, and an administrator and organiser of unusual energy and enterprise. Since the initiation of the arts and crafts movement, Glasgow has been a centre of activity...The Glasgow School of Art became early identified with that which was best in the decorative art movement; it became the established centre of rational and individualistic art training and execution; and so earnest has been the pursuit of the new idea there that there is hardly a craft within the scope of its influence that has not long ago shed the blighting effect of the Victorian era...¹

The areas of decorative art on which the School would implant its signature included all the crafts on the curriculum, together with wider areas of design: architecture, furniture, and interiors, as well as fields related to the crafts, such as dressmaking and design and embroidered furnishing fabrics. Many of these works were carried out in a recognisable style, "the Glasgow Style", which was characterised by its strong linear quality, by its emphasis on silhouette, and by its recognition of the value of empty areas in the design as a foil to ornament. The primacy which the style placed on formal values enabled it to discard overt naturalism and to take the conventionalisation of plant form and the human figure to new extremes.

The Glasgow Style would emerge as part of the Arts and Crafts movement in that it benefited from the revival of the decorative arts which the latter promoted, employed craftwork as a medium of expression, and used the various national and international arts and crafts exhibitions and journals as its shop window. Newbery's establishment of the technical studios and his energetic promotion of his students' work were an indispensable factor in the Glasgow Style's participation. However, the Glasgow Style was not solely dependent for its character on the Arts and Crafts movement. The first extant examples of the style can be dated to the autumn of 1893, before practical craftwork in the technical studios would have had any impact. That these were works on paper, the traditional medium of South Kensington design teaching, suggests that the new form-language could well have appeared in Glasgow and have had an impact on the decorative arts without the intervention of the technical studios. Be that as it may, the

Glasgow Style owed much to the established design educationist's emphases, tempered by Newbery's own encouragement of individual experimentation.

That Newbery must have had some part to play in the emergence of the Glasgow Style is clear if it is born in mind that, with the exception of a few designers such as George Walton and Oscar Paterson, (Walton did attend the School's classes but his style began to emerge earlier and owed far less than the other designers to the style developed in the School) most of the designers in the new movement were trained by, or taught in, the School. However, as Newbery was, in the best sense of the word, an educator who believed in drawing out his students' innate potentialities, and as he was a painter rather than a designer, his essential role was to create and manage the environment in which the new movement could grow, rather than to act as its stylistic leader.

Newbery's own personality played a crucial part not only in creating an ambience where experimentation in art could flourish but also in making the School a social centre where a strong sense of artistic comradeship could develop. Possessing "all the pomp and gravity of a general", he had a complementary gift of making those under him feel their own importance. The air of benevolent but energetic autocracy which he exuded enabled him to organise large groups of people to pursue a common aim, which was at once exciting and worth-while.² Cecile Walton who knew him first when she was a child gave her impression of him as he appeared in the early 1900s:

Dorset man, with curly hair, and moustache; robust and forceful, with the air of a showman; direct and emphatic in his speech and with a marvellously brisk but gallant manner. He knew how to introduce people to each other with the gesture of a compere, as if each person was to the other at once an important actor and important audience. He had a commanding - but never patronising address...so that we children were taught, by example, how people should be considered and handled.³

His supreme gift of leadership inspired love and loyalty among many of his students, who could poke fun at him while gladly accepting his position of authority. His habit of signing his name "Fra H. Newbery" (so that correspondents would know that he was Francis rather than Fred)⁴ soon caused his students to adopt "Fra" as a nickname. Their attitude to him and the impression he made is conveyed in the couplet:

We have a leader who is Fra...
With power more potent than the Shah...⁵

The Glasgow School of Art Club

One of Newbery's main instruments in encouraging the individual abilities of his students, as members of a wider fraternity of artists, was the Glasgow School of Art Club. This was inaugurated as a sketching club soon after Newbery's appointment in the 1885-1886 session at an art school function organised by Newbery. For the occasion he threw open the whole School for a *conversazione* to which both day and evening students, who would have had little opportunity to meet in normal circumstances, were invited. During an evening which included music, games, and a buffet supper Newbery announced that he was setting up a club which would be open to day and evening, past

and present, students.⁶ As well as being a venue where all with an interest in the School could mix socially the Club would also encourage individual artistic endeavour among current students by the running of competitions.

The Club took its pattern from similar organisations which already existed in a number of schools. As a student, Newbery had been a member of a sketching club at the National Art Training School ⁷ and Simmonds, himself, in his last year at Glasgow had established a "Graphic Club and Art Circle" ⁸ Indeed, the vogue for such ventures at the time is apparent from an article written by F. Edward Hulme, presumably an art master, in the pages of *The Artist* in 1886, recommending sketch clubs as "invaluable institutions".⁹

Newbery, with his undoubted flair, made a great success of his own scheme, eventually turning it into one of the events in Glasgow's artistic year,¹⁰ having it frequently reported on in *The Studio*, Britain's leading art magazine, and finally having it entered in *The Year's Art*, the contemporary directory for all things artistic, alongside other artists' organisations. From its foundation Newbery gave it a sense of importance and direction by making himself its "Director" and the Committee Chairman James Fleming its "President": but having once established its programme of monthly competitions and annual "vacation sketching scheme", he increasingly encouraged the students to run it themselves.¹¹ In its early years he promoted its usefulness and popularity through the monthly competitions. The "clever, helpful and amusing remarks" he made in criticising the entries, which were submitted anonymously, always filling the School's lecture theatre to capacity.¹² The list of subjects for the vacation sketching scheme was given out each May and students handed in their efforts each October. The entries, which were identified by their club number, were, however, not judged by Newbery but by some of Glasgow's leading artists: men such as James Henderson; Alexander Roche; James Guthrie; David Gauld¹³ - before being exhibited to the public. The students were thus brought into close touch with the best contemporary practice and identified with that practice in the public sphere. A high profile for the exhibitions was further ensured by an accompanying public meeting, reported in the press, in which prizes were given out to the winners by the artist judges or public figures. The meeting and exhibition were also combined with an "At home" and *conversazione* which were organised by the students.

It is probable that Newbery initially intended to use the Club partly to circumvent the identification of the School in the students' minds with South Kensington. It was the School's own institution in which students were encouraged to present themselves as artists in their own right. In its early years it was intended as an outlet for the students as fine artists, in contravention of South Kensington's design orientated-purpose.¹⁴ Students were encouraged in the vacation sketching scheme "to go to nature", probably developing lessons which some of them had learnt in Newbery's outdoor sketching classes, which had been inaugurated in the summer of 1886. Soon, however, the vacation scheme's purpose was being seen more broadly as a means of encouraging individual expression. As Newbery explained at the Club's annual meeting in 1895: "The School of Art was divided into two classes - one for tuition and discipline, the other the imaginative which was above all teaching. They called the work exhibited "holiday work" but it was the hardest work of the year and the soundest." ¹⁵

As an encouragement to individual expression, there was no requirement that all work sent to the autumn exhibitions be for competition purposes.¹⁶ This took the onus off those students who otherwise might consider that they had to produce work to please the judges. If this helped exhibitors to be more individualistic, the participation of past students, who were debarred from competing, would also have tended in the same direction. The association of past, present, day and evening students in their own organisation which had links with Glasgow's leading artists must also have helped to encourage the participants to see themselves as members of a wider artistic community, which in itself must have had a liberating and confidence-building effect on their work, an effect which would feed back into the daily life of the School. The Club also acted as the first showcase for the School's and its associates' arts and crafts productions, which became a feature of its annual shows from 1894 (the first exhibition after the opening of the Technical Studios).¹⁷ It was in its exhibitions that the new decorative art style, with which Glasgow would become associated, first made its public appearance, the Club acting as a laboratory where new ideas were first tested before being presented to wider national and international audiences.

Design at Glasgow School of Art before the Glasgow Style

The development of the new form-language came about slowly and it would emerge as the result of the completely fortuitous attendance of a small group of students in the School at a particular time. Without the attendance and collaboration of these particular students it is unlikely that Newbery would have been able to preside over such an important contribution to architecture and the decorative arts. During his early years in the School, Newbery, whilst subscribing to the dogma that artistic innovation could only come from an engagement with nature and tradition expressed through the personality of the individual artist, seemed to have little idea of how this might come about or what its results might be.

It is difficult, because of a paucity of examples, to gain more than a sketchy picture of the design work which was being produced in the School in the late 1880s. There is no doubt, however, that it would have been characterised by an historicist eclecticism. In 1886, the School secretary, almost certainly acting as Newbery's mouthpiece, had written that modern design was "essentially derivative" and as such depended for its excellence on the existence of good museums which would provide good examples for study.¹⁸ In fact, as has been noted, Newbery had written that there was nothing wrong in art school work being derivative as long as it was aesthetically good. Moreover, the derivative nature of the School's design work owed much to the fact that the teaching was aimed at training students who had to work for the existing market for mass manufactures which demanded designs within certain well-defined stylistic traditions, such as for Persian carpets, floral wallpapers, and lace. This kind of designing continued throughout Newbery's period without any remarkable innovatory effects on the development of the decorative arts, and is exemplified in illustrations of the School's premiated National Competition work (plates 9 & 10).

However, ornamental figure composition, for which Newbery was mainly responsible, whilst still derivative, seems to have been closer to the contemporary fashion for aesthetic classicism, exemplified by such artists as Leighton, Poynter, Albert Moore,

Walter Crane and Burne-Jones. This is hardly surprising, given that this was the modern style of the 1880s and the fact that the antique cast, and the study of drapery, which formed an important element in this style, were the staple diet of students learning to draw. There is some evidence that the study of the work of such artists was encouraged in the School. Newbery borrowed photographs of Poynter's designs from the South Kensington loan scheme to aid in his teaching ¹⁹ and used Crane's toy book designs such as *Flora's Feast* to illustrate his public lectures.²⁰ Moreover, if student book prizes are evidence of a designer's stylistic currency, Jessie Newbery was by no means alone in choosing books designed by Crane, and Frances Macdonald chose Malcolm Bell's copiously illustrated monograph on Burne-Jones, as a book prize.²¹

The ornamental conventionalisation of plant form, often in combination with classical figure work, was also in evidence in the School's designs. The School Seal, designed in competition by an unidentified student in 1892, is a good example of the results of study, based largely on drawing from the antique. It depicts a nude male figure, with the ideal proportions and beauty of an antique cast, holding a palette in his left hand and a blazing torch in his right, set against a foliage background of conventionalised thistles in an oval frame.

Surviving programmes for School events, which Newbery encouraged his students to design, betray the same classical-cum-aesthetic influences. The programme for Morris's lecture in 1889, designed by Andrew Allan used two allegorical classical female figures, of the Amazonian build preferred by Leighton, to represent painting and music, placed before a section of the Parthenon frieze carved on a low wall behind which Allan had drawn an aesthetic tree, exhibiting something of Walter Crane's graphic sensitivity (plate 11). A.E. Holmes, the student chosen to design the programme for Crane's lecture of 1888, however, was noted for his more Pre-Raphaelite tendencies.²² He chose to represent painting and music as two soulful damsels in the medieval-classical style of Burne-Jones, exchanging Allan's alert, lyre-playing, Amazon, for a plaintive, haloed, Saint Cecilia, complete with portative organ; while Allan's open-branched laurel was replaced by a densely-leafed and fruit-laden background, redolent of a Morrisian *hortus conclusus*, emblazoned with the Latin legend "*ars pingendi et ars musica*" in gothic script (plate 12).

A general classical style was also evident in the design work of the leading members of staff. The only design by Aston Nicholas which has come to light reveals him as an adept in the South Kensington neo-Renaissance style of his teacher F.W. Moody (plate 13). Kellock Brown, who had worked under the proto-art nouveau influence of A.H. Mackmurdo in the Century Guild, was content to produce work in a fairly unadventurous classical mode, which betrayed little evidence of the whiplash curve which had appeared in some of Mackmurdo's designs (plate 14). Newbery, himself, as a painter of naturalistic figure works, rather than a designer, was less likely to have been a stylistic influence.

No examples of student work from the late 1880s in the design of interiors has come to light but it is certain that Newbery was exposing them to the stimulus of London art furnishings of the aesthetic movement. He borrowed Edward Godwin's book, *Art Furniture*, with its aesthetic interiors and its promotion of the Anglo-Japanese style from the South Kensington loan scheme.²³ This mirrored Newbery's interest in the

Whistler-Godwin brand of aestheticism with its concern for colour harmonies, as opposed to pattern, seen in his own houses where walls were colour-washed rather than papered, a preference which may have fed through to his students and been later reflected in the chaste interiors of the Glasgow Style.²⁴

If the School's design figure work owed much to the most advanced work of the late 1880s, the work which was emerging there in the early nineties gradually dispensed with the crutches provided by historical and historically-based modern styles to produce a new synthesis which was able to hold a more independent dialogue with tradition and nature. The leading British designers of the early 1890s were aware that they had arrived at something of an impasse in the development of their practice. William Morris, like Newbery, saw modern design as being essentially derivative, arguing that a "genuine eclecticism" based on an "honest and eager pursuit of art" through "observation of an art which was once organic, but which died centuries ago" was all that could be expected of designers working against the background of modern civilisation.²⁵ The architect J.D. Sedding expressed a different but allied point of view when he advocated the need to find a way of working in the spirit of the old designers without working in their styles, "to clothe modern ideas in modern dress; adorn our design with living fancy, and rise to the height of our knowledge and capacities".²⁶ Neither Sedding, nor Newbery's student, the architectural draughtsman Charles Rennie Mackintosh, who adopted this and other passages from Sedding as his own, would discard precedent in their endeavour, but Mackintosh in developing ideas from the starting point of natural form and a deep study of architectural work of his own and earlier periods, was able to engender a unique and evolving vocabulary which eventually transcended eclecticism and relied for its aesthetic impact on purely abstract formal relationships.

The Development of the Glasgow Style

Mackintosh was helped in his early experiments by an exchange of ideas with three other students: the architectural draughtsman, James Herbert McNair, who, like Mackintosh, was an evening student; and two day students, the sisters Margaret and Frances Macdonald. Mackintosh was a student from 1883 until 1893; McNair from 1889 to 1897; the Macdonalds from 1890 to 1894.²⁷ All had successful school careers: both Mackintosh and Frances Macdonald had national medals to their credit and all had done well in local and national competitions. They had thus shown their mastery of the artistic disciplines taught in the School and had been recognised by acknowledged authoritative opinion for their abilities as designers.²⁸

Newbery taught the Macdonalds figure composition and anatomy ²⁹ and had been aware of Mackintosh since he had exhibited the architectural drawings he had made on a tour of Italy in 1891, as recipient of the Alexander Thomson Travelling Scholarship.³⁰ It was, however, almost certainly as a result of one of Newbery's monthly Art Club criticisms that the two pairs of students were brought together, for it was on such an occasion that Newbery pointed out the similarities of their style which decided him to introduce the architects to the sisters.³¹ The date of this important meeting is difficult to pinpoint. It could have been at any time after 1892, when Mackintosh's work for the interior of the Glasgow Art Club reveals a readiness to experiment with the distortion of

the human figure, a practice which would become a major characteristic of the style of the group. Yet it must also have been before the Spring of 1894 when Mackintosh and the Macdonalds all contributed drawings to 'The Magazine', a hand-written journal circulated among a small number of people connected with the Art School.³²

The form-language which "the Four" ³³ evolved can be said to represent a fulfilment of the South Kensington approach to design in its successful conventionalisation of natural form for decorative purposes, giving more emphasis than had previously been allowed in contemporary practice to the abstract formal constituents of the design at the expense of its representational aspects. The Four's interior design work also respected South Kensington's call for the subordination of ornament to the demands of the structure ornamented and their craftwork showed a regard for the qualities of the materials in which it was expressed.

The earliest extant works in the style, all by the Macdonalds, dating from the Autumn of 1893 and the Spring of 1894, (plates 15a & 15b) show a close indebtedness to South Kensington teaching. They all relate to a design, rather than to a fine art, context, and some could quite easily be adapted to the needs of a repeat pattern, such as a wallpaper. The two items of publicity material, produced in a competition for a Glasgow School of Art Club "at Home" held on 25 November 1893 ³⁴ and the bookplate for 'The Magazine' which derives from them ³⁵ are, almost certainly, based on a pattern design by Voysey from *The Studio*, (plate 16)³⁶ and the collaborative design *The Crucifixion and The Ascension* of 1894 (plate 17) appears to be a fully worked out repeat pattern which could work as a wallpaper. The Art Club designs relate closely in their iconography to the work of Holmes and Allan, discussed above, in that they both depict the arts of music and painting as allegorical female figures. However, they have gone far beyond the earlier publicity material in eschewing any attempt at close naturalistic illusion. The Macdonalds' figures are no longer depictions of actual people, they are just one formal element in a coherent decorative composition. The designs are notable for the clarity of their geometric structure, that by Frances being based on three circles of equal size, and for their strict symmetry. Redgrave, of course, had made geometry, as the basis of design, one of the essential elements in the South Kensington curriculum; and the inculcation of an understanding, on the part of a student, of the underlying geometry of ornament, was one of the major objectives in the National Course of Instruction's requirement that students study historical ornament. The structure of ornament was also further dwelt upon in the numerous books by Lewis F. Day given as prizes to students, Mackintosh amongst them. Symmetry, rather than its abandonment, was to be a feature of the Glasgow Style, as of the English Arts and Crafts movement, and its observance was also taught by South Kensington as a canon of good decorative art (plate 8).

A further characteristic of the Macdonalds' early designs which was common to the Glasgow Style as a whole was their employment of frames as a compositional device. The use of, and respect for, frames was also derived from the South Kensington teaching of the practice of "space filling", (National Course of Instruction, Stages 22b and 22c) in which students were required to fit ornamental motifs derived from plant form into specified geometrical figures, such as pentagons, triangles or rectangles (plate 8). A Glasgow Style design in a rectangular frame will echo and re-echo the perimeter of the space as well as hold a dialogue with it, introducing curves to vary it

but always obeying the restrictions it sets. The use of the frame made Glasgow Style designs particularly well adapted to frame and panel furniture construction and allowed them to act extremely efficiently as ornamental grace-notes in the chaste panelled interiors preferred by Mackintosh.

The Four's stylistic sources in contemporary art have been discussed elsewhere³⁷ and it will only be necessary to recall some of them here where they enabled them to develop the teaching they had received under Newbery. Jessie Newbery recalled how the work of Aubrey Beardsley and Jan Toorop, amongst other designers whose work was illustrated in the early numbers of *The Studio*, had helped to give "an impetus and direction" to the Four's efforts.³⁸ Both these artists had a significant influence on the Four's approach to line. The value of line as an element in design would have been inculcated as part of the students' training in drawing from the cast and the antique, with its stress on observation, delight in the discovery of the formal qualities of the work depicted, and personal expression in its rendering. For Newbery good drawing necessarily underlay and preceded all design training. Beardsley made an important formal contribution in helping to point the way for the Four to use line as a purely abstract compositional device which went beyond and sometimes discarded any representational function (plate 18). The Four's debt to Beardsley in this respect was noticed by a critic in *The Studio* who pointed out their common use of "lines that only exist beautifully".³⁹ Toorop, whose employment of line in composition was far less accomplished, opened the way for the Four to use it symbolically as a means of metamorphosis. Thus in his work, *The Three Brides*, (plate 19) Toorop had represented sound waves, emitted by bells at the edges of the composition, as rows of undulating parallel lines which were transformed into the waving hair of some of the female figures at the centre. Accordingly, in the Four's work, parallel lines were used as a means of transmuting plant form into drapery, as for instance in Mackintosh's *Part Seen, Imagined Part* (plate 20). In their work, however, the compositional advantages of using parallel lines as a means of transmuting form were more fully exploited.

Just as important in the development of the Four's work was Beardsley's employment of silhouette, achieved by the use of large areas of ink washes set against blank areas of white paper. This owed much to an aesthetic borrowed from Japanese wood-block prints which were being collected by Mackintosh in the early 1890s and had also influenced the work of contemporary poster designers such as Toulouse-Lautrec and the Beggarstaff Brothers. The need to think in terms of silhouette had been stressed by Walter Crane in his lectures at Manchester School of Art⁴⁰ and his eminently sensible teaching would not have been ignored by Newbery whose inauguration of poster design classes in 1894 would also have helped to encourage a flat, unmodelled, approach to figure composition. Mackintosh would carry an approach to the figure, based on a "poster style", over to mural decoration, in his work at the Buchanan Street Tea Rooms in 1896⁴¹ (plate 21) and the Macdonalds too would use a highly abstract figure style, based on the impact of silhouette, to decorate the walls of their parents' home at Dunglass Castle, Bowling (plate 22). The interest in silhouette helped the Glasgow decorative artists to give as much weight to the spaces created between and around their figures as to the figures themselves. Jessie Newbery showed a similar interest in the abstract formal values of a design when reviewing her own design principles:

I like the opposition of straight lines to curved; of horizontal to vertical...I delight in correspondence and the inevitable relation of part to part. I specially aim at beautifully shaped spaces and try to make them as important as the patterns.⁴²

A characteristic feature of the early Glasgow style which earned it the title the “Spooky School”⁴³ was its conventionalisation, and frequent attenuation of, the human figure. This also grew out of a concern to integrate it more into the design. This, whilst building on an existing tendency carried over by Beardsley from Burne-Jones, also grew out of art school teaching which the Four were daringly taking to its logical conclusion. If design consisted of the conventionalisation of nature, then the figure, as part of nature, was also within the designer's ambit. That this had scarcely been attempted before was almost certainly because the figure was associated with fine art, with the accurate observational requirements of the life class; and where nature was conventionalised in that context, it could only be done to correct imperfections in the interests of idealisation. Previous designers in the forefront of the practice, such as Walter Crane, when they used the figure as a design element, had done so with reference to classical models, observing the canons of classical beauty and proportion. The Glasgow designs, however, discarded these rules altogether, but they could be justified in doing so precisely because they were following design principles which required that they subordinate anatomical considerations to the abstract formal requirements of the design. They would almost certainly have drawn support from Newbery in their approach, for he had argued in this way when he criticised some of Kellock Brown's figure design work at the 1888 Arts and Crafts Exhibition, suggesting that “less anatomy in the figures would have kept them better within the framework of the design”.⁴⁴

In their tendency to give more importance to abstract formal relationships than to a naturalistic representation of the subject, the Four's designs not only approached the figure in a new way but also took the conventionalisation of plant form to a greater extreme than had been the practice of such designers as Crane and Morris. This in its turn allowed the Four to employ line and silhouette in a much more emphatic way, as unifying compositional devices. The plant forms used in Beardsley's drawings, (plate 17) in their extreme conventionalisation, would also have encouraged the Four in such compositions as the Drooko umbrella poster where umbellifera plant forms were taken to a level of extreme simplification and stylisation (plate 23).⁴⁵ The teaching of the School, however, must have had a significant part to play in this appropriation of plant form, with its emphasis, noted particularly in the case of Nicholas, of going to nature rather than history for inspiration. This of course is especially so with Mackintosh whose whole *oeuvre* attests to a continued dialogue with plant form, seen primarily for its design potential. From the earliest extant sketch books of 1893-4 right down to the late watercolours, Mackintosh's flower drawings are much closer to, and best seen in the context of, the studies from plants set for students as a stage in the process of conventionalising plant form for pattern design than they are to any existing fine art practice. The process of conventionalising from nature had always had a potential towards abstraction, hardly ever before realised, excepting perhaps in the notable case of Christopher Dresser.

The Four's practice of looking at the abstract formal qualities of the design allowed them, whilst not abandoning their original source in nature, to go far beyond naturalistic

representation, as, for example, in the ornament on the railings of Mackintosh's Scotland Street School ⁴⁶ (plate 24) and would allow Mackintosh, in particular, to develop his work increasingly in this direction.

As the designer's context, according to the theorists, was in the last analysis an architectural one, the Four's new emphasis on the domination of the formal structure in all design work allowed the Glasgow designers to achieve a completely coherent integration between architecture and its ornamentation, seen at its peak in the collaborative work of Mackintosh and Margaret Macdonald. In this, as Madsen points out, the main accent is provided by an interplay of horizontals and verticals and only in a few select places is ornament employed, being subordinated to the general impression and no longer existing for its own sake.⁴⁷ The same aesthetic that was employed in the Glasgow Style interior was also applied to dress design by Jessie Newbery and her needlework students, who adopted the practice of using plain fabrics which were offset by embroidered collars, cuffs and belts. The reticent use of ornament again owed something to the Japanese aesthetic with its respect for the value of the unornamented surface. It also owed something to the work of C.F.A. Voysey who had a great influence on the young Mackintosh and whose call, in an article in *The Studio*, for plain wall surfaces and the use of wood panelling could not have fallen on deaf ears.⁴⁸

Newbery's Promotion of the Four's work

The Macdonalds' early designs in the new style must have met with Newbery's approval as he not only employed them as publicity material for the 1893 School of Art Club Exhibition but also sent several examples of their work to South Kensington, in April 1894, as entries for that year's National Competition.⁴⁹ These, which included Margaret's *Path of Life* and *Summer*, and Frances' lost work *Despair*, which she had been working on the previous October, together with the collaborative repeat pattern design *The Crucifixion and The Ascension* and the 1893 Art Club publicity material, were not, however, regarded highly enough to merit any awards. Nevertheless, they were almost certainly amongst the work by the Four which appeared in the 1894 School of Art Club Exhibition. It was this show which achieved the distinction of first placing the new form-language before the public and the Four made certain that it achieved maximum impact by isolating their contribution.⁵⁰

The controversy which the show aroused in the local press has been fully treated elsewhere,⁵¹ and it is sufficient here to deal with Newbery's own defence of the work in the face of criticism on the part of one of the judges, the Glasgow painter, Alexander Roche. Roche was not wholesale in his condemnation of the work, going so far as to state that the greatest ability in the show had been displayed in design. However, in describing it as "extraordinary" and "dreadfully clever" as well as "unhappy", he indicated that he felt that it exhibited an unnecessary artistic development in which he had very little interest. Indeed, his real objection seems to have been to its conventionalisation of the figure, which, he quipped, in its "ghoul-like" tendency, seemed to be leading to the graveyard, adding that he would press future judges "to put down this sort of thing". Newbery, however, took a far more serious view of the work and countered that "he rather encouraged that which Mr. Roche had so vigorously

condemned" adding that "as to the style of design...it might lead to the graveyard, but he believed it would lead to somewhere else in the first place".⁵²

Newbery's support for the work was further underlined in a press interview in May 1895 where he not only took South Kensington to task for not being "quite educated up to" the School's designs but also used the occasion to defend some posters, probably by members of the Four,⁵³ which were being produced by the School and had caused something of a stir in the city both as advertisements for the 1894 Art Club Exhibition and, more recently, in a Poster Exhibition put on by the Royal Glasgow Institute of Fine Arts.⁵⁴

During 1895, also, Newbery began to show his students' work in the company of established designers both at home and abroad. In April, the largest Arts and Crafts Exhibition yet mounted in the city was organised by Newbery, as convener of a committee of local artist-craftsmen. The overall scheme for the exhibition, which was held in the Queen's Rooms, La Belle Place, close to Kelvingrove Park, was designed by the architect, Fred Rowntree, and the decorative artist, George Walton, to look like a bazaar in a southern Spanish town. Newbery, however, had his students design and execute the shields, symbolic of the various crafts, which adorned the series of stalls devoted to these - occupying the perimeter of the main hall. How much student work was exhibited is not clear, but the Four, all of whom, excepting McNair, were now ex-students, were represented. The Macdonalds' entries were not described in the press but Mackintosh and McNair both showed furniture, whilst Mackintosh also exhibited seven wallpaper designs. Members of staff were also represented. These included John Macbeth, the School's bookbinding instructor, and Helen Walton, the ceramic painting teacher, as well as Jessie Newbery who herself showed examples of needlework, silverware and book design. Edinburgh was represented by members of the Edinburgh Social Union, whose involvement was signalled by the exhibition's being opened by Baldwin Brown. There were also a few English Arts and Crafts practitioners in evidence including Morris, Crane, Henry Holiday, Arthur Gaskin and the Silver Studio.⁵⁵

In the following month the School participated in an exhibition in Belgium. The *Exposition d'Art Appliqué*, run by the group *L'Oeuvre Artistique*, between 4 and 27 May at the Casino Gretry in Liège, included leading names in the burgeoning European decorative art movement, like Henry van de Velde, as well as the most prominent British designers. Contacts with Belgium had been established through the Glasgow painter James Guthrie,⁵⁶ at that time a governor of the School, an artist visitor and a judge at the students' Art Club exhibitions. The Glasgow School of Painters had already made a significant impact on the continent and the Liège exhibition established something of a pattern, followed later in Venice and Vienna, in which Glasgow's decorative art would follow in the wake of its painting.

Newbery sent 110 exhibits, in all, to Liège, representing all departments of the School's work, including hammered metalwork, needlework, stained glass and wallpaper designs, and posters.⁵⁷ That work by the Four was included is more than suggested by the description of some of the exhibits as possessing an Egyptian character and adding that their meaning was difficult to read. (Both points were later made in *the Studio* about their designs.)⁵⁸

Belgian commentators, artists and architects amongst them, were full of praise for the exhibits which reflected not only on the students but also on the teaching. The architect Paul Hankar, in his remark "the reign of the sacred Renaissance is no longer" saw the designs as representing an emancipation from the shackles of historicism,⁵⁹ and the architect and designer Gustav Serrurier-Bovy also praised the work as an obvious outcome of a liberal teaching regime from which Belgian School's could learn. In a letter to Newbery he remarked:

Our schools of art are far, very far indeed from being so advanced as yours, and what has above all astonished us in your work is the great liberty left to the pupils to follow their own individuality. Such is so different from the ideas current in our schools of art that it is difficult for us to comprehend this freedom though we admire it very much.

Newbery, with an eye to the School's reputation among its local constituency, had the letter printed in the Glasgow newspapers.⁶⁰

The following year, however, appears to have brought a more ambivalent response from the London public when Newbery sent a collection of works, mostly by the Four, to the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society. These constituted figure designs, mainly in hammered metalwork, from Mackintosh and the Macdonalds, as well as other examples of metalwork by the latter, and a hall settle by the former, together with some posters.⁶¹

The 1896 Arts and Crafts Exhibition has been given a particular significance in the history of the Glasgow Style, because it has been seen as a parting of the ways between Glasgow and the English Arts and Crafts movement: the latter's apparent rejection of the young Scottish designers being seen as evidence that the London group had ceased to be a progressive force whilst the Scots went on to act as a seminal influence in the development of the modern movement through their impact in Germany and Austria. Although the influence of Glasgow as a new force in the Germanic countries, beginning in the late 1890s, is not in dispute, doubt has to be cast on the accompanying conjecture that the Scots were openly rejected by the London movement. This particular piece of received wisdom probably originates with the German architect and art educationist Herman Muthesius, a close friend of the Newberys and the Mackintoshes. Muthesius wrote of the Glasgow designers:

The public at large gained their first sight of them at the Arts and Crafts Exhibition of 1896, where they suffered the ridicule that is always levelled at important artistic achievements...Indeed the London camp raised open objection that reached such a pitch that at the next exhibition in 1899 under the presidency of Walter Crane their pieces were refused. Thus the London movement made its position clear: it would take no part in furthering the new ideas, a stance it has maintained since the death of William Morris in 1896.⁶²

This account appears to be supported by the report on the Scots' contribution to the exhibition in *The Studio* which averred that: "Probably nothing in the gallery has provoked more decided censure than these various exhibits."⁶³

If Muthesius is to be believed, the censure came from the members of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society themselves, "the London camp" who, under the presidency of Walter Crane, refused their pieces submitted for the following exhibition in 1899. However, there are strong reasons for questioning this view, the most telling of which being the fact that Mackintosh and Margaret Macdonald did in fact show again in 1899.⁶⁴ Moreover, their pieces for both exhibitions had first to be approved by a selection committee.⁶⁵ As this committee included prominent members of the London camp, it hardly helps Muthesius' argument that they had chosen to allow the Glasgow exhibits into the 1896 show in the first place, if they were so thoroughly opposed to them. Moreover, the School's annual report for session 1895-6, tells a different story, claiming that the exhibits had received "good places and been favourably commented upon".⁶⁶

Indeed, apart from Muthesius' account, there would appear to be no documentary evidence that there was any concerted policy on the part of the London Arts and Crafts movement, against either the work of the Four or the Glasgow Style. The Glasgow School of Art was invited to send to the Arts and Crafts Exhibition of 1906⁶⁷ and Mackintosh and Margaret Macdonald showed further work by invitation from the Arts and Crafts Society's executive committee in 1916.⁶⁸ Furthermore Crane continued to have close links with the School and had a good relationship with Newbery. He often visited Glasgow as a design assessor of the student's work, even acting on a panel with Mackintosh,⁶⁹ and would stay with the Newberys on more than one occasion. On his death, in 1915, the Governors recorded his continued friendship with the School and bought an example of work at his studio sale, in memory of their long and close connection with him.⁷⁰ Another member of the London movement, the sculptor, George Frampton, had close links with the Glasgow School of Art, carving a relief sculpture of the Chairman, Sir James Fleming, for the staircase of its new building. There is no record of Frampton's complaining that his work was set in the Mackintosh frame which acts as an integral part of the design and relates it to its architectural context. The enamellist, Alexander Fisher, even seems to have preferred Mackintosh to Crane as a designer,⁷¹ and Voysey, who also acted as a design assessor in 1916 praised Newbery's students, to the detriment of their counterparts in other Scottish schools of art, for the non-revivalist nature of their work.⁷²

Thus, if there was some hostility to the Four's work, and it would be foolhardy to discount the evidence for it entirely, there was also very likely more praise for it than has come to light. Journalistic reaction to the show has been examined by Janice Helland and this also fails to support the received view that the Glasgow work was widely censured. It indicates rather that the pieces were met by a large measure of indifference. They were either ignored as not being by well-known artists or because they mainly consisted of craftwork, which genre tended to be summarily dealt with by the majority of reporters who did not possess the expertise to discuss it intelligently. The settle exhibited by Mackintosh was favourably noticed by the architectural papers who had some competence in discussing furniture as being "more architectural" than the other crafts. Where the other exhibits were noticed at all, opinion was equally divided between praise and censure, but the Glasgow exhibits did not particularly enjoy a monopoly of the latter reaction.⁷³

The Studio's report which did attempt to discuss the craftwork on display in some detail, thus, remains the fullest response to the Glasgow exhibits and may well, in its combination of praise and puzzlement, (already noticed among the Belgian commentators on the Liège show) be fairly representative of the reaction of much of the London movement. The unsigned *Studio* article chose to discuss the stylistic content of the Glasgow exhibits in relation to its conventionalisation of the figure, rather than their workmanship, a point which suggests that it found no fault with the latter. This point is borne out if the review is taken together with a later series of articles, also in *The Studio*, written by the review's probable author, Gleeson White, who praised both the workmanship and the general design principles exhibited by the pieces as sound. Observing that: "...the work of all Glasgow school designers is singularly free from vulgarity, redundancy of ornament, and misapplication of material".⁷⁴ and went so far as to praise the Macdonald sisters for their craftsmanship in hammered metalwork.⁷⁵

The Macdonald sisters, who, White noticed, were accustomed to "receive the first missiles which are so liberally hurled at the coterie of artists"⁷⁶ were, however, particularly singled out in *The Studio's* exhibition review for the eccentricity of their designs, which it claimed had merited the label "the spooky school" and which appeared to indicate some strange informing symbolic system of magic or ritual. It noted that it was "the weird travesties of humanity", in which the modelling of the draperies linked the rest of the figures to "faces of weird import" making it hard to disentangle the lines which belonged to the figures from those which contributed in a more abstract way to the design, which caused most confusion to the viewers.⁷⁷ Gleeson White, however, observed perceptively that the designers were primarily interested in formal values, noting that he was "driven to believe that the very individual manner in which (the designers) have elected to express their sense of beauty is really the outcome of the feeling they have towards the arrangement of lines and masses": and acknowledging that they had proved "themselves able to make beautiful patterns, of good colour, and decoration that is really decorative".⁷⁸

White's *Studio* articles on the Glasgow designers evinced a great deal of interest in their work on the Continent, particularly in Vienna, where the Secession would invite Mackintosh and Margaret Macdonald to exhibit in 1900. So powerful was their impact for a time that the capital of British design was seen by some European commentators to have shifted from London to Glasgow.⁷⁹ Newbery must have played a significant part in the development of relations with Continental centres, and by the early 1900s had established links with many of the leading architects, artists and designers, especially those like Muthesius and Peter Behrens, who were involved in art education. Further, the Glasgow Style became part of the leading-edge of European artistic culture and Newbery's own work along with that of his staff and students would appear in several of the new European periodicals which had sprung up in the wake of *The Studio*.⁸⁰

Following the 1896 Arts and Crafts Exhibition, Newbery continued to busy himself in promoting his student's work on the Continent. The work of the Four, together with other Glasgow School of Art designers, was shown at the Venice *Biennale* in 1899 under Newbery's auspices⁸¹ and the School sent twenty-four exhibits to the Paris Universal Exhibition in 1900, for which it won a gold medal.⁸² The School's work was also represented at Glasgow's own International Exhibition in 1901 where the embroidery work of Jessie Newbery's department won particular praise for its "distinctly

modern feeling".⁸³ As a result of the Glasgow Exhibition, Newbery was also asked to act on the selection committee for British work to be sent to an exhibition in Budapest. The Scottish contingent, which was largely drawn from that shown at the Glasgow International, again included a selection of exhibits from the School.⁸⁴

Newbery's greatest triumph, however, was the Turin Exhibition of 1902, when he acted as overall co-ordinator of the Scottish Section. The section, which was designed by Mackintosh, included a large body of work by the Four, as well as many exhibits from the School, from the Glasgow furnishers Wylie and Lochhead, and the Glasgow Style designer Talwin Morris. As a result of his work Newbery received a diploma of honour from the judges and a knighthood from the Italian government (*Cavaliere Ufficiale dell'Ordine della Corona d'Italia*).⁸⁵

The Turin Exhibition saw the Glasgow Style at its apogee, Mackintosh's stunning arrangement of the Scottish Section demonstrating that the Scots had gone beyond the aspirations of the London Arts and Crafts movement which had acted as their inspiration. Newbery, who wrote two reviews of the English Section, which had been designed by Crane and which contained the work of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, was quite clear in what the new advances consisted. His criticism was that the English, whilst showing some of the best pieces in the whole exhibition, had not shown them to good effect because they had arranged them "without idea and without scheme, instead of being a selection of art work, related by beauty and through utility to its purpose".⁸⁶ Unlike in the Scottish, German and other Sections, Crane had not attempted to arrange his objects in reference to a wider architectural context and this, according to Newbery, was "a sin" which was common to all English exhibitions from the Arts and Crafts to South Kensington. In fact, for Newbery's friend Muthesius, this identified the one great difference between the "London camp" on the one hand and the Scots and continentals on the other. According to Muthesius the English had ceased to be a progressive force after Morris's death in 1896 because they had "forborne to draw the ultimate conclusion that must consist in regarding the interior with all its contents as an autonomous work of art", and he endorsed Newbery's point on the arrangement of exhibitions by observing that "a complete room has never yet been exhibited at an Arts and Crafts movement exhibition in London".⁸⁷ The need to treat the interior and its contents as an architectonic whole which was discovered by Mackintosh and his continental colleagues was the logical fulfilment of British design theory, which had been promoted by South Kensington and the government schools of design for more than half a century; and it is ironic that so many British designers with their claim that architecture was the mother of the arts seemed to have been unable to make the connection.

The Glasgow Style, Continental Art Nouveau and the English Critics

A further problem which must be addressed in any attempt to come to an understanding of the relationship of the Glasgow Style to the English and continental movements has been the stylistic association of the former with continental art nouveau. The association of Mackintosh's work with continental new art, amongst critics, goes back at least as far as 1901 in England, and the connection was also being made in Glasgow itself by 1908, if not earlier.⁸⁸ However it is quite clear that both Mackintosh and

Newbery repudiated any connection of the style that they had helped to foster, with art nouveau, which they disliked.⁸⁹

That the Glasgow Style shared many characteristics and some similarities of aim with other national new art styles around 1900, is beyond question. All the new art styles, including the Glasgow Style, were national in terms of their search for roots in local traditions; all quoted from nature as a source; and all, to different extents, sought to create a modern form-language which broke free from historical styles. All, at some stage in their development, shared an interest in the whiplash-curve, and some, notably in Glasgow and Austria, evolved their formal expression to a stage where rectilinearity predominated; many, though almost never the Glasgow Style, made a feature of asymmetrical compositions; and most, as Muthesius pointed out, showed an interest in the interior as an artistic whole.

Many of these characteristics were also shared by the English Arts and Crafts movement some of whose designers were not averse to using the whiplash-curve, but who, along with the Glasgow School, employed it sparingly or moderated it.⁹⁰ Some of them had also gone so far as to treat the room as an artistic unity. (Muthesius praised Baillie Scott and, to some extent, Voysey for this.) The English movement, however, in its concentration on utility and rationality fought shy of attempting to create a new decorative style, either clinging to eclecticism or striving to abolish style altogether.

Art nouveau seems to have been popularly identified in the contemporary media as a style at the time of the 1900 Paris Exhibition, as the result of a great outcry among English architects, designers, and artists against the presentation of a collection of furniture from the Exhibition by George Donaldson, one of the committee of judges, to the Victoria and Albert Museum. What was objected to was that the Museum was an educational institution and that the furniture would, through its circulation to different manufacturing centres, be used as an educational tool. Its unsuitability for this was pointed out by the objectors who maintained that it failed to observe the cardinal principles of good design: not expressing the lines of construction but rather obscuring them; neglecting to respect the natural qualities of materials employed, in particular using wood as if it were metal; striving after novelty as its main motive; and being characterised throughout by "a fidgety, vulgar obtrusiveness quite destructive of all dignity and repose". There was also some comment on inferior craftsmanship.⁹¹ It has already been noted that the Four's work was praised by Gleeson White for its adherence to several of these principles and could hardly be criticised for being fidgety or destructive of repose, as a decorative style. The only area of contention was that it could be accused of a conscious striving after novelty and eccentricity for its own sake, but given Newbery's own warnings against designers making this their chief objective, it is unlikely that this was ever the main motive of Glasgow work.

The best clue that remains to Newbery and Mackintosh's perception of continental new art is provided by George Walton, who worked with Mackintosh in Glasgow in the 1890s on two highly innovative tea room commissions. He maintained that his and Mackintosh's work had interested Dutch and Austrian architects, "but unfortunately the movement after being distorted and twisted returned from Austria through Paris and finished in "*l'art nouveau*"".⁹² Walter Crane probably put his finger on one of the main reasons for a general British objection to art nouveau when he said that "its

characteristic forms seemed to lend themselves to exploitation by commercialism".⁹³ They were too easy for the amateur and fashion-monger to master; and one point that Newbery had made, along with countless other British commentators on design, was that fashionable novelty was no substitute for quality, which he equated with the individual expression of an educated artist designer. Thus, if the Glasgow work might have been associated in some people's minds with the art nouveau "craze" it was probably better understood by some like George Frampton, who expressed the opinion that he found it more interesting and instructive to discuss "the great rise of individual thought and effort in art matters in England and Scotland" than art nouveau.⁹⁴

In the last analysis, for Newbery, Mackintosh, Walton, and the English movement the making of a style, other than a personal one, was not really the issue. Newbery's emphasis on individuality made him inimical to style where it could be equated with a packaged form-language to be bought off-the-peg and used by any decorator or architect. Such, for him, could never be a living thing. This attitude was also central to Mackintosh's aphorism appropriated from Sedding: "There is hope in honest error, none in the icy perfections of the mere stylist", and was at the core of Newbery's own approving comment on Mackintosh that he had had "the temerity to think that architecture does not live by imitation but by evolution".⁹⁵ Indeed, Mackintosh and Walton both continued to develop their own personal means of expression throughout their careers, seeking formal solutions beyond the Glasgow Style; Mackintosh, in particular, refusing, unlike so many other British architects and designers, to return to an overt reinterpretation of old form-languages.

It is ironic that Mackintosh, the student who most clearly fulfilled his headmaster's educational ideals, should experience so little comparative success in Britain. Muthesius, a perceptive critic of Mackintosh, perhaps suggests an answer. Whilst praising Mackintosh for his interiors, claiming that they were "milestones placed by a genius far ahead of us to mark the way to excellence for mankind in the future", he believed that Mackintosh's work was too aesthetically-charged to allow anything from a more mundane level of existence into its presence.⁹⁶ Indeed, Newbery, himself, although he also recognised his ex-pupil as "a man of genius",⁹⁷ preferred to keep his own domestic surroundings firmly under his own control, choosing, generally, to furnish his flats in a more eclectic manner with traditional furniture.⁹⁸ This, more than any other factor, may have been the reason why the work of the greatest Glasgow Style designer did not prove more popular. The very artistic individuality which Newbery had nurtured, tended to deny all other individualities the freedom to express themselves.

Notes

GSA = Glasgow School of Art

GSAA= Glasgow School of Art Archives
NLS = National Library of Scotland

1. J. Taylor, 'Glasgow School of Art' in Charles Holme, editor. Arts and Crafts: a review of the work executed by students in the leading Art Schools of Great Britain and Ireland (London: The Studio, 1916), pp.124-5.
2. NLS, Acc.10425, Cecile Walton, 'More lives than one', unpublished typescript dated Kirkcudbright, 1951, p.81.
3. Ibid., p.250.
4. Bridport Museum, Newbery File. Mary Newbery Sturrock. Letter to Frances Reynolds.
5. GSAA, GSA, Printed Ephemera book, 1926-48. The lines were written during the Newbery period and are part of a verse from a song about the School entitled 'There is a Temple in the Town', written to be sung to the tune 'There is a Tavern in the Town'.
6. Davidson Family Collection, Peter Wylie Davidson, [Unpublished autobiography], 1963, pp.44-5.
7. The Artist, (1 November 1882), p.340.
8. GSAA, GSA Press Cuttings 1864-1897, p.18. Simmonds' club had as its purpose the encouragement of young artists, the promotion of art education, and the improvement of members by mutual criticism. It was open to outsiders at an increased rate of subscription and "ladies were eligible as members".
9. The Artist, (January 1886), pp.28-30.
10. Glasgow Evening News, 2 November 1894 claimed that the Glasgow School of Art Club at Home of 1894 would "be one of the events socially in local artistic circles" of the season: quoted from Janice Helland, The Studios of Frances and Margaret Macdonald (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p.40.
11. North British Daily Mail, 9 November, 1894. Newbery here stated that the Club "existed in a semi-independent manner from the School although that could not be said five years ago".
12. GM, Davidson, [Unpublished autobiography], pp.44 et seq..
13. GSAA, GSA Press Cuttings Books contain Reports of Club prize givings and the names of judges.
14. GSAA, GSA Annual Report 1885-6, p.11.
15. GSAA, GSA Press Cuttings, 1864-1896, p.74, undated and unattributed cutting.
16. GSAA, GSA, Printed ephemera book, 1890-9, [unpaginated] gives a list of subjects for 1895 with regulations.
17. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report, (1895), p.7.
18. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence, 1883-1887, pp.408-411.
19. GSAA, GSA, Loans book, no pagination. Loans of photographs of Poynter's work which included his *Venus*, his *Andromeda*, and *October*, a design for the South Kensington Grill Room, were made in 1887-88 and 1889-90.
20. GSAA, Newbery, Press Cuttings, p.31. Unattributed undated report of a Newbery Lecture "Art in School" given to the Glasgow Branch of the Educational Institute of Scotland.
21. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence, 1891-4, p.241: list of prizes and prize winners.
22. GSAA, Newbery, Press Cuttings, p.18, unattributed undated cutting referring to the 1888 Art Club exhibition in which Holmes is said to have exhibited paintings in a Pre-Raphaelite style.
23. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence to Department of Science and Art, 1882-

- 1887, p. 802. Letter dated 13 September 1886.
24. Isobel Spencer, 'Francis Newbery and the Glasgow Style', Apollo (October, 1973), 286-293 (p.290).
25. William Morris, 'Preface', in Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, Arts and Crafts Essays (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893), pp.v-xiii (p.x).
26. John D. Sedding, 'Design', in Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, Arts and Crafts Essays (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893), pp.405-413 (p.412).
27. GSAA, GSA, Registers, 1883-1897.
28. GSAA, GSA, Annual Reports (1887-1895) . In his architectural awards (National bronze, silver and gold medals as well as the Alexander 'Greek' Thomson travelling scholarship) Mackintosh had demonstrated that he could work both in a classical and a gothic idiom and that he could combine different stylistic sources to good effect. Frances Macdonald had been acknowledged for her ability as a figure designer when she won a bronze medal in the 1892 National Competition. -GSA, Annual Report, (1893), p.13. Frances' medal was for Stage 23d (figure design) for a design for a majolica plate. The judges were William Morris, Lewis F. Day and Frederick Shields.
29. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence to Department of Science and Art, 1890-1894, [annual lists of works sent to South Kensington for examination and art claims] gives information on classes attended by the sisters.
30. Jessie Newbery, 'Foreword: a Memory of Mackintosh in Charles Rennie Mackintosh, Margaret Macdonald Mackintosh' in Charles Rennie Mackintosh, Margaret Macdonald Mackintosh: Memorial Exhibition catalogue (Glasgow: MacLellan Galleries, 1933), pp.1-2 (p.1).
31. Thomas Howarth, Charles Rennie Mackintosh and the Modern Movement, 2nd edition (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977), p.25. Howarth acquired this information in separate interviews with Newbery and Herbert McNair.
32. GSAA, 'The Magazine', (November 1893) only had a contribution from one member of the Four, Frances Macdonald.
33. Jessie Newbery, 'Foreword', p.1, first uses "The Four" as a description of the group.
34. Stephan Tschudi Madsen, Sources of Art Nouveau (New York: Da Capo Press, 1975) p.285, footnote. The School of Art Club had an annual competition for posters advertising its club show. This probably included programmes and invitation cards.
35. GSAA, 'The Magazine' (November 1893), p.1.
36. 'An interview with Mr. Charles F. Annesley Voysey, architect and Designer', The Studio, 1, (1893), 231-237 (p.231).
37. Howarth, Charles Rennie Mackintosh and the Modern Movement, pp.223-257; and Jude Burkhauser, editor, Glasgow Girls: Women in Art and Design, 1880-1920 (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1990), pp.81-95 for discussions of the Four's stylistic sources.
38. Jessie Newbery, 'Foreword', p.1.
39. 'The Arts and Crafts Exhibition, 1896 (Third Notice)', The Studio, 9, (1896), 189-205 (p.202).
40. Walter Crane, Line & Form (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1900), pp.14-15.
41. Gleeson White, 'Some Glasgow Designers and their work , 1', The Studio, 11 (1897), 86-100 (p.99).
42. Gleeson White 'Some Glasgow Designers and their work, 3', The Studio, 12, (1898), 47-51 (p.48).
43. White, 'Some Glasgow Designers and their Work 1', p.90.
44. 'F.Elliot' (F.H. Newbery), 'The First Exhibition of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society', Scottish Art Review, 1, no. 6. (November 1888), 160-162 (p.162).

45. Burkhauser, Glasgow Girls, p.84.
46. Timothy Neat, Part Seen, Part Imagined: Meaning and Symbolism in the Work of Charles Rennie Mackintosh and Margaret Macdonald (Edinburgh: Canongate Press, 1994), p.164. Timothy Neat points out that this highly abstract design represents a thistle, an apt symbol for Scotland Street, and that the rectangular shapes which make up the image are derived from thistle seeds, representative of the pupils in the school who are the future of Scotland.
47. Madsen, Sources of Art Nouveau, p.288.
48. 'An Interview with Mr. Charles F. Annesley Voysey', p.233.
49. GSAA, GSA Correspondence to Department of Science and Art, 1887-1894, p.699: letter dated 6 June 1894. Photographs of several of these works were included in the April 1894 number of 'The Magazine'-GSAA. Despair was also mentioned as in progress in an article by Lucy Raeburn 'Round the Studios (October 1893)' in 'The Magazine', (Autumn 1893), p.22.
50. Jessie Newbery, 'Foreword', p.1.
51. Elizabeth Bird, 'Ghouls and Gaspipes: public reaction to the work of "The Four"', Scottish Art Review, 14, no.4 (1975), 13-28 and Janice Helland, The Studios of Frances and Margaret Macdonald (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), pp.36-47.
52. North British Daily Mail, 9 November 1894.
53. Glasgow Evening News, 22 May 1895.
54. Bird, 'Ghouls and Gaspipes', pp.15-16 and Helland, The Studios of Frances and Margaret Macdonald, pp.60-66.
55. Glasgow Herald, 8 April 1895.
56. GSAA, GSA Correspondence, 1894-1897, Letter dated 7 June 1895.
57. *L'Oeuvre Artistique*, Catalogue (Liège: May 1895), p.19. This does not enumerate the School's exhibits or name the artists responsible.
58. *La Meuse*, 25-26 Mai 1895: '*C'est ce reproche que l'on peut adresser aux placards de l'Ecole de Glasgow, dont le caractère pseudo-egyptien a impénétrabilité des hieroglyphes.*' and White, 'Some Glasgow Designers and their work', 1, p.88.
59. Madsen, Sources of Art Nouveau, p.285, footnote. quoting from a report written by Paul Hankar.
60. GSAA, GSA, Minutes 6 June 1895. Letter from Gustav Serrurier-Bovy dated 16 May 1895, also quoted in Howarth, Charles Rennie Mackintosh and the Modern Movement, p.37.
61. Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, Catalogue (1896). The posters, which were mentioned in *The Studio* report on p.202 (see note 61) were not included in the catalogue.
62. Hermann Muthesius, The English House (London: Crosby Lockwood Staples, 1979), p.51.
63. 'The Arts and Crafts Exhibition, 1896 (Third Notice)', p.204.
64. Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, Catalogue (1899). Mackintosh showed two chairs, one of which had a lacquer panel by Macdonald, cat. nos. 436 & 444. Muthesius' claim that their pieces were refused could, nevertheless, be true as other work apart from those exhibited may have been sent.
65. Archive of Art and Design, London. Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society. Minutes, 23 July 1896.
66. GSAA, GSA Annual Report (1897), p.5.
67. GSAA, F.H. Newbery Correspondence 1905-6. Letter dated 16 January 1906.

68. Janice Helland, 'The Critics and the Arts and Crafts: the Instance of Margaret Macdonald and Charles Rennie Mackintosh', Art History, 17, no.2, (June 1994), 209-227 (p.221).
69. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1911-1912), p.5.
70. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 18 March 1915 recorded that "in Mr Crane's death this institution has lost a friend whose artistic sympathy and personal interest were ever at the disposal alike of Governors staff and students".
71. De Courcy Lewthwaite Dewar, Correspondence, 9 September 1903. Referring to the design of some woodwork for an enamelled memorial on which Fisher was working, Dewar wrote: "I did not like the woodwork, neither did Mr. Fisher...although Walter Crane was the designer of it. Mr F said he wished they had given the woodwork to a Glasgow man to do. Of course he meant McIntosh [sic]".
72. GSAA, GSA minutes, 1914-16, p.174, K3
73. Helland, 'The Critics and the Arts and Crafts', p.216.
74. White, 'Some Glasgow Designers and their work ,1', p.90.
75. Ibid., p.91.
76. Ibid., p.90.
77. 'The Arts and Crafts Exhibition, 1896 (Third Notice)', p.202.
78. Ibid., p.204.
79. William Buchanan, Mackintosh's Masterwork: the Glasgow School of Art (Glasgow: Richard Drew, 1989) p.147, quoting P. Forthuny, 'L'Art Décoratif en Ecosse', Revue des Arts Décoratifs, 22, (1902), p.61 and Juliet Kinchin, 'Glasgow - Budapest, 1902', Charles Rennie Mackintosh Society Newsletter, no.41 (Autumn 1985), 4-6 (p.4) quoting from Magyar Iparművészet, (1902), p.98.
80. Howarth, Charles Rennie Mackintosh and the Modern Movement, pp.311-312. A Newbery painting adorned the cover of Jugend, no. 33 (1904) and Newbery wrote a review 'Morris, Walter Crane, Ashbee, Voysey et les Anglais à Turin,' in George Fuchs and F.H. Newbery, L'Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs Modernes à Turin 1902 (Darmstadt: Alexander Koch [1902]), pp.301-332.
81. Jude Burkhauser "'Sala M' Arte Decorativa Scozzese: Charles Rennie Mackintosh and the Glasgow Group at the Venice Biennale Exhibition of 1899', Charles Rennie Mackintosh Society Newsletter, no.50 (Spring 1992), pp.9-13.
82. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence, 1897-1904, pp.208-209. This gives a list of work sent. The School's contribution was part of a larger contingent of eighty-four works from several Scottish art schools and mostly consisted of drawings and designs on paper from current staff and students and did not include work by the Four. Only two examples of craftwork (in beaten metal) were included.
83. 'Glasgow International Exhibition, part 2', The Studio, 23 (1901), 165-173 (p.169).
84. Kinchin, 'Glasgow-Budapest 1902', pp.4-6. Newbery had acted as convener of the Architecture and Sculpture Committees for the 1901 Glasgow Exhibition and had been convener of the Sculpture Committee for the 1888 Exhibition.
85. Howarth, Charles Rennie Mackintosh and the Modern Movement, p.167.
86. F. H. Newbery 'The International Exhibition of Modern Decorative Art at Turin. The English Section', The Studio, 27, (1902), p.254.
87. Muthesius, The English House, p.51.
88. H.J. Jennings, Our Homes and how to beautify them (London: Harrison & Sons, 1902) pp.57-61 This appears to be the only contemporary source which links Mackintosh's work pejoratively with continental tendencies. Jennings used an illustration of a Mackintosh interior as an example of "Scotto-Continental New Art"

which he accused of “hooliganism in art”. Jennings, however, was hardly a reliable critic. His book seems to have been prepared as a not very covert advertisement for the furnishing firm Waring and Gillow whose own “art nouveau” interiors it both identified by that name and praised. These, if anything, were no less “eccentric” and were certainly less well designed than Mackintosh's dining room from the House of the Art Lover which Jennings had used as his illustration. By 1908 Glasgow architectural students were referring to Mackintosh's School of Art building as “Art Nouveau”-The Vista: the Quarterly Magazine of the Glasgow School of Architecture Club, 1, no.1, (May 1908), p.79.

89. June Bedford and Ivor Davies ‘Remembering Charles Rennie Mackintosh: a recorded interview with Mrs. Mary Sturrock [Newbery's daughter]’, Connoisseur, 183 (1973), p.282.

90. Madsen, Sources of Art Nouveau, p.39 observes that the Glasgow designers used longer, less abruptly bent, curves than the French producing an effect of greater restfulness. This allowed them to achieve the effect of quiet repose, an essential element in the British design aesthetic and something which was not present in many Continental interiors.

91. ‘L'Art Nouveau: what it is and what is thought of it. A Symposium-1’, Magazine of Art, (1904), 209-213 (p.210). T.G.Jackson summarising the objections to the style of Sir William Richmond, Onslow Ford, Walter Crane and himself. Others who had written to the press independently, making similar points, included Lewis F. Day in The Manchester Guardian, 27 June 1901 and John Belcher, Reginald Blomfield, E.S. Prior and Mervyn Macartney in The Times, 15 July 1901.

92. Karen Moon, George Walton: designer and architect (Oxford: White Cockade, 1993) p.180.

93. ‘L'Art Nouveau: what it is...-1’, p.211: Walter Crane's objections.

94. ‘L'Art Nouveau: what it is and what is thought of it: a Symposium-2’, Magazine of Art, (1904), 259-264 (p.264): George Frampton's views.

95. GSAA, F.H. Newbery, Correspondence, 1916. Letter to *The Daily News* dated 23 October 1916.

96. Muthesius, The English House, p.52.

97. GSAA, Newbery, undated letter in July section of GSA, Correspondence, 1915.

98. June Bedford and Ivor Davies, ‘Remembering Charles Rennie Mackintosh’, p.281. Mary Sturrock recalled that her mother “wanted all our furniture to be done by Mackintosh but Daddy wouldn't throw away his nice old stuff”.

CHAPTER 8

THE BUILDING OF A NEW SCHOOL

One of the achievements of Newbery's period as headmaster at Glasgow School of Art was the rehousing of the institution in a magnificent new building which surpassed any previous British art school in its accommodation.¹ The erection of the building in Newbery's time was the final outcome of the chain of events set in train by Simmonds and was made possible in the mid 1890s, rather than at any earlier time, by the fortuitous availability of a large grant to start the work. The main credit for ensuring that the work was brought to completion should go to Newbery's chairman, James Fleming, whose pivotal role in the provision of finances Newbery would never tire of pointing out.² Newbery's part, however, was also an essential one. For it was he who drew up the accommodation requirements and consulted with the architect over the carrying out of his plans. He thus had a more crucial influence on the character of the actual building than anyone else apart from the architect, Charles Rennie Mackintosh, himself.

Background Negotiations and Money Raising

Newbery's appointment saw no fundamental change in the course that Simmonds had set towards ameliorating the School's accommodation problems. The ideal solution of new purpose-built premises as part of a municipal museum and art gallery was still energetically sought, alongside the more short-term measure of increased accommodation in the present building. Simmonds' methods of enlisting the support of influential people to present the School's arguments also continued to be employed.

In 1887, at the School's Annual Public meeting, the Lord Provost, James King, a supporter of the School's case, pointed out how badly-housed the institution was in comparison with other educational establishments in the city.³ Later in the same year, in a draft memorial to the Town Council, prepared for the renewal of its lease on its premises, the School made a plea for increased accommodation including the whole, or at least a part, of the top flat in the Corporation Galleries. This, it maintained, would bring the School's accommodation up to the level enjoyed by some classes run by the School Board. It added, however, that it looked forward to being included in any scheme for a purpose-built museum and art gallery which the Council might promote.⁴

The Annual Meeting of 1888 was addressed by James Alexander Campbell M.P., one of the School's vice-presidents, who, acting as the institution's mouthpiece, used the results of a survey of other art schools which the School had undertaken, to show how badly-served it was by its local constituency in terms of financial support and accommodation.⁵ Campbell was even ready to take a lead in rectifying the situation by privately offering the School £1000 towards a building fund, an offer which was not taken up.⁶ He had also promoted the School's interests when the Corporation proposed to use any surplus money from the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888 to build an art gallery, going so far as to argue that the city was more in need of an art school than a new gallery.⁷ In this connection, by late 1888, the governors themselves had established a sub-committee to draw up a memorial for submission to the Executive of the International Exhibition, with the purpose of obtaining a proportion of its surplus towards the building of a school as part of an art gallery complex.⁸ The institution had powerful friends on the Executive including both James King and the School's new chairman, James Fleming.⁹ It is unclear whether the memorial was ever submitted but conversations were held between Fleming and John Carrick, the city architect, in which the School's accommodation needs were discussed.¹⁰ By September 1889 the inclusion of an art school in a new art gallery complex on the International Exhibition site in Kelvingrove Park was being actively discussed between a Town Council sub-committee and a sub-committee, on which Fleming served, of the Exhibition Executive.¹¹ In 1891 a preliminary competition was organised by the Association for the Promotion of Art and Music in the City of Glasgow (a body composed of members of the Executive of the International Exhibition and of the Town Council which had been formed as a result of the joint deliberations). This had members from the School governors, and Fleming served on its finance committee, which was given the task of raising subscriptions.¹² The preliminary competition scheme, again, included accommodation for a school of art.¹³ Before arrangements could be agreed for its inclusion in the final competition, however, the Association advised the School that it would be necessary for the latter to negotiate its terms of tenure in the future building with the Town Council.¹⁴ In November 1891, however, the Parks and Galleries Committee of the Council reached a decision not to include an art school in the final plans. As a consolation they offered the

School the whole of the upper floor of its present premises at a nominal rent, to be occupied at such time as the new galleries had been built.¹⁵

Although this disappointing decision meant the end of the School's efforts to solve its accommodation problems as part of a municipal art gallery, another opportunity, which would eventually lead to its establishing its own autonomous premises, was to present itself in April 1892. This came in the shape of a bequest fund set up by the Messrs. Steven of Bellahouston. The trustees of the fund were empowered to assist in founding and endowing educational institutions for giving scientific and technical instruction. In its application to the fund made in September, the School asked for help in several areas. These included: an endowment of £10,000 to provide for the running of their institution; some £2,000 for casts and apparatus; some £375 per annum for bursaries; and £15,000 to £20,000 towards "a new building fitted with modern requirements".¹⁶

Nothing came of the application until March 1894 when the Trustees intimated to the School that they might be prepared to give "a considerable sum" towards a building if a scheme for proper premises of a permanent character could be presented to them. Accordingly, Newbery and two of the architect governors, W. Forrest Salmon and John James Burnet, were asked by their colleagues on the board to estimate the floorage required for a complete school, to make a rough estimate of the cost of a building and to enquire as to the availability of sites in the city centre.¹⁷ The preferred site was an adjacent one on Renfrew Street, belonging to the Scottish Imperial Insurance Company, which, Catterns pointed out, had previously been considered as suitable for the joint scheme for an art gallery, library and art school in 1882.¹⁸ Consequently, the Trust agreed to purchase this from the Insurance Company for £6000 and would present it to the School as soon as the latter had been able to raise an equivalent sum from other sources. Along with the ground, the Trust would also give a further grant of £4000, making £10,000 available to start building operations.¹⁹

James Fleming used the next Annual Public meeting in February 1895 to launch a public appeal, pointing out that the present accommodation was overstretched, especially in regard to its evening classes, and that a minimum of £20,000 (inclusive of site) would be required to build a new school.²⁰ At the same time, statistics were sought from several other municipally funded schools of art in support of a case to be made to the Town Council for a grant, and certain governors began making enquiries of individual members of the Council to enlist their help.²¹ In its approach, the School was able to use its relations with the Council over the new Art Galleries project as a bargaining counter, pointing out that several people had only subscribed to that building on the understanding that it would include a school of art.²² In the eventuality the Corporation offered a grant of £5000 on condition that the whole expected sum of £21,000 could be raised for the erection of "a plain building affording accommodation equal to that at present in use".²³

By March 1896 the hoped-for £6,000 was raised from the public and Newbery was asked to prepare a block plan showing how the whole site might be utilised, giving accommodation requirements and approximate dimensions of classrooms and indicating how much of the building might be constructed immediately. It seems unlikely that Newbery was assisted in this by any of the architect governors, as the minutes would have recorded this fact. Further, as the headmaster, with the greatest knowledge of the

School's educational requirements, and as a man with some architectural expertise, he was the obvious choice for such a task. The information which Newbery supplied was to form the basis on which a building committee, with Fleming as its chairman, would draw up the conditions for a limited competition of local architects. The governors had placed a limit of £14,000 on the cost of the building and Sir James King and Sir William Renny Watson, the latter as the chairman of the Bellahouston Trust, were appointed as assessors with powers to call in professional advice.²⁴

Newbery's Plan

In drawing up his schedule of accommodation,²⁵ Newbery was conscious of the Department's guidelines for the erection of schools of art, and could draw on his knowledge of accommodation in existing schools. He also had to adapt his requirements to the needs of the long narrow site, and to those of the Department's curriculum.

As accommodation was inspected for its fitness by the Department and as the latter also offered a grant of up to £500 to every new building it approved, it was important that Newbery should ensure that his schedule complied with its requirements. These, which were based on the needs of a school of fifty students, stipulated that there be at least one classroom for the figure (whether antique or life), one elementary room, and one modelling room, as well as accommodation for masters, a kitchen and bedroom for an attendant, lavatories, and a cloakroom for female students. Beyond this the number of rooms was to depend on local circumstances and the different subjects to be taught. All rooms had to be accessible via a corridor and staircase, which latter should not pass through them, and adjacent rooms were expected to communicate with one another directly as well as by passages. The rooms for figure drawing and painting had to be well-lit from the north and the windows had to be large, at least three quarters the depth of the room in height, with no small panes or mullions. Minimum dimensions were also laid down for ceiling height, and good ventilation was insisted upon.²⁶

Newbery's plan for a school with a student population over ten times the size of the Department's example,²⁷ in the three areas covered in the Department's regulations, complied with its requirements extremely well. The Department recommended 1,380 square feet in classroom area, whilst Newbery provided some 13,305 square feet. However, in addition to the figure, modelling, and elementary teaching, Newbery provided another 8,870 square feet of classrooms for architecture, design, still-life, flower painting, and technical studios. There were also to be two lecture theatres, a library, and a museum.

Newbery's stipulations for accommodation were rational and very exact. Having required that the north facade be reserved for classrooms, he proceeded to specify the rooms and their recommended dimensions and the respective floors which they would occupy. The site, in one important respect, was an ideal one for a Victorian art school with a long northern frontage of almost 250 feet and Newbery, who had spent ten years conducting classes in a predominately south-facing building, recommended that this facade should, as far as possible, be occupied by classrooms (even if, in accordance with the Department's regulations, he left this optional for all but the figure studios.) Thus, the life and antique rooms, which most needed steady natural light were to be given the

best conditions on the upper floor, as was still life painting. Newbery stipulated that these should have large square headed windows in the length of the room and in accordance with the Department's requirements, that the tops of these should be "at a height above the floor equal to $\frac{3}{4}$ the depth of the room" and that they should be "free from mullions and small panes". At the centre of this floor Newbery also located the headmaster's room with a north-lit studio. On the same floor he asked for a board room with staff studios above.

The classrooms for architecture, design, and ornament were to occupy the ground floor as, presumably, was the main entrance with janitor's office and an adjacent materials store. In the basement were the modelling rooms, technical studios and janitor's house which last had to be close to a side street entrance. At the centre of this floor were the heating chamber, coal store, and store rooms. The painting studios (flower painting and still-life) were to be partly on the upper and partly on the ground floors. The only accommodation which had not been placed on a specific floor were the staff rooms, lavatories and luncheon rooms.

Further to this, the classrooms were to be grouped together according to their specialisms (for example the two antique rooms - for elementary and advanced instruction - were to be adjacent to one another, separated only by a moveable partition). The architectural rooms and the ornament rooms were to be each near to one of the two lecture theatres. This reflected the reliance of these two subject areas on classroom teaching and blackboard demonstrations. The flower painting room was to be equipped with a south-facing conservatory and the design room was to be made to lie next to the library so that the School's collection of examples of ornament, in folios and books, could be more easily available. The modelling rooms were to be accessible from a side street entrance to be convenient for the bringing in of heavy materials.

In accordance with the School's practice, all classes were to be for both sexes, with the exception of the life school. In order to preserve decorum outside classes, however, the luncheon rooms were single-sex. The public areas of the School were also to be made useful for teaching purposes; the corridors having to be at least 10 feet wide, well-lit, and with good wall spaces for the chronological arrangement of casts and the periodical exhibition of students' works. The staircase was to be at the centre of the building and to be connected to a School museum.

The accommodation had been arranged by Newbery to cater to the requirements of the National Course of Instruction as it was being applied in the School in the 1890s. Throughout, there was an emphasis on the advanced nature of the School's teaching in contradistinction to the more elementary tuition provided elsewhere in the city. This is made most clear in the fact that Newbery did not provide for an elementary room as such, even though it was part of the Department's requirements. Elementary teaching, as the Department understood it, mainly consisted in drawing from the flat, which Newbery had either discarded or managed to circumvent. His elementary teaching, on the other hand, was firmly tied-in with the teaching of ornament and the figure from the cast. Thus, both the ornament and antique sections were to have elementary and advanced classrooms.

Apart from the daylighting of the School, there was one other area where Newbery indicated in his plans that he had learnt from his experience in the Corporation Galleries: the new building was to be lit by electricity. The School's accommodation in the Corporation Galleries had suffered badly from poor ventilation which was aggravated by its gas lighting. This in turn had made it necessary for large parts of the interior to be repainted each summer. As the picture galleries within the block where the School had its existing accommodation were already lit by electricity, and the new building would only be across the street, it would be an easy matter for cables to be laid to provide this service.²⁸

The Competition

Having been approved by the building committee and after being passed by the authorities at South Kensington,²⁹ Newbery's schedule was incorporated into the competition conditions which were then printed and, together with a site plan, sent out to the selected architectural firms.

Many of the eleven firms which took part had close links with the School: H. E. Clifford; J.J. Burnet; William James Anderson; John Keppie and Charles Rennie Mackintosh (of Honeyman and Keppie); the partners William Tate Conner and Henry Mitchell; and Hugh Barclay of H. & J. Barclay, were all recent ex-students. The first four of these had also taught in the architectural classes and J.J. Burnet was also a governor. Another governor who competed was William Forrest Salmon who, along with Burnet, resigned *pro tempore*. Alexander McGibbon, another competitor, had given lectures in the School and had already been responsible for the fitting out of the technical studios in the present premises. The other entrants: T.L. Watson; Alexander N. Paterson; and Malcolm Stark and Rowntree, were all Glasgow firms.

There was some disagreement over the conditions of the competition on the part of the architects who pointed out to the governors that £14000 was too small a sum for the building of a complete school on the contemplated site which occupied a steep slope and required a considerable amount of underbuilding. As a result, the latter agreed to the competitors' indicating which portion of their plans could be completed for the sum,³⁰ leaving the remainder to be built when funds permitted.

There is a persistent legend that it was Newbery who was mainly responsible for the plans submitted by Honeyman and Keppie, to the design of their draughtsman Charles Rennie Mackintosh, winning the competition, it being inferred that the progressive Newbery was ready to support Mackintosh's revolutionary scheme in the teeth of conservative opposition. The available evidence, however, suggests the different conclusion: that Mackintosh's plans won because they best fulfilled the rational requirements of the competition conditions. However, the fact that Newbery played a part in the selection procedure is beyond question.

After the entries had been sent in on 1 October, they were kept in a locked room in the School, awaiting the inspection of the assessors. This was arranged for the afternoon of 19 October.³¹ However, having seen the plans, Watson and King asked Catterns to request Newbery to inspect and give his opinion on the entries, indicating which he

regarded as the most suitable as a reduced plan and as a completed whole. Newbery, accordingly, gave his judgement to the assessors in the presence of the drawings.³² Subsequently, the plans were sent to South Kensington for the inspection of Thomas Armstrong, Director for Art, and Major General Festing, F.R.S., of the Science Museum, who, like Newbery and the Glasgow assessors selected Honeyman and Keppie's plans as the winners.³³ Thus, even if Newbery's advice had helped the assessors to decide for his chosen scheme, the fact that their decision was endorsed by the South Kensington authorities hardly suggests that Newbery was going out on a limb in advising such a choice.

The 1897 Plans Compared with Existing Major British Schools of Art

The recommended measurements of the rooms and their placing in subject groups, together with the guidelines as to the different floors, on which most of the specialisms might be located, seems to have left the competing architects little room for manoeuvre. Indeed, the closeness of the winning entry to Newbery's South Kensington approved schedule of accommodation may have been the major reason why it was placed first. In the schedule which accompanied their plans Honeyman and Keppie had stated:

The accommodation has been arranged as far as possible according to the sizes and position suggested in the conditions of competition.³⁴

The firm's plan must also have appealed to the judges because of its rationality and its concern for keeping costs to a minimum by the exclusion of unnecessary ornament. As they stated further:

It has been the endeavour to make the building express the purpose for which it is intended by a frank acceptance of the requirements and a moulding of these into such form as they think has produced a result which is pleasing in proportion and in which the useless expenditure of money on mere embellishments has played no part.³⁵

In terms of the accommodation provided, the winning scheme reflected Newbery's conditions very closely (figure 1). It differed in only two respects. Firstly, it placed the architectural department in the basement, as opposed to the ground floor. This was in preference to the alternative solution of placing the library and the associated design room in the basement and allowed the library to be more accessible to all departments of the School. (Newbery's request that all three sets of accommodation be placed on the ground floor must not have been feasible). Secondly, Mackintosh was also able to make space for two rooms not provided for in the conditions: a students' common room, which could be used as the meeting place of the School of Art Club, and an anatomy room, which, Newbery had left out of consideration and which the architect maintained, was "an essential to a properly equipped school of art".³⁶

In their plans, Newbery and Mackintosh would both have had other art school buildings in mind. Newbery, for example, was familiar with the National Art Training School at South Kensington and had visited both the Manchester and Birmingham Schools of Art in 1893. At that date the latter was probably the best equipped school in the country

with a new wing, nearing completion at the time of Newbery's visit, with a planned group of “art laboratories” or technical studios (figure 2).³⁷ The Manchester School, designed in 1878 and opened in 1881, was closest in plan to Glasgow (figure 3)(plate 25).³⁸ Like the Liverpool School of Art, designed in 1881,³⁹ (plate 26) it had its main classrooms on the north side served by a corridor on the south.

The arrangement of rooms in all these major schools was similar to that adopted at Glasgow with some variations dictated by local needs and educational philosophy. In all cases the figure rooms were placed on the first, with the elementary rooms in the English schools, generally, on the ground floor. (Manchester was an exception, having separate male and female elementary rooms on the ground and first floors respectively.) Modelling found its place on the ground floor at Liverpool, but as this school did not have basement classrooms this was consistent with the accommodation of modelling classes in the basement in the other three institutions. The three English schools all

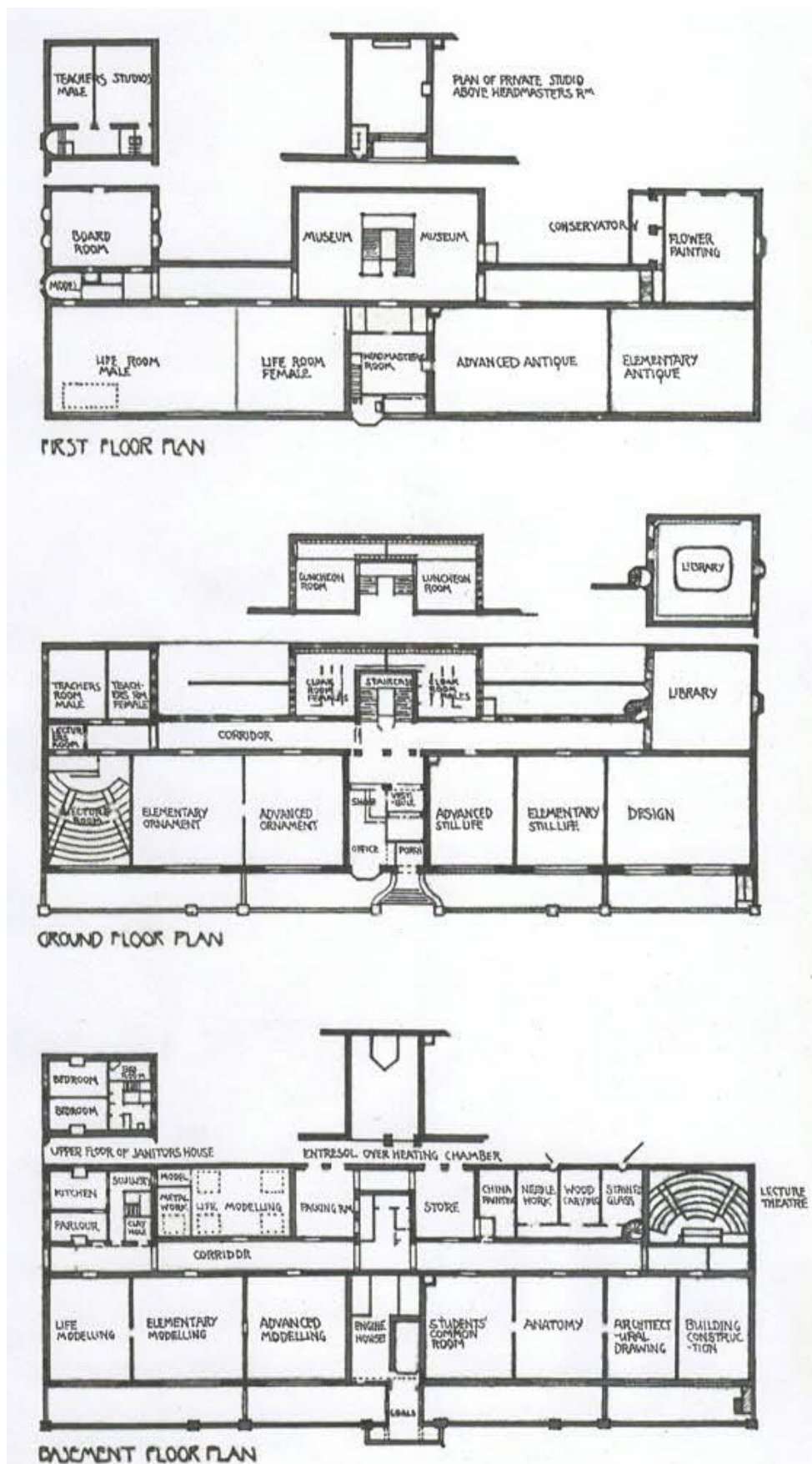
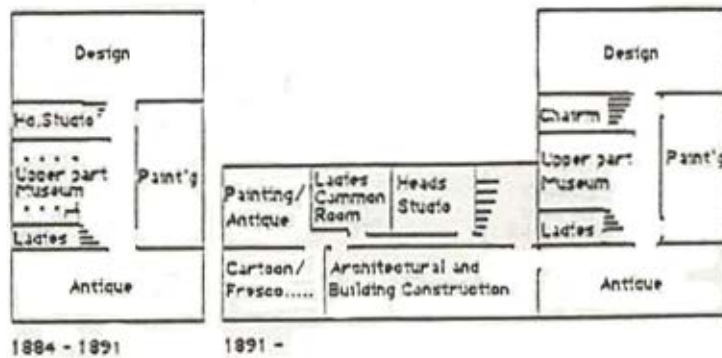


Figure 1. Glasgow School of Art, floor plans, 1897 (adapted from Glasgow School of Art, *Prospectus* (1907-8) to comply with 1897 plans in Glasgow City Archives)

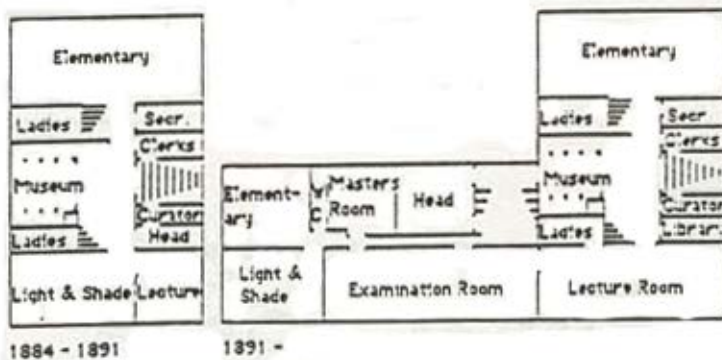
accommodated their architectural rooms on the ground floor (a plan which Newbery had also suggested but which Mackintosh had dispensed with by placing them in the basement). Birmingham was the only school, apart from Glasgow, to have rooms set aside for crafts classes, and these were placed in both instances in the basement. Birmingham and Glasgow also were the only schools to have design classrooms (on the first and ground floors respectively). Only Glasgow and Birmingham had Museums, in both cases related to the staircases, excepting that Birmingham's was on the ground floor whilst Glasgow's was on the first. All four schools were served by an entrance in the centre of the main frontage with lavatories and cloakrooms adjacent to staircases.

The rooms at Manchester and Birmingham were divided by curtains, a device which would also be employed at Glasgow (in the anatomy room and museum). Birmingham also had movable wooden partitions which could be lowered and raised as necessity required. Newbery also specified, and Mackintosh supplied, such facilities as a means of dividing the male and female life rooms, antique rooms, and the architecture and building construction rooms. Despite the above similarities in plan there were several significant differences between Glasgow and these major English schools of art. Newbery had no need to waste space in providing for elementary classrooms or in dividing the sexes unduly. Manchester seems to have been the most encumbered in this regard in not only providing separate male and female elementary classes, taking up as many as four rooms, but in also accommodating a "ladies' and gentlemen's painting class" in a fifth. Even Birmingham had a separate room set aside for "light and shade", a subject which Newbery was able to deal with as part of his ornament and figure teaching. Additionally, as the Glasgow school was larger than any of the others, it was far easier for Newbery to provide suites of related rooms for each specialism. His specialisms: ornament; antique; life; modelling; design; plant drawing; architecture; building construction; and anatomy, all generally reflected the more advanced stages of the South Kensington curriculum and because of the grouping of the rooms Newbery would be able, once links with the Department had been severed, to arrange his School into Departments.

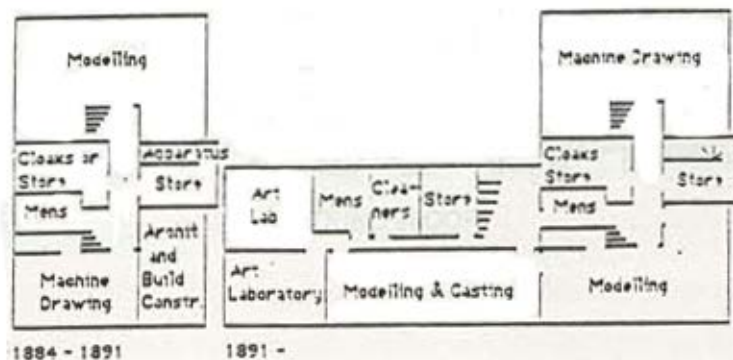
Mackintosh's abandonment of any overt reference to any historical style also helped in making the School a more efficient building as far as daylighting was concerned. Birmingham and Manchester's Gothic, and Liverpool's classical, buildings required some sacrifice of utility to stylistic considerations in their fenestration. Whereas Mackintosh lit each room with one vast window from the north only, the light being regulated by blinds, they were forced to use several smaller windows, sometimes on more than one side of the room. In fact, in terms of its plainness and rational fenestration, Mackintosh's design was closer in its elevational treatment, if not in its internal planning, to Captain Fowke's National Art Training School of 1863 than to any subsequent school (plates 27 & 28). The latter was divided into nine bays with rows of large square-headed windows continued into the roof as skylights on the upper floor and similar plain round-headed windows on the lower floor.⁴⁰ Fowke had not, however, subdivided his floors into rooms, leaving such questions to be resolved by the staff of the Training School.



First Floor



Ground Floor



Basement Floor

Figure 2. Birmingham Municipal School of Art and Crafts, floor plans, 1884-90 - not to scale (supplied by Professor John Swift, University of Central England)

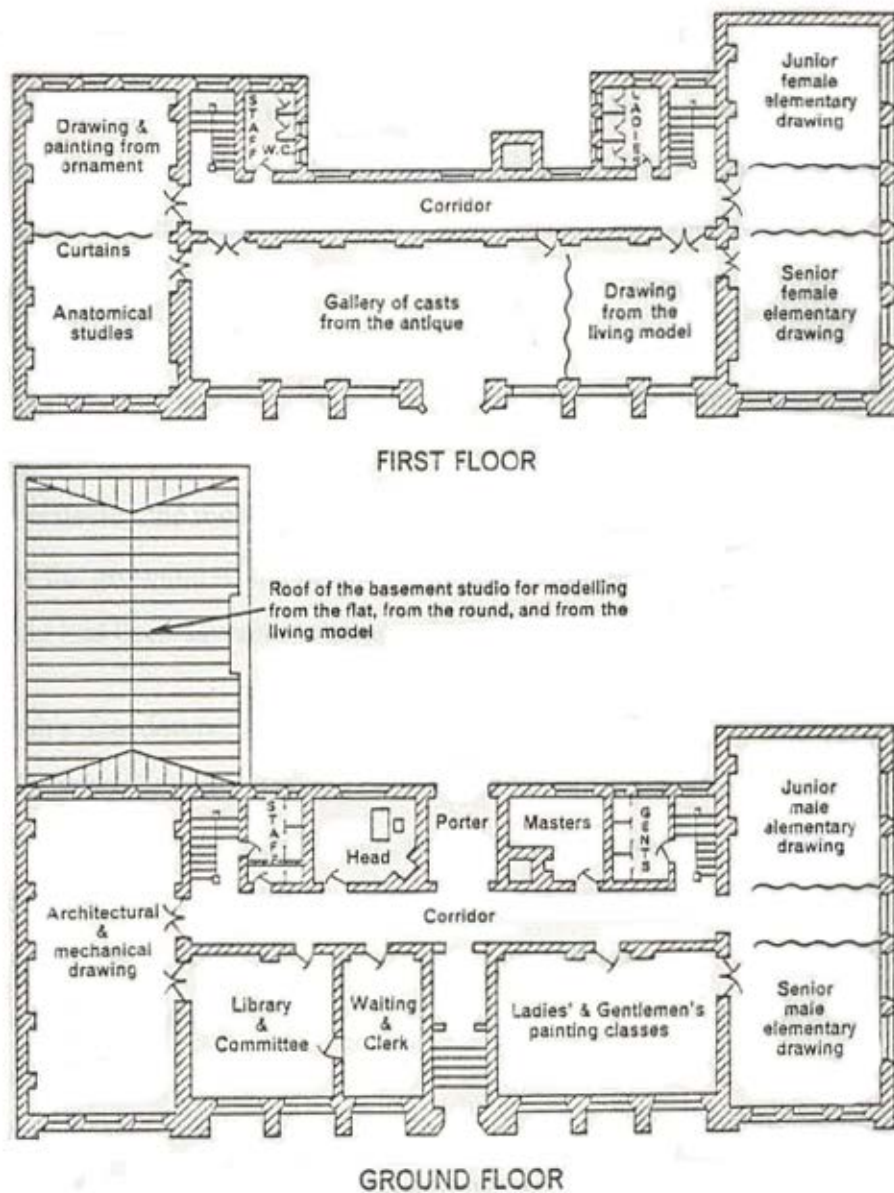


Figure 3. Manchester School of Art, floor plans, designed 1878, opened 1881 (Stuart Macdonald, *The History and Philosophy of Art Education* (London University Press, 1970), p.184)

Newbery's Arrangement of the Accommodation 1899-1906

As the Glasgow governors had only raised enough money for the completion of a little over half of the building, it was necessary for Newbery to use some of the accommodation in the new premises for slightly different purposes than that stipulated in the competition conditions and in the winning plans.⁴¹ The general positions and the floors designated for the particular rooms were, nevertheless, adhered to (figure 4).

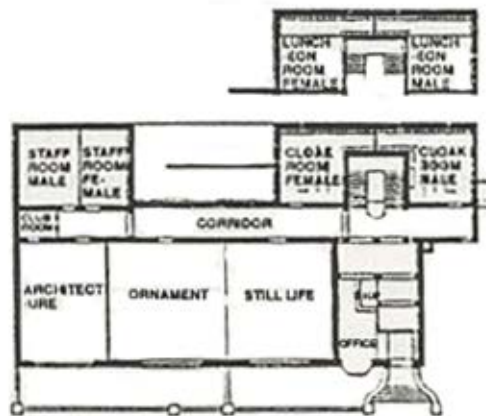
Between September 1899 and June 1902, the School was still being run along South Kensington lines. The evidence as to how the accommodation was then used is provided by a series of photographs taken shortly after the School was first occupied in the 1899-1900 session⁴² and an inventory, dated December 1900, which lists the rooms, fixtures and furnishings on each floor.⁴³ The photographs show life and antique classes under their respective teachers, Thomas Corsan Morton⁴⁴ and James Dunlop⁴⁵ in the studios on the upper floor, the positions designated in Mackintosh's plans for these classes. They also show a still-life class being carried on in the corridor of this floor and one for design with flower drawing in evidence, in the adjacent room (designated in the plans as the Board Room).⁴⁶ The governors recorded their first meetings at the new address from September 1899 but that this was ever the major use of this room is extremely unlikely. The room was marked as a design room in Mackintosh's extension plans, dated 1907,⁴⁷ which usefully show current and intended uses for rooms and a design room (but no board room) is also noted on this position in the inventory. A rather ambiguous plan for classrooms produced by Newbery in 1902 shows a room in this position designated as a life room, but if this was indeed the design room it is more likely that Newbery's plan referred to the studio above the Board Room which had been earmarked for teachers' studios in the competition plans but was being used as a life room at the time of the inventory and was designated as a female life room in Mackintosh's 1909 plans.⁴⁸

An ornament class, again under Dunlop and another master, probably J.J.F.X. King, is shown on another photograph being conducted in the School museum.⁴⁹ The museum, at this time, also housed the School library which appears in the background of the photograph. A conservatory was also built at the north-western corner of the museum.⁵⁰

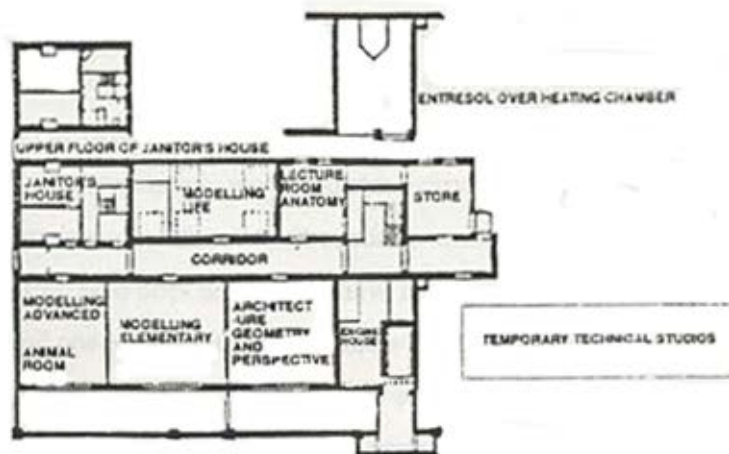
Although the photographs, throw no light on how any of the other floors were used before 1902, Newbery's rough floor plan of that year, taken together with the evidence of his original schedule of accommodation, Mackintosh's 1907 extension plans, and the inventory, would suggest that the ground floor contained an architectural classroom at the east end of the corridor (this doubling as an architectural lecture room) with an ornament class in the middle, and still-life in the western, studio. This floor also housed a club room which was probably squeezed into a small room at the easternmost end of the corridor, marked as "lecturer's room" in Mackintosh's plans. At the entrance hall there was a janitor's office and shop, as Newbery had originally specified. The



First Floor



Ground Floor



Basement

Figure 4. Glasgow School of Art, floor plans, 1900, showing Newbery's use of the rooms, 1899-1907 (adapted from Glasgow School of Art, *Prospectus* (1907-8))

basement also followed Newbery's original conditions in housing the modelling rooms, but also had provision for geometry and perspective in the north-western room (designated as an elementary room in the inventory) with anatomy in the south room to the east of the staircase, a space marked on the plans as a packing room, but named as a lecture room in the inventory. The easternmost room was almost certainly being used

partly as a classroom for teaching the living animal, under Corsan Morton, as well as serving as an advanced modelling room.⁵¹

The technical studios were to have been included in the unbuilt western section of the basement, but until this could be erected, it had been decided, early in 1899, to house these in a temporary shed, subdivided into eight rooms, to the north of the basement corridor.⁵² The extant plans show that five rooms were intended to be occupied by classes for pottery painting, wood and stone carving, “decorators and designers”, stained glass, and metalwork. The other three rooms were allocated to James Dunlop, the second master, who does not seem to have had any role in teaching any of the technical subjects, and one each for male and female staff.⁵³ It is probable, however, that the use of these rooms was more flexible than the plans would suggest. The inventory indicates that they also had provision for etching, enamelling, lithography, bookbinding, needlework and weaving, for which a loom had been installed shortly after their occupation.⁵⁴

The portion of the new building which had been erected was only sufficient to house a similar number of students to that which had occupied the Corporation Gallery rooms and the leased premises in Bath Street. Since the new building had been in use, however, student numbers had steadily risen. Enrolments for 1898-9, in the old premises had been 661, in the following year, the first in the new building, they had increased to 776 to reach a peak of 838 in 1900-1.⁵⁵ From the 1901-2 session the School had also begun giving Saturday classes to teachers, which further necessitated the rearrangement of furniture and equipment. Thus by October 1902, the governors were reporting to the Scotch Education Department that although organisation was easier in the new buildings, some classrooms were “taxed to their utmost”.⁵⁶ In their 1903 report to the Department they pointed out that their need for increased accommodation was becoming even “more acute” and indicated the main areas of stress.⁵⁷

These included the Library which, being placed in the museum, was in too public a position to allow for quiet study. Nor did the cramped arrangements allow for “any systematic treatment of books or catalogue”. The museum itself could not function as such because of the constant need to accommodate classes there, and a part of it had been curtained-off for an antique class.⁵⁸ In addition, the School had no lecture theatre nor even a special lecture room. Thus, anatomy lectures had to be given in a store room (see above); lectures on furniture were delivered in one of the luncheon rooms, whilst the other luncheon room was devoted to etching and geometry and perspective classes. Moreover, all other work had to be suspended in the architectural room while lectures were delivered, and advanced architecture classes had had to be housed in the technical studios.⁵⁹ The classes for the living animal which had now been more fully developed under Paul Artot, the School's Belgian professor of the antique, were causing “great inconvenience to other subjects” (presumably the modelling classes) and “no sanitary provision” was possible.

The accommodation problems had not only become acute as a result of the present provision of classes, but were preventing the future developments which the increasing teaching expertise and artistic calibre of the staff warranted. At the beginning of the 1902-3 session, Newbery divided his school into four Departments- Drawing and Painting; Modelling and Sculpture; Architecture; and Design - each to be placed under a professor.⁶⁰ As a result of more generous funding from the Scotch Education

Department, Newbery had been able to attract accomplished artists to fill these positions and these required studios for their own work as well as more space for advanced teaching. Moreover, as more advanced instruction was given, the students themselves required further studio accommodation to work for scholarships and for the School's Diploma course which was also inaugurated in 1902.⁶¹

Newbery's lack of a lecture theatre not only held up the development of the School but prevented it from expanding its cultural role in the wider community. His appointment of a lecturer to deal with the history and evolution of art in January 1906,⁶² and his hoped-for extension of these activities, to include more in-depth instruction on the socio-cultural background of artistic developments from other academics, required such accommodation, as did his plans to hold public lectures on artistic and cultural subjects for both students and the general public.

The Completed Building

The first stage of the building had gone over-budget and it was not until 1902 that the building fund was balanced with the help of a substantial grant from the Scotch Education Department and a loan of £2500 which Fleming had made to pay tradesmen's bills.⁶³

Moreover, it was not until 1906, with an invitation to apply for funding from surplus money made available by the Scotch Education Department that the governors felt ready to ask the people of Glasgow for more funds to complete the building. With this in prospect a new building committee was appointed.⁶⁴ In December, the Department promised £15,000⁶⁵ on condition that further money was subscribed locally, and a loan of £10,000 was also made available by the Corporation⁶⁶ The firm of Honeyman, Keppie and Mackintosh was again appointed as the School's architects and was asked to furnish a complete set of plans, elevations and sections to show clearly existing parts of the building and what it was proposed should be added.⁶⁷ The architect, Mackintosh, however, pointed out that he considered it undesirable to commit himself to elevational treatment before the general internal arrangements had been agreed upon.⁶⁸ This was then decided on between Mackintosh and Newbery before being put to the building committee.⁶⁹ It is indeed reasonable to conclude that the layout of the School as it appeared at the end of building operations in late 1909 would have been almost exclusively the responsibility of these two men and reflected the needs of the curriculum which, outside the area of architectural studies, had been largely evolved by Newbery.

The 1897 plans had grouped the classrooms by discipline, before Newbery, still operating under the strictures of South Kensington, had been able to divide his School into departments. The new plans (figure.5), therefore, confirmed and extended this provision, making room for developments which had occurred since 1900.

As was previously the case, the figure classes of the department of drawing and painting were given positions on the first floor, but where the antique school was to have occupied the area to the west of the headmaster's room in the 1897 plans, with the life school to its east; in the completed building their positions were reversed, the life

school, in the western section, using four classrooms instead of two, whilst the antique school, now to the east of the headmaster's room, occupied two studios.

The other classrooms to find a place on the first floor were the design rooms of the department of design and decorative art. As has already been seen, provision for design had originally been made in the unbuilt western portion of the ground floor, and its teaching had had to be accommodated in Mackintosh's 1897 board room at the south-eastern end of the first floor. This arrangement was continued in the completed building with its accommodation extended to include the adjacent north-eastern studio, now vacated by the life school.

A library was located at the south-western end of the first floor. Its position here, like that of the design school reflected established usage as a temporary library already existed in the Museum at the centre of this level. This was a departure from the 1897 plans where the library had been placed at the south-western end of the ground floor. It may be that the new location was to allow it continued proximity to the design rooms, but the major reason for its being moved was probably the relocation of an enlarged architectural school, part of which occupied what, in 1897, would have been the library space, on the ground floor. An extra storey was also added above the library to accommodate a store room thus bringing the library space up to the height of the first floor studio ceilings.

The remainder of classroom space on this floor was, as before, taken up by ornament rooms. These occupied the remaining new room to the west of the entrance and the two easternmost rooms. The classroom immediately to the east of the entrance however was now taken up by offices, the shop, and a new board room which also doubled as a secretary's room. All these had been moved east, making space for a much larger entrance hall. The need for a secretary's room had become pressing after the appointment of John Groundwater as full-time secretary in 1908 and treasurer in 1909, on Edward Catterns' death.⁷⁰ Catterns had previously worked in a part-time capacity as secretary and treasurer from his own offices in the city. Above this suite of offices, occupying the upper part of the old classroom, was another store for shop materials and School records.

The basement floor also saw changes from the 1897 plans, which, in part, again reflected established usage. The animal room, not on the original plans, was retained in its present position at the north-eastern corner adjacent to the entrance through which large animals such as elephants and zebras could be, and had been, admitted from the city zoo on the nearby New City Road.⁷¹ The modelling school, however, was moved to occupy most of the new western section of the basement, with ornament, antique and evening life rooms on the north and a day life room to the south of the corridor. Their position in the north-eastern section was taken up by a suite of technical studios. Both these and the northern modelling classes were given extra space by the extension of teaching accommodation into the area, between the original basement facade and the railings, which was now glazed over. The four technical studios held accommodation for: ceramic painting; silversmithing; metalwork and enamelling; and glass staining and

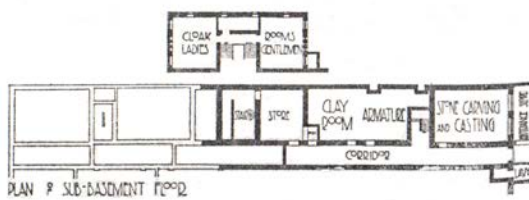
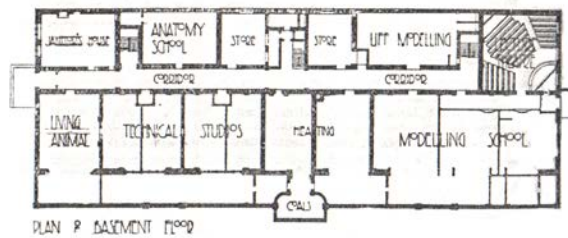
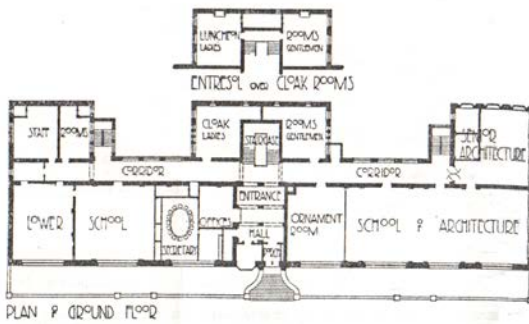
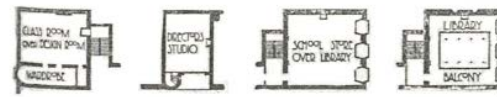
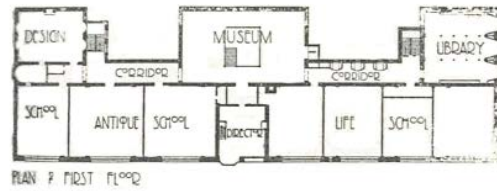
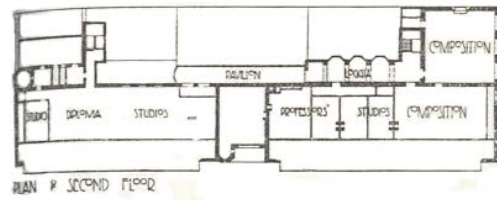


Figure 5. Glasgow School of Art floor plans, 1909 (from GSA Calendar (1909-10))

wood carving. They were given a space which was far more ample than that embraced by their previous accommodation in the temporary sheds, or in the 1897 plans which had given them no greater accommodation than that allotted to the new day life modelling class on the same site. An anatomy room was also retained on this floor, but was now relocated in the old life modelling studio to the south-east of the building, leaving the packing room which it had previously occupied to fulfil its projected function.

At the south-western corner of the basement Mackintosh built a lecture theatre. This was in the same position which he had planned for a similar room in 1897, but was larger in that he had moved the corridor on its northern edge several feet to the north and added an entrance at its western end. (The 1897 plans had had no western basement entrance.) This device neatly separated the public function of the lecture theatre from the more private academic functions of the remainder of the School by allowing the general public directly into this space from the street doors without their gaining access to the main basement corridor.

The steep fall of the land at the south-west of the site also allowed the architect to build a sub-basement which extended into the centre of the building. This, with its own entrance was also used by the modelling department for stone carving and also accommodated an armature room and a clay room as well as two further store rooms.

To complete the building, Mackintosh constructed an attic storey. This, probably more than any part of the extensions, reflected the changes wrought by Newbery's diploma course and the more advanced nature of the instruction he was offering. At its inception in 1907,⁷² it was planned that this floor should be given over to a suite of studios for advanced students in its eastern half, and to rented private studios for the drawing and painting and design professors together with a composition room in the western section. (Figure composition was the apex of both the painting and design diploma courses). The only work accommodated on this floor which would have related to an earlier section of the course was in the room at the extreme south-west which was allocated to plants, flowers and still-life with its own conservatory for the storing of specimens. This last was in the same position on the plans as it had occupied in 1897, when access would have been gained to it via a staircase from the first floor corridor.

The planning of this floor excites interesting comparisons with the planning of Edinburgh College of Art's premises (figures 6a & 6b) which date from the same period. The latter occupied a larger site, allowing for easier accommodation than at Glasgow, but like the Glasgow School was built in two stages, the first half having been completed in 1908, the second by 1912.⁷³ The departmental heads' studios at Edinburgh were similarly placed to those at Glasgow. In both cases the architecture professor had office space within his department, in Glasgow's case adjacent to the senior architecture room. Similarly the heads of sculpture had studios within their departments. However, this was not the case for the heads of design and of painting who had their studios in close proximity to their most advanced students, with whom they had most of their dealings, in the composition classes. A similar pattern seems to have been followed at Birmingham where the "art laboratory" for cartoon and fresco was placed on the top floor close to the headmaster's studio. (In Birmingham this was used for joint staff and

student commissions.)⁷⁴ Separate studios or *loges* in both the Scottish schools were originally planned for individual advanced students in the same area (figures 6a & 7).⁷⁵ This had already been mooted at Glasgow, probably on Newbery's suggestion, in the School's 1904 report to the Scotch Education Department, which pointed out their use in "every *Ecole des Beaux-Arts* in France".⁷⁶ However, these were never erected in either of the Scottish schools as part of their final buildings. Glasgow's reason for this is explained by its need to make temporary accommodation for its architectural department in the eastern part of the attic in the 1908-9 session before its designated classrooms were ready. As it required a large classroom in the attic, the space was not subdivided as originally planned.⁷⁷ When, however, the architectural school on the ground floor became available, the vacated space was immediately occupied by the embroidery section and a composition classroom rather than by advanced studios. Students working in the final term of each session towards their diplomas, however, were not denied individual accommodation as the composition rooms were temporarily sub-divided into separate studios.⁷⁸ Having lost space to the embroidery room, composition annexed the south-western attic room originally designated for still-life, landscape and flower painting, making three composition rooms in all. Newbery's close association with Mackintosh in the planning and building of the new School for over fifteen years produced in him an admiration for his ex-pupil as a master of the plan-generated building. Newbery indicated his own similar priorities in the design of educational buildings in a lecture given in 1913 on the subject of museums.

The museum, like the university or school of art should be built from the inside out and not merely an edifice whose external elevation was an advertisement of the flamboyant style of an architect. It should be a structure on a predesigned plan carried into completion as needs and organisation demanded. It should not be a bird's nest but a honeycomb.⁷⁹

That he admired Mackintosh's art school scheme because it put accommodation considerations before all others is apparent from a letter Newbery wrote to the Partick School Board supporting Mackintosh's candidacy as the architect for a new school it was proposing to build on Calder Street in Glasgow:

I quite see how that from the art side Mr Mackintosh's work may not make the full appeal I think it should, but as a designer for working accommodation, I know few to equal him. This School of Art is the best workshop I know of, and that in education is saying all that can be said.⁸⁰



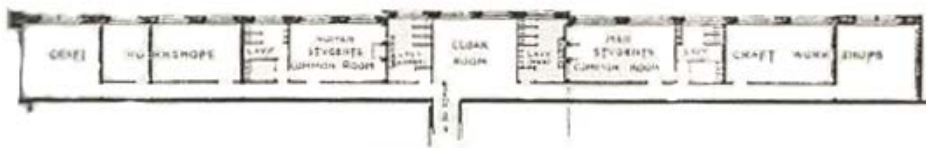
UPPER FLOOR PLAN

NOTE.—The rooms indicated on the plans to the right of the red line are not yet built, but are shortly to be provided with.



GROUND FLOOR PLAN

NOTE.—The rooms indicated on the plans to the right of the red line are not yet built, but are shortly to be provided with.



BASEMENT PLAN

NOTE.—The rooms indicated on the plans to the right of the red line are not yet built, but are shortly to be provided with.

Figure 6a. Edinburgh College of Art, floorplans of first phase including second phase (Edinburgh College of Art Archive Collection, Edinburgh College of Art, Prospectus (1914-15).

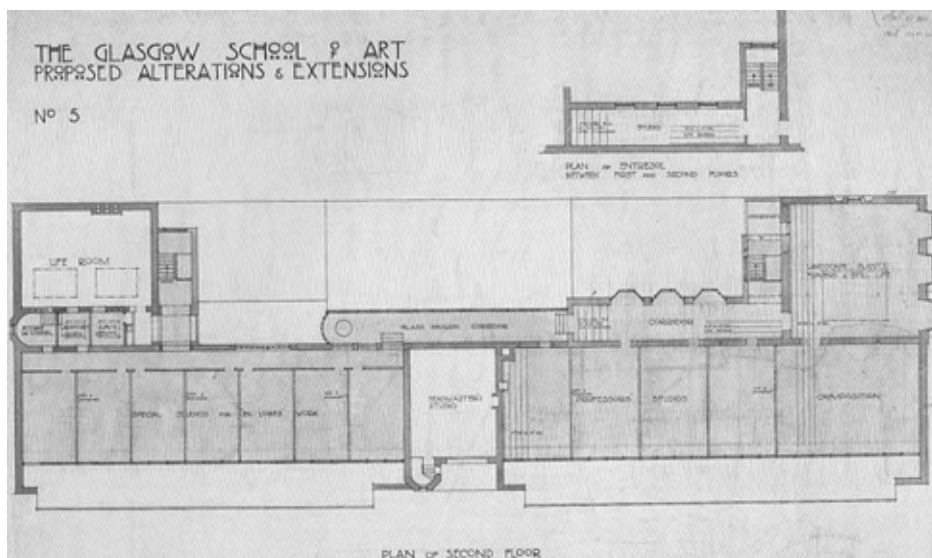


Figure 7. Glasgow School of Art, projected plan of second floor, April 1907 (Glasgow School of Art Collection)

Notes

GCA = Glasgow City Archives

GSA = Glasgow School of Art

GSAA = Glasgow School of Art Archives

1. GSAA, Thomas Armstrong. 'Report: Glasgow Renfrew Street School of Art (Scotch Education Department, 2 June 1900)' p.2, refers to the premises as "more commodious, better adapted to the uses they have to serve, and in many respects better equipped than any known to me in Great Britain".
2. Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries, Burrell Collection, Newbery, letter to J. Arnold Fleming, (Sir James Fleming's son) dated 11 August, 1933. Newbery wrote "it is to Sir James Fleming that Glasgow owes its School of Art and that but for him Mackintosh would never have had his opportunity. ...Sir James made everything possible. ...The School is his monument." In another letter to J. Arnold Fleming, dated 23 August 1933 Jessie Newbery wrote, "it was very often said that it (the School) would never have been built had it not been for...your father and his almost miraculous power of obtaining the wherewithal to finance the building."
3. Glasgow Herald, 27 January 1887 and GSAA, GSA, Correspondence, 1887-91, p.143.
4. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 11 June 1887.
5. Glasgow Herald, 27 January 1888.
6. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence, 1887-91, p.237, 30 May 1888. The same letter records that the carpet manufacturer James Templeton also offered to support a building fund but nothing came of the initiative.
7. Glasgow Herald, 18 January 1890.

8. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 29 October, 1888.
9. GCA, CI 3/18, Town Council of Glasgow and Committees, Minutes, 1890-1. Sub-committee on the disposal of the Exhibition Surplus, 26 September 1889.
10. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence, 1887-91, p.299, 12 September 1888.
11. GCA, CI 3/18, 26 September 1888.
12. GCA, D-TC 11.9, Association for Promotion of Art and Music in the City of Glasgow, Minutes, 31 March 1891 and 3 August 1891. Governors and friends of the School on the executive committee included Francis Powell, James King, and Renny Watson.
13. Ibid., 3 August 1891.
14. Ibid., 31 August 1891 and GSAA, GSA Minutes 5 October, 1891.
15. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 1 February 1892 : recording a minute of the Parks and Galleries Committee of 18 November 1891.
16. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 12 September 1892.
17. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 16 April 1894.
18. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence, 1891-94, pp.356-7 8 March 1894.
19. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 28 January 1895.
20. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 22 February 1895.
21. Ibid., 6 February 1895.
22. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence, 1894-7, pp.53-8: Memorial to Parks and Galleries Committee of Town Council.
23. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 6 September and 18 September 1895.
24. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 16 March 1896.
25. GSAA, GSA, Limited Competition for the proposed new School of Art: conditions of competition (Glasgow: 1896) in William Buchanan, editor. Mackintosh's Masterwork: the Glasgow School of Art (Glasgow: Richard Drew, 1989), pp.205-212.
26. Department of Science and Art, Directory, (1895), p.117.
27. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report, (1893-4), p.4 gives a student roll of 538 for 1895.
28. GSAA, GSA, Building Committee. Minutes, 14 March 1899 refer to the laying of a cable from the Corporation Galleries.
29. GSAA, GSA, Building Committee Minutes, 11 May 1896 state that Thomas Armstrong, Director for Art at South Kensington, had given his approval.
30. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 12 & 27 August 1896.
31. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence, 1894-7., pp. 315, 319, 321 and 322, letters to Sir James King and Sir Rennie Watson, dated 2, 8, 14, & 18 October 1896.
32. Ibid., p.325, letter to Watson and King dated 27 October 1896.
33. GSAA, GSA, Building Committee, Minutes, 17 December 1896.
34. GSAA, Honeyman and Keppie, 'Design...for the Glasgow School of Art: description and schedule of contents' [undated (1896)] p.1.
35. Ibid..
36. Ibid..
37. Birmingham Municipal School of Art Management Sub-Committee, Minutes, 1890-1893 p.239, 13 June 1893. Although these show that the art laboratories were not yet completed they were already planned at the time of Newbery's visit in January. The Birmingham School, like Glasgow, was built in two stages, 1883-6 and 1891-3. I am indebted to Professor John Swift for this information and for supplying plans of the Birmingham School based on the School's Minutes, 1890, volume 20, pp.69-70.

38. Stuart Macdonald, The History and Philosophy of Art Education. (London: University of London Press, 1970) p.184 and Building News, 1 November 1878. Both give plans of Manchester School of Art.
39. The Building News, 4 February, 1881.
40. John Physick, The Victoria and Albert Museum: the History of its Building (Oxford: Phaidon, Christies, 1982), pp.102-4.
41. Copies of the original Honeyman and Keppie competition plans are lodged in the Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh, RHP 93854 and 93855. These differ in some respects from the slightly later plans given here in figure 1 in that they have accommodation for three rather than four modelling studios in the basement and the technical studios occupy more space to the south of the basement corridor.
42. GSAA, GSA, Building Committee, Minutes, 1 December 1899 refer to a set of photographs having been taken. These are probably those by T. & R. Annan which remain in the School's Archives, some of which were published in The Studio, 19 (1900), pp.48-56.
43. GSAA, GSA. Inventory of School Property, December 1900.
44. GSAA, T.& R. Annan photograph, n.d.[c.1899] negative no. 14852 and The Studio, 19 (1900), p.55.
45. GSAA, T.& R. Annan, photograph n.d. [c.1899] negative no, 14848.
46. GSAA, T.& R. Annan photograph, n.d. [c.1899] negative no. 14855.
47. Hiroaki Kimura, Charles Rennie Mackintosh: architectural drawings catalogue and design analytical catalogue. (Glasgow University, PhD Thesis, 1982) plate 52-K(c) Plan of first floor and library, March 1907.
48. GSAA, F.H. Newbery, Manuscript report on reorganisation of staff, [n.d. c.1902] and Kimura, loc.cit..
49. The Studio, 19 (1900), p.53.
50. Buchanan, Mackintosh's Masterwork, p.38. The existence of the conservatory was also acknowledged in GSAA, GSA, Inventory...December, 1900, p.2 as "1 glass conservatory 9' x 6' x 6'".
51. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 7 January 1901.
52. GSAA, GSA. Minutes, 10 January and 10 April 1899.
53. Kimura, Charles Rennie Mackintosh, plate 17-K Temporary technical studios, May 1899.
54. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 5 October 1900.
55. GSAA, GSA, Annual Reports, (1900), p.6, (1901), p.6, (1902), p.8]
56. GSAA, GSA, Report...on the work of the School for the year ending July 31st 1902, p.1.
57. GSAA, GSA, Report...on the work of the School for the year ending 31st July 1903 (12 February 1904), p.1 and supplement on accommodation.
58. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report, [Session 1903-04] (Glasgow School of Art, 1904) p.12.
59. Ibid..
60. GSAA, GSA, Prospectus (1902-3), p.11.
61. Ibid. & GSA, Minutes, 18 March 1902.
62. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 3 October 1905.
63. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 26 September 1901. The deficit on the building fund amounted to £4,544-8-1 and Minutes, 18 September and 7 November 1901 for Fleming's loans. GSA, Minutes, 10 March and 26 March 1902 record repayment of most of Fleming's loan.

64. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 27 September 1906: the committee members were Patrick Dunn as convener, Sir Francis Powell, William Burrell, Archibald Campbell, James Fleming, George Herriot, Henry Bowie Fyfe, Thomas McArly, Robert S. Dunlop, Hugh Reid, and the architects, John James Burnet, David Barclay, and William Forest Salmon.
65. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 29 January 1907, letter dated 12 December 1906.
66. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 4 March 1907.
67. GSAA, GSA, Building Committee, Minutes, 13 March 1907.
68. Ibid., 15 March 1907.
69. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1906-7, p.321, 20 May 1907.
70. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 1 December 1908 record Groundwater's appointment.
GSA, Minutes, 7 July 1909 record Catterns' death.
71. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1909, vol.1, p.89. Newbery recalled "Elephants, camels, zebras and others of the mammalia have been brought twice weekly".
72. Kimura, Charles Rennie Mackintosh, fig. 52-L & 52-L(c) Plans for second floor April and June 1907.
73. Edinburgh College of Art, Prospectuses, (1908-9) and (1912-13): plans.
74. Information supplied by Professor John Swift, University of Central England.
75. Edinburgh College of Art, Prospectus, (1908-9): plans and Kimura, fig. 52-L (c) Plan of second floor, April, 1907.
76. GSAA, GSA.[Untitled report on the School's accommodation to Scotch Education Department] dated 12 February 1904, pp.1-2.
77. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence relating to new extensions, 1905-10, p.234: C.R. Mackintosh to Newbery 10 July 1908.
78. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1911, A, 27 February 1911. Newbery here ordered the division of the north and east composition rooms into studios for male and female students respectively.
79. Glasgow Herald, 28 April 1913. Report on a Newbery lecture. "The Museum: its uses and abuses".
80. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1912-13, S, 13 May 1912. Newbery's interest in the primacy of functional considerations in architecture is further borne out by a lecture entitled "An Architectural Chat" which he gave to the Glasgow Architectural Association - GSAA, Newbery, Press Cuttings, p.13, no attribution, no date. By using Indian architecture as an example he showed how "men's rudimentary necessities" had more effect on style, in the first instance, than aesthetic considerations and he urged students to consider more fully the influence of "utility" as opposed to aesthetic considerations on style.

CHAPTER 9

THE UNIVERSITY FOR ART PART 1: GLASGOW SCHOOL OF ART 1900-1918

The years from 1900 to the outbreak of the Great War would be a time of consolidation and enhancement for Newbery's teaching regime. Whilst failing to repeat the impression on European art and design that had been achieved through the Glasgow Style, particularly at the 1902 Turin Exhibition, Newbery was able to build on the reputation so achieved to maintain the School's standing both at home and abroad. He was greatly helped in his efforts through the aid of the Scotch Education Department (SED) which enabled him both to raise the standard of teaching and to increase the influence of the School in its immediate locality and beyond.

The liberal regime of Sir Henry Craik and his successor, Sir John Struthers, as Secretaries of the SED discarded the DSA's system of central initiation and control for one of local initiation and central vetting in curriculum development. This situation at last gave Newbery full scope to develop his ideas, and as a man who liked to lead from the front, giving the impression of knowing what he wanted and beating down any opposition by sheer force of character, it helped him to make his School into a unique institution which was also a force to be reckoned with in educational terms. Despite having the assured authoritative air of a despot, which carried with it an element of extroverted swagger, Newbery was something of an experimentalist. He was thus able to rule his kingdom with an iron rod, whilst adapting his courses and directing his School's activities in a pragmatic way to meet new challenges and opportunities as they arose with the objective of providing high quality teaching in a stimulating and well equipped environment. To achieve their objectives he and his governors would not shrink, at times in the teeth of xenophobic criticism, from drawing on their wide acquaintance and capitalising on the School's existing international reputation, to attract highly-skilled teachers from continental Europe and England, as well as from nearer home.

The SED had been established in 1872 to look after the board schools set up under that year's education Act. In 1899, however, its area of operations was extended to include all education outside the private sector and the universities. The School saw little change at first, as it still came under the South Kensington regime, but received its grant through the SED. Matters altered radically, however, in 1901 when the SED introduced its Continuation Class Code. Under the Code all payments on results were abolished and certain advanced technical and art institutions were designated Central Institutions (CIs). Newbery's was the first art school to be nominated as a CI, in 1901, being followed by Gray's School of Art in Aberdeen in 1903 and the newly created Edinburgh College of Art in 1908. In its new position the School was recognised as the central art training institution in the West of Scotland, or Western Division, with a comparable

role, in its particular field, to that of a university. Thus it was seen as a centre of the most advanced instruction with the responsibility for setting and, if necessary raising, standards and extending its influence over continuation, or evening, classes run by the school boards, as well as the day schools. The only strictures which the SED set were that a CI should submit yearly accounts and an annual report and should embody its course of instruction in a prospectus to be approved each session. Additionally, all new teaching appointments were subject to Departmental sanction and periodic inspection was to be made by experts in the field in which the CI specialised.¹

Being no longer subject to payments on results the School was promised a fixed grant of £1800 for five years, on condition that a similar sum, exclusive of student fees, was raised from local sources. This “block grant” only remained fixed for the first two sessions, steadily rising thereafter to almost £2,700 in the 1908-9 session.² Much of the local funding continued to come from the residue grant administered by Glasgow Corporation to which were added capitation grants from county council technical instruction committees whose residents used the School. From the 1909-10 session, however, when the 1908 Education (Scotland) Act came into force, funding was based on annual estimates made by the School; partly paid for from fees; from the Imperial Exchequer; and from local sources; the residue grant being taken under the control of the SED.³

Freed from the strictures of the DSA, Newbery at once set about a complete reorganisation of the School, made doubly possible by the improved accommodation facilities of its new building. In this task he could draw on his past experience under South Kensington, retaining features of the curricular approach he had already developed. In his efforts to raise standards beyond those required by the DSA, Newbery looked to some extent to continental models of art training, familiarising himself in particular with the structure and methods of French and German courses, whose programmes were critically appraised.

The four Departments into which Newbery divided his School were each given their own curricula, which were arranged into four “Groups” for each Department. Newbery had probably taken this concept from South Kensington's art master's certificates in which certain subjects were arranged in Groups. His Groups, however, were arranged within disciplines, rather than encompassing a whole subject area as in South Kensington's case. Newbery's course was progressive, being divided into a Lower School, for Groups I and II, and an Upper School, covering Groups III and IV.⁴

Quite apart from any reference to South Kensington's practice Newbery had another purpose in choosing the term “Group” as a means of dividing his course. Being concerned to make it as well adapted as possible to individual student needs and to place attainment above length of stay in the School as the major criterion of assessment, he had refused to divide his curriculum into years. Each student was assessed on entry by Newbery for the most suitable Group for his or her needs and abilities, usually on the basis of a portfolio and a drawing done under examination conditions.⁵ The student was then unable to move to a higher Group until his or her work was deemed good enough on the basis of certain specified works being submitted. This might lead to a student being required to remain in the School for a considerable time, if he or she wished to go through the whole course but, on the other hand, it was possible to complete it after only

two sessions. (Newbery had intended one year to be sufficient for the most able students but the SED had been unwilling to accept this, requiring students to stay for a minimum of two years in which they had to complete Groups III and IV.)

On entering the School the student was introduced into an artistic community, with the professors of each department at its head. Each teacher was chosen for his mastery of a particular craft, be it embroidery, painting, or sculpture and his role was to teach that craft to his students. Thus Newbery insisted that each set of lessons should begin by a demonstration in technique on the part of the teacher to be followed by the student attempting to put what had been learned into practice. Newbery was particularly adamant on the point that teachers should not work on the students' drawings but only give advice, thus allowing the students to find their own way: to learn by doing.

...all over the School there is too much being done for the students. All students beginning life...should have a demonstration given upon the general construction of the head. What takes place is that the students draw something and then the instructor comes and draws on that, the result being teacher and not student.⁶

It was not until the session 1906-7 that the first of the School's Diplomas were awarded. On the successful completion by a student of Groups III and IV of a particular department his or her work was examined by a jury which usually included Newbery and the head of the department together with local experts, invariably suitably qualified governors, and an assessor appointed, on the School's recommendation, by the SED. To ensure high standards, these were major names in the British art world and included: George Clausen, E. A. Walton, William Orpen, and William Strang for painting; William Goscombe John and George Frampton for sculpture; Walter Crane, C.F.A. Voysey and Harry Wilson for design; and Reginald Blomfield and Henry V. Lanchester for architecture. However, although the Diploma course was available, few students actually attained the award, between 1907 and 1914 only 128 students being successful.⁷ One reason for this was the high standards that Newbery set. In 1911 he explained to George MacDonald, the SED's Assistant Secretary that he saw it as representing "the very finest flower of the culture of the School" and as such was content that only about two students each year should achieve it.⁸ Apart from this, there were at least three other reasons for the comparatively low pass rate. Firstly, many students still attended the School as evening students; or as day students to develop their own artistic skills rather than as students seeking a qualification. Secondly, many of those most desirous of obtaining the Diploma were trainee art teachers who would then have better chances of more remunerative posts: these accounted for 50 of the 128 diplomates.⁹

In addition, as had been the case under South Kensington, many students did not have the finances for a long course and Newbery and his governors were continually looking for ways to make the fees more affordable and to obtain scholarships and bursaries from local sources and the SED to circumvent the difficulty. In 1900, evening class fees were reduced, with a resulting increase in enrolments.¹⁰ In Session 1903-4, the Haldane Trust was offering one hundred bursaries to enable evening class students to study free of charge, and two day class bursaries; the City Educational Endowments Board was giving a further ten bursaries to students who had attended state-aided schools in

Glasgow; whilst the Hutchesons' Educational Trust offered twenty five. These were the major benefactors from the School's locality. Up until the 1909-10 session the governors were also enabled by the SED to grant a few maintenance scholarships and local bursaries, open to students already on the course some of which were used to finance students' visits to museums, art galleries or cities, throughout the United Kingdom and on the continent, to study works of art and buildings. They also gave free studentships tenable in the evening and day classes.¹¹ All the foregoing were obtained by students in competition.

From the 1909-10 session, however, under the provisions of the 1908 Education (Scotland) Act, the governors lost their power to give help to give free studentships, this being transferred to the various secondary education committees to whom students resident within their respective areas were encouraged to apply.¹² Between 1909 and 1912 several important scholarships began to be provided by the Department. The first of these was a travelling scholarship of £100.0.0 allowed to students who achieved the Diploma. Up to two of these could be awarded each year, in each CI at the discretion of the diploma judges. Successful candidates were required to fulfil an itinerary which included many of the major European art centres, periodically sending back notes and studies made en route.¹³ There were also a number of minor travelling bursaries, which Newbery fought for, and which replaced the governors' local bursaries referred to above.¹⁴ From session 1912-13, four maintenance scholarships were also offered to allow students to undertake post diploma work in the School.¹⁵

The institution was probably unique in Britain, during this period, for its employment of a significant number of foreign artists in several of the key positions on its staff.¹⁶ This was as much the result of Newbery's insistence that the best artists should be brought in to influence the students¹⁷ as an occasional preference for foreign methods. It also depended on the advice which Newbery and his governors could draw on from their wide range of contacts among artists in Britain and on the continent, contacts which were in part built up through the School's own reputation but also because of the calibre and background of some of the governors. Newbery's own penchant for making friends who would be useful to the School also played a large part in broadening this acquaintance. Appointments, for their success, depended more on personnel than methods and although, on the whole, Newbery's staff fulfilled his high expectations, others did not. His development of the curriculum and staffing policy can best be understood through an examination of each of his four departments.

Drawing and Painting

The Drawing and Painting Department would always be the most popular in the School. In the 1904-5 session it had 380 out of a total of 598 students(63%). The situation had not changed markedly by the 1913-14 session when, although the total number of painting students had risen to 463, they still represented 61% of a School total of 763. Newbery would always stress the importance of day attendance for painting students so that they could take advantage of daylight, particularly for colour work and his efforts in this direction would meet with some success, with a comparison between 1904-5 and 1913-14 showing an increase from 41% to 52%.¹⁸

In the drawing and painting course at the beginning of the century ¹⁹ the approach was generally similar to that which had been followed by Newbery under South Kensington. Outline drawing coming first, being succeeded by drawing in light and shade, followed by painting, although monochrome painting was no longer in evidence. Similarly subjects of study were also gradually increased in difficulty, beginning with ornament in relief and progressing via plants from nature and the antique, to life. The whole course was underpinned by a series of lectures.

Thus Students in Group I concentrated on drawing from relief ornament, firstly in outline and then in light and shade; on foliage, flowers and other objects drawn from nature, progressing to still-life painting of "simple objects"; and on drawing objects and the interiors and exteriors of buildings in perspective. The supporting lectures were in geometry (an adjunct to the ornament drawing) and perspective.

In Group II the students were introduced to the drawing of the figure from the cast and, concurrently, to its anatomical structure which was explained with reference to surface forms as seen in examples from the antique and from life. The South Kensington and academic practice of drawing from antique details (head, hands, and feet &c) was also introduced. The painting of still-lives was developed whilst students moved on from the drawing to the painting of interiors.

All Newbery's courses reflected the then understanding of the unitive nature of the visual arts, a concept which mirrored both British Arts and Crafts and, to some extent, continental *Beaux-Arts* ideology ²⁰ and Group II lectures were devoted to the history and practice of architecture and to the history of ornament and to its design principles, thus beginning to locate painting in its ornamental context in relation to architecture.

Group III continued the course in drawing from the antique figure, but also introduced life drawing from the full-length figure and from the head. The anatomy course was also taken further in studying variations of form corresponding to the movements of the life model. Drapery studies were also undertaken as well as still-life and interior and landscape painting and studies from the living animal. Lectures in this Group covered the history of painting and of sculpture.

Group IV continued drawing from the life, extended this to painting, and embraced painting from the living animal and of draperies. Technical studies in the properties of mediums and pigments were also undertaken and lectures were given on the chemistry of colours and the various processes of painting. There were also lectures on landscape composition.²¹

Memory studies from antique and life were introduced at this point. Such studies had been a feature of the South Kensington course and whilst Newbery encouraged them he was not in favour of the experiments in developing the memory as an artistic tool promoted by the French teacher, Lecoq de Boisbaudran, or the headmaster at Birmingham School of Art, R. Catterson-Smith, which were acquiring something of a vogue in British art education.²² Newbery took the view that an artist's memory was best developed through his everyday work in the making of studies, rather than as a separate exercise, maintaining that

To learn how to draw is to draw and draw and draw always in the face of the model or subject. And memory automatically is working with the worker all the time, registering, recording and rewarding, till knowledge and power are gained. And no better summing up of the whole case could be given than that contained in the striking statement made by the late G.F. Watts to Mr George Clausen "that memory was a good thing, but knowledge was better!"²³

As the summit of the course, Group IV concentrated on figure composition and the figure in decorative schemes. It was the need to cater especially for this aspect of the course which had prompted Newbery to seek out "a strong life class master" and which led him to choose one of his first continental artists in 1900.²⁴

Composition's position at the apex of the painting course would be spelled out in the School's 1903-4 prospectus:

Composition is itself perhaps the most important part of an artistic education, because it is the synthesis, or gathering up of all knowledge previously gained, and it has for its end the development of the higher faculties which, sooner or later, every artist must possess.²⁵

Composition was not particularly unique to Glasgow, being also taught, for example, in the other two Scottish art CIs and a decorative composition course was offered at the Royal College of Art in London.²⁶ Decorative figure murals were a common feature of major public buildings at this time. Mackintosh's 1897 plans for the School, for example, include a frieze of painted, or stencilled, figures in its Museum, its main interior public space, a project that Newbery would have liked to have seen carried out in some form.²⁷

In May 1900 the post of life class master was advertised in London, Brussels, Paris and Amsterdam.²⁸ However, academic draughtsmanship and composition, were both areas of work which were particularly well-taught in the continental *Beaux-Arts* system. The highest accolade of the *Beaux-Arts*, the *Prix-de-Rome*, was awarded for composition and Jean Delville, the School's first life professor was appointed on the strength of his possession of the Belgian *Prix-de-Rome*, together with the evidence of a figure painting, which had won a silver medal at the 1900 Paris International Exhibition, and three large frescos depicting the triumph of civilisation in the Colonial Museum in Brussels.²⁹ It was this, rather than Delville's position as one of Belgium's leading Symbolist painters, that gained him his post, any contemporary interest amongst Glasgow artists and designers in Symbolism being purely coincidental.³⁰

Delville's appointment also owed something to the School's connection with the sculptor Charles Vanderstappen, the head of the Brussels *Beaux-Arts* School, for it was he who recommended and introduced the artist to a deputation of governors, including Newbery, who had visited both Paris and Brussels to interview candidates.³¹ It is possible that Vanderstappen had become known to the School through the agency of its Dutch modelling master, Johan Keller who had been trained in Brussels and had been on the staff since 1897.

Newbery's obvious satisfaction with Delville³² and the help that had been derived from Vanderstappen, caused Newbery, in his search for a further master to take charge of the antique classes, to enlist Vanderstappen and Delville's aid in finding another Belgian candidate. This was Paul Artot who was appointed, in September 1902, after Newbery had interviewed him in Florence.³³

In 1904 the Governors were able to report to the SED that the new professors' appointments had been "an unqualified success"³⁴ and the strong links with Belgium would help to bring George Baltus, an artist and lecturer on art, to Newbery's attention when he was beginning to consider strengthening the teaching with the introduction of art history lectures in 1905.³⁵ Baltus would eventually be given a full-time post in 1909,³⁶ after working for some years on a part-time basis, and would also undertake the teaching of painting as a craft, giving classes in the chemical properties of painting materials and tuition in such techniques as tempera, fresco, distemper, casein, and water-glass.

Newbery had wanted Artot to provide a more thorough preparation for the life classes than had been previously available and must have been satisfied with the approach he followed. Artot, however, encouraged the making of elaborately shaded drawings from the antique, using chalk pencils in preference to charcoal,³⁷ Pittendrigh MacGillivray, an SED inspector, and one who could not understand why Newbery would want to employ foreign artists in preference to local talent, thought that this was likely to be too time-consuming and to cause students to be more "engaged in the manner than the purpose" of their study.³⁸ The technique of these drawings was also remarked on by a member of the public who regarded it as a reversion to the old South Kensington drawing style that had been practised at Glasgow before Newbery's arrival.³⁹ It is unlikely, however, that Artot would have been allowed to encourage what Newbery would have regarded as uneducational, time-consuming, work. Moreover, by contrast with those of earlier years, the new drawings were often life size. Working to this scale would have given students more confidence, and was a means of training them for architectural decoration. However, it did have the drawback of causing the less experienced, in cramped studio conditions, to pay too little attention to proportion.⁴⁰ The joint teaching of Delville and Artot produced far more effective figure work and Delville's influence also became apparent in the Symbolist work of some of his pupils.⁴¹

In 1905, however, Delville left the School to take up an appointment in Brussels and was succeeded by Maurice Greiffenhagen, an Englishman from London who had been trained in the Royal Academy Schools. He had been exhibiting at the Royal Academy and the New English Art Club since the 1880s and was also a noted illustrator, as well as a draughtsman of marked ability.⁴² Greiffenhagen, like Delville, had been chosen from a field of candidates drawn from the artistic capitals of western Europe, (among whom were Emile Motte, head of the *Beaux-Arts* Academy at Mons and the London painter G.W. Lambert, considered by the School after advice had been sought from contacts in the art world).⁴³

Both Greiffenhagen and his predecessor were only required to visit Glasgow for part of the year. This policy was a deliberate one, allowing the artist to maintain his professional work despite his teaching activities. As Newbery advised: "A man must keep up his personal practice or he speedily loses that vital power which in teaching is

so important".⁴⁴ It did however have the drawback of involving Newbery in a great deal of time-consuming teaching to keep the classes in operation in their absence.

Under Greiffenhagen, the curriculum changed to some extent from that followed under Delville, a fact which attests to Newbery's readiness to listen to and accept the advice of his professors. Under the new regime the course became more diverse and introduced some more advanced work at an earlier stage. Group I now included anatomical studies and modelling, the latter, a subject which Delville had maintained was unnecessary.⁴⁵ The living model was also introduced earlier, with studies from the head in Group I and details (heads hands and feet) in Group II, the whole figure from life being introduced, as before, in Group III. Composition was also encouraged from Group II onwards. This last subject was taught, in *Beaux-Arts* fashion, through the giving out of weekly subjects which were then criticised. From Group III, again following *Beaux-Arts* practice, composition sketches, indicating colour scheme, were submitted. After alterations had been suggested by the professor these were further examined and, when approved of, were worked up to full-scale cartoons under supervision, employing models, drapery studies, architectural features and landscape backgrounds from nature. The cartoons were then developed into paintings.⁴⁶

Although Greiffenhagen had some power as a master of decorative figure composition Newbery employed him in this area in collaboration with successive Design Professors, W.E.F. Britten and Robert Anning Bell who both had experience in working on major buildings. George Baltus, with his expertise in technique, also taught the subject. In 1913, however, a Professor was appointed with specific responsibility for composition among the Diploma students. This was Frederick Cayley Robinson. His style was austere and linear and owed much to that of the French muralist Puvis de Chavannes. His strengths as a muralist had been demonstrated by his work at the Middlesex Hospital in London and his decorative abilities as the designer of the London production of Maeterlink's *The Bluebird*.

Composition became an integral element in the works required to be submitted by all students sitting for the Diploma, and was eventually included in the course from Group II.⁴⁷ The School's deference to *Beaux-Arts* practice in this aspect of its work is further seen in the setting aside of separate loges for diploma composition work in the 1907 plans for its building extensions, facilities which had been provided for students who were entered for *Beaux-Arts* examinations and for the *Prix-de-Rome* in particular.⁴⁸

Towards the end of his career as Director Newbery began to work for more public expression of the decorative composition aspect of the course, negotiating for students to be allowed to produce murals for Glasgow's public libraries. However, only one of these series was completed before the war, at Possil Park in 1914⁴⁹ whilst another, planned for Langside Library, was carried out in modified form in 1921.⁵⁰ Newbery saw composition as the bringing together of the skills of the painter and designer in an architectural context and the opportunities to decorate public buildings were meant to give students the experience of carrying out actual commissions for given spaces and lighting conditions.⁵¹

Another aspect of the *Beaux-Arts* curriculum, which had been followed to some extent under South Kensington, was the making of copies from the works of artists. In the *Beaux-Arts* curriculum it had the double purpose of training the student in the compositional methods of the masters and in their technique.⁵²

Although Newbery encouraged some copying in Glasgow's Art Galleries, copying became the major feature of the work of students who won the School's travelling scholarships. Such students were required to submit an itinerary, on his advice, for visits to several of the artistic capitals of Europe. Newbery maintained that he made it a rule not to recommend an art centre to a student unless he himself had already visited it⁵³ and his advice on what students should study was often quite specific. Newbery advised on the masters whose style and technique was likely to be of most benefit to the student's own development. He shared the view with many of his contemporaries that painting had not progressed since Velazquez, Titian and Rembrandt and studies were generally made from such acknowledged masters.⁵⁴ He did not recommend students to visit Paris. This was not because of any particular animosity to the modern school (he, after all, was a frequent visitor to the French capital and was interested in the latest artistic developments) but because he believed that conditions in Paris would destabilise students who had not as yet fully discovered themselves as artists.⁵⁵

The result of Newbery and Greiffenhagen's joint teaching regime with its emphasis on cautious progress and the discovery of individuality was stressed by a reporter writing about the first exhibition of a group of ex-students, the Glasgow Society of Painters and Sculptors, in 1919. Referring to the exhibitors as "iconoclasts of a mild order" with no aspirations to the recent modernist expressions of Futurism, Cubism or Vorticism, he picked out their indebtedness to Newbery whom they acknowledged as "a guide, councillor and friend".⁵⁶

Probably the most encouraging note in the exhibition is the revelation of personal independence. It must hearten Mr Fra. H. Newbery, once the volatile chief of the Glasgow School of Art, in his retirement that the value of individuality in artistic expression, which he consistently urged, has been so courageously applied...Doubtless the spectator inspecting the bold lines of some of the figure pieces will instinctively murmur "Greiffenhagen" and before a rollicking bit of loaded impasto, "Newbery". ... But, allowing for the influence of teachers and environment there is still individuality.⁵⁷

The leading members of the group were Agnes Miller Parker, William McCance, Archibald McGlashan, Robert Sivell and James Cowie, all of whom were good artists but none of whom could have any claim, at this stage, to be members of an avant-garde. Much had happened even on the London art scene since the ground-breaking exhibition, Manet and the Post Impressionists in 1910. Newbery's insistence on the importance of academic tradition, good craftsmanship and the search for individual expression had been insufficient to guarantee a close enough dialogue with more recent developments in painting for his students to contribute more than a footnote to the developing agenda of modernism.

Modelling and Sculpture

If the Life Professor was required to be a master of figure composition for the adornment of architecture, this was equally the case for the Professor of Modelling and Sculpture. In Britain, at the turn of the century, there was a vogue for architectural sculpture as part of a general movement for the adornment of public buildings with figures and motifs symbolic of their use.⁵⁸ Again, Mackintosh, who made frequent use of sculpture on his buildings, had designed figures for the main entrance of the School of Art, representing the arts paying homage to the Tree of Knowledge,⁵⁹ and money had been set aside for six figure sculptures, again representing the arts to adorn the exterior of its library windows.⁶⁰ Newbery regarded John Belcher's Institute of Chartered Accountants, which was heavily adorned with symbolic sculpture, as the finest building of its day,⁶¹ an opinion which must have been partly shared by Mackintosh who listed Belcher as one of the contemporary architects he most admired.⁶² This was an endorsement of Ruskin's view that all the arts were most nobly expressed when adorning buildings and it is significant that all of Newbery's sculpture professors would undertake projects of this kind and that a good proportion of their students were architectural sculptors. It is also noteworthy in this context that when Newbery required a master for ornament and antique, in 1902, he appointed George Gregory, from the leading London architectural sculpture firm of Farmer and Brindley, on the recommendation of John Belcher.⁶³

Architectural sculpture thus formed an intrinsic part of the modelling course alongside drawing (from ornament and from the antique and life) and the study of anatomy and drapery as well as pure sculpture. The course also included designing ornament for architectural purposes, a knowledge of the classical and Renaissance orders and the elements of gothic and the preparation of templates based on accurate geometrical drawing. As in the Painting School, sketch composition subjects were set and criticised on a regular basis and when approved were carried out to scale.⁶⁴ By 1913 there would also be classes for metal casting and pottery.⁶⁵ For much of the period, the department was run by the Dutch sculptor, Johan Keller. In his case the employment of a non-British artist was purely fortuitous. Newbery had become concerned about the reorganisation of the modelling class as early as 1897⁶⁶ and it was decided at that time that a new sculpture professor should be sought to take charge of the classes. In looking for a suitable candidate the governors enlisted the advice of George Frampton, a leading British sculptor, who was working on the new Glasgow Art Galleries. The latter recommended another Englishman, Francis Derwent Wood.⁶⁷

After a visit to Glasgow to advise on the classes, Wood was appointed Director of Modelling. However, Wood's appointment only required him to make short visits to Glasgow (about three days at a time) on a monthly basis: this was later changed to once every three months,⁶⁸ and it was agreed that he should be served by an assistant who would take more permanent charge of the classes. It was he and Frampton who recommended Keller, who was at that time resident in London.⁶⁹ Wood continued as Director for the 1898-9 session⁷⁰ but, thereafter, Keller ran the classes without Wood's supervision up until 1913.

Although probably the best equipped modelling school in the country,⁷¹ the section failed to attract anything more than small numbers of students. It was always the smallest section in the School with the majority of its students being engaged in the

trade. In the 1908-9 session for example, there were thirty-eight sculpture students, twenty-nine of whom were attending in the evenings. The majority of these would have been drawn from the thirty-two students who gave their occupations as "stone carvers, wood carvers, gilders, modellers or plasterers".⁷² This meant that in addition to failing to attract students from other parts of the School there were only small numbers of women students specialising in modelling. Newbery was ready to acknowledge that "the conditions under which" sculpture was carried on presented "difficulties for the female student"⁷³ but at least some women were taking the course. At this time three were attending in the day and one in the evening and at least one of these, Phyllis Archibald, would find employment as an architectural figure sculptor.⁷⁴

The numbers of students specialising in sculpture between 1907 and 1914 never exceeded fifty and in three of these years, 1909, 1910 and 1911, there were no students in Group IV.⁷⁵ Moreover, as most sculptors were prevented on economic grounds from attending as day students the School's influence was undoubtedly far weaker than it could have been.⁷⁶ Whilst the low numbers were supplemented by students taking modelling as a part of other courses, only eight sculpture students, all men, had obtained diplomas by 1914. Again most of these (five) were professional sculptors, the others being teachers, two in the School's sculpture department. However, at least two of these, Albert Hodge and William Reid Dick achieved positions near the top of the profession and there were undoubtedly others such as John Tweed and Thomas Clapperton who did not complete the Diploma, but who went on to achieve success.

The low numbers of students eventually caused problems for Keller. When he asked for an increase in salary in 1912, Newbery expressed some disquiet at the small size of his classes, attributing this, in part, to the decline in work for modellers and sculptors in Glasgow over the previous ten years.⁷⁷ On a subsequent visit some of the governors expressed the opinion that as results were "not commensurate with the cost of the section" they should dispense with Keller's services and give more responsibility to his assistants. They also, however, agreed to call in the aid of a professional sculptor of eminence who would act as visitor and would give some lectures, set the curriculum and criticise the work.⁷⁸

Although Newbery believed that art education's highest purpose was the production of artists who were capable of intensely personal work, he took the view that such work on the part of the teacher, in his educational capacity, was less desirable, especially when measured against the need for tested and tried academic methods based on a study of tradition. Newbery's objectives in seeking a visiting professor of sculpture were much the same as for painting. He wanted an artist who was also a good teacher of the tradition. Thus, in appointing Paul Wayland Bartlett, an American resident in Paris, he was primarily impressed by his "sound academical views" and by a lecture he had given to the Franco-American Society in Paris. He also knew that Bartlett had done some public sculpture in Paris and had won a commission to work on the three north pediments of the Capitol at Washington, thereby establishing his credentials both as a pure sculptor and as a man who understood the relationship of sculpture to architecture.

However, if Bartlett was a safe pair of hands, Newbery had to rule out another possible candidate, the avant-garde sculptor Jacob Epstein. He knew the latter's work from the Medical Association Building in the Strand and the monument to Oscar Wilde in the

Cemetery of Père Lachaise in Paris. On the basis of this knowledge he did not feel himself able to recommend him, saying: "My own feeling is that Mr Epstein is a stylist, whose work is so personal that it could not be made a reliable vehicle for education".⁷⁹

The arrangement with Bartlett was never really tested as the war soon intervened and Bartlett became increasingly involved with his work in Washington. After visits on a non-official basis by Alfred Drury and George Frampton,⁸⁰ Bartlett's place as visiting Professor was taken by Albert Hodge, who had been trained as an architect and specialised in architectural sculpture.

Architecture

Architecture, perhaps more than any other department of the School, was marked by the influence of continental teaching methods, Glasgow being one of the first three British Schools to adopt a curriculum based on the approach of the Parisian *Ecole des Beaux-Arts*, and the first to employ a French architect as its professor.⁸¹

Prior to this, however, an evening school course was provided for architectural apprentices, arranged to meet the requirements of the examinations of the Royal Institute of British Architects.⁸² This course, run by the departmental head, Alexander McGibbon in 1900-01, the last year under the Department of Science and Art was also geared towards Newbery's view that an architect should be first and foremost an artist.⁸³ With this object, it had a strong thread of fine art teaching running through it to develop the students' drawing abilities and to sensitise them to architectural aesthetics and to the functions of fine and decorative art in an architectural context. It was meant to last for four years (if the student worked full-time) and was based around the National Course of Instruction.

Before entering on the course those students who needed it were required to develop their basic drawing skills, both freehand and with instruments in a Probationary Course. This comprised the elementary drawing stages of the National Course of Instruction which were embodied in its grade 2 certificate (viz. elementary freehand, geometry, perspective and model drawing). Entering upon the architecture course proper, the student was first required to take the two year Intermediate Course leading to the Intermediate examination of the Royal Institute of British Architects (R.I.B.A.). The first year concentrated on the Greek and Roman orders and features of medieval architecture together with elementary building construction and drawing from casts (this last to develop drawing and observational skills). The second year began the series of lectures on the history of architecture which continued through to the end of the course. It also included advanced building construction and the drawing of ancient examples from measurement and from copies as well as the sketching and measurement of buildings. Drawing skills were further developed by more studies from the cast, but these were now supplemented by modelling from the same source, seen by Newbery as the best means of developing the student's understanding of mass.⁸⁴

The Final Course, leading to the final qualifying examination of the R.I.B.A. also took two years. The third year introduced drawing from the figure (in the first instance from the antique) which, Newbery argued, trained the student's eye and his responsiveness to

proportion in architecture.⁸⁵ There were also more lectures on the history of architecture, classes in architectural design and lectures on the principles of ornament. At this point also, students took the South Kensington honours certificate in building construction. Newbery, unlike some of the architects on the R.I.B.A.'s Board of Architectural Education could not accept that style should only be taught in relation to construction or that design exercises were unnecessary.⁸⁶ Although he believed that style had evolved from material and structural considerations and that the inculcation of such an understanding was part of the architectural teacher's task ⁸⁷ he also maintained that a knowledge of a particular style was most easily obtained through exercises in designing in that style.⁸⁸ Hence, weekly classes on architectural design, were reinforced by set monthly projects which also tested what the students had learnt from their lectures on building construction and historic architecture and ornament. Thus, for example, students might be required to design an interior of a sheriff court house in the Scottish Renaissance style for which they were also required to devise the construction of an open timber roof.⁸⁹ The fourth year moved the student on to life drawing whilst still including work from the antique but expanding it to include modelling. There was also tuition in figure composition and design and colour decoration. Architectural design and the history of architecture were continued from the previous year and there were lectures on historic ornament and on the restoration of ancient buildings.⁹⁰

McGibbon supplemented his course with tuition in measured drawing from buildings in and around Glasgow. Following Rowand Anderson's example at the Edinburgh School of Applied Art he also encouraged the production of measured drawings of historical Scottish buildings⁹¹ and took the students on excursions to notable buildings in Scotland and England. By 1904 these had included several major English cathedral cities as well as historic towns such as Stratford-on-Avon and large houses such as Haddon Hall and Chatsworth.⁹²

The course changed very little from the above under the SED. The Probationary Course, now renamed the Preparatory Course, however was made fuller with the addition of the drawing of plants and flowers from nature, a practice which Newbery advocated to develop his student's artistic sensibilities, and the drawing of interiors and exteriors of buildings in perspective and the painting of simple objects.

Since a parallel course was also being run by Charles Gourlay at the Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College a joint committee, which had been formed a year previously to co-ordinate design teaching,⁹³ prepared a joint scheme for architecture in 1904.⁹⁴ Once this scheme had been devised the Art School governors sought a professor to co-ordinate the course. They seem to have had no doubts that this professor should be a *Diplomé* of the *Ecole des Beaux-Arts* at Paris which had the most advanced and systematic architectural course then available. Two of the School's governors, John James Burnet and John Keppie had been trained in Paris and Burnet, in particular, was a strong advocate of its approach.⁹⁵ Thus with the advice of Burnet's teacher Jean-Louis Pascal and the help of the School's newly appointed French Design Professor, Adolphe Giraldon, Eugene Bourdon, a practising Parisian architect was invited to Glasgow to make a report on the architecture department.⁹⁶ He recommended the employment of a French Diploma architect as Professor who would co-ordinate McGibbon and Gourlay's work, developing it along *Beaux-Arts* lines, and visiting both institutions periodically to oversee the course.⁹⁷ On the approval of his recommendations, Bourdon himself was

appointed to the post and made Professor of a new "Glasgow School of Architecture" under the control of a permanent Joint Committee.⁹⁸

The new course divided the work between the two institutions, assigning the more artistic aspects to the School and the more technical to the College. Thus the School concentrated on architectural design, drawing and modelling, whilst the College supplied teaching in architectural history, "architectural design in construction", measuring, building superintendence, and stereotomy. It also gave courses in mathematics, descriptive geometry, mechanics, and physical science which included physics, chemistry and geology.

The Diploma course was recommended to be taken in the day school, over about four years but evening students could take a certificate course, divided into a junior and senior section, taking three and five sessions respectively.⁹⁹ Both the Diploma and the Senior Certificate, by 1909, were recognised by the R.I.B.A. as exempting students from its intermediate examinations.¹⁰⁰

Bourdon took the view that architectural students should be highly educated and both day and evening students were required to take a preliminary examination in the former and an entrance examination in the latter case, each giving proofs of their academic ability. These covered the subjects of English, mathematics, drawing, Latin or a modern language and elementary building construction for day students and elementary mathematics, drawing and elementary building construction for evening students. However, students were recommended to raise their academic qualifications even higher than this and to take, where possible, a course of study at a university.

Whereas McGibbon's course had tended to concentrate on the provision of evening classes for students employed daily in a drawing office, Bourdon required day attendance for his Diploma course. In this however, he allowed a degree of flexibility to accommodate it to the requirements of the drawing office. He recommended that prospective pupils should first attend a Preliminary day course for one session and then enter an architect's office, prior to taking on the Diploma Course. The preferred option was that students should then attend the full day course for four years, only attending the office during vacations, completing their office pupillage, which usually took five years, afterwards. If such an arrangement was not possible, Bourdon also offered an Alternate Course in which the student attended full day classes for two years in the Lower Division, with vacation attendance in his office and evening classes in the Upper Division for three to four years. Failing that, students could also attend on day release taking a combination of afternoon or morning courses on certain days each week, together with some evening classes.¹⁰¹

Bourdon's success in attracting students into the day classes to complete the Diploma was moderate. In his first session 1904-5 he recorded that he had seventeen students, two of whom were women, attending day classes, with sixty-four male students attending in the evenings.¹⁰² The situation had improved markedly by 1908-9, when he had thirty day class students and one hundred and twelve evening students.¹⁰³ By 1913-14, however, there had been a drop almost to 1904 levels with twenty-two in day and afternoon classes and seventy-two in the evenings. (None of these were women.)¹⁰⁴

Very few students achieved the Diploma. Between session 1909-10 when it was first awarded and 1915-16 only twelve male students had been successful.¹⁰⁵ Nor had many students taken the Junior course certificate. (Between 1908 and 1915 only thirteen were awarded (one of these to a woman student))¹⁰⁶ A more popular course than either of these, however, was that which led to the Senior Course Certificate. Between 1907 and 1917 thirty-two male students obtained this award.¹⁰⁷ Its greater popularity probably derived from its being an evening course which gave the same exemption from the R.I.B.A.'s intermediate examinations as did the Diploma and from the fact that the Diploma was not awarded until the completion of the office pupillage.

The course was an adaptation of the *Beaux-Arts* system to the situation Bourdon found in Glasgow. He maintained that:

under the old [Glasgow] scheme the student learned the history of architecture and the practical side of the subject, but the training in design was reduced to a minimum. Now without curtailing much of the learning, I give a great deal more training.¹⁰⁸

Students were required to complete, each session, four designs and six finished sketches. In accordance with *Beaux-Arts* methods the students were given a programme of requirements in a short lecture. They had then to produce a sketch addressing these requirements in two and a half hours. The students next elaborated their sketches under tutorial direction devoting a lesser amount of time to finishing the drawings. The programmes included such schemes as a post office, a museum, a casino, an architectural school, a colonial parliament and a shipyard. In addition, six finished sketch subjects were given out each session to be completed away from the School, again after a short preliminary lecture.¹⁰⁹

Measured drawing lost the prominence it had enjoyed previously. When Edinburgh College of Art asked the School to participate in a "National Art Survey" which had been begun by Rowand Anderson at the Edinburgh School of Applied Art, Bourdon, whilst accepting, offered reservations. He argued that it was necessary to guard against making measuring too important a subject. Nor did he want the requirements of the Survey in the West of Scotland to prevent students from undertaking measuring in the East and in England, where he considered it to be of more educational value.¹¹⁰

Bourdon's approach to art and education had echoes in Newbery's own. He believed in nurturing the student on tradition but left the artist, thus produced, to go his own way.

I make a departure between Art and Art Education. Art may be classic or not, traditionalist or not, national or not; the decision stands with the practising national artists; but in all cases Art education, like any education should be classic, i.e. based upon the tradition...I have brought here, in Architecture, not French Architecture as a few fancy, but the architectural tradition, the old Greek tradition, transplanted to Rome, modified in the Gothic, renewed at the Renaissance. My students in practice will make "classic" or "modern" art. That is their own affair.¹¹¹

Although a member of the joint committee and frequently in consultation with Bourdon, Newbery left the course in his professor's capable hands and his trust was fully vindicated, Bourdon making a great success of his work. He probably ran the most successful *Beaux-Arts* derived course in Britain and nurtured a generation of young architects who believed in the soundness of his methods.¹¹²

Design and Decorative Art

The development of the design course gave Newbery more difficulties than any other section of the School. He saw the course as catering for three distinct but related categories of student: designers "in the industrial arts in which mechanical processes are employed"; artist craftsmen, directly engaged in the production of artefacts; and decorative artists studying mural decoration and the preparation of cartoons or designs for a wide range of media from stained glass to book illustration.¹¹³ Of first importance in all three fields was the provision of an artistic education. It was particularly important to stress this in the first of these areas because although the School's design teaching was intended to be linked to the needs of the city's industries, artistic quality could not be sacrificed to trade interests.¹¹⁴ The drive to increase artistic quality in the teaching would involve Newbery and his governors in a strenuous, and not altogether successful, search for a suitable head of design who could co-ordinate all three areas of activity.

Up until 1904 Newbery took nominal charge of the department with Aston Nicholas continuing to give the major proportion of the design teaching. At this time, and throughout the remainder of Newbery's tenure and beyond, the course was firmly based on drawing, together with the usual analytical studies from botanical specimens and historical ornament and the development of conventional forms from nature. There were also lectures on geometry, the principles of ornament, and applied design, supported at the more advanced level by a strong backbone of drawing from the figure: from the antique, in Group III; and from the life, in Group IV.¹¹⁵

As the ultimate objective of each student might lie in any of the three areas identified by Newbery, or even in a combination of them, it was not obligatory for students to progress from more general design to specialisation in the Technical Studios, these latter being reserved largely for the artist craft workers. In fact it would probably be true to say that Newbery's design course throughout most of his period as headmaster and director placed far more emphasis on drawing as the basis of design than craftwork. Nevertheless, from 1905 it was required that all design students receive lectures and, from 1911, some experience in the crafts, as part of their course.¹¹⁶ The stipulation that all students who wished to be considered for the Diploma should "show proofs of having received technical instruction in one or more of the arts and crafts", ¹¹⁷ however, could hardly have penalised evening students training as designers for industry, as these would not have been on the diploma course.

During the period up to 1904, however, students were only allowed to enter the technical studios in Group IV and had first to seek permission from Newbery who insisted on a sound foundation in drawing, pointing out that "inability to draw or model well hinders students in the expression of their ideas, and no good design is possible unless the designer be first a good draughtsman".¹¹⁸

Drawing and craftwork were thus seen as two distinct activities with drawing or design coming first and hands-on knowledge of materials and processes only being added afterwards. The distinction between designing and making was maintained even in the technical studios which had the services of a designer and a working craftsman. The philosophy and methodology behind this approach was explained by Newbery in regard to stained glass.

Twice a week a stained glass expert comes to the School of Art, and though he does not design he knows how to put a window in and tells about the lead line, etc.. The School is thus kept in touch with the technical requirements of the trade. The School eliminates the idea that the designing is done for any particular manufacturer, but the student at the School wants to express himself, does so in this way, and is kept right by experts.¹¹⁹

In most of the technical studios the level of teaching expertise was considered to be sufficient but Newbery was prepared, when necessary, to call in external help, often from far afield. In 1903 the London artist Alexander Fisher was asked to visit to make recommendations for improvements to the enamel class¹²⁰ and in 1905 a deputation of governors was appointed to visit several English Arts and Crafts Schools: the Bromsgrove Art Workers' Guild, the Central and the Vittoria Street Schools at Birmingham, The Guild of Handicraft at Chipping Campden, and the studios of Alexander Fisher, Nelson Dawson and Harry Wilson in London, to inspect their work in enamelling and to obtain the aid of a teacher to oversee the tuition.¹²¹ Arthur Gaskin, the head of the Vittoria Street School at Birmingham subsequently made several paid visits¹²² which were followed much later, from 1913, by others from Harold Stabler.¹²³ A similar pattern was followed, also from 1913, when the School applied for help from Gordon Forsyth of Pilkington's in setting up pottery kilns and developing a course.¹²⁴

The numbers of students specialising in the artistic crafts appear to have been almost uniformly small, unlike the more trade-oriented classes at the Technical College, the Edinburgh College of Art and many English Technical Art Schools. This was a reflection of Newbery's insistence on the maintenance of artistic quality. The Department's student figures from session 1904-5, the first which make an analysis possible, reveal that slightly more women than men were engaged in design and that more women were also patronising the technical classes. That year, the Department had eighty-nine students with forty-seven women and forty-two men. As with the other Departments the vast majority of male students (thirty-eight) attended in the evening with only four in day classes. Of the men, only thirteen were participating in crafts classes. The largest numbers, four in each case, were taking book binding and furniture design; two were in the interior design class and one each in wood carving, metalwork, and enamelling. By contrast thirty-one of the women attended during the day, fourteen in the evening and two on Saturdays. Fifteen of these took crafts classes with six in embroidery, three in bookbinding and six in enamelling.¹²⁵ However, taking into account the wide range of technical classes on offer,[Appendix 2] for which no students were registered, it may be that only those students who specialised full-time in a particular discipline were entered in the registers, or there would have been little point in employing staff in some of the other classes. By far the most popular classes, however, were the general design classes run by Nicholas which catered largely for

textile workers. These had sixty-five students, thirty-nine men and twenty-six women.¹²⁶

Newbery's approach to design teaching in general and the technical studios in particular was applauded by Robert Anning Bell who inspected the School for the SED, in March 1903. He praised Newbery's insistence on good draughtsmanship as the basis of design as well as the work of several of the technical studios for the commercial potential of their teaching. He complimented the technical excellence of the bookbinding classes, noting that several students were successfully in business in the town. He also singled out the stencilling (interior design) classes for their useful work in training the heads of decorative firms and their foremen, thus exerting a more influential effect on the output of such firms whose business had increased as a result of their attendance.

The textile classes he also praised for their ability in adapting designs to the conditions of production but found the work uninteresting and too subservient to trade demands when compared with the needlework classes which he particularly praised for their Glasgow Style work. Metalwork and enamelling were also commended and Bell was shown a list of seventeen designers who as a result of their training were

working in their own studios as independent artists in stained glass, book binding, embroidery, enamel work, textiles &c, besides many others who are employed regularly as Muslin, Damask, and carpet manufacturers, iron workers, furniture makers, lithographers and others. One of these firms employs 16 designers.¹²⁷

Despite this generally good report Newbery and his governors were coming to the view that the Department required a dedicated professor of higher standing than Nicholas to raise the quality of the teaching. Also, although the School already organised class visits to factories and workshops it was felt that such an appointment could help to improve the School's relationship with industry.¹²⁸

In addition the governors wished to establish a better link between the School's adequate studies from nature and their insufficiently good adaptation to design.¹²⁹ As it was believed that the best designs from nature were still being produced in France, a deputation was sent from the School, in January 1904, to the schools in Lyons, Paris, Roubaix and Lille to examine their methods and to seek a professor.¹³⁰ Whether with a view to acquiring their services or just to seek their advice the Deputation interviewed some of France's leading designers among whom were Eugène Grasset, who was also a noted teacher.¹³¹

Margaret Macdonald Mackintosh, with whatever justification, believed that the appointment of a Frenchman represented an effort to stamp out the Mackintosh or Glasgow Style influence in the School ¹³² but it is more likely that the governors were concerned to address more closely the needs of Glasgow's textile manufacturers. As a result of the visit the designer Adolphe Girardon was appointed. His work, the governors observed, had "a distinct character and (was) carried out with that perfection of technique that is so noteworthy a feature of all French craftsmanship". As Glasgow's textile firms still bought most of their designs from France a special reception was organised on Girardon's arrival, to which manufacturers were invited.¹³³

However, the new professor's strengths lay more in the area of general design (Newbery's third category) than in relating teaching to industry. His teaching methods owed something to those being pursued at the *Ecole des Beaux-Arts*. He required each student to go through a Preparatory Course before passing into the Design Room. This embraced the usual studies from nature and historic ornament, drawing from the antique with life, geometry and perspective and elementary modelling and architecture. The student would then be ready for the Advanced Course in which he was required to work out programmes set by Girdon. Each programme required the decoration of a room for which plans and elevations were provided. Lectures on the various crafts and "general studies" were followed by sketch designs *en loges* which Girdon then "corrected" and worked out with the students who then finished them.¹³⁴

If Newbery had a French professor of Design this does not mean that he was only interested in French teaching methods. Newbery enjoyed excellent relations with several German art educationists and quite a few of these had already visited the School by 1905.¹³⁵ In that year, in order to reacquaint himself with their work he made an intensive tour of Germany and Austro-Hungary, visiting many of the leading art schools.¹³⁶ Although it does not appear to have had any great impact on the design teaching favoured by Girdon, Newbery took a great deal of interest in the progressive course being developed by Peter Behrens at Dusseldorf.¹³⁷ Newbery's awareness of German developments would continue down to 1914 through further visits and, in particular, through his contact and friendship with Hermann Muthesius who held a post in the Prussian Board of Trade which controlled local arts and crafts schools. Although Newbery had a deep interest in German design education, there is no evidence that he adopted any German methods. He was critical of the course being followed at the Kunstgewerbeschule in Berlin because of its disregard for tradition¹³⁸ and for what he perceived to be its lack of relationship to outside demand. Moreover, Newbery's advocacy of individuality in artistic expression could hardly have caused him to agree with Muthesius in his efforts to introduce standardisation into German design. Nor did Newbery ever seek to extend the School's teaching of industrial design, beyond the sphere of ornament, into product design, as the Germans would do increasingly after the war.

Girdon's contract only required him to visit Glasgow for three months in the year and this did not allow him enough time to direct the course which was still largely in the hands of Nicholas, a weakness which was noted in 1906 by the SED inspector Sir R. Rowand Anderson who felt that Girdon was "not sufficiently in contact with the students to produce the desired results".¹³⁹ Moreover, the increased liaison which the governors had expected would result with manufacturers had not been effected as, by 1906, they were not only asking Girdon to employ his time in Glasgow more effectively but were also inviting his suggestions on how the School might be brought more closely into touch with the needs of manufacturers.¹⁴⁰

After two more years, of further unsatisfactory results the governors and Newbery were beginning to consider different arrangements. As early as 1903 the School had held a conference with the Technical College, at the latter's request, to examine ways of correlating the design courses in the two institutions "in the interests of the artistic crafts of the city".¹⁴¹ The conference had produced no direct results but the establishment of

the Joint Committee on Architecture, a year later, provided a permanent forum in which such projects could be discussed. The Joint Committee had been responsible for the appointment of the decorative artist, John Ednie, as Director of the College's Industrial Art Classes in 1906¹⁴² and by 1908 was beginning to look afresh at further possibilities for co-operation. The time for this was ripe, especially since the School would have enlarged facilities for design teaching on the completion of its extensions and since the Weaving College, with which the School was already co-operating, had recently been absorbed into the Technical College. It was suggested, therefore, that a Glasgow School of Design might be established on the pattern of the Glasgow School of Architecture, under a joint, full-time professor, who would co-ordinate the artistic and practical training provided in the two institutions.¹⁴³

Giraldon was thus asked to resign and enquiries were made from the School's contacts for "an artist of eminence". The School's interest in French designers appears to have cooled as the governors were now considering some of the major British Arts and Crafts architects, who also happened to be accomplished designers, for their post. By May, M.H. Bailie Scott,¹⁴⁴ C.F.A. Voysey and Harry Wilson; together with Herbert McNair and Edward Spencer were being discussed. Voysey and Wilson, were the favoured candidates and were to be interviewed in London by a deputation of School governors with a Joint Committee representative from the College and be asked to submit a report on the section in the same way as Bourdon had done for architecture.¹⁴⁵

Matters, however, turned out rather differently than planned. Voysey, who had shown an interest in the post, wanted £100 more than the £450 on offer. This was for travelling expenses as he was not ready to relinquish his London practice for nine months each year in Glasgow. Wilson, on the other hand was not interested, but was able to recommend his own candidate, W.E.F. Britten, who, he assured Newbery, was a "genius". Britten was a decorative figure artist of some note, having executed work, in situ, at Saint Paul's Cathedral (two spandrels of the dome), at the South Kensington Museum and in several churches.

The Deputation, however, recorded that:

Mr Britten has done little or nothing in the way of design for the art manufactures, is not versed in the knowledge of mechanical requirements and technical processes. He frankly confessed this but stated that he should experience no difficulty in obtaining the required information and knowledge.

Wilson supported Britten in this, stating that "his [Wilson's] experience led him to the conclusion that granted the great knowledge of design possessed by Mr Britten its application to the industrial arts was a small matter".¹⁴⁶

Britten, accordingly, was appointed without even being required to submit a report.

The hopes of Newbery and the governors that a Glasgow School of Design would result from Britten's appointment were not to be realised despite Newbery's subsequent efforts. Britten's contract required him to take charge of design classes in both the School and the Technical College ¹⁴⁷ and Newbery also began to draw Britten into work with the Weaving College by organising common lectures to be given at both institutions for the

benefit of their students.¹⁴⁸ This scheme, although it offered tuition free of charge on a reciprocal basis, failed to attract Weaving College students in significant numbers, partly it would seem because of Britten's lack of application.¹⁴⁹ If Britten had strengths as an artist, particularly in the area of decorative figure work, Newbery, soon came to the conclusion that he had no abilities as a professor and a teacher. As early as November 1908, two months into Britten's first term, Newbery was expressing doubts as to Britten's practical usefulness¹⁵⁰ and two months later it came to Newbery's notice that the Professor's classes were irregularly attended¹⁵¹ largely because Britten was unwilling to cater for the ability level of his students.¹⁵² Furthermore, Britten had difficulty in drawing up timetables and in keeping to his own timetable.¹⁵³

Britten appears to have been so ineffective that after a year in his post Newbery felt obliged to draw up a document explaining his responsibilities and proposing a reorganisation of the design section to give better provision for the teaching of textile design.¹⁵⁴ Newbery then took over the formal direction of the department and further sought to reorganise it by suggesting that Bourdon be appointed its director, concentrating on co-ordinating it more closely with the School Board's evening continuation classes and the classes run by the Technical College as well as seeking closer co-operation with manufacturers. Although Bourdon was ready to attempt this, the plan was rejected by the governors.¹⁵⁵ Subsequently it was decided, on Newbery's suggestion, that he, Newbery, remain as director of the department but seek to appoint a specialist textile professor, retaining Britten for some of the latter's other classes.¹⁵⁶ The new professor would be responsible both for the basic design course given to all students in the section and for the specialist training of textile designers. He would thus have to be both an artist and designer and a man with expert knowledge of textile manufacture and trade requirements.¹⁵⁷

After an intensive search for a textile professor, which involved Newbery in canvassing the opinions of several experts including Alexander Morton the textile manufacturer, Robert Anning Bell and Ann Macbeth, the head of the School's embroidery section, and in interviewing the designers Lindsay P. Butterfield and Sidney Mawson, the proposal was dropped, neither candidate being considered suitable.¹⁵⁸

Not wishing to remain in direct control of the Design Department, however, Newbery opened discussions with Robert Anning Bell, himself, asking if he might consider acting as Visitor.¹⁵⁹ Bell, however, replied that he would be interested in a closer association putting himself forward for the design professorship.¹⁶⁰ Bell was thus invited to report on the design classes¹⁶¹ and was subsequently appointed to visit the School for six months each year at £500 per annum,¹⁶² Britten being retained as Professor of Composition until July 1912.¹⁶³

Bell showed a more active interest in the technical studios and had his own vital ideas on how to develop the Department. He was a watercolourist and modeller and a master of several crafts: stained glass; gesso and decorative plasterwork; mosaic; metalwork and enamels; a black and white artist; and designer for embroidery and textiles enjoying good connections with the London Arts and Crafts movement.

Reporting on the Design Department, he noted that too few students were going in for design and the crafts compared to painting. He also pointed out that students were inclined to make designs for too many crafts which they would never have the

opportunity of mastering. Moreover, he felt that the work was "too feminine in character", qualifying this by saying that a style of design which was suitable for embroidery, "by far the best" class "conducted on admirable lines", had "crept in everywhere" and wanted less in the way of *bric-à-brac* and more prominence given to "the sort of design which is manifestly intended to play up to architecture".¹⁶⁴

In 1916, after five years at the School, Bell reported on the changes he had made in the Section. These embodied a reorientation in philosophy towards basing design on a direct and early knowledge of tools and materials, rather than beginning with designs on paper. Thus, for example, stained glass students were made to handle glass and leading, to choose glass for its colour and texture and attempt some simple painting, before being allowed to make paper designs or cartoons.¹⁶⁵

Bell's strengths were in craftwork and general design as opposed to designs for manufacture and all his suggestions related to developing these two areas. He was concerned that students were not given enough opportunity to discover the potential of design, *vis-à-vis* painting, as a profession, and believed that this accounted for the smaller numbers in the design department. He thus proposed, with Newbery's agreement, that there should be a larger design element in the earlier years of the course, extending it into Group II. Additionally, he allowed students to enter the craft classes at Group I.¹⁶⁶

Bell had introduced a series of new skills into the craft workshops all related to his own specialism, design in relation to buildings, which he justified by pointing to Glasgow's strong architectural tradition. He, thus, encouraged students in craftwork which related to interior design, developing skills in the making, firing and decoration of ceramics, (in particular, tiles); lettering and its offshoot, manuscript illumination; the staining and gilding of wood; and mural decoration, both in paint and plaster. He also set aside spaces in the School where decorative schemes could be constructed with the purpose of giving the students experience of working in collaboration, each exercising their particular craft skills, in conditions which they would be likely to meet with in the real world. Lastly he established a permanent exhibition space where work could be shown to manufacturers, as potential employers, and to the general public.¹⁶⁷

It is difficult to be accurate about the numbers of students attending design classes as the School's official figures in its annual reports do not agree with the records in its registers. However, it is certain that Bell had begun to attract increasing numbers of pupils into his department by the outbreak of the Great War and that far more of these were now specialising in the crafts. According to the Annual Reports, by 1913-14 session Bell had increased the numbers of design students from sixty-seven in 1911-12 to eighty-eight.¹⁶⁸ By contrast, however, the Registers for 1913-14 indicate that one hundred and fifty-seven students were taking design subjects and by far the greater proportion of these (one hundred and nineteen) were women. Male students, generally, still attended in evenings (thirty-two in the evening and six in the day classes). There were fifty female day students, but more, sixty-seven, in the evenings. There had also been an increase to twenty-two men specialising in crafts but their numbers were far outweighed by the ninety-seven women crafts students.

The figures are silent about the numbers of students specialising in textiles. This was one of the School's most important branches of design and it was one that was still giving concern. In fact Newbery and several of the governors were critical of Bell's failure to consider this in his report.¹⁶⁹ Throughout the period, the School's relations with the Weaving College had been close and energetically pursued. In 1905 a new venture had been embarked on which was meant to relate closely to trade requirements. A conference of manufacturers, proposed by the College, was held at the School which resulted in the formation of an art course for commercial men in the textile trades.¹⁷⁰ The course was aimed at manufacturers, salesmen and buyers and was intended through them to influence the future of design.¹⁷¹ It was taught by an ex-art school student Joseph Sadler, already the design master in the Weaving College and W.G. Morton who taught interior decoration in the School. They were later joined by the artist painter and designer, William Petrie who taught colour and printing.¹⁷² The course, however, only attracted moderate numbers.¹⁷³ Newbery also organised occasional lectures for both institutions which were given by leading experts on textiles from the Victoria and Albert Museum.¹⁷⁴ Additionally, an ongoing course of complementary lectures was given by the staff of both institutions.¹⁷⁵ These courses were continued when the Technical College took over the Weaving College in 1908. From this point onwards the School gave the art instruction in the Technical College's courses for Diplomas and Certificates in Textile Manufacture,¹⁷⁶ students being sent to the School to receive lectures and demonstrations from Petrie. At the same time Petrie's lectures together with those of his colleague Archibald Walker formed a part of the School's curriculum. Although Newbery and the governors were concerned that Bell had not given this aspect of the School's work enough prominence in his plans,¹⁷⁷ it is likely that they were at least well enough patronised for Walker to continue to be a valued member of staff into the 1930s.¹⁷⁸

The above courses would have come under the aegis of the proposed Glasgow School of Design, which had failed to materialise after Britten's appointment. Another section to have been included would have been the Technical College's Decorative Trades Classes. In 1909 the Technical College was discussing the possibility of its transferring these to the Art School as not being in keeping with its other work.¹⁷⁹ These classes now included: house painting and sign writing; furniture design and cabinet making; metal work; bookbinding; modelling and plasterwork; and printing. Newbery saw several advantages in taking over the College's work. It would bring all the art education in the city under the direct control of the School and enable it to co-ordinate, more effectively, the craft work in the School Board Continuation Classes. In this connection, Newbery was concerned that the Technical College admitted students of too low a standard who had not been through school board evening classes.¹⁸⁰ He also expected that it would bring the School's work into more direct communication with trade interests, placing the School in a position similar to that enjoyed by Edinburgh College of Art which had thriving decorative trades classes.

He saw that premises would be required for the classes either in the existing building, which was already overcrowded, or in an adjacent annexe, possibly in two rooms in the Corporation Buildings across the street from the School.¹⁸¹ He further proposed that the classes might be run by a committee onto which members representing trades might be co-opted.¹⁸²

There were however problems which attended such a plan. Working class students at the College could not be induced to attend the School of Art even though advanced instruction was only made available there ¹⁸³ and Newbery saw that much of the Decorative Trades class work was of too elementary a nature to be taken on by the School. He thus came to the conclusion that it should be embraced by the School Board, a point in which the latter was ready to acquiesce.¹⁸⁴

Hence, at a conference between the three parties it was agreed that employers be required to have their apprentices attend the School Board's continuation classes for two years to continue their general education and to take drawing related to their respective trades. From the age of sixteen they should then pass on to special trade schools, presumably developed from the Decorative Trades Classes to work on art subjects and at trade and craft work for a further two years depending on ability. After this they were to be selected by an advisory committee representing employers, workmen, the School and the School Board, for progress to the School for higher art or craft work.¹⁸⁵

As a result, the Technical College resolved to transfer the whole of its Decorative Trades Classes, including staff and plant, to the School Board in the summer of 1914.¹⁸⁶ These were embodied in a Decorative Trades Institute which was affiliated to the Art School, advanced students being selected for transfer to the latter's classes and the School having representation on its advisory committee.¹⁸⁷

It is difficult to come to any accurate conclusions on the success of Newbery's energetic efforts in the field of design. Of the twenty-four design students who had obtained diplomas by 1914, thirteen were working as professional designers and art workers with a further seven in teaching. Seventeen were women, showing their dominance in this area.¹⁸⁸ The School also recorded each year the most notable appointments and commissions its students secured in the field of manufacturing.¹⁸⁹ In addition there were the large numbers of evening students already working in industries which dealt in the ornamental arts. The impact of the unsigned and untraced work of the majority of these, good or indifferent, is impossible to quantify. The productions of the Glasgow Style craft workers is, in many cases, more easy to identify. However, according to Anning Bell, this style was in decline by 1911. By that time, although it still held sway in the embroidery department, it shared its place with two other incompatible influences in the School, "the very accomplished but entirely bookish style" taught by Giralton and that of Britten "whose work had some flavouring of that of Alfred Stevens".¹⁹⁰ To that might be added Bell's own influence which like Britten's owed much to the late Victorian mixture of mediaevalism and classicism. These styles were far less distinct than the Glasgow Style, closer to tradition and to nature and were thus less likely to date. However, they in turn would have difficulty in surviving the fundamental questioning of artistic values and the repudiation of ornament and historic bases for design which followed the disruption of the Great War. Despite Newbery's close connections with Germany and his knowledge of the work of the German *Werkbund* he could see little reason to join the Design for Industries Association, formed in 1916 with the intention of reforming design in British Industry, in response to the *Werkbund's* 1914 Cologne exhibition. He believed it to be unnecessarily duplicating the work of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society.¹⁹¹

Despite the advances made in German design education after the war, building on the achievements of the *Werkbund* and some pre-war German educationists¹⁹² it is unlikely that either Newbery or anyone else in Britain or Germany could foresee these developments in 1914. Whether Newbery could have responded to them is an open question. He would have welcomed them as evidence that art was moving forward and that it was attempting to address the needs of the age, but it is unlikely that he would have been ready to accept an educational approach which so blatantly discarded artistic traditions.

Notes

GSA = Glasgow School of Art

GSAA = Glasgow School of Art Archives

GSArch = Glasgow School of Architecture

SED = Scotch Education Department

SRO = Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh

1. GSAA, GSA, Minutes 15 August 1901, Lord Balfour, Glasgow Herald, 14 October 1903. Education: Lord Balfour of Burleigh in Edinburgh.
2. GSAA, GSA, Annual Reports, (1902 -1913-14).
3. Education (Scotland) Act 1908 pp. 369-373.
4. GSAA, GSA, Prospectus (1903-4), pp.11, 16, 21, 29, 33. The prospectuses would suggest that the Lower School functioned mainly as part of the Drawing and Painting Department, however, as courses offered in the Lower School were common to the other departments as well it is likely that they also used its facilities.
5. GSAA, GSA, Calendar (1909-10), p.19 gives general entry requirements. These included the SED's Intermediate Certificate in Drawing, or the successful completion of a course in an affiliated school board art continuation class, or a course in another school of art. Prospective day students without such experience could enter a preparatory class before admission to Group I, but no such provision was available for evening students who, if not of sufficient standard, were required to enter an art continuation class.
6. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1913-1914, G, 3 February 1913.
7. GSAA, GSA, Calendar (1914-15), pp.91-2.
8. SRO, ED 26 275, SED Records GSA General Administration, 1910-1915, 21 December 1910.
9. GSAA, GSA, Calendar (1914-15), pp.91-2.
10. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 14 September 1900.
11. GSAA, GSA, Prospectus (1903-4), pp.42-46.
12. GSAA, GSA, Calendar (1909-10), p.66.
13. GSAA, GSA, Calendar (1909-10), p.67. In 1910 the value of this bursary was increased to £120.0.0.
14. GSAA, GSA, Calendar (1912-13), pp.71-72. The SED considered abandoning these but Newbery was able to have them retained by enlisting the support of the other art CIs- GSAA, GSA Minutes, 28 October 1910, 31 January 1911 and 22 February 1911.
15. GSAA, GSA, Calendar (1912-13), p.72.
16. "Simon Pure", Letter to Glasgow Herald, 9 December 1904. "The Glasgow School of Art is, I understand, the only one in Scotland if not in the Kingdom where foreign

teachers are employed." Foreign teachers had been employed at the National Art Training School under Poynter and Edouard Lanteri was still on the staff in 1904. Foreign teachers were also used in some art schools when they had special skills not available in Britain. The School of Art Woodcarving opened with an Italian head and Birmingham School of Art employed a Swiss as its enamelling instructor. Glasgow, however, appears to have been unique for its concentration of foreign masters in key positions.

17. SRO, ED 26 274, SED Records, Glasgow School of Art General Administration 1901-1910, 22 February 1910. By 1910 Newbery had such a high opinion of his hand-picked staff that he referred to the heads of such schools of art as Manchester as "people whom he would not admit to the lowest seat on his own staff".

18. GSAA, GSA, Registers 1904-5 and 1913-14. In 1904-5, 157 out of 380 attended primarily as day students. By 1913-14 the number was 233 out of a total of 463.

19. GSAA, GSA, Prospectus (1903-4), pp.14-17.

20. H. Barbara Weinberg, The Lure of Paris: Nineteenth Century American painters and their French Teachers (New York: Abbeville Press, 1991), p.22. The Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris had introduced a three arts section from 1883 with simultaneous instruction in painting, sculpture and elementary architecture.

21. GSAA, GSA, Prospectus (1903-4), p.16.

22. The Studio, 55, (1912), pp.74-79 and 249-50. Catterson-Smith's training in mental picturing was recommended to the School's Design Department by the assessor Harry Wilson in 1915 but there is no evidence that it was taken up- GSAA, Harry Wilson, 'Copy Report on the Work of the Design Classes in the Schools of Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen' (July 1915), p.8.

23. F.H. Newbery, 'Memory in Art Training: a review of Training the Memory in Art by Lecoq de Boisbaudran', Glasgow Herald, 15 June 1911.

24. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 8 March & 8 May 1900.

25. GSAA, GSA, Prospectus (1903-4), p.14.

26. Educational News, (24 September 1909), pp.1024 and 1026 outlines the courses run at the Royal College of Art. GSAA, GSA, Minutes often include diploma assessors' reports on the other Scottish art CIs after 1909 when the SED required CIs to employ assessors in common.-GSAA, GSA, Minutes, Report on a joint CI conference 12 March 1909.

27. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1906-7, p. 251, 22 February 1907 writing to Alan Mainds, an ex-student: "Your suggestion about decorating the walls of the School here has often been in my mind. Lack of the right hands has hitherto prevented realisation and I hope through you, the essay may be attempted".

28. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 8 May 1900.

29. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence to SED 1899-1910 vol.1, pp. 287 & 296.

30. Timothy Neat, Part Seen, Part Imagined: Meaning and Symbolism in the work of Charles Rennie Mackintosh and Margaret Macdonald (Edinburgh: Canongate Press, 1994), p.23 lists Newbery amongst a group of people who, he claims, without providing any supporting evidence, were either members or followers of late hermetic movements such as Theosophy, The Golden Dawn and Rosicrucianism. There would in fact appear to be no such evidence and Newbery's use of symbolism can be explained in other ways. Newbery's daughter's remark that Delville was a theosophist-Remembering Charles Rennie Mackintosh, Connoisseur, 183 (1973), 280-288 (p.283)- suggests that this was something unusual in the family's acquaintance, rather than that Delville's views were generally shared.

31. Clovis Pierard, 'Jean Delville : peintre, poète esthéticien, 1867-1953' in Memoire et publications de la Société des Sciences des Arts et des Lettres du Hainault (1971-1973), 209-247 (pp. 217-8).
32. SRO, ED 26 274 SED Records, Glasgow School of Art General Administration, 1901-1910, 14 June 1901. The School Secretary, acting as Newbery's mouthpiece, referred to the newly appointed head of painting, Jean Delville as "highly skilled" whilst the heads of architecture and modelling only merited "competent" as an accolade. The other members of staff were referred to as being considered for improvement although the majority of them were described as "efficient".
33. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 27 February and 27 May 1902.
34. GSAA, GSA, Report to SED, 12 February 1904, p.1.
35. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 27 January and 31 October 1905.
36. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 30 March 1909.
37. GSAA, E.A. Walton, Report 8 April 1904, p.4.
38. GSAA, Pittendrigh MacGillivray, 'Report', 7 December 1904, p.2. In the report MacGillivray was endorsing a point made by E.A. Walton in his 'Report', 8 April 1904. p.4.
39. GSAA, GSA, Press Cuttings. 1897-1907 p.141 undated cutting from Glasgow Herald in reference to GSA annual exhibition in December 1904.
40. GSAA, Pittendrigh MacGillivray, 'Report', p.2.
41. Glasgow Citizen, 1 December 1904 refers to "the very powerful and striking" life class work and to allegorical works by students. The prominence of life studies in the exhibition of 1904 caused some adverse public comment -e.g. "Simon Pure", Letter to Glasgow Herald, dated 9 December 1904
42. The Art Journal, (August 1894), pp.225-229.
43. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 4 April 1906 and Newbery, Correspondence, 1905-6, 23 May 1906. Lambert was recommended by the Glasgow painter George Henry and the London sculptor Francis Derwent Wood and Motte by Delville. Newbery had also consulted with George Frampton and William Strang on the new appointment- Newbery, Correspondence, 1905-6 19 & 20 February 1906.
44. GSAA, Pittendrigh MacGillivray, 'Report', p.4.
45. GSAA, Newbery Correspondence, 1912-13, H, 26 October 1912.
46. GSAA, GSA, Calendar, 1909-10, pp. 28-32 and Albert Boime, The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986) p.44 and Weinberg, H. Barbara, The Lure of Paris, p.20.
47. GSAA, GSA Staff Council, Minutes, 13 October 1913.
48. Hiroaki Kimura, Charles Rennie Mackintosh: Architectural Drawings Catalogue and design analytical catalogue (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Glasgow, 1982), Fig 52-L (c) Plan of second floor, April 1907 and Boime, The Academy and French Painting, pp.43-47.
49. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1913-14), p26.
50. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1919-20), p.12.
51. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1915, C, 2 November 1915. Newbery believed that "much good would be done educationally, could [Decorative compositions] instead of being...merely decorative essays, be allied to architecture and be treated as compositions for the decoration of a building".
52. Boime, The Academy and French painting, pp.42-4. Boime also stresses that it was seen as a means of developing the student's imagination.

53. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1909 vol.1 p.695, 28 December 1909: "I have made it a rule never to send a student who has been granted a bursary or scholarship to a country where I have never been myself."
54. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1914, H, contain letters with advice to William Hunter who made copies from Rembrandt, Van Eyck, Moroni and Titian, and was advised to study Velazquez, Ribera and Goya in Madrid.
55. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1911, W, 11 January 1911. In referring to "the questionable activities of the French studios", he added: "We here neither send students to Paris, nor in the case of Scholarships allow them to study there" maintaining that he was "not a believer in undeveloped genius".
56. Glasgow Herald, 9 May 1919.
57. Evening Times, 12 May 1919.
58. Susan Beattie, The New Sculpture (London: Yale University Press, 1983) especially Chapters 3 & 4.
59. There is no documentary evidence on the subject of this sculpture, but this is a variation on the design used in various forms by the Macdonald sisters and based on Voysey's *Studio* design discussed in Chapter 7. Mackintosh exhibited a beaten brass panel with the title *Art and Literature seeking Inspiration at the Tree of Knowledge and Beauty*, which I take to be one of this series, at the Arts And Crafts Exhibition of 1896.
60. William Buchanan, Mackintosh's Masterwork, p.40.
61. GSAA, Newbery, Press Cuttings Book, p.72. Unattributed cutting recording a Newbery lecture 'The Weft of Art in the Warp of City Life' to the Glasgow and West of Scotland Teacher's Guild. In referring to J.J. Burnet's Savings Bank in Ingram Street as "an absolute work of art and one of the most beautiful things in Glasgow", he said that "the only building he knew equal to it was that of the Institute of Accountants in London".
62. Charles Rennie Mackintosh, 'Architecture' (1893) in Pamela Robertson, editor, Charles Rennie Mackintosh: the Architectural Papers (Wendlebury: White Cockade, 1990), 201-211 (p.207).
63. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 5 June 1901 & 6 October 1902 and GSA, Correspondence to the SED, 1899-1910, volume 1, p.511, 24 October 1902.
64. GSAA, GSA, Calendar (1909-10), pp.46-47.
65. GSAA, GSA, Prospectus (1903-4) pp.28-29 and GSA, Calendar (1913-14), pp. 36-38. Architecture classes for advanced students were begun in 1908-9 session - GSA, Minutes, 9 June 1909.
66. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 17 March 1897 record that Newbery submitted a report on the reorganisation of the class which was remitted to a sub-committee.
67. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 3 November 1897. Beattie, The New Sculpture, p.90 records that Frampton had been appointed to work on the Art Galleries in July.
68. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 20 April 1898.
69. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 15 December 1897 and GSA, Sub Committee of the School Committee appointed to consider Mr MacGillivray's report on the sculpture and Modelling Department, Report, [1905], p.2.
70. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 2 June 1898.
71. GSAA, Albert Hodge, [Report on the Sculpture Section], 6 May 1915, refers to the section as "the best-equipped modelling school I know".
72. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1909-10), p.26 and GSA, Calendar (1909-10), p.80 and GSA, Registers, 1908-1909.
73. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence, 1904-1907, p.201, 14 June 1905.

74. Elizabeth Wilson et al., Glasgow, Buildings of Scotland Series (London: Penguin Books, 1990) p.200. The architect A. N. Paterson employed her to execute allegorical figures for the National Bank at 22-24, St. Enoch's Square in the city.
75. GSAA, GSA, Annual Reports (1907-8 - 1913-14).
76. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 25 June 1915 Albert Hodge in his report compared the School with the Kennington School of Art which he pointed out was the best sculpture school in the country because it offered substantial scholarships to wood and stone carvers who were thus able to take full-time day courses.
77. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 13 November 1912.
78. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 3 February 1913.
79. GSAA, GSA, Minutes. Sub Committee on Modelling, 1 April 1913: report by Newbery entitled 'Section of Sculpture and Modelling: appointment of professor: Report by the Director upon his visits to London and Paris'. In appointing Bartlett Newbery followed his usual painstaking search for the best possible candidate, seeking advice from contacts in the profession. He first asked George Frampton to undertake the work but Frampton declined and several other candidates were discussed: F. W. Pomeroy; Alfred Drury; Havard Thomas; Henry Poole, Ernest Gillick, Jacob Epstein and Albert Hodge.-GSA Minutes 1 April 1913. Thomas and Drury were both approached and Drury showed some interest.]
80. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 18 May 1914.
81. Alan Powers, 'Edwardian Architectural Education: a study of three Schools of Architecture', AA Files, no 5, January 1984, pp. 49-59
82. J. A. Gotch, The Growth and Work of the RIBA, 1834-1934 (London: RIBA, 1934). The examinations had been systematised into three parts: Preliminary, Intermediate and Final in 1887 and had become an established success by 1891.
83. F.H. Newbery, 'On the Training of Architectural Students' [1887], Proceedings of the Philosophical Society of Glasgow, 19, (1889), 176-190 (p.178). In speaking of the training of the architect under the DSA in the 1880s, Newbery pointed out that the artist was neglected in preference to the workman and went on to argue for his education as an artist. "I fail to see the slightest reason why he (the architectural student) should be treated differently from an ordinary art student...the artist can be got out of him as well by these as by any other means."
84. Ibid., p.186.
85. Ibid., pp.182 & 185.
86. Powers, 'Edwardian Architectural Education', p.49.
87. GSAA, Newbery, Press Cuttings, p.13. Unattributed article on a Newbery Lecture "An Architectural Chat" given to the Glasgow Architectural Association.
88. Newbery, 'On the Training of Architectural Students', p.189.
89. GSAA, GSA, Prospectus, 1903-4, pp.22 & 23.
90. GSAA, GSA, Prospectus, 1900-1901. pp.19-24.
91. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 20 December 1898. McGibbon's predecessor W. J. Anderson had been impressed by the drawings at the School of Applied Art's exhibition in Edinburgh in 1898 and subsequently decided to develop their sketching and measuring work. Bursars made surveys of Fyvie and Glamis Castles.
92. GSAA, GSA, Prospectus (1903-4), p.24.
93. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 26 May 1903.
94. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 21 April 1904. The text of the scheme is given in GSA, Minutes, 20 September 1904.

95. David Walker, 'Scotland and Paris, 1874-1887' in John Frew and David Jones, editors, Scotland and Europe Architecture and Design 1850-1940 (St Andrews Studies in the History of Scottish Architecture and Design, 1991), 15-40. Traces Burnet's indebtedness to and advocacy of Beaux-Arts training as well as the Parisian links of other Glasgow architects connected with the School such as John Keppie and A. N. Paterson.
96. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 19 May 1904 and GSA, Annual Report, 1904, p.8.
97. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 30 May 1907.
98. GSAA, GSA, Minutes 17 June & 20 September 1904.
99. GSAA, GSArch, Calendar (1909-10), p.3.
100. GSAA, GSA, Calendar, (1909-10), p.60.
101. GSAA, GSArch, Calendar (1905-6), pp.4-5.
102. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 8 December 1908 and GSA, Register, 1904-5.
103. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 8 December 1908.
104. GSAA, GSA, Register, 1913-14.
105. GSAA, GSArch, Calendar (1916-17), p.17.
106. GSAA, GSArch, Calendar (1915-16), p.18.
107. GSAA, GSA, Calendar (1916-17), p.17.
108. GSAA, GSA, Press Cuttings, 1907-17, p.115: 'Eugene Bourdon, B.A., A.D.F.G.: Director of Architectural Studies and Professor of Architectural Design in the Glasgow School of Architecture: An Interview', The Technical College Magazine, c.1911, p166..
109. GSAA, GSArch, Calendar (1909-10), p.10.
110. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 17 December 1909. The School made an incomplete survey of Glasgow Cathedral as its contribution to the National Art Survey.-Ian Gow, 'Sir Rowand Anderson's National Art Survey of Scotland', Architectural History, 27 (1984), 543-554.
111. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 9 May 1910 also quoted by Powers, 'Edwardian Architectural education', p.56.
112. 'The Late Captain Eugene Bourdon', The Scots Pictorial, 29 (July 1916), p.387. The article written by a student maintains: "We began to see that the root of learning was firmly fixed in the soil of Les Beaux Arts in Paris".
113. GSAA, GSA, Calendar (1912-13), p.42.
114. Canadian Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education, Report, 4 volumes (Ottawa.1913), II (Part 3 vol.1), p.706.-"Mr Newbery considers the Glasgow School of Art the most practical Art institution in the world, its aim being to do the greatest good to the largest number. When a school is tied to a manufacturer it cannot do that, for the latter would not allow it, he being the biggest number. This school is concerned solely with being of the utmost utility from an educational point of view."
115. GSAA, GSA, Prospectus (1902-3), p.31.
116. GSAA, GSA, Prospectus, (1905-6), p.35. From 1905 design students were given lectures in the crafts. From 1911 they were required to take some instruction in the technical studios as part of their course from Group II - GSA, Calendar (1911-12), p.48.
117. GSAA, GSA, Calendar, (1909-10), p.56.
118. GSAA, GSA, Prospectus, (1903-4), pp. 32-3.
119. Canadian Royal Commission, Report, p. 174.
120. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 3 March 1903.

121. GSAA, GSA, Report of a Deputation appointed to visit English Arts and Crafts Schools, Guilds of Handicraft and Decorative Artists (Glasgow: Glasgow School of Art, 1905).
122. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1905-6), p.12.
123. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1913, D, 16 December 1913 and GSA, Minutes, 18 March 1915.
124. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1913, F, 3 December 1913.
125. GSAA, GSA, Registers, 1904-5.
126. Ibid..
127. GSAA, Robert Anning Bell, 'Report on the Glasgow School of Art', 9 April 1903, pp3-6.
128. GSAA, GSA, Prospectus (1902-3), p.31.
129. GSAA, GSA, Board of Governors, 'Report on work of School for session ending 31 July 1902', p.4. and GSA, Board of Governors, 'Report...on the work of the School for the year ending July 31st 1903', (12 February 1904), p.2. The latter report also observed that there had been no improvement but believed that one would be effected by the appointment of a new professor.
130. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 18 October 1903 mention that the deputation was sent to France "in view of the proposed reorganisation of the Design Section".
131. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1903-4), p. 7 mentions that the Deputation also spoke to Albert Besnard and M. Karbowsky.
132. Hunterian Art Gallery, Glasgow, Margaret Macdonald Mackintosh, Letter to Anna Muthesius. Christmas 1904. Mrs Mackintosh links the growth of the "French Colony" at Glasgow School of Art with "efforts to stamp out the Mackintosh influence" and refers disparagingly to a design by Giraldon in the same context.
133. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 1 February 1904]
134. GSAA, Adolphe Giraldon, 'Report on Design Teaching', 25 April 1906. GSA, Prospectus, 1907-8, p.54 gives an example of one of Giraldon's programmes. This example required a music room to be decorated. Different surfaces and artefacts were to be designed such as a mosaic pavement, a central rug, silk hangings and a frieze for the walls with stained glass windows for the roof-light, lace curtains for the windows, light fittings and vases. A general elevation was also required. All of these were to be drawn to a specified scale.
135. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1905-6, p.72, 29 May 1905 claims that "deputations from the majority of these [German] cities have come to Glasgow to visit the School of Art". Peter Behrens almost certainly came to Glasgow from Dusseldorf in 1903- Alan Windsor, Peter Behrens: Architect, and Designer, 1868-1940 (London: Architectural Press, 1981), p.54.
136. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1905-6. p.72, 29 May and p.105, 1 June 1905. He intended visiting Berlin, Munich, Darmstadt, Dusseldorf, Magdeburg, Nuremberg, Elberfeld, Crefeld, Vienna, Budapest, Prague and Dresden.
137. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1905-6, 18 October 1905. Newbery wrote to Behrens asking to borrow 20 to 30 drawings illustrating his design course.
138. GSAA, F.H. Newbery, 'Report by the Director on his recent visit to London, Paris and Berlin. Manuscript [1910], pp.3-4. Newbery complained of "a certain desire in some of the professors to ignore to the point of forgetfulness any reference to past work or methods" and referred to the work as "in every case tinged with what I would term the modern movement".

139. GSAA, R. Rowand Anderson, 'Report on the Glasgow School of Art', March 1906, p.1.
140. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 4 April 1906. Giraldon's Report on the section in reply to the governors is contained in a letter to Newbery dated 25 April 1906-GSAA, Reports. It evaded the question of how to adapt the work more closely to manufacturing needs leaving it to Giraldon's assistant, Aston Nicholas to answer, but it allowed the latter no influence on the students' approach to designing. It rather required that work should be sent periodically to France "for correction", added to which Giraldon offered to make three separate visits of a month's duration instead of only one of three months.
141. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 28 April 1903.
142. GSAA, GSA, Minutes 25 January and 26 March 1906.
143. GSAA, GSA, Minutes 24 January, 5 February and 4 March 1908: this last reporting on a meeting of the Joint Committee.
144. Newbery, Correspondence, 1908-9, p.71, 6 April 1908.
145. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 8 May 1908. The deputation included James Fleming, W. F. Salmon, John Henderson and Newbery representing the School and the architect T.L. Watson from the College governors. In addition, J. J. Burnet was probably present at the interview with Voysey - GSA, Correspondence, 1907-9, p.79, 11 May 1908 and Newbery, Correspondence, 1908-9 p.96, 11 May 1908.
146. GSAA, GSA, Minutes 22 May 1908.
147. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 5 June 1908.
148. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 25 September and 13 October 1908. Lectures at the School were given by William Petrie on colour and Joseph Sadler on design and "practical" lectures were given by Mr. Watson at the College.
149. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 3 March 1909. Newbery subsequently had pressure put on Weaving College students to attend the School and twenty four attended summer term drawing and painting classes- GSA, Minutes, 11 May 1909.
150. Newbery, Correspondence, 1908-9, p.316 to Harry Wilson 24 November 1908. "I rather fear he [Britten] finds it rather difficult to harness his Pegasus to the hum-drum pulling of the every day cart."
151. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1908-9, p.413, 14 January 1909.
152. GSAA, F.H. Newbery, Letter to Britten, 26 October 1910 regarding evening composition classes.
153. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1909 vol.2, p.432, 12 October 1909. Newbery had appointed Miss Kennedy an artist and botanist to give lectures and demonstrations on art botany. Britten forgot to include her in his timetable.
154. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 21 April 1910 and GSA, Minutes, 27 April 1910: F.H. Newbery, 'Duties and responsibilities of the Professor in the Design Section'.
155. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 30 May 1910.
156. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 9 & 11 May 1910.
157. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 12 October 1910.
158. GSAA, F.H. Newbery, 'Report on visit to London Paris and Berlin', manuscript and GSA, Minutes, 21 November 1910. Newbery seriously considered Butterfield as a candidate but finally discounted him, considering his educational views too narrow and his design talent as limited. In their place Newbery sought to rely on Nicholas and two existing members of staff Archibald Walker and William Petrie who both had relevant experience in the textile industry -GSA, Minutes, 21 November 1910.
159. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 17 January 1911. F.H. Newbery, 'Staff Arrangements', p.5.
160. GSAA, GSA, Minutes 31 January 1911.

161. GSAA, GSA, Minutes 9 March 1911.
162. GSAA, GSA, Minutes 26 April 1911.
163. GSAA, GSA, Minutes 29 September 1911.
164. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 13 March 1911: Robert Anning Bell, Report.
165. Robert Anning Bell, Report on the Design Section of Glasgow School of Art 1911-1916 p.1 in GSA Minutes 23 January 1917. This had not proved to be necessary in the embroidery section where such changes had been made several years before.
166. GSAA, GSA, Calendar, 1915-16, pp.39 & 40.
167. GSAA, Robert Anning Bell, 'Report on the Design Section...', pp.1-8.
168. GSAA, GSA, Annual Reports. During Britten's tenure the numbers of students had fallen gradually from 103 in 1908-9.
169. GSAA, GSA, Minutes 23 January, and 6 & 9 February 1917.
170. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 9 September 1905.
171. GSAA, GSA, Prospectus: Art Instruction: textile & allied trades, (1906-7), p.1. 166 and GSA, Minutes, 23 August 1906.
172. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 13 October 1908.
173. GSAA, GSA, Minutes 26 February 1906 refer to the financial loss made by the class.
174. GSAA, GSA, Minutes 5 November 1908. These included A.F. Kendrick Keeper of the Textile Department at the Victoria and Albert Museum and Alan S. Cole. Newbery's first suggestion for a lecturer had been Raymond Cox, Curator of historic textiles at the Lyon Museum, an institution closely associated with what was still regarded as the most artistically advanced textile town in Europe- GSA, Minutes, 22 May 1906.
175. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 25 September 1908.
176. GSAA, GSA, Calendar (1909-10), p.58.
177. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 9 February 1917.
178. GSAA, Robert Anning Bell, 'Twenty Years of the Glasgow School of Design' [1931]. In this report Bell singled out the textile course as one of the best on his arrival in 1911 and praised it for its practical nature along with its teacher, Walker, for his abilities.
179. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 30 March 1909 and GSA, Correspondence, 1907-9, p.260, 3 May 1909 and Newbery, Correspondence, 1909 volume 1, p.124, 21 April 1909.
180. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 4 May 1909.
181. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 14 November, 1911: Newbery, 'Decorative Trades Classes'.
182. Ibid..
183. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 17 January 1911: F.H. Newbery, 'Staff Arrangements', pp.4-5.
184. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 13 May 1912.
185. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 3 November 1912.
186. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 3 February 1913.
187. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 29 April 1914.
188. GSAA, GSA, Calendar (1915-16), pp.93-4.
189. GSAA, GSA, Annual Reports (1900 - 1917-18): appointments.
190. GSAA, Robert Anning Bell, 'Twenty Years of the Glasgow School of Design', (1931), p.1.
191. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1916, P, 27 September 1916. "The Design and Industries Association made us aware of its coming existence and we went carefully into the matter of its possibilities for good but could not find them...The Arts and Crafts

Society made the new association somewhat unnecessary...both in art and in economics we feel the latter society to be the one that should be encouraged.”

192. Gillian Naylor, The Bauhaus Reassessed: sources and design theory (London: The Herbert Press, 1985).

THE UNIVERSITY FOR ART PART 2: THE SCHOOL AND THE WIDER COMMUNITY

Through the attraction of gifted staff and students into the educational community over which he presided, Newbery possessed a tool for the dissemination of art amongst a wider constituency.

The SED saw the School, as a CI, as functioning as a university for art in the West of Scotland affecting the standard of art teaching throughout the area. Newbery's energetic pursuit of this role, however, whilst owing much to his own dynamic, hard working, personality, also derived from his conviction that an individual's participation in the arts was life-enhancing and that art education was the means of introducing as many people as possible to their benefits. Between 1901 and 1914, Newbery embarked on several different schemes of art evangelism. The first of these was a highly successful programme of in-service training for teachers in art, followed later by the institution of a course for GSA graduates as art teachers. Stronger links were also forged with continuation classes and other schools, enabling the School to cream-off their most able students and exert an influence on their curricula. The School would also form a closer relationship with the University of Glasgow in an attempt to enhance the academic status of its diploma. Partly as a result of these latter efforts, Newbery would inaugurate an annual series of public lectures in the School which did much to raise its profile as an educational force in the city. Its reputation as a centre of artistic activity would be further enhanced during these years by the innumerable exhibitions and theatrical entertainments which Newbery promoted and directed.

Courses for Teachers

Although carried on under the auspices of the SED and in fulfilment of its policy, much of Newbery's work in the area of teacher education was of a pioneering nature. The courses followed were not only, in many cases, the first to be adopted in the country but were also devised by him. The wide influence he was able to exert by these and other means over art teaching in Scotland would almost certainly have helped to shape the way in which art was taught in Scottish schools.

With his high regard for the role of the artist in education, Newbery sought strenuously to ensure that an increasing number were employed in art teaching at all levels. This was done by the inauguration of courses to cater for the in-service art training of existing teachers, and later, by the training of artist teachers for more advanced courses in association with the School's diploma course.

In 1898 the SED had taken over the Science and Art work in Scottish schools from the DSA and in line with its liberal approach had invited teachers of drawing throughout Scotland to prepare their own schemes of instruction and submit them to the Department for approval. The Department aimed at the employment of better methods of representation and more suitable subjects of study in place of the copying of diagrams and geometrical models in pencil outline previously promoted by the DSA. However,

the SED's voluntary approach to educational change had met with limited success, many teachers adhering to long-standing practice.¹

Accordingly, the SED, in order to provide opportunities for teachers to familiarise themselves with the newer methods of drawing, instituted Article 91D into its Day Class Code of 1900. This allowed the training of teachers in drawing by approved bodies, such as technical colleges and central institutions.² Newbery was quick to capitalise on this opportunity and had already instituted in-service courses for teachers by arrangement with Lanark County Council's Technical Education Committee by 1901.³ These were extended to include classes for Shawlands district teachers under Renfrewshire County Council⁴ and by session 1902-3, Glasgow's Roman Catholic teachers were also attending.⁵ In addition a special three week summer course was inaugurated for teachers from Argyll, partly at Lochgilphead and partly in the School.⁶ This last would become an annual event, and a teacher was also sent to Stranraer to conduct similar classes over twenty weeks by arrangement with Wigtonshire County Council⁷ in addition to classes at Lennoxton and Kilsyth under Stirlingshire County Council.⁸

After one year's trial Newbery was coming to the opinion that better results could be obtained from the classes "but only through time and study" maintaining that "a teacher should not be allowed to think that attendance at a class and fulfilment of certain conditions automatically earn him a certificate". Thus, to attain a higher standard, he saw the necessity of having students back for a further session⁹ and as an incentive to the teachers attending, Newbery offered a "Public School Teacher's Drawing Diploma" "sufficient to allow the holder to conduct classes in drawing in elementary schools".¹⁰ This was first awarded in 1905¹¹ to teachers who had completed, not two, but three years' training. Certificates were also awarded on the completion of the first and second years¹² and an endorsement was added to the Drawing Diploma for students who had completed a fourth year.¹³ Some students would return again and again in subsequent years obtaining any number of endorsements.¹⁴ With the first awarding of Glasgow School of Art Diplomas to full-time art students in 1906, the Drawing Diploma was renamed the Public School Teacher's Certificate in Drawing.

The 91D classes began with a first course of instruction in drawing common, natural and artificial, objects with the point in outline, on the blackboard and on paper, and in light and shade on paper. Thus, at the outset, the DSA practice of drawing from the flat copy was discarded. In addition, these were exercises in what was generally known as "free arm drawing"¹⁵ a method which had been introduced by the SED around 1900, with a view to counteracting as far as possible the cramped mechanical style of outline drawing promoted under the DSA. Free-arm drawing encouraged freer methods of expression on a large scale and was expected to encourage greater technical facility on the part of pupils. It was also particularly useful for teachers and would be used especially for blackboard drawing in nature study classes.¹⁶ It was no coincidence, then, that the drawing of plants formed a significant part of the instruction and these were drawn on paper with the object of showing growth and structure. Similar work was also done with the brush, and modelling was optional. For the second course drawing from nature was continued, with more analysis, again "with special reference to the treatment of subjects for the purpose of nature knowledge". Drawing and painting was also undertaken from artificial objects in the round, and from plants, together with modelling

from similar objects which, again, was optional. The third course gave more specialised instruction, including space filling and the making of pattern with more instruction on the relation of drawing to the subject of nature study: and modelling became obligatory. This third course also included demonstrations in the class teaching of drawing in elementary schools and lectures on the history of art, architecture and historic ornament.

The diploma was at first to be granted only after "a special test of the candidate's power", which included a demonstration in classroom teaching.¹⁷ This, however, was commuted to a test either in drawing and painting and the submission of examples of drawing done in the students' schools and under their direction.¹⁸

With the SED's establishment of the Glasgow Provincial Committee for the Training and Certification of Teachers, in 1906, the School was recognised as a centre for teacher training, being relieved of the more elementary first and second year courses which were taken in hand by the Provincial Committee.¹⁹ At this time, under new SED regulations the classes were renamed Article 55 classes.

So popular were these courses that by 1909, 2516 teachers had already passed through them,²⁰ and in some years the numbers of teacher students represented more than half of the students in the School.²¹ Such effective in-service training must have gone a long way towards enabling the SED to introduce its 1907 *Memorandum on the Teaching of Drawing*, enshrining Newbery's pupil-centred approach in art teaching²² and abandoning all drawing from the flat copy, a practice which was still prevalent south of the border.²³ Newbery's legacy in this aspect of teacher training was to continue well into the future, the Article 55 classes not being abandoned by the School until 1965.²⁴

On Saturday mornings, at the same time as the above, the School held more advanced classes which included instruction to teachers already working in art classes and art schools, or who wished to qualify for work in the evening continuation classes run by the school boards. Such classes were already being offered in 1893, giving instruction for the South Kensington Art Class Teacher's and Art Master's Certificates and included most of the subjects taught in day and evening classes.²⁵ In 1906-7 a two year post certificate course for art needlework was instituted.²⁶ To this, in 1909-10, were added other courses in *repoussé* metalwork, silversmithing and enamels, with woodcarving being introduced in 1912, and pottery, in 1915.²⁷ Each of these required the presentation of examples of work and a the successful completion of a test "to be designed and executed without assistance" at the end of the second session. The embroidery course was the most stringent, also requiring the presentation of written teaching schemes for elementary, intermediate and secondary schools or continuation classes. The above courses excited interest throughout Scotland to the extent that their teachers were invited to give demonstrations and lectures in other centres.²⁸

Arguably the most successful of these activities, however, was needlework. Under its chief needlework instructress, Ann Macbeth, the School was to have a significant and widespread influence. In session 1909-10 there was a complete reorientation in the approach to teaching needlework design in the Saturday classes, from a pictorial, to a materials based, methodology: "instruction in which the needle, as the tool employed, fixes and defines by a graded succession of stitches, the nature of the design": an approach which was more adapted to the educational needs of pupils,²⁹ and the diploma

course itself was adapted to train ordinary female art students in the teaching of embroidery.³⁰

From 1910 the School began to hold exhibitions of students' work.³¹ Ann Macbeth and her assistants Margaret Swanson and Anne Knox Arthur were frequently asked to lecture on their methods in different towns and cities in Scotland and England and exhibitions of work were sent to various centres at home and abroad where the methods increasingly attracted interest from educationists. Their approach was further disseminated by students obtaining appointments as craft mistresses in Britain and the Colonies.³²

Relations were also established with the Domestic Science College to co-ordinate the work for the latter's diploma with that required for the School's Certificate in Needlecraft and Embroidery³³ and Ann Macbeth drew-up a scheme for the teaching of embroidery in the College.³⁴

In addition to the Saturday classes, from 1906, under the auspices of the Provincial Committee, Newbery inaugurated Christmas vacation courses for diploma and post diploma teachers already taking art classes in schools. These were of an advanced nature including life drawing taught by Maurice Greiffenhagen, antique drawing by Newbery and embroidery and metalwork.³⁵

As well as in-service training, Newbery also addressed the problem of training art students for teaching. In 1901 the SED had abolished the DSA's art pupil teacherships³⁶ and students no longer took the latter's Art Master's Certificates. This meant that there was no longer any provision for training full-time students as art teachers. Although the SED, unlike the DSA, did not require teachers in schools of art to possess certificates as a mark of competence, Newbery, in order to raise the prestige of the art teacher and improve the standard of art teaching, introduced a course leading to an award to be given to full-time students who had passed through the Diploma Course and wished to make a career in teaching. This course, named the Article 47 course, was inaugurated in 1907, and included teaching practice in the art departments of some of the Glasgow School Board's schools.³⁷

The entry requirement for these students was the SED's Intermediate certificate or equivalent standard; they were required to achieve the School's Diploma and were also expected to take courses prescribed by the Provincial Committee in hygiene and physical training; psychology; education; and methods and practice at the hands of the art teachers of the Glasgow School Board. This "professional training" could be taken in the final two years of the diploma course or after its termination. Many of the students were also given experience in the School's Saturday classes or even in the day and evening school. After a further year of probationary service the students were then granted the SED's Special Certificate for Teachers of Art.³⁸

Newbery's interest in art teachers did not end when they left the School. Private life classes for practising teachers were provided in the School on Tuesday and Thursday evenings from 1911³⁹ and, in 1911 also, Newbery instituted the Artist Teacher's Exhibition Society, of which he was president. This held periodic exhibitions beginning in that year.⁴⁰ Under the Society's auspices, Newbery also organised demonstrations and

lectures by leading artists, such as one on watercolour painting by E.A. Walton in 1916.⁴¹

Newbery extended his influence over art teaching in schools in other ways. Between 1904 and 1916 he, together with Joseph Vaughan, director of art in the Glasgow School Board and James Grigor HMI, judged an annual drawing competition of Glasgow primary and secondary schools in co-ordination with the Glasgow Museums. In the competition's first year the judges were asked to look at some seven hundred mainly outline drawings of natural history specimens from the museums' collections.⁴² Over subsequent years, however, they were able to redirect the competition along increasingly progressive art educational lines, using it as a lever to influence teaching in local schools.

In 1905 the range of subjects was extended to include all the items in the museums. In this way the judges were able to point the teachers in the direction of encouraging their pupils to draw from decorative art objects.⁴³ There are indications, also, that the work was taking advantage of the suggestions in the SED's 1907 drawing memorandum, the judges noting, that year that the "striking progress over that of previous years" was made possible "by the attention that has recently been given to the study of drawing in schools". Although teachers were allowed to help children in the selection of subjects, they were discouraged from giving aid in the treatment and execution of drawings, Newbery and his colleagues advising that: "The essentials of good work are accurate and searching observation of form, light and shade, or colour, to be expressed by careful and intelligent workmanship in whatever medium may be selected."⁴⁴

In addition to outline drawings children were asked to attempt work in light and shade and in colour, it being pointed out that "a love of colour" was "a very primary instinct in children".⁴⁵ Children were also encouraged to study tone, by paying attention to the background and environment of their studies.⁴⁶

From 1910, to enable candidates to study colour more effectively they were allowed to make studies of flowers, plants and landscapes in the municipal parks and gardens⁴⁷ and from 1913 teachers were debarred from giving any aid whatsoever, even with regard to choice of subject. By that year the judges had witnessed such a vast and continual improvement in the quality of the entries under the influence of the competition that they were able to claim that

No city, other than Glasgow, either in the United Kingdom or on the Continent makes a better show of the Art instincts and the executive powers possessed by the children attending the ordinary schools of the city...and...the Corporation, as expressed through these Competitions, practically compels the direction and fixes the status of the whole of the Art work done in the schools within the city boundaries.⁴⁸

The success of this competition, both in Newbery's time and for many years afterwards is attested to by its continuation up to the present day.

Newbery also awarded medals for art in the Glasgow High School and the Glasgow High School for Girls. These, designed by Frances MacNair, were for post-intermediate

work, the most advanced work in these schools, and the competitions were judged by Newbery.⁴⁹

He also co-operated fully with the SED's intentions of establishing close links between Central Institutions and school board continuation classes. In accordance with its voluntary rather than mandatory approach the SED urged the CIs to co-ordinate their curricula with these classes which catered for pupils who had left school and were taking vocational courses. In session 1903-4 a pioneering scheme of instruction was agreed with the Glasgow School Board, which co-ordinated the teaching in the latter's evening Continuation Art Classes with those in the School.⁵⁰ This was divided into two stages, the first comprising drawings in various media of natural forms and manufactured objects, both in outline and in light and shade and their rendering in colour. There was also modelling of simple, natural and artificial, forms in relief together with an optional section of work with instruments. The Second Stage continued drawing in light and shade but extended it to drawings from the cast of ornament and in special cases from details of the antique figure. The painting course continued with monochrome and, occasionally, coloured studies from objects and casts of ornament. The modelling course continued to study relief but also added objects from the round. In addition to optional drawing with instruments the more advanced students were also given the opportunity to study lettering styles, abstract ornamental forms derived from historical styles, and examples from museum studies showing adaptation of natural forms to ornamental purposes.⁵¹ The Second stage students were inspected annually by Newbery, James Grigor HMI and Joseph Vaughan, the art director in the Glasgow School Board, and a number were selected for entry into the Art School and for competition for the various bursaries available.⁵² In the course of time, the arrangement with the Glasgow School Board was extended to include a large number of other schools and classes whose courses were affiliated to the School. These included such leading schools as the Glasgow High School and Hutcheson's School, the Dundee Technical College and School of Art and the Elgin School of Science and Art along with many of the School Boards in the Western Division: in Glasgow; Lanarkshire; Ayrshire; Renfrewshire; Dunbartonshire; and Stirlingshire as well as Perthshire.⁵³ To serve affiliated schools a lending museum scheme was pioneered in 1913.⁵⁴ This offered artefacts, drawings, photographs and casts for study as a means of stimulating artistic activity and was carried on until 1961.⁵⁵

Newbery's success in co-ordinating the work in the Western Division was celebrated in an arts and crafts exhibition of the work of all levels of school, including "an astonishing display of work from special schools" for children with educational difficulties, at the School in December 1911. This was accompanied by a series of lectures on art education, given by Newbery, Ann Macbeth, Michael Sadler, Vice Chancellor of Leeds University, James Legge, Director of Education at Liverpool and Mrs Burgwin, Superintendent of Special Schools for the London County Council. It was visited by over 14,000 teachers, pupils and members of the public and was judged by Michael Sadler as being "the most interesting collection illustrating the new movement in art in the school, that has been brought together, certainly in the United Kingdom".⁵⁶

Lastly, Newbery was appointed a Higher Inspector for Art by the SED to set and examine standards for the Department's higher leaving certificate in drawing. This involved him in visits to Schools in Edinburgh and Perth as well as within the Western Division.⁵⁷ As with all his other tasks he took his role seriously, seeing himself not only as a Departmental inspector but as an "artist teacher visiting a colleague": visiting at the beginning of a session "to get hold of" the work: to encourage, discuss and advise on its direction and attempt to gain a sympathetic attitude on the part of the headmaster or rector towards the subject. He would also invite art masters to the School if they needed to see examples of work and have them explained, and would visit again near the end of the session to examine the results.⁵⁸ His success in this field was attested to by George MacDonald at the SED, who wrote, in 1915, in reference to Newbery's achievement, that the higher grade work in west and south-west Scotland, Newbery's main sphere of activity was "considerably ahead" of that in the north and east.⁵⁹

The Central Institution and the University

Since 1892 a representative of the University Senate had sat on the School's governing body⁶⁰ and since 1893 a member of the University staff had given anatomy lectures and demonstrations to students.⁶¹ However, in accordance with its new distinction as a Central Institution the School's governors were beginning to claim that the School itself was "virtually a university".⁶²

Whilst ready to claim such nominal status for the School Newbery wished to achieve real university standing for his courses. He always took a very high view of the position of art as an academic subject and decried the fact that so few chairs of art existed in British Universities. He accepted that art was a difficult subject for a university to teach in that it was not easily examinable, there being no accepted objective criteria on which to assess excellence. Nevertheless he maintained that chairs should be established and be occupied by eminent artists who would preside over practical as well as theoretical courses.⁶³

His desire to raise the status of art courses had practical as well as ideological motives, as he was particularly concerned that his architectural and teacher diplomates should themselves be seen to have qualifications of degree standard,⁶⁴ to enhance the standing of their professions and to enable them to compete with students from the few universities which did have chairs. He also believed that artists would be better practitioners if they had the benefit of a broader liberal education.⁶⁵

With a view to achieving such goals, he and his governors initiated negotiations with the University of Glasgow and the SED. In 1907 Newbery wrote to the Universities with Fine Art Chairs, asking them to indicate their duties and their relationship to the conferring of degrees⁶⁶ and in 1909 a sub-committee of the Governors was appointed to consider relations with the University and the recognition of art and architecture as optional university subjects leading to an arts degree.⁶⁷ It proposed that students would matriculate in the Arts faculty of the University and attend courses there for at least one academic year. They would obtain certificates in English and at least two other subjects chosen from a wide range. These would not include the history of art, the sociology of

art or archaeology which would form part of the diploma course. A degree would be awarded on the successful completion of the diploma and the University courses.⁶⁸

The University Court could not see its way to accepting the proposal but suggested instead that the institutions might co-operate in establishing two common lectureships: in classical art and archaeology; and medieval art and archaeology, with a further appointment in the philosophy of art being discussed but postponed *pro tempore*. The lecturers would devote their major efforts towards teaching at the University and give an elementary course only to art school students.⁶⁹ This plan, however, was quashed, with good reason, by Sir John Struthers, Secretary of the SED⁷⁰ who could not see that a degree "could be regarded as better than an art school diploma" and argued that the School, whose primary purpose was to teach art, could not benefit from being tied to the University in this way, especially as the former was being asked to furnish two thirds of the total £600 suggested for lecturers' salaries and the subjects suggested were only of peripheral utility to its students. His opposition provided a convenient escape route for the School's negotiators, who, according to Newbery had come away from their meeting with the University "with the impression that the University were out for a loaf but would not grudge two or three crumbs to the School".⁷¹ George MacDonald, Struthers' assistant advised Newbery that it was unwise for the School to take "a step which admitted any inferiority" and objected to the assumption that art students were only fit for elementary lectures.⁷² Thereafter, although the University indicated its readiness to consider other proposals,⁷³ no other steps were taken towards giving the School's diplomas degree status.

Despite this setback the efforts at closer co-operation bore fruit in the inauguration of a successful lecture series at the School designed to improve the academic content of its courses, but also to raise its profile as an academic institution. Struthers, had, in fact, approved a programme of lectures which had been commenced in the winter of 1909 by the School's newly appointed Professor of History of Art, George Baltus, with complementary lectures on social and intellectual history by outside experts.⁷⁴ These were intended to cover the whole history of art in five years. In his first year Baltus dealt with the Ancient world but also gave a course on modern art, which included talks on the influence of Japanese art on landscape painting, the Impressionists, and the Pre-Raphaelites. Other lectures in this series included one by Newbery on Whistler, on modern British painters by a Glasgow painter, modern architecture in its relation to painting and sculpture by a Glasgow architect and modern ship building by "a specialist". As these were held in the institution, Struthers felt that they brought a recognition to it that it would otherwise not acquire. Struthers' views were borne out in the following year when Newbery attracted a glittering array of academics from the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge and London, as well as from Glasgow, to participate as external lecturers. These gave the School such good publicity that Newbery was able to write.

From all quarters and in most of the leading newspapers eulogiums have been felicitating the School of Art...*The Times* devotes a space of the notice of each lecture as it is given, and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge have indirectly expressed interest in our proceedings.⁷⁵

However, whilst these lectures gave the School a high profile, George Baltus questioned the relevancy of many of them to the course.⁷⁶ Hence, in the 1912-13 session, whilst the external lectures were scaled down, lectures on social and intellectual history, were given by a member of the University's staff, dealing with the same period as, and directly complementing, those of Baltus.⁷⁷ In the same winter Baltus was asked to give a series of lectures at the University on the grounds that the latter institution gave no art history teaching and that this was a means of strengthening its ties with the School.⁷⁸

The School's course was brought closer to university practice when the lecturers in social and intellectual history invited essays from the students for which prizes were given. A further step was taken in this direction, during the Great War, when Newbery was responsible for delivering the art history lectures making attendance compulsory and setting examinations on them, marks going towards those required for Group certificates.⁷⁹

Relations with other Scottish Central Art Institutions

From 1909 closer co-operation was effected between Scotland's art CIs which was limited in its results by each institution's desire to retain its independence in most matters.

Between 1901 and 1908 there had been little intercourse between the two existing art CIs. 1908, however, saw the foundation of a third, the Edinburgh College of Art, and the passing of the new Education (Scotland) Act. Thus, the SED recommended that representatives from all three schools should meet to obtain common agreements on matters of mutual interest. The resulting conference, which was convened in Glasgow under the chairmanship of George Macdonald,⁸⁰ was used by him to explain the financial implications of the 1908 Act insofar as it related to the transference of bursary awarding powers from the CIs to secondary education committees. At this and a subsequent conference,⁸¹ delegates discussed the setting up of panels of juries for diplomas. These were to be made up of five persons in each section of painting, sculpture, design and architecture, four of whom were to be appointed locally by the CI and the fifth to be an assessor, who would visit each CI and would be chosen jointly by all of the institutions and approved by the Department. The SED had set up post-diploma travelling studentships, which in an attempt to secure uniformity, were also to be awarded by diploma juries.

Although Newbery was generally happy with his assessors⁸² he was displeased with what he regarded as the new lower standard which was being set for the granting of diplomas. The SED and Edinburgh agreed that the award should represent "the outcome of three to four years of the average talented student". Newbery, however, saw it as exemplifying "the very finest flower of the culture of the School" and complained that he did not want to become "a mere appanage of the Academy life school" (to which Edinburgh College of Art was affiliated). For "if Glasgow had to march side by side with Edinburgh they would have to stop short below the limits fixed by the capacity of the Academicians". Newbery, however, did accept the Department's position when he was promised funding for post-diploma studentships allowing him to focus his higher standards at this level.⁸³

The need to agree on the appointment of assessors made annual conferences necessary and these came to deal with other matters of mutual concern. Paramount among these matters were unsuccessful attempts at the standardisation of class fees and staff salaries and the institution of a pension fund. With regard to the first of these, as there were wide differences between the fees each school charged, the delegates agreed to continue to fix their own rates: and although Glasgow School of Art produced a discussion document on salaries their standardisation also proved too difficult. Newbery was probably fundamentally opposed to this in any case, preferring to give each individual teacher what he believed they were worth, rather than paying a person according to their position on a scale.⁸⁴ On the other hand, Newbery was in favour of a pension scheme as he was beginning to be concerned about his own retirement prospects.⁸⁵ The SED, however, came out against any formal arrangements promising to treat each case on an *ad hoc* basis as it arose.⁸⁶

Although the SED had been ready to offer new travelling bursaries for post graduate students, Newbery had to fight the former to retain the similar, less expensive, awards for undergraduates which had been offered by his school under South Kensington as well as during the first years under the SED. The Department could see the bursaries' usefulness to architectural students, but not to others and Newbery had to explain that for a painting student the study of the works of the masters was just as important as the opportunity to draw and measure buildings for a trainee architect.⁸⁷ Newbery's arguments which were supported by the other CIs eventually carried the day.⁸⁸

Another outcome of the CI Conferences was the agreement to spread the burden of the National Art Survey which had been started by Rowand Anderson at the Edinburgh School of Applied Art in 1893.⁸⁹ This school had been absorbed into the Royal Institution, which subsequently formed part of the Edinburgh College of Art, and the latter body had continued with its work. The National Art Survey's objective was to produce measured drawings of all of Scotland's major historic buildings and when funding for bursaries was supplied by the SED in 1912⁹⁰ Glasgow undertook to appoint two students each year to measure Glasgow Cathedral. This project, however, was abandoned in an uncompleted state at the outbreak of the war and was not taken up again.⁹¹

Artistic and Cultural Education in the Wider Community

The School's public lectures were but one of Newbery's endeavours to broaden and deepen the cultural education of the community and the art student. As a prominent figure in Scottish art circles Newbery was frequently called upon to lecture to local art organisations, a function which he was happy to undertake. He became an interested supporter of the activities of several of these: the Greenock Art Club, the Perthshire Art Association and the Paisley Art Club. Perth, Greenock, and Paisley would each be presented paintings by Newbery at the end of his career as a result of his warm feelings towards them. Although asked to give art historical lectures he often preferred to relate his addresses to the potential of members of his audiences as artists.⁹²

Newbery also disseminated the expertise of his staff in lecture programmes⁹³ and through the publication of books. James Dunlop thus became the author of a work on

artistic anatomy, Peter Wylie Davidson wrote one on metalwork, Ann Macbeth and Margaret Swanson, produced one on educational needlecraft and George Baltus was responsible for one on the materials and techniques of painting. Newbery, himself wrote the introductions to several of these.⁹⁴

He also regarded music, dancing, and the theatre as artistic activities in which a school of art could legitimately involve itself and his school became a centre for such concerns. He saw the theatre as the point at which music art and literature came together and believed that government could do more to support music and literature to improve the quality of the theatre.⁹⁵ Newbery's interest in the dramatic art ran deep. He and his wife had a box at the theatre and he came to know several of the leading theatrical figures of the day. Amongst these were F.R. Benson and G.B. Shaw. Newbery's interests first bore fruit in a lecture on stage design, to the Glasgow School of Art Club, given by Henry Irving's theatrical manager, Bram Stoker, in 1902,⁹⁶ Newbery also had lectures on stage design from Alfred Wareing of the Glasgow Repertory Theatre⁹⁷ and tried unsuccessfully to bring an exhibition of the innovative work of Edward Gordon Craig to the School, seeing it as a useful means of educating Glasgow's theatrical community and public alike.⁹⁸ As a vice president of the thriving Glasgow Branch of the British Empire Shakespeare Society, Newbery opened the School for its meetings which included play readings by leading actors and companies. Amongst these were Lillie Langtry and F.R. Benson.⁹⁹ Newbery also took part in the raising of funds for the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre at Stratford-on-Avon in 1910 and for this and Shakespeare's tercentenary in 1916 presented a lavish series of entertainments in the School.¹⁰⁰

Concerts had been given in the School since Newbery's appointment, particularly in connection with the Glasgow School of Art Club. Student Reunions had been noted for their musical content and the opening of the School's new building in 1899 and its completion in 1910 had witnessed major musical efforts. There was usually a School dance each Christmas and this would sometimes be augmented by other entertainments such as Morris, pavanne, and revived Greek dancing.¹⁰¹ Among the lecturers who came to the School was Arnold Dolmetsch who gave a talk on old musical instruments.¹⁰² Newbery himself had more than a passing interest in music, was a member of the Bach Society and the Folk Song Society. Beltane Society meetings were held in the School¹⁰³ and Newbery would occasionally give lectures and recitals of west country songs.¹⁰⁴ With the advent of the War the volume of entertainments at the School increased as a means of raising funds for refugees and war charities.¹⁰⁵

Newbery's major contributions to the School's dramatic and musical events, were a series of masques and theatrical productions which he himself wrote and directed. They provided an opportunity for students and staff to design and make costumes and sets, tickets and programmes. The first of these was *A Masque of the City Arms*, at the School on 23 December 1903 in connection with the annual School dance. This was shown again by invitation of the Town Council to Glasgow school children, at the St Andrews Halls in 1905. Newbery seeing it as "an object lesson in art to such delightful and interested spectators".¹⁰⁶ *A Masque of Science and Art* was produced for the opening of the new building of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College on 21 December 1906 in which 200 students took part¹⁰⁷ and the School's own opening in December 1909 was graced by the performance of a Masque entitled *The Birth and Growth of Art*.¹⁰⁸

The School also became a venue for exhibitions from those of the Artist Teachers' Exhibition Society, to exhibitions of architectural *Beaux-Arts* work from Paris (7-18 July 1913) to shows of British and European posters, (22 October - 22 November 1916) and an important embroidery exhibition in 1916 which included historical work from major collections.¹⁰⁹ In 1917 the School would also have been host to an abortive, municipally promoted, exhibition of industrial art which caused Newbery to decline a request from Harry Wilson, the President of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, to show a rerun of its 1916 exhibition, which had been seen at the Royal Academy.¹¹⁰

Newbery's promotion of his students' works in major exhibitions also continued. A gold medal had been won at the Paris Universal Exhibition in 1900 and two silver medals at the International Exhibition of Women's Work at Earl's Court in the same year.¹¹¹ Writing about the 1904 St Louis Exhibition in the United States, one Glasgow academic who had read the descriptive articles on the School's work sent there, as part of the British exhibit of educational methods and results, summed up their remarks with the judgement that they were "unanimous in saying that the Glasgow School of Art is unsurpassed and that the general excellence of Great Britain in the teaching of art - especially industrial art - can hardly be called in question".¹¹² In June 1906 work was sent to an exhibition in Christchurch, New Zealand,¹¹³ and in 1910 a collection of advanced work from the School together with supplementary work from the Glasgow continuation classes was sent to the International Exhibition of German Art Workers and Teachers at Hanover. In the same year the School was also represented by work at the Glasgow exhibition of National History Art and Industry.¹¹⁴

Newbery continued his work of helping to organise international exhibitions in which his fellow artists and some of his students would participate. He was awarded a commemorative medal and diploma for organising the Scottish Fine Art Section of the Brussels Exhibition in 1910.¹¹⁵ He and Anning Bell also acted on the Board of Trade selection committees for major decorative art exhibitions at Ghent in 1913, and Paris in 1914.¹¹⁶ For the latter, Newbery had his students prepare decorative allegorical figures for the exhibition space.¹¹⁷ Newbery, however, was unsuccessful in fulfilling his desire to organise a Scottish decorative art section in an international exhibition which would rival the success of that at Turin in 1902.¹¹⁸

By 1914, the School had become an increasingly vital institution under its "volatile and versatile director":¹¹⁹ one journalist had taken to referring to it as "the great seminary of Garnethill" whilst the artist D.Y. Cameron preferred to call it "the heart of Glasgow", a place, to enter which, always filled him with "an ecstasy of hope".¹²⁰ However, many of those responsible for making the School what it had become would soon disappear from the scene. Mackintosh, the architect of its building and the focus of the School's reputation for design, and Sir James Fleming the man who had largely made its building possible would be removed by disillusion in one case and by death in the other, within the year. The highly effective head of its architectural school Eugene Bourdon would also leave Glasgow at the outbreak of war, never to return, and Newbery himself had little time left to him at the head of its affairs.

Newbery's Retirement from Glasgow School of Art

Newbery's robust health had been under threat for some time from his heavy work schedule. As early as 1905 he had been advised by his physician to limit his activities.¹²¹ This, however, had little effect as Newbery only used his doctor as an occasional excuse for refusing invitations which he would probably have turned down in any case. What was more typical of the life he had built for himself was a letter he wrote to a visitor to the School who had failed to find him in. In expressing surprise at not being discovered, Newbery protested that he practically slept on the premises and must have been away making his bed.¹²²

With his strenuous workload Newbery's letters are full of complaints of his tiredness and he would take holidays, on doctor's orders, in the Easter of 1908 and 1909¹²³ and in the new year of 1910, when he was given five weeks off for a trip to Egypt, "for reasons of health".¹²⁴

However, it took the outbreak of the Great War in August 1914 to bring matters to a head. That summer Newbery had pursued his usual heavy schedule of work-related activities. Amongst these were visits to the British Arts and Crafts Exhibition in Paris and the German *Werkbund* Exhibition in Cologne. He was, however, probably painting at his family's holiday home in Walberswick spending time with their friends the Mackintoshes and E.A. Walton and his wife, when war was declared. The advent of war brought added burdens. Not only did the architectural school lose its director but Baltus disappeared behind German lines when Belgium was overrun, leaving no one to run the art history course. A large proportion of the architecture department, followed by many others, staff and students, soon enlisted. Up until this time Newbery had met challenges with energy and resourcefulness, on this occasion matters were to be different. In October, only three weeks into the new session, Newbery suffered a severe mental collapse which his wife, Jessie, put down to exhaustion and the effects of the war.¹²⁵ After failing to recruit his health on a further visit to Walberswick he returned to Scotland to enter a nursing home in the quiet residential village of Kilmacolm where he had recovered enough by February 1915 to resume his duties, on a part-time basis, for the remainder of the session.¹²⁶

As the war continued student numbers fell from 1357 in 1913-14 to 585 in 1916-17. By 1917 400 staff and students had enlisted and 34, including Eugene Bourdon, had been killed.¹²⁷ To see so many of his students lose their lives added to Newbery's burden.¹²⁸ He summed up his feelings about the situation in a letter to his friend D.Y. Cameron in October 1916:

Only force of will enables one to carry on Art or Art education. The brightest colours that Art can assume at the present time, not only fail to attract attention but like a gaily dressed woman at a funeral, mankind wonders that she shows herself at all!

He tried to encourage himself by imagining that the figure of Hope found by Pandora at the bottom of her box of woes was an artistic product. If that were so, then Art and Hope were closely allied and it was the artist's task to continue working and hoping.¹²⁹

His life's work at this time, however, must have seemed to have been a marginal activity, pointless even. Newbery's school, up until the war had grown under his direction and the strain of overwork at least saw its rewards. The War must have called Newbery's efforts into question and would have induced a feeling of helplessness in one who was used to being in control. This would have particularly affected a person of Newbery's autocratic temperament. In such circumstances Newbery's return to work would prove to be only a temporary respite: in April 1917 he suffered a second, more dangerous, breakdown. He was unable to resume his duties for the remainder of the session and although he showed some improvement during a stay at Kilmacolm, by August it had become clear that he would not be able to return for the new session. By this time Jessie saw that he was much worse than in 1914 and had concluded that he would never be able to take up his work again because of the strain it would place on his health.¹³⁰

However, Newbery was in a difficult position: he could not retire, having no pension in prospect. Thus, in October, Jessie and Newbery's doctor were urging the School to come to some arrangement with the SED over a retiring allowance to hasten his recovery.¹³¹ This was arranged for in November ¹³² at £500 per annum, half his annual salary, and by January 1918, Newbery was reported as being in much better health.¹³³

In the two letters which marked his resignation, Newbery summed up the dedication and combative pragmatism that had characterised his career:

This year is the year of my jubilee as a teacher. The major part of this period has been spent in Glasgow... the real work of my life...¹³⁴

What I frankly feel is that the results that the School has achieved are due in the fullest possible measure to the excellent material of which the Scottish Art Student is made...whose efforts from session to session made it possible for success to grow to success and organisation and progress to become matters of imperative demand because of the needs that grew from inside the School as successive years came and went.

I know that I have from time to time made mistakes, but even for those I find consolation in the thought, elsewhere expressed, that it is only by doing things, that mistakes are made.

He closed with a variation on the motto on the Glasgow coat of arms, which summed up his views on the centrality of art in the community.

“Let Glasgow Flourish by her School of Art.”¹³⁵

Notes

GSA = Glasgow School of Art

GSAA = Glasgow School of Art Archives

GML = Glasgow Museums Library

NLS = National Library of Scotland

SED = Scotch Education Department
SRO = Scottish Record Office

1. Henry T. Wyse, Modern Methods of Art Instruction (Edinburgh. The Author, 1909), pp.11-12.
2. Ibid., p.12.
3. In the first session there were three such classes of thirty students each at the School on Saturdays with a further class of equivalent size on Friday evenings. Two more were held at Lanark Grammar School on Saturdays. with a further class being started at Lesmahagow in 1903 - GSAA, GSA, Correspondence, 1897-1904, pp.408 & 580.
4. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence, 1897-1904, p.402, November 1901.
5. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence to SED, 1899-1910, volume 1, p.499 25 September 1902.
6. GSAA, GSA, Minutes 10 April 1902.
7. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence, 1897-1904, p.556, 18 March 1903.
8. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1903), p.8.
9. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence, 1897-1904, p.470, 26 May 1902.
10. GSAA, GSA, Minutes 24 September 1903 and GSA, Prospectus 1903-4, p.41.
11. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1905-6), p.12.
12. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence to SED, 1899-1910, volume 1, p.606a, 28 July 1905.
13. Ibid., p.612, 22 September 1905.
14. GSAA, GSA, Article 55 classes, results, (1911-12), p.4. Two students who had obtained certificates in 1905 had been endorsed for a tenth year's course- GSAA, GSA Teacher's Courses 1904-40.
15. GSAA, GSA Letters 1897-1904 p.402.
16. Wyse, Modern Methods of Art Instruction, pp.10-11.
17. GSAA, GSA, Prospectus, 1903-4, p.41.
18. GSAA, GSA, Saturday 91d Classes, (1904-5), p3 - in GSA, Teachers' courses 1904-40.
19. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 12 September 1906. The Provincial Committee also paid students' fees which had previously been provided by their local authorities.
20. Educational News (1909), p.328.
21. GSAA, GSA, Annual Reports. In 1901-2, 275 students attended 91D classes, compared to 723 in ordinary classes. In 1902-3 91D student numbers had risen to 734 compared to 702, in 1903-4 the figure was 858 compared to 608.
22. Wyse, Modern Methods of Art, Instruction, Appendix 1.
23. Glasgow Herald, 25 December 1911 reporting on a lecture given in Glasgow by Michael Sadler of Leeds University in which he advocated drawing from the flat and was opposed by teachers in his audience.
24. GSAA, GSA, Prospectus (1965-6), p.46.
25. GSAA, GSA, Prospectus (1893-4), p.17.
26. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1906-7), p.11.
27. GSAA, GSA, Appendices to Calendars (1909-10 to 1914-15).
28. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence, M, 27 August 1910 refers to Peter Wylie Davidson, the metalwork master's participation in a summer school at St Andrews and GSA, Minutes 25 March 1914 record that Ann Macbeth and James Gray were invited to give a pottery demonstration to the Scottish Art Teacher's Association at Aberdeen.
29. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1909-10), p.20.
30. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 17 January 1911: Newbery, Staff Arrangements, p.3.

31. Glasgow Herald, 18 April 1910, and GSAA, GSA, Annual Reports: (1910-11), p.16; and (1911-12), p.21.
32. GSAA, GSA, Annual Reports (1909-10), p.17, (1910-11), p.21 and (1913-14), p.23.
33. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1912, Sundries: Agenda of a conference with Domestic Science College.
34. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1912, Mc, 15 November 1912.
35. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence, 1907-9, p.173, 22 January 1909.
36. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 18 September 1901.
37. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 14 January 1909
38. GSAA, GSA, Calendar (1909-10), p.37.
39. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1911, V, 26 April 1911.
40. GSAA, GSA, Annual Reports: (1911-12), p.23; (1912-13), p.30; (1913-14), p.35; (1915-16), p.17. There were four of these: 18 November to 9 December 1911; 20 November-9 December 1912; 14-28 February 1914; and 4-18 March 1916.
41. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1916, W, 19 October 1916.
42. GML, Corporation of Glasgow (Parks Department) Museums and Galleries, Report for the year 1904, pp.6-7.
43. Ibid., 1905, pp. 8-9 and 1906, pp. 6-7.
44. Ibid., 1909 pp.9-10.
45. Ibid., 1907, pp.6-7.
46. Ibid., 1908, pp.9-10].
47. Ibid., 1909, pp.9-10.
48. Ibid., 1913, pp. 11-13.
49. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1911, C, 22 March 1911 and 1912, G, 22 March 1912.
50. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1904), pp.8-9.
51. GSAA, GSA, Calendar (1913-14), p.61.
52. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1904-5), pp.8-9.
53. GSAA, GSA, Calendar (1913-14), pp.58-60.
54. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1913-14), p.33.
55. GSAA, GSA, Annual Reports (1959-60 -1962-63), 'Income and Expenses' indicate that 1960 was the last year in which items were added to the collection and that in the following two years items were sold off.
56. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1911-12), p.22.
57. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 12 November 1906 and 21 January 1907, p.480, 27 January 1908, p.63 1 April 1908, p.76 14 April 1908, p.305, 20 November 1908. Schools included Glasgow High School, Glasgow High School for Girls, Hutcheson's Boys and Hutcheson's Girls Schools, Bellahouston Academy, Garnethill Convent School and Allan Glen's School, Glasgow; together with Stirling High School, Perth Academy, George Watson's Ladies College, Edinburgh and Edinburgh Ladies College, St Columba's School, Kilmacolm and Ayr Academy.
58. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1913, J, 3 March 1913.
59. SRO, ED 26 275, Scotch Education Department, Glasgow School of Art General Administration, 1910-1915, 10 July 1915.
60. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1893), pp.2-3.
61. GSAA, GSA, Prospectus (1893-4), p.10.

62. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 6 November 1903 : report of annual public meeting in 1903 and James Fleming's comments.
63. Newbery, 'Art and the University', Glasgow Herald, 3 & 10 May 1907.
64. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 13 December 1910.
65. Newbery, 'Art and the University'.
66. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1906-7, p.236. Letters were sent to King's College Cambridge, University College, London, and Liverpool, Manchester and Edinburgh Universities.
67. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 11 May 1909.
68. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 11 May 1909. The other subjects from which the students could choose were: Latin, mathematics, engineering, history, French, biology, geology, natural philosophy, Italian or German, law, chemistry and psychology.
69. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 16 May 1910.
70. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 13 December 1910 and SRO, ED 26. 275, SED Records, GSA General Administration, 17-18 November 1910.
71. SRO, ED 26 274 SED Records, GSA General Administration, 4 May 1910.
72. SRO, ED 26 275, SED Records. GSA General Administration, 18 October 1910.
73. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 20 March 1911.
74. Ibid. and GSAA, GSA, Calendar (1909-1910), pp.35-6.
75. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1910-11) and Newbery, Correspondence, 1 May 1911.
76. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1911, B, 28 November 1911.
77. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 23 April 1912 and GSA, Annual Report (1912-13), pp.22-23.
78. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 17 December, 1912.
79. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1915-16), p.14.
80. GSAA, GSA, Minutes 24 February 1909 and 12 March 1909.
81. GSAA, GSA, Minutes: Central Institutions Conference, Edinburgh, 22 March 1909.
82. SRO, ED 26 275, SED Records, GSA General Administration, 1910-1915, 9 December 1912. One exception was the painting assessor George Clausen whom he regarded as "out of sympathy with the aims and ideals" of the teaching in his painting school.
83. Ibid., 21 December 1910.
84. GSAA, GSA, Minutes: CI Conference 5 June 1911 Draft Minutes and SRO, ED 26 275, 25 November 1912.
85. SRO, ED 26 274, 22 February 1910.
86. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 14 January 1913.
87. GSAA, GSA, Minutes: CI Conference 28 October 1910 and GSA, Minutes, 3 April 1911.
88. GSAA, GSA, Minutes: CI Conference Draft Minutes, 5 June 1911.
89. Ian Gow, 'Sir Rowand Anderson's National Art Survey of Scotland', Architectural History, 27 (1984), 543-554 (pp.544-5).
90. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 11 June 1912.
91. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 11 June 1912 and Ian Gow, 'Sir Rowand Anderson's National Art Survey of Scotland', pp.548-9.
92. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1909, p.455, 19 October 1909, Newbery, Correspondence, 1912, W, 28 November & 17 December 1912 and Newbery, Correspondence, 1916, B, 26 September 1916. Newbery gave a lecture to the Barrhead and District Amateur Art Club on the subject 'Art in Us' and the inaugural lecture to the

Perthshire Fine Art Association entitled 'Entertaining Angels Unawares'. In a *post mortem* on the latter he said: "I did not want to speak about pictures and I wanted very badly to let the members of your association know how strongly I feel that each in his degree is an Artist that each one is capable of having his instincts educated and his powers perfected". A lecture to the Greenock Philosophical Society, however, was on an art-historical subject, "Great Artists of the Renaissance".

93. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1913-14), pp.27-28 records that seven lectures were given by Newbery and his staff at the Glasgow Art Galleries during that session.
94. James M. Dunlop, Anatomical diagrams for the use of students (London: Bell, 1899); Margaret Swanson & Ann Macbeth, Educational Needlecraft (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1911); George M. Baltus, The Technics of Painting (Glasgow: James Macloehose & Sons, 1912); Peter Wylie Davidson, Educational Metalcraft (London: Longmans Green & Co., 1913).
95. Glasgow Herald, 11 November 1911.
96. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 2 December 1902.
97. Glasgow Herald, 19 April 1910 and 11 November 1911.
98. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1913, M, 20 February 1913.
99. GSAA, GSA, Press Cuttings, unattributed cutting dated 20 February 1915 and Glasgow Evening Times, 10 March 1915.
100. Glasgow News, 24 December 1910 and GSA, Press Cuttings, unattributed cutting dated 15 April 1916. For the former celebration Newbery wrote and directed 'Christmas Eve a memory: St George and the Dragon' based on a Dorset mummers' play. This was accompanied by a fancy dress ball, with Morris and Pavanne dances and Elizabethan songs. For the latter the British Empire Shakespeare Society organised a readings from Henry VIII and Much Ado About Nothing together with dances and renderings of Shakespeare's songs.
101. Glasgow News, 24 December 1910 and Glasgow Herald, 21 February 1913 and Citizen 11 December 1913.
102. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1911-12), p.24.
103. Evening Citizen, 25 October 1912.
104. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1905-6 p.35, 17 May 1905 and 1906-8 p.122, 14 November 1906; Newbery, Press Cuttings Book, p.51 unattributed cutting of a lecture and recital by Newbery 'The Folk Songs of the West of England'.
105. GSAA, GSA, Annual Reports (1914-15), p.31, 1915-16, p.17-18, 1916-17, pp.15-16.
106. GSAA, Newbery Correspondence, 1905-6, p.47, 20 April 1905.
107. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1905-6), p.18.
108. Other theatrical entertainments devised by Newbery included: tableaux based on Tennyson's Idylls of the King at the Glasgow School of Art Club on 19 February 1909; two short plays on 21 February 1913 on the lives of the Foulis brothers who had opened the first art school in Glasgow, given in connection with the Glasgow School of Art Club - Glasgow Herald, 6 December 1912 & 21 February 1913. (These had already been shown the previous December at the Provands Lordship Society in the city); a further series of tableaux based on the novels of Sir Walter Scott together with a series entitled 'The (R)evolution of women', commenting on the rise of the feminist cause, were shown at the Queen's Rooms Clifton Street, in aid of Bellfield Sanatorium, Lanark on 10 and 11 February 1909. Newbery also wrote a sketch, 'Christmas Eve: a Memory', based on a Dorset mummers' play of St George and the Dragon, which was shown in 1910 - Glasgow News, 24 December, 1910.

109. GSAA, GSA, Annual Reports (1911-12 to 1915-16).
110. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1916, W, 23 December 1916.
111. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1901), p.6.
112. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1904-5), p.15.
113. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1905-6), p.17.
114. GSAA, GSA, Annual Report (1910-11), p.14.
115. GSAA, GSA, Press Cuttings, 1907-17, p.106, unattributed cutting dated February 1911.
116. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1913, L, 3 February 1913 and 1914, L, 12 March 1914.
117. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1914, S, 7 April 1914.
118. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1912, B 2 May 1912, 1906-7, p.377, 27 September 1907 and Newbery, Correspondence, 1909, p.575, 22 November 1909 express Newbery's desire to organise a Scottish decorative art section like that at Turin at Brussels in 1910 and at Rome in 1911.
119. Glasgow Herald, 21 February 1913.
120. GSAA, GSA, Press Cuttings 1907-17, p.187 unattributed cutting dated 16 February 1914.
121. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1906-7, p.44, 7 September 1906: "Last year I had a breakdown through taking extra duties and my Doctor told me I should take it as a warning."
122. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1911, N, 25 April 1911.
123. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1908-9, p.76, 14 April 1908 and 1909, volume 1, p.119, 2 April 1909.
124. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1909, vol.1, p. 677, 22 December 1909.
125. NLS, MS 10581, pp.224-6. Jessie Newbery, letter to Anna Geddes. "I am sorry to tell you that my husband is in bed suffering from a serious nervous breakdown - the result of years of overstrain- but the shock of the war 'knocked him out'" - also NLS, MS 10582, Margaret Mackintosh, letter to Anna Geddes referring to "a sort of nervous breakdown to begin with, which became very serious".
126. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1915, R, 3 May 1915.
127. GSAA, GSA, Annual Reports (1913-14 - 1916-17).
128. Helen Dunman who as Helen Muspratt knew Newbery in the late 1920s told me that Newbery gave the deaths of his students as the main reason for his breakdown.
129. GSAA, Newbery, Correspondence, 1916, C, 26 October 1916.
130. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 9 August 1917.
131. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 23 October 1917.
132. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 19 November 1917.
133. GSAA, GSA, Correspondence, 1918, P, 7 January 1918.
134. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 8 May 1918: Newbery, letter dated 8 April 1918
135. GSAA, GSA, Minutes, 2 August 1918: Newbery, letter dated 11 May 1918.

CHAPTER 11

NEWBERY AS AN ARTIST

When Newbery retired, his School's annual report hoped that the rest he would now be able to take would thoroughly re-establish his health and that he would be able "for many years to practise the art in which he (had) always delighted".¹ Its hope was fulfilled as he would maintain a steady production of canvases through the next fifteen or so years, but his retirement only marked a more intensive continuation of a career in painting which had begun when he was a young man in Bridport.

There are several problems to be encountered in assessing Newbery's development as a painter. Firstly, there is little information available, and no work has come to light, from the period up to 1890, a time when he would have been developing his approach. Thus his earliest extant work represents him as a mature artist. Secondly, Newbery seldom dated his work and his development has to be studied from his exhibition record.* Hence, it is not always easy to place existing unexhibited canvases in his *oeuvre*. Furthermore, several works were shown more than once and Newbery would occasionally change their titles or even give the same title to more than one picture. This again creates difficulties with paintings for which no contemporary illustrations exist.

Newbery's influences 1875-1890

As a young man in Bridport, Newbery would already appear to have been a prolific painter of landscapes,² and he continued to produce such work when a student at South Kensington, being twice awarded prizes in the Training School's annual vacation sketching club by Poynter, who noted his capacity for drawing and colour. During the same period, his abilities as a figure draughtsman were endorsed by his winning a

*Paintings in this thesis are generally dated by their first exhibition.

National Silver Medal for a full-length life study³ and it was as a figurative artist, rather than as a landscape painter, that he would produce most of his major work.

Newbery's work throughout his career shows influences from two distinct forces in nineteenth century painting, the English Aesthetic Movement and the Realist Movement, the latter as particularly seen in the painting of the Hague School and the work of the French painter Jean-François Millet and the Rustic Naturalists who had an important impact on English and Scottish painters in the late 1870s and early 1880s. Newbery's response to these two influences in his formative years, however, is difficult to trace because no work has survived and there is no documentary evidence as to its nature. One can, however, assume from his later work and from his residence in London and Glasgow at a time when the Aesthetic Movement and Rustic Naturalism were at their most influential, that Newbery was also being affected.

Newbery's work frequently contains elements which indicate his interest in the aestheticism of such leading London painters as Whistler, Albert Moore, Thomas Armstrong and Frederic Leighton. As a general rule their work eschewed narrative content or ethical teaching but was produced to be enjoyed for its own sake, with no other aim beyond presenting its own decorative existence to the beholder. Newbery, who came to be closely associated with the Glasgow Boys, also known as the Glasgow School of Painters, identified similar objectives in their work when he maintained that its members had "no proselytising creed" but had "a firm belief in one thing...that it is quite sufficient for art to be art, and to be the most beautiful thing that the hand of man is capable of making her".⁴ His aestheticism not only derived from the Aesthetic Movement's appreciation of the arrangement of form and colour in the picture space but was also based on a study of the best traditions in European painting. Again he admired the Glasgow School because it "followed in the footsteps" of the Venetian School, Velazquez, Rembrandt and "the landscapists" and sought to learn from "the Barbizon School, Millet, Corot, Diaz, Monticelli, the Maris Brothers and Israels...modern men, with whom (the old and forsaken)...traditions were still a living guide".⁵

These last named men also happened to be representatives of the nineteenth century naturalist school. Holbrook Jackson in his relatively contemporary book on the 1890s argued that the decade's artists shared a common "search for reality" which based itself on individual preference such that "every painter...who stood for modernity strove to use his own personality and his own experience as the test of his art". If this, according to Jackson, began as an attempt to represent things as they are, it always ended in the artist's painting his particular view of things.⁶ This was close to Newbery's attitude. In an address to the Govan Art Club he exhorted "each individual to paint what he saw with his own eyes - to put on canvas the expression of his own personality".⁷

The search for authenticity through a close study of nature was, in the early 1880s, centred on the *plein-air* naturalism of Jules Bastien-Lepage. So many young painters in London and Glasgow in the late 1870s and early 1880s, many trained in France, had read Sensier's hagiographic biography of Jean-François Millet who had taken the humble peasant as his subject. Sensier had represented Millet as an honest son of the soil who had turned away from the cosmopolitan world of Paris to sequester himself in the countryside to paint. French critics, like Castagnary and Thoré-Burger, defending

Millet and the naturalist tradition, which they claimed stemmed from seventeenth century Dutch painting, argued that it spoke for individualism and democratic values rather than for government and religious authority. In practice this meant the identification of values of individual choice and *plein-air* methods with artistic freedom.⁸ Following in Millet's footsteps, Bastien-Lepage had established himself in his native village of Damvilliers. He had developed a new technical approach, marrying square brushstrokes in landscapes and foregrounds with tightly handled, highly finished, work in the hands and faces of the figures which, aided by a high horizon line thrusting them forward on to the picture plain, dominated his compositions. His work was all painted *en plein air* on grey sunless days, the combination giving added authenticity by the heightened sense of reality it achieved. Bastien became an exemplar for numbers of young British painters working in the Parisian *ateliers* who spent their summers in the French countryside and, on their return to Britain, founded artists' colonies in various seaside and rural villages to seek humble themes and to pursue painting out of doors.

Newbery's adherence to the school of *plein air* naturalism may be indicated by his visits to various artists' colonies between 1880 and 1890. He stayed at Walberswick in Suffolk during the 1880s⁹ and visited Cornwall at the end of the decade, where colonies existed at Newlyn, St Ives, Falmouth and Zennor.¹⁰ Walberswick in the '80s was the painting ground of Walter Osborne (1859-1903), at that time working in a style close to that of Bastien-Lepage.¹¹ Newbery also knew Philip Wilson Steer (1860-1942) at Walberswick¹² where the latter was beginning to move away from Bastien's influence towards a style which would mark him out as the most avant-garde painter in Britain, as he sought to absorb the lessons of Manet and Monet and to experiment with a divisionist technique.¹³

On arriving in Glasgow in 1885 Newbery found himself in the midst of a group of painters who had developed a highly sophisticated and personalised approach to *plein air* naturalism, drawn from Dutch as well as French antecedents.¹⁴ The Maris brothers and Israels were members of the Hague School whose work had been popular in Scotland since the 1860s, influencing such older painters as William Darling MacKay, George Reid and Hugh Cameron. Like Bastien-Lepage the Hague School took the poorer members of society as its subject, depicting them either working outdoors or in a domestic setting, and employing grey tonalities.

The Glasgow Boys' achievements were already impressive. James Guthrie, whilst painting at the seaside village of Cockburnspath in 1883 had completed his *A Hind's Daughter* which encapsulated and individualised all the lessons he had learned from Bastien-Lepage. John Lavery had just returned from France in 1885 where he had been working with other Glasgow artists and the English painter William Stott of Oldham in the open air at Grez-sur-Loing. In 1885 he would paint his *The Tennis Party* which applied the methods of Rustic Naturalism to a middle class urban setting. The importance of painting in the open air for Newbery himself was immediately in evidence when he started open air sketching classes in the summer of 1886, and his admiration for the Glasgow painters' work is seen in his employment of them as visitors to the School and as judges in the School of Art Club competitions. He also associated with them in other ways by becoming a member, in 1890,¹⁵ of the Glasgow Art Club to which many of them belonged, and of Glasgow's exhibiting society, the Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, in 1892, a society which had an adventurous policy of

showing of the more progressive British and European painters, much of it from local collections.¹⁶

By the end of the 1880s, however, the Glasgow painters were becoming dissatisfied with Rustic Naturalism, which seemed increasingly to deny personal development, as one of their number, James Paterson, wrote in 1888:

I don't think imitating nature is art, and pictures are better painted in the house from studies...I am perfectly sick of the Frenchy School and must put something into my work, some individuality in short.¹⁷

Newbery's own objections to Rustic Naturalism owed something to his sympathy with the Aesthetic Movement, for he affirmed that "the true artist must ever strive to strike the line of beauty, which often lies outside and above the world of everyday commonplace experience".¹⁸ For Newbery, as for Paterson, plein air naturalism must also have seemed too much of a school and a school was "a weakness, a pulling in certain marked tracks (that) in the long run ended in weakness and death".¹⁹ In fact, Newbery admired what he had dubbed "the Glasgow School of Painters" partly because its members were so different from one another.²⁰

The Glasgow School's objectives were summed up by James Caw, writing in the *Art Journal* in 1894, as the realisation of "personal emotion, expressed in impressionistic manner and on a decorative basis".²¹ Newbery's emphasis on individuality and his interest in aestheticism are present here, he himself insisting that the composition of a picture, in essence, meant the decoration of the space chosen.²² R.A.M. Stevenson, writing in the Glasgow Boys' *Scottish Art Review*, offered a similar view: "Nowadays we are opening our eyes;...we are almost about to accept decoration for the basis of painting as melody is the basis of music."²³

Newbery was also in sympathy with the Glasgow painters' Impressionism", not definable in terms of the French Impressionists' colour theory but understood as a tendency "to represent their impressions of nature or subject in a manner giving only the essential points and leaving alone the trivial details of added facts".²⁴ Such Impressionism was closely associated with "the decorative aspect of painting: the intelligent sacrifice of small things in nature if the great truths of structure...and dignity of presentation be obtained".²⁵ It was also associated with personal expression. The inclusion of the sketch (*esquisse*) in the curriculum of the Parisian ateliers and the *Ecole des Beaux-Arts*, initially as a stage in the competition for the *Prix de Rome*, and of the *ébauche*, the rapid painting from the model, had brought with it an appreciation of the sketch as a more authentic personal statement by the artist than the highly finished salon *grandes machines* which had traditionally signalled the artist's mastery of his craft.²⁶

Much of the debate about Impressionism in Britain revolved around the question of whether paintings with such personal sketch-like qualities should be considered as finished statements, or even whether they were too subjective to enable them to be judged by any objective standard.²⁷ Sir George Reid, President of the Royal Scottish Academy, had made an attack on the "Glasgow Impressionists" in an address to the Glasgow School of Art in 1892, motivated by a fear that the students, admiring such work, might be in danger of discarding a thorough training in craftsmanship. Although

there is no record of Newbery's response to Reid's speech, his own "Impressionist" work was unlikely to have met with the President's approval as an exemplar for students.²⁸ Yet it is equally unlikely that Newbery would have disagreed with the lecturer on educational grounds. Newbery, himself, in finding them interesting in that they showed "life and struggle" doubted that the French Impressionists had "the necessary back bone to carry a new movement" believing that they had "lost the balance between technique and Art", also saying that he did not believe in "undeveloped genius".²⁹

Despite a sympathy with naturalism Newbery spoke out against certain tendencies which he believed it represented, seeing it as instancing the materialism of his age which he believed was evidenced in a "decay in the highest religious art and in the growth of a gross materialism which takes delight in representing scenes fitted to create only a natural disgust".³⁰ It is not clear what Newbery was referring to in this remark but in his own work there is some indication of a strong interest in the realism out of which rustic naturalism and Impressionism grew, in that he seldom sought to idealise his subject matter. The people who inhabit his canvases are never conventionally beautiful. They are, more often than not, matter-of-fact, no-nonsense, down-to-earth individuals, portrayed in a robust, sometimes almost crude, hasty way which came naturally to one of Newbery's brusque character. Yet despite this, Newbery believed that pictures have a subliminal message that can speak to the human spirit with "a vividness, directness and power all their own" and that "it is not for the information they convey but for the emotions they excite that they are valuable".³¹ This was a doctrine Newbery would have picked up from the Aesthetic Movement but it also opened the door to the symbolism which was beginning to enter the work of many modern painters, including that of some of the Glasgow Boys in the late 1880s: such men as Edward Atkinson Hornel, George Henry and Thomas Millie Dow.³² During the late 1890s Newbery also seems to have begun a flirtation with symbolism, which would develop into a more permanent relationship in conjunction with his later more public decorative art.

Although Newbery was closely associated with the Glasgow Boys he has never been counted as one of their number. This is partly because his work was not in evidence at any of the exhibitions where they made their most significant impact. The group had been an important element in the New English Art Club when it challenged the London art establishment between 1886 and 1890. Newbery, however, would not exhibit at the New English until 1892. In 1890 the Glasgow painters made their impression in London at the Grosvenor Gallery and followed this in the same year with international recognition at the Munich *Glaspalast*. Newbery, who was only beginning to exhibit in 1890, was not included in either show. He did, however, send work to the Munich *Glaspalast* from 1893 and the Munich Secession from 1896. Nor were Newbery's paintings in evidence at St Louis in 1895, when the Glasgow Boys first gained recognition in the United States, but he was a frequent exhibitor at the annual Carnegie Institute shows in Pittsburgh which was the Boys' main American outlet in subsequent years.³³ The Glasgow Boys were also an important element in the International Society of Sculptors, Painters and Gravers, whose exhibitions did much to represent the international avant-garde in London from 1898.³⁴ Newbery, however, did not begin to show with the Society until 1904. Newbery's work was neither so innovative, aesthetically stimulating, nor as prolific as that of the leading members of the group: Guthrie, Lavery, Crawhall, Henry, Hornel or Walton. It nevertheless exhibits many parallels with their work while it also relates to the work of others of his

contemporaries, and in his paintings Newbery found a voice of his own, synthesising aestheticism, naturalism and occasionally symbolism with a robust approach to the humanity and worthiness of his subjects. A contemporary summed up Newbery's diverse and eclectic approach to his art thus:

Mr Newbery does not suffer from artistic atrophy. He is the student personified, constantly seeking to perfect himself and his work reflecting the wide range of his art culture.³⁵

Newbery's Paintings 1890-1914

The gap of five years between Newbery's arrival in Glasgow and the beginning of his exhibiting career is probably accountable to two factors: the workload involved in establishing the direction of his new school; and his residence in lodgings which would not have allowed him the leisure, or space, for painting. Although he was already living at his first married home, 2 Queen Margaret Crescent, before his wedding, Newbery's exhibition debut did not come until after that event, which took place in September 1889. Even then, however, it is probable that much of his work was done during the summer vacations.³⁶ That Newbery was already a mature painter at this time is obvious from the number of his pictures that were accepted in the various national exhibitions. In 1890 he showed one each at the Royal Academy and the Royal Scottish Academy, with two each at the Glasgow Institute and the Paisley Art Institute, and by 1894 he was also exhibiting in the Paris Salon of the *Société des Artistes Français*.

There are little more than titles to indicate what these early exhibited paintings were like. There were some townscapes: *A Bit of a Cornish Village* (Royal Scottish Academy 1891, no. 411); *A Bit of Paisley* (Paisley Art Institute 1890, no. 100). There were others with a suggestion of rustic naturalism in their titles, such as *Les Pauvres* (Royal Academy 1891, no. 166) and *Sunny Toil* (Paisley Art Institute 1890, no. 261). There were also some with titles redolent of the Victorian genre subject picture: *Despair* (Royal Scottish Academy 1890, no. 12); *Secrets* (Glasgow Institute 1890, no. 434); and *Youth must needs have Dalliance* (Glasgow Institute 1891, no. 555). That Newbery was, like most Glasgow Painters by this time, no consistent adherent of Bastien-Lepage's grey tonalities, is seen in the reviews of the last two paintings which indicate that they were studies in full sunlight, commending them for their vibrant colour. *Secrets*, which was considered to be "evidently of continental origin", depicted a girl sitting on a high sunny wall confiding secrets to a girl below. Its colour was described as predominantly rose-pink and scarlet under a blue sky.³⁷ *Youth must needs have Dalliance*, whose draughtsmanship was praised, represented a girl in a pink dress "toying with a fancy bull pup" in front of a "glowing mass of border flowers".³⁸

In the early 1890s Newbery was spending his summers at Crail and Largo in Fife.³⁹ *The Drumhead, Crail* (Royal Scottish Academy 1892, no. 104) was a product of these visits, as was the first work by Newbery to be traced so far. This is a portrait of Newbery's friend, James Mavor (Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto) (plate 29) painted in 1892 before Mavor emigrated to Canada, but inscribed "Largo 1893" when it was probably sent to the subject.⁴⁰

This small work (National Gallery of Ontario) depicts the political economist seated in a fairly relaxed posture on a wooden armchair. There is no attempt by the painter to

describe the room in which Mavor sits, and the background, like many of the portraits of Velazquez, largely consists of the toned ground of the canvas. In contrast to the high-keyed works of girls in full sunlight the painting has a low Whistlerian tonality, Mavor's suit merging into the dark shadows, with the highlights, the hands, face, shirt-cuffs, collar and handkerchief brushed in loosely, the whole achieved by an economy of means.

Other works which may relate to these vacations are *On the Beach* (New English Art Club 1896, no. 50) and *The First Bathe* (Munich Secession 1896, no. 279 - untraced). Largo was something of an artists' colony and was frequented among others by Hugh Cameron (1835-1918) who, in the 1890s, was painting beach scenes using women and children as models.⁴¹ Such pictures were the stock-in-trade of the Hague School painter Bernard Blommers (1845-1914) whose work was popular in Scotland, and were the subject of the far more experimental work of Philip Wilson Steer at Walberswick and Boulogne between 1887 and 1894. Newbery's *The First Bathe*, which is represented by a poor early photograph in the Munich Secession catalogue (Plate 30) shows a close familiarity with Cameron's subject matter, in particular *The Careful Sister* (1892, Glasgow Museums) (plate 31), which like Newbery's painting depicts an older girl and a younger child wading hand-in-hand in the sea. The handling in Newbery's painting appears to be fairly broad, almost ragged, possibly in dialogue with Steer's and echoing the impressionistic seaside paintings featuring little girls of the Scottish painter William McTaggart. Newbery's painting, which is probably of his two daughters, Elsie (born 1890) and Mary (born 1892), manages to suggest the apprehensiveness of a small girl wading in the sea, encouraged by a caring elder sister.

Newbery met with his first major foreign exhibition success at the 1897 Venice *Biennale* where he exhibited alongside several Glasgow painters and sold two pictures.⁴² Like *The First Bathe* and several others from the mid '90s onwards these featured young girls as subjects. Newbery had exhibited a portrait of his older daughter Elsie in 1895 (Royal Scottish Academy, no 421) and it is one, probably of her sister Mary, which was bought by the Town of Udine from the 1897 *Biennale* (Scottish Section no. 35 - Civici Musei e Gallerie di Storia e Arte, Udine). This work, already exhibited at the Munich Secession in 1896, was entitled *A Pair of Blue Eyes* (plate 32) and is similar to the Mavor portrait in its low tone and its depiction of a single figure against a plain ground. Mary, like her father, had a strong forthright personality and his keenly observed portrait of her as a little girl cuddling a black cat brings this out well. In it Newbery skilfully repeats the jagged shape described by the animal's ears, in Mary's collar, and in the area beneath her bonnet, to focus attention on her eyes. There is a challenge in her look and a confidence in her stance as she grasps her kitten with a proprietorial air. Newbery places her in her own space which the spectator is warned to enter at his peril. Yet one is not allowed to forget that this is only a very small person. The brightest parts of the picture are the most childlike, the model's left hand and her face and bonnet. The success of this picture derives from the tension which Newbery sets up between the model's vulnerability and her self-assertiveness.⁴³

The other *Biennale* painting, *Under the Moon* (Scottish Section no. 34) (plate 33), which depicts a group of five girls dancing in a circle by moonlight on the seashore, was acquired by the Municipality of Venice (Galleria Internazionale d'Arte Moderna di Ca'Pesaro, Venice) and was also illustrated in the progressive art and literary periodical,

The Yellow Book.⁴⁴ Young girls in groups were particular favourites of the Scottish painter William McTaggart as well as some of the Glasgow Boys such as E. A. Hornel to whose far more vivacious *The Dance of Spring* (1891) (plate 34) this relates in terms of subject. However, Newbery's painting probably owes more to the work *Ronde d'Enfants* by William Stott of Oldham, a friend of the Glasgow Boys, which also depicts young girls dancing in a ring under the moon on the seashore (plate 35). The motif of dancing children may also derive from the Toy Books of Walter Crane and Kate Greenaway which were favourites in the Newbery household, and it may also relate to Newbery's interest in folk dance and song. Moon dances are common in many cultures and are always performed in circles by females to mark the phases of the moon. An important time for such a dance was harvest time and it may have been on the artist's evidence that a Glasgow journalist wrote that Newbery's subjects were dancing under a harvest moon.⁴⁵ In the painting Newbery creates a strong sense of movement using the jagged double rhythm described by the subjects' dark elbows and their legs and feet silhouetted against a pale sea. This is further accentuated by the swirl of the girls' smocks, and their circular motion is expressed by the sweep of the coastline which pulls the viewer's eye to the right across the girls' heads.

Another painting shown in the 1903 *Biennale* (Scottish Section no. 9), and intended by Newbery as a companion to *Under the Moon*, was presented to the City of Turin, almost certainly in gratitude for the knighthood he had received for his work as director of the Scottish Section at its 1902 Modern Decorative Art Exhibition. The work, *East of the Sun and West of the Moon* (*Sole a Levante e Luna a Ponente* - Gallerie Civica d'Arte Moderna e Contemporanea, Turin) (plate 36) indicates that Newbery was now regularly spending part of his summer vacations at Walberswick. Its inclusion of the Kissing Bridge, a local landmark, which in Newbery's time spanned the Dunwich Creek at its confluence with the River Blyth, makes it the first identifiable painting produced there. The village had probably been Newbery's annual holiday home since at least 1897 when he began the painting.⁴⁶

Like *Under the Moon* it is concerned with movement, in this case from top left, where fishing boats have just returned from a night at sea, to bottom right. The movement is again described by a group of young girls. Nine of these walk sedately from the direction of the fishing boats, across the bridge, and down towards the foreground. The composition is carefully designed, the solemn procession of figures, some of whom carry posies, is almost choreographed and the girls look as if they have been painted in the studio. They leave the pale moon which stands above the mast of one of the fishing boats behind them, and turn their faces towards the sun. Although this is not a literary picture it has literary associations which add to its message and which may claim for it, and *Under the Moon*, consideration as symbolist works.

The title of the former is probably taken from the poem *The Land East of the Sun and West of the Moon* in William Morris's narrative cycle, *The Earthly Paradise*. The hero of the poem travels the world in search of his lost beloved whom he knows he will find in the Land East of the Sun and West of the Moon. Accordingly his hopes are always raised when he sees the sun and moon in the sky at the same time. At one point this phenomenon occurs as he makes land at "Dunwich in the eastland", only a few miles south of Walberswick. There is a reference to this moment in the painting which, if nothing else, accounts for Newbery's choice of title:

Skyward he looked, and oe'r the mast
He saw the moon with all light past
From out of her, and as he gazed
The great sun oe'r the green sea blazed,
And smote his head with sudden light.⁴⁷

The procession of self-absorbed young girls who pay little attention to the spectator may also echo the poem's narrative, for when Morris's hero finally found the country he was seeking, its inhabitants were unaware of his presence.

Moreover, none on him did gaze;
And if their eyes met his, as though
They saw him not, past did they go.⁴⁸

Newbery's indication that this painting and *Under the Moon* are companion pictures is not immediately apparent as their dimensions and formats are different. The reason for his so doing, however, might reside in their literary and symbolic links as well as in their common depiction of groups of girls by the sea. Again, a connection between them might lie in the poem, for its hero first encountered his beloved after a night's vigil, when she danced at dawn with her companions.⁴⁹

The *Earthly Paradise* as a whole is concerned with the fleeting nature of youth and the transience of human life, a point which Newbery may also be suggesting through his choice of titles. Moon dances mark the passage of time and despite the gaiety of the dance in *Under the Moon* there is a seriousness of expression on the faces as if the painting is a comment on the mutability of all things in the sublunary world. The sense of the hope of youth and the possibilities of a new day in *East of the Sun* is also coloured by the fact that the procession of girls and the day are passing by and will soon be gone.⁵⁰

Another of Newbery's major paintings at this time was *The Round Table* (Royal Glasgow Institute 1898, no.457, untraced) (plate 37), also exhibited at Pittsburgh in 1898 and the Venice *Biennale* in 1899. It depicted a domestic scene in which Newbery's daughters are seen playing at cards.⁵¹ They are seated facing one another on either side of a table, their light dresses, faces and hair creating a strong silhouette against a dark ground which is relieved by the pattern of plates on a dresser and a vase of flowers in the table's centre, all of which link the figures. Again Newbery sets up and convincingly describes the relationship between the elder and the younger sister: the former far more assured and comfortable on her chair and in the movement of her hands, whilst the latter is hunched in hers, her actions more clumsy, infantile and self-engrossed.

A much smaller work which relates to *The Round Table* is *Lessons* (Royal Glasgow Institute 1907, no. 333) (plate 38). It depicts both girls, older now, and their mother, seated in a domestic interior in the same chairs at a similar round table with a flower vase at its centre. The girls, as in *The Round Table*, do not look out at the viewer but concentrate on their reading and writing: their mother alone gazes back at the spectator. Isobel Spencer has compared this painting to the *Intimiste* canvases of Bonnard and Vuillard,⁵² something which its cosy domesticity would suggest, although the delicate

handling of the paint in it is far different. This work and *The Round Table* and another work *Sisters*,⁵³ which depicts Elsie and Mary in an interior, are probably more closely related to the pastels of domestic middle class interiors which James Guthrie was producing around 1890, one of which, *Causerie* (1892 -Hunterian Art Gallery, Glasgow) (plate 39) shows two women seated at a round table. In Guthrie's pastel the figure on the left is similarly positioned to Jessie in *Lessons* and also faces the spectator, whilst both pictures feature flower vases and oil lamps as their most prominent accessories. Guthrie's painting has been seen as one of the closest approaches that Glasgow made to French Impressionism.⁵⁴ Newbery's, on the other hand, is closer to Whistler and English Aestheticism and can be seen as a harmony in green, played out in the different greens of the subjects' dresses.

Newbery also shows an indebtedness to Whistler in *My Lady Greensleeves* (exhibited Bradford 1905 - private collection) (plate 40), a full-length portrait of Jessie. In Newbery's painting Jessie stands at a door, her left hand resting on the door-knob, her right holding a large round hat as if, in the act of going out, her attention has been momentarily caught by the spectator to whom she turns her head. The painting, like several of Whistler's, is divided vertically into three by the line of the floor and dado. Also like Whistler, Newbery has used a restrained palette, composed largely of black, white and grey-green. Jessie's hat is also a quotation from Whistler's *Harmony in Grey and Green: Miss Cicely Alexander* (c. 1872-3 - Tate Gallery, London) as is Newbery's patterned carpet (plate 41).

From about 1900 the Newberys put down firmer roots in Walberswick when they rented a semi-detached house, "Rooftree",⁵⁵ which became the centre of their activities in the latter part of the summer vacations each year, Newbery usually returning to Glasgow to begin the new session each September, Jessie occasionally staying on a little longer. Their leisure pursuits included cycling through the flat countryside to visit local sites such as Framlingham Castle and Dunwich cliffs; tennis; and theatrical entertainments.⁵⁶

The Newberys also attracted quite a number of their artist friends to the village, Greiffenhagen, the Mackintoshes, Hermann and Anna Muthesius, and E.A. Walton and his family who habitually holidayed in the neighbouring village of Wenhamston. For a period Newbery and Walton were members of the East Anglian Art Club, which they may have helped to found and which held annual exhibitions at Southwold.⁵⁷

Newbery demanded quiet conditions for his work and it was probably this and the village's remoteness from the ravages of modern industry and commerce, together with the ease of access by rail (a station had been opened about a mile from the village in 1885) which commended it to him. The village, like Newbery's home town of Bridport, had a community which worked the land and fished the sea and presented good subjects. It also had an interesting harbour on the River Blyth and a hinterland with its own understated charm, added to which were the windmills, which both Frank and Jessie painted, and the wealth of church architecture in every village. Newbery rented a fisherman's shed on the Blyth⁵⁸ whose southern bank, at the edge of the village, acted as its harbour. The ferry, which plied across the Blyth between Southwold and Walberswick, and the Kissing Bridge would also become continuing motifs in Newbery's work.

Like other Glasgow painters Newbery enjoyed painting outdoor domestic subjects. Two paintings which can be identified as having been made at Rooftree celebrate the joys of its well-stocked garden on a peaceful summer's day. *Summertime* (Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh 1907, no. 197 - untraced) (plate 42) acts more as an anticipatory introduction to the garden than as a depiction of it. In the painting Jessie stands with her back to the artist in the window of a room which leads into the garden, tending one of the four pots of flowers that adorn the space. Mary and Elsie sit in a pair of wickerwork chairs, one girl watching her mother whilst the other looks back at the spectator. The use of *contre-jour* lighting, with the sunlight flooding into the flower-decked room through the window and open door but leaving the space nearest the viewer in darkness, acts as an invitation to the delights of the garden of which the room is only a foretaste.

The other painting, *The Garden* (Royal Glasgow Institute 1915, no. 229 - untraced) (plate 43), is an essay in the depiction of sunlight and peace on an Edwardian summer afternoon. In it Newbery paints Jessie reclining on a chair shaded by a large parasol and backed by a profusion of tall hollyhocks. It was admired by *The Studio* reviewer as "natural fresh and radiant" and because it "positively" scintillated "with daylight".⁵⁹ Following the practice of several naturalist painters, such as Bastien-Lepage and George Clausen, Newbery appears to have used photographs in its production, as one exists of Jessie in the same pose. This may have been a reminder of the positioning of the shadows in strong sunlight or as an aid towards finishing the work in Glasgow. Newbery, however, does not appear to have left any record of how he used photography as an aid to painting. He lectured on composition to camera clubs and judged exhibitions and exhibited photographs as works of art in their own right.⁶⁰ Unfortunately none of these have come to light, and the fact that Newbery also exhibited paintings with the same titles may indicate that some at least were photographs of actual paintings. Newbery did have photographs taken of some of his paintings by professional photographers and the photographs which do survive are far less impressive affairs taken as part of the painting process.⁶¹

At the same time as Newbery was painting his family he was also producing pictures of workpeople, either fishermen or rural labourers, but never industrial workers. This was consistent with the practice of many of his contemporaries in Glasgow as well as such English painters as George Clausen, H. H. La Thangue and Stanhope Forbes who had been influenced by rustic naturalism. In this aspect of his work, as with many of his contemporaries, Newbery's purpose was to represent the humanity and ruggedness in the face of adversity of people whose struggles he understood, rather than a rural arcadia.

His first picture in this genre, of which there is any visual record, is *The Nimbus of Toil* (Royal Scottish Academy 1897, no. 16 - untraced) (plate 44). It is a single figure subject of an old woman carrying a basket on her head along a sunlit beach. Apart from its depiction of bright sunlight it owes something to Millet's *Going to Work* (1850-1, Glasgow Museums) which was in the James Donald collection in Glasgow (plate 45). The Millet features two figures, one of whom is also carrying a basket. Newbery's figure, like Millet's, is lit from the right and casts a deep shadow and, like Millet's male subject, the shaded face of the woman is in silhouette. Whereas the Frenchman's picture is generalised and monumental, his subjects' figures being higher than the viewer and seen against the sky, Newbery places his figure slightly below eye-level and sets her against a high horizon, as in Bastien-Lepage's work. This device, together with the deep

shadow in which she is seen, makes her more tangible than Millet's figures and Newbery pays more attention to the physical effects of hard work on his subject. Her bare arms are veined and bony but the artist seems to be suggesting, by her spare figure and determined stride, that she has no time for anything but her work. She is very much in the tradition of the paintings which Hugh Cameron was producing over twenty years earlier. The old woman with her bundle of faggots in his painting *A Lonely Life* (1873, National Gallery of Scotland) (plate 46) being a particularly good example.

Two other single figures of rural workers, *The Warden of the Marshes* (Manchester 1899, no. 208 - National Gallery of Chile, Santiago) (plate 47) and *The Fen Reeve* (Royal Glasgow Institute 1915 no. 213 - Stirling Council) (plate 48) also make statements about the dignity of labour. Both depict old men, deeply versed in their rustic calling and lone masters of a wide landscape. Each is dressed in a hat, battered great-coat and waistcoat, as if muffled against the cold: each carries a stick like a staff of office and mark of authority. As with the old woman in *The Nimbus of Toil* the dignity of the subject is enhanced by its being seen in silhouette, in the case of *The Fen Reeve* high above the viewer against a stormy sky.

Another Walberswick painting depicting rural work is the *Shepherd's Star* (Liverpool 1908, no. 99; Perth Art Gallery) (plate 49). In it Newbery takes his message one step further and attempts, by the use of an elliptical quotation from the Bible in his title, to depict what could be seen as the apotheosis of labour. Newbery would often quote from the Bible to make a non-theological point in his conversation and lectures. In this case he seems to be using an allusion to Christ's nativity, shifting his reference from the Magi, who followed a star to find the place of Jesus' birth, to the humble shepherds who were commanded by an angel, visiting them at night, to seek out God's anointed. In fact, an association of the shepherds, rather than the Magi, with the star had already been made by the Glasgow Boys George Henry and E.A. Hornel in their painting *The Star in the East* (1891 - Glasgow Art Gallery) which depicts the angel's annunciation to the shepherds. That Newbery's painting is not an illustration of the Nativity, however, is not only borne out by his deliberate confusion of the Biblical narrative but also by his choice of the Kissing Bridge as the site for his painting. Just as Rossetti could express the refined nature of his love for a woman by placing her in Heaven as *The Blessed Damsel* Newbery has used a religious association to point up the unique specialness of a present-day shepherd. That Newbery's shepherd is the type of all shepherds and, by extension, of the rural labourer is stressed by his being placed at the apex of the bridge, like Moses on Mount Sinai, and depersonalised by being seen in silhouette. Mystery is added to the scene and it is moved from everyday experience by its being shown in moonlight. Yet the fact that the shepherd is a labourer with work to do is not in doubt from the ubiquity of his flock which crowds the bridge and the foreground of the picture and anchors him to the earth.

Unlike many of his contemporaries Newbery seems to have undertaken no paintings of field workers or fishermen engaged in active work. Indeed, his pictures of groups of workers show them at their leisure. At least two, *At the Coach and Horses* and *Cronies* depict them drinking in an inn, and a third, *Tales of the Sea*, shows two fishermen enjoying a conversation.. All of these paintings are untraced and contemporary photographic evidence is all that remains. *Cronies* and *Tales of the Sea* are essentially portraits in which Newbery has once more chosen to depict the experience of age. There is an intimacy about both paintings which suggests Newbery's personal

acquaintance, friendship even, with his sitters. In these works there is no sentiment, just factual reporting.

Cronies (International Society 1910, no.29 - untraced) (plate 50) is a study in *contre jour* lighting, the bright daylight highlighting the white beards of three drinking companions and picking out the wrinkled folds of their smocks and jerseys which, together with the gnarled hands of the figure on the left, act as a metaphor for age and experience. Newbery cleverly uses perspective in the planks of the floor and the table, both of which are displayed in full light to bring the viewer into the midst of the company, and uses the same device in the vertical parallel lines described by the boards of the wainscoting and the glazing bars of the window to prevent him from proceeding further into the scene that lies outside. Dignity is expressed by the upright posture and headgear of the figure on the left, a relaxed intelligence by the central figure who smokes a pipe and scrutinises the viewer, and the experience of age by the man on the right whose wrinkled brow and smock complement one another.

Tales of the Sea (Newcastle 1916, no. 315 - untraced) (plate 51) depicts two similar figures seated on the waterfront at Walberswick with boats in the background. Newbery has painted them in full sunlight with their faces in the shadows cast by their hats. Again age is expressed through the wrinkled smock of one and the white bearded heads of both. *At the Coach and Horses* (Royal Scottish Academy 1906, no. 131 - untraced) (plate 52) has six male figures seated, drinking, smoking and talking, in a room in varying degrees of shadow, with a brightly lit female figure about to enter the room through a door at the rear to serve them. The painting is very much an exercise in the painting of shadows in a dark interior, and the figures are incidental to this. According to the reviewer in *The Studio* it was "a clever handling of a difficult subject, in which the lighting effect is successfully carried out into the furthest recesses of the big inn parlour".⁶² Unlike in *Cronies* the viewer remains outside the painting, Newbery creating an impassable barrier with the foreground shadows and brightly-lit post and table legs; the figures all being contained within a semicircle of light which links the woman's dress on the left with the man's shirt-sleeve on the right.

Newbery's occupancy of a fisherman's shed as a studio on the bank of the River Blyth also resulted in a number of paintings. One of the finest of these is a small oil of the ferry to which he gave the title *A Cord* (c. 1911 - Glasgow School of Art) (plate 53), perhaps in reference to the chain which guided the ferryboat. The canvas, which depicts a group of four women in large hats, two men and a dog on the southern shore of the river, is grey-green in colour with a tone similar to that preferred by Bastien-Lepage and his followers. Its impressionistic representation of figures, boats and buildings silhouetted against sky and water, and Newbery's liberal use of black to describe the figures whose hats create strong forms against the freely-brushed grey of the river is heavily Whistlerian in feel and bears comparison with Wilson Steer's Walberswick painting *The Bridge* (1887; Tate Gallery) (plate 54) which also uses silhouettes against water. In Newbery's painting, as in Steer's, the horizon is very high. Newbery's strip of almost white sky is the highest toned part of his picture and is brushed in with broad square strokes. Beneath it is a strip of green fluid paint which acts as the opposite shore. The sky is cleverly punctuated at the left hand side of the canvas by a black rectangle which describes a building but also anchors the picture and acts as a reference point for the black figures in the foreground, as well as for the white rectangle which represents

the ferry boat. The high horizon also emphasises the two-dimensionality of the picture. This, together with Newbery's schematic forms, which are as much areas of paint as depictions of people, boats and buildings, enables the work to be enjoyed for its abstract painterly qualities.

A Cord was only one of several small oils which Newbery painted on the Blyth in which he seems to have enjoyed using paint in an expressive way, giving his paint marks as much prominence as the scene he was describing. In another picture, *Boats on the Blyth* (plate 55) Newbery allowed the pinkish-brown ground of the painting to contribute to the final effect, causing it to stand for shadows and reflections and to act as a foil to the freely applied white impasto which stands for the boats' hulls and furled sails and the fluid pale blue brush marks which describe the sky and water.

A further more ambitious painting, *Walberswick on the Waterfront* (1912 - Ellis Campbell Collection) (plate 56), which was probably a view from Newbery's riverside studio, depicts a paddle steamer seen through the open doors of a room which lead onto a walkway on which stands a young girl who is looking out at the river. The painting is built up with the same expressive brushwork and Newbery has resisted the temptation to over-describe the girl whose dress, arms, face and hair are only loosely suggested and whose figure strengthens the vertical elements in the composition, focusing the eye on the paddle steamer and its yellow funnel.

Another work which might have been painted in Walberswick is closer to that of E. A. Hornel and Adolphe Monticelli, a painter whom Newbery admired, in its use of heavy impasto. *To the Shore* (McLean Museum and Art Gallery, Inverclyde Council) (plate 57), depicts three young girls, probably the artist's daughters and their friend Cecile Walton. It shows them from behind, wearing bright colourful printed summer dresses, walking jauntily arm-in-arm on a breezy sunlit day, the vivacity of the brushwork contributing to the mood.

Newbery as an artist, who acts as a bridge between the older Glasgow Boys and the younger Glasgow Style designers, was also affected in his painting by the latter. The work that most completely reflects the ambience of the Glasgow Style, a contemporary review perceptively describing it as "the type of the school of art which has conferred honour upon Glasgow",⁶³ is a portrait of Anna Muthesius wearing a figured dress and engaged in needlework. There were probably two versions of the painting, a study and a larger work (both untraced). The latter was exhibited from 1904 (initially at the International Society 1904, no. 206 - untraced) under the titles *An Embroideress*, *A Craftswoman* and *The Embroiderer*. However, a reproduction of the study (untraced) (plate 58) which appeared on the cover of the German periodical *Jugend*⁶⁴ and which may have been shown at the Munich Secession (1903, no. 174) is the only representation of the painting which has come to light. In this work Newbery demonstrates that he has thoroughly grasped the painterly decorative style developed by the younger Glasgow Boys George Henry and E. A. Hornel. In their portraits the paint marks make their own decorative statements to the extent that rather than merely reproducing the appearance of textile materials they translate them into the language of paint. In his study Newbery, like the Glasgow Style designers, subordinates the anatomical form of the sitter to the decorative needs of the design and, Like Henry and Hornel, transforms Anna's dress into a rich mass of lively decorative paint marks which

occupy at least half of the surface, whilst the background, which acts as a quiet foil to the busyness of the dress, is brushed with delicate Glasgow style foliage and faint suggestions of roses. Also, like much Glasgow Style work, the painting is almost monochromatic, the face standing out against the rest of the composition like a pale rose against a dark mass of foliage.

Nowhere else in Newbery's work does the Glasgow Style so completely take over a picture, although elements of it are present in decorative backgrounds and accessories, such as in the pattern of the carpet and the fireplace in *The Lady of the Carnation* (Royal Glasgow Institute 1916, no. 116 - Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle-upon-Tyne) (plate 63). This is one of several full-length female figures that the artist undertook between 1910 and 1917, which reflect the work of the English Aesthetic Movement of the 1860s to 1880s. The earliest of these for which there is evidence is *The Mirror* (Artist Teachers' Exhibition, Glasgow School of Art 1911 - private collection) (plate 59), also entitled *The Oriental*. Its lineage can be traced back to Whistler's work of the 1860s, most notably *La Princesse du Pays de la Porcelaine* (1863-4 - Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.) (plate 60) which was exhibited in the 1901 Glasgow International Exhibition: but a more immediate influence is Wilson Steer's *The Japanese Gown* (1894 - National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne) (plate 61). This was on show at the Glasgow Institute in 1895 and was also illustrated in the *Art Journal* in the same year as Newbery's *The Sisters* (untraced), in 1906.⁶⁵ Its subject, a western woman in an oriental robe, standing before and reflected in a full-length mirror with a cushioned sofa to her right, was appropriated by Newbery. Newbery, however, went nearer to Whistler and the Aesthetic Movement in his use of accessories which include flower-filled vases. The subject allowed Newbery to paint a harmony in green, the colour being present in the gown, the mirror frame, two of the vases, the sofa and its cushion, the gown itself giving Newbery ample opportunity to indulge his gift for expressive decorative paintwork.

The second painting to be exhibited which betrays the same influence was *The Spanish Shawl* (Liverpool 1915, no. 276 - private collection) (plate 62). This explores the same aesthetic theme as *The Mirror*, a woman, on this occasion nude to the waste, before a mirror with rich embroidered fabrics. The dominant colours are black, red and white, with green and yellow accents. The two dimensionality of the painting is emphasised by the paleness of the model's torso, arms and feet which relate to the white rectangle of the mirror glass and together stand out against a dark background and, in their disposition, relate to the rectangular picture space. The frame of this painting is to a design which Newbery used frequently for his larger pictures. It is in the Glasgow Style and was made by his ex-student and a contemporary of Mackintosh, the framer and gilder John Gibson of Bothwell Street.

The Lady of the Carnation is a full-length female figure in an identical Gibson frame of similar dimensions and is an aesthetic exercise in an unlikely colour combination, grey and green. The model is wearing a green dress with a black pattern which was designed and made by Jessie, and leans on a grey Glasgow Style fireplace against a grey wall. In the foreground is a green hearth rug with a grey border. The only warm notes in the whole ensemble are the model's face and hands, her red lips, a purple motif in the border of the rug and the pink carnation the model holds. Again, Newbery seems to be quoting from Whistler, on this occasion his *Symphony in White no. 2: The Little White Girl* (1864; Tate Gallery, London) (plate 64) which also features a woman leaning on a

fireplace, except that Newbery has replaced Whistler's oriental accessories with two silver candlesticks and a plaster cast of a Renaissance Madonna and Child. As in Whistler's painting the artist insists on the flatness of the picture plane by placing his model against a grid of horizontal and vertical lines.

The cold grey-green colour scheme seems to have fascinated Newbery who came to it again in *Daydreams* (c. 1927 - City Art Centre, Edinburgh) (plate 65), which features a model in the same dress reclining, with closed eyes, on a sofa, the back of which divides the picture in two, with only the model's head breaking its line at one end. Again, the flatness of the picture plane is insisted on and the top half of the painting is broken up into a series of overlapping rectangles. Like *The Lady of the Carnation* this picture also has its plaster cast of a Renaissance Madonna and Child.

Another painting with a less overt Aesthetic Movement orientation, tempered by references to the sombre peasant interiors of the Hague School, also entitled *Daydreams* (c. 1912 - Royal Scottish Academy) (plate 66) takes a seated young girl (who is also featured in *Walberswick on the Waterfront*) as its subject. Here, however, Newbery has used a similar palette to the *Spanish Shawl* excepting that the predominant colour in the picture is brown, seen in the shadowed wall and bare floor, in the chair on which the girl sits and the table at her right. On the table Newbery has placed a still-life: a green casserole and a black jug, both glazed, and two apples, one red, the other green. These black red and green accents are repeated in the girl's black, red-patterned dress, her dark hair, her green hair-ribbon and the green apple which she holds. There is a degree of sentiment in the painting, intentional or otherwise, which centres on the frailty of the girl and the poverty of her surroundings. The girl has a pale, appealingly pretty, face and thin stick-like white arms which stand out against the dark composition. She sits in a stooped posture and her dress and boots look as if they are too large for her.

Newbery's admiration for Velazquez, seen in his appropriation of the Spanish master's sombre background for *Daydreams*, is more evident in the composition of the *Red Shawl* (Liverpool 1913, no. 938 - untraced) (plate 67) which is a back view of a female nude reclining on a bed and gazing into a rectangular mirror and recalls Velazquez' *Venus at her Mirror* (1644-8; National Gallery, London). This is the only full-length nude by Newbery whose existence is known and although it was not particularly admired by the journalist who reviewed it when it was shown in Glasgow in 1914, it does appear to have been a robust workmanlike essay in the genre.⁶⁶

Newbery undertook several portraits throughout his career. Most of these were of men who were his personal friends: Graham Price, who shared his interest in Shakespeare; Herbert Fitton Stockdale, Director of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College; the photographer James Craig Annan; the academics Gilbert Murray and J. B. Bury who stayed in the Walberswick area; and the journalist Edward Hawke of the Glasgow Herald with whom Newbery played golf. Most are in half-length and several, like those of Hawke and Stockdale, show the sitters at work. Perhaps the most notable is the Whistlerian *Portrait of Graham Price* (c. 1913 - Glasgow Museums), an almost full-length depiction of its subject in evening dress standing against the same Glasgow Style fireplace as Newbery used for *The Lady of the Carnation*. It is a suave monochromatic arrangement in black, white and grey. In another portrait, *The Blue Scarf* (International Society 1912, no. 128 - untraced) (plate 69), which depicts an unknown seated woman

in three-quarter length,⁶⁷ Newbery comes nearer to Steer. The work's large areas of light and dark tones and its loose brushwork and informality of pose bear comparison with several of the latter's 1890's interior portraits of women such as *Girl Reading a Book* (1895) (plate 70).

On the completion of the School of Art building Newbery undertook his most ambitious portrait commemorating those who had been most closely involved in its erection (plate 71). The picture was painted for the School's new Board Room and shows the Building Committee responsible for the second stage of the project seated around the table in the room where it was to hang. Newbery took some time to complete the work as he had to fit sittings from all the members into his and their busy schedules. It has been suggested that the picture originally contained thirteen figures including a robust self-portrait of the artist seated at the right gazing out at the viewer, and that it was only as an afterthought that Newbery decided to include a fourteenth figure, that of the architect Charles Rennie Mackintosh, who stands in profile at the extreme left clutching a copy of his plans.⁶⁸ The evidence for this assumption is that an extra piece of canvas was sewn on to the left-hand side of the picture, as if Newbery had decided to include Mackintosh only as an afterthought.. Despite the physical evidence, however, the fact that Newbery had already made his sketch of Mackintosh for the painting in 1912,⁶⁹ at the same time as he was taking sittings from the members of the Committee, would suggest that the additional piece of canvas was added because Newbery had miscalculated his dimensions. The painting was exhibited at the Royal Glasgow Institute (1913, no. 634) before being presented to the School and unveiled by Sir John Struthers in the presence of Sir James Fleming who attended the ceremony as his last public function, dying only six days later. The canvas marks a memorial to the long association of Fleming, Newbery and Mackintosh in the building of the School.

The almost monochromatic study for Mackintosh's portrait was exhibited separately as *An Architect* and captured the partially lame Mackintosh's typical stance to perfection (International Society (Spring) 1914, no. 17 - Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh).

The Glasgow Masques 1903-1909

If Newbery liked to introduce allusions from the Bible and the literary heritage to give an added symbolic dimension to the meaning of some of his paintings, from the early twentieth century onwards he would become increasingly interested in works with a more overt symbolic message. This interest would go hand-in-hand with his work as a writer and producer of masques and pageants, to the extent that some of his later paintings could almost be seen as masques in another form. Newbery's use of symbolism here, however, was concerned with an appeal to history and tradition and a celebration of geographical place. It had little to do with the idealism, mysticism and religious interests that informed the foreign Symbolist movement.

In 1903 Decourcy Lewthwaite Dewar approached Newbery to ask him to consider putting on something different from the School's annual Christmas dance⁷⁰ and he surprised her with an idea for a masque based on the legend of St Mungo, Glasgow's

patron saint, and the city's coat of arms which contains symbols relating to the legend. This *Masque of the City Arms*⁷¹ which was acted out by over two hundred staff and students, with costumes designed and made in the School, was not the first production of this kind to be put on by a school of art. Newbery would have been aware of Hubert von Herkomer's "pictorial music plays" at the Bushey School of Art in the late 1880s,⁷² but it is most likely that his masque was inspired by the far more symbolic work, *Beauty's Awakening*, designed and played by the Art Worker's Guild at London's Guildhall in 1898 and published in a sumptuously illustrated edition by *The Studio* in 1899. Apart from seeing their publication Newbery also knew one of the authors, Walter Crane, and may well have been acquainted with several, if not all, of the others, amongst whom were Harrison Townshend and Harry Wilson with whom he was on friendly terms some years later.⁷³

The Guild members' "Epistle Dedicatory", which introduced their masque suggests that they were the first to revive this discarded Renaissance dramatic form in that they assumed that their audience was unfamiliar with it. They explained that:

A masque is not a play and was not a play, nor could be mistaken for one when the two existed side by side. ...There are certain things more necessary to masque than to drama such as poetic and ethic aim, beauty of design and ornament... We feel that there is still something to do when artists who are designers, but who do not confuse their aim therein with too much attempt at realism and illusion, try to produce an allegory of the beautiful which is their particular sphere and concern.⁷⁴

Thus the masque was a particularly apt dramatic form for the turn of the nineteenth century and appealed especially to Newbery and others imbued in the Arts and Crafts ideals because it combined all the arts: design, recitation, song, instrumental music and dance, but could be acted easily by amateurs. It also derived to some extent from, and used the device of, the *tableau vivant*, a popular Victorian parlour entertainment, posed by the participants in costume. Moreover, it bore a close familial relationship with the pageant, another popular turn of the century activity which could be used to convey a message through a procession of actors dressed in historical costume, or as allegorical figures. Masques would often include pageants and pageants could also include masque elements such as tableaux and recitations. Newbery's work in the field varied in emphasis between one and the other, but always contained elements of both.

The writing of a masque in verse probably came easily to Newbery who enjoyed producing poetry. He had contributed three pieces which were essentially love poems to *The Magazine* in the 1890s⁷⁵ and would continue to write verse for the rest of his life. His *Masque of the City Arms* and his subsequent *Masque of Science and Art* for which he reused much of the former's text, characters and costumes,⁷⁶ consisted of *tableaux* explained in quaint verse by a female prolocutor named "the Doctor", a title which underlined her didactic purpose. Each masque was a legendary history, the one relating to the origins of Glasgow and the other to the reasons for its pre-eminence as an industrial centre. Unlike *Beauty's Awakening*, which carried the polemical message that London should do more to promote the arts and thus become a beautiful city, Newbery's two dramas were celebratory and descriptive in aim, even if they did overlay fact with a thick layer of romance.

Thus in *Masque of the City Arms* Newbery addressed Glasgow as:

Dark daughter of the North, whose
fame in these our days
Sounds through the World with voice
that clang'rous marks Thee out
As Second in the Circlet of the Cities
bound
Round Britain's Brow of Empire...
Grey hive of men! Thy rain swept
streets and fogs of gloom,
Thy noisome smells, Thy whistles and
Thy uncouth cries,
Give life an added burden 'neath an
atmosphere of smoke,
And realise in facts the visions Dante
saw! ⁷⁷

Music was used throughout Newbery's two masques. *Masque of the City Arms*, for example, was opened with a pageant accompanied by singing from a choir; drums and pipes were used to usher in the prolocutor; and instrumental and vocal music were employed to introduce, or to give further point to, each scene. Newbery also used musical motifs, a device used by Herkomer and also employed in Victorian melodrama, to bring out each important aspect of the story. Thus a "War motif" was played when King Reddich, one of the main characters went to and returned from war and a "Ring motif" was played whenever the ring around which the plot revolved was introduced

In September 1908 a pageant was performed at the University of Glasgow to raise funds for the Queen Margaret Settlement. It is not absolutely certain what connection Newbery had with this event but he may have written its programme and was probably responsible for the report on it in *The Glasgow Herald* which is very much in his style and is written in a humorous vein. Newbery's probable association is further suggested by the participation of members of his staff in the design of the pageant and its costumes. If the writer of the newspaper report was indeed Newbery it contains a plea for the imagination, and by implication for artistic expression, which he would certainly endorse.

The growing love of pageantry in an age essentially utilitarian presents something of a paradox. Pageantry is of the imagination, and imagination we have been told is good only to create a territory of dreams whereas the scientific world gives us a world of reality. Yet when we come to think of it, imagination is the faculty that keeps the world alive; it certainly gives life its savour. The scientific spirit unchecked would produce a race of precisians, so many animated blue books. We must have our shadows and our dreams. ⁷⁸

Newbery wrote and directed a further masque, *The Birth and Growth of Art: A Symbolistic Masque*, for the opening of the completed School of Art in 1909.⁷⁹ It developed the theme, which was implicit in the 1908 newspaper article, of art's central

role in human society, and argued for the recognition of the School of Art in that context. It also explained Newbery's art educational philosophy to the public in an appealing dramatic form. His eagerness to get this across by this new means is clear from a letter he wrote whilst the masque was being performed:

...although we did not set out to preach a sermon, we had a text without words whose mission will I hope be felt where perhaps other artistic appeals make but a poor impression.⁸⁰

His sermon was broadcast in five scenes descriptive of different periods of art from primeval times to the present. For this Charles Rennie Mackintosh designed the stage and accessories and each scene was produced and designed by a separate artist or group of artists in collaboration,⁸¹ a pattern which was copied from the Art Workers' Guild's production and had also been followed in the 1908 pageant. In the masque Newbery relied more heavily on allegory than in its predecessors. The work opened with a completely darkened stage at the back of which was hung a veil, dividing the past from the present. The action was introduced by the god Pan representing the rule of nature and explaining his purpose as being to use art to re-establish his kingdom in the midst of mankind, although his rule was threatened by "a huddled civilisation".

Pan's opening gesture was to rend the veil to reveal a dimly lighted space guarded by "twin figures of silence", the nymphs of youth and memory. The light and the incidental music were gradually increased in intensity and, when they were at their strongest, Pan led a procession of the players onto the stage. After the procession had passed by, Pan gave his prologue in which he claimed, as the god of nature, also to rule the human heart:

No forced allegiance do I seek to win,
For you and I are one in Nature's self.
My blood burns in your veins, your hearts
are mine,
Your instincts, actions, thoughts, begotten
of my power.⁸²

His dominion continued even over the city dweller

Instincts Eternal, strive and live in All,
Nor does the weltering moil of City life,
Stain all the colours that kind Nature gives...
The City man, whose commerce-ridden
dreams
Make sleep distraught, goes to his ledgered
toil,
His wearied body longs for Nature's breast,
His numbed brain hungers for Her
soothing touch,
Primeval Senses wake from hidden depths,
And cry for freedom from a shuttered Self.⁸³

Art, as the product of man's true nature, of the art instinct, took the place of nature for the city dweller and was thus part of Pan's dominion and the School of Art was "this great Palace of Art", "Our Temple, reared on Garnethill" where the art instinct could be brought to full expression.⁸⁴

Having used Pan to deliver the prologue, rather than employ one prolocutor Newbery carried the narrative forward by using an allegorical personification of the School of Art itself to "unlock the glorious portals of an antique Past" to a male and female student in the five scenes that followed. Newbery's use of a historical approach helped to underline the tradition into which art school students were being introduced. The first scene, *The Primeval Age of Art*, made direct reference to Whistler's *Ten o'Clock Lecture* to claim that the first artist was a man who responded directly to nature in a personal way rather than caring for the activities of his brethren.⁸⁵

Newbery was also concerned to show the position which art had enjoyed in each society's cultural make-up. Thus in the second design, *The Age of Classic Art*, he claimed that art found its golden age, being inspired by religion but inspiring religion in its turn: a "time when the sanctity of the body was revealed in an expression of beauty that summed up the divine in man". The third design, *The Age of Medieval Art*, was depicted as witnessing a seeming decline because art was now "the apparent handmaid of religion instead of her equal". However, this, the writer pointed out, was a superficial view for "in truth, Art was and still is, that living force that makes possible the beautiful ritual of all religions". Newbery cast the next age, *The Age of the Renaissance*, as a time when a greater closeness to nature was recovered by the artist, symbolising it as a rebirth of Pan and a time when art existed "for her own sake". In this Newbery was not claiming that art for art's sake was a Renaissance ideology but meant that artists no longer worked solely to serve the needs of religion and that they came to be valued in their own right.

The scene was a departure from Newbery's more common practice of relying on static tableaux, and he devised a "Dance of the Four Arts" in co-operation with Dorothy Carleton Smyth to make his point. In it four artists, Michelangelo, Velazquez, Holbein and Cellini were represented together with personifications of their "immortal work" (such as the Sistine Chapel and the Infanta of Spain), being led by Inspiration and resisting "all the allurements and temptations of Filthy Lucre" in persevering towards the attainment of their ideals.⁸⁶

The last of the designs, *The Promise of the Present*, is of particular interest because it helps to shed light on some of the uses of symbolism in the School of Art building and among The Four. Appropriately the scene was designed by Herbert and Frances MacNair, with the help of Annie French, all artists who used figurative art in a symbolic way. In the design the arts of architecture, painting and sculpture, in the symbolic guise of a bird, "the first builder", a rose, and a lily, each accompanied by three children, their *embryones*, presumably representing the hope of the future, were shown paying tribute to Mother Nature standing to receive their allegiance. She stood "before that mystic Tree, whose gift is the gift of the gods and is, as was the Tree planted in Eden, of the knowledge of Good and Evil". The fruit of this tree, however, unlike that of the original Tree of Knowledge, was not forbidden.⁸⁷ In the scene, therefore, Newbery may be perceived as making reference to some of the decorative symbolism in the new building:

to the tree and attendant figures which Mackintosh had had carved over the main entrance; and to the symbols on the doors of many of the classrooms - the rose in the stained glass of all the painting studios on the first floor, and the lily in bud carved on many of the doors in the basement where the sculpture and craft studios were located. The presence of no symbolic birds on the doors of the architecture studios might be accounted for by Bourdon's request that no symbolism be used in his department.⁸⁸

Newbery concluded the masque with a scene which he entitled *The Allegory: Art presenting her School to the City of Glasgow*. Not only were Art, the Art School and the City of Glasgow personified here, but Newbery also included a model of the building and figures representing the different arts and the art of the past depicted by the four Renaissance artists and their "immortal work" together with Mother Nature, the River Clyde, Glasgow Cathedral, the University and St Mungo accompanied by attendant bishops clergy and angels. In the scene the Saint was asked to bless the action and bring prosperity on the School thus linking the School with the community which surrounded it.⁸⁹

Newbery's Later Work 1915-1938

Newbery's paintings which relate to his masques would all be produced during his retirement and after he had abandoned Walberswick as a holiday home. His visit there in 1914, when he suffered his first breakdown, was probably his last. The establishment of a military camp in the village and the restrictions placed on access to the shoreline because of the war meant that it was no longer the quiet haven of previous visits. In 1915, together with the Waltons, the Newberys hired Smithy Hill Cottage at Warcop, deep in the Westmoreland countryside, for two months, accepting military conditions that they should not paint anywhere within two miles of the railway line.⁹⁰ Amongst the work that Newbery produced there was a portrait of a local man, John Allonby, which he showed at Newcastle in 1918 (no.334 - untraced).

In 1916 Newbery spent the latter part of his summer vacation on a walking tour of the West Country, visiting St Ives in Cornwall, Devon and Dorset.⁹¹ The tour seems to have awakened a good deal of nostalgia for his boyhood as Newbery visited his birthplace, Membury, as well as Bridport and offered one of his best paintings, *Portrait of a Devonian*, to Exeter's Royal Albert Memorial Museum as "a present to his county". *Portrait of a Devonian* (plate 27), a Rembrandtesque exercise in the delineation of the wrinkles of old age, had been painted as long ago as 1908 (Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, no. 237) and had been exhibited in several locations under the title *Memories*. It was one of two paintings of an elderly lady, Mrs. Cleeve from the neighbourhood of Bideford,⁹² the other of which, under the title of *The Paisley Shawl* (Newcastle 1910, no. 278 - Paisley Art Gallery) (plate 73), Newbery presented to the Paisley Art Institute in 1915.⁹³ Both paintings show Mrs Cleeve in half-length, seated and wearing two shawls, one as a head-scarf, the other across her shoulders. Both are studies of the dignity of age earned through a life of toil and both, like the masques, relate to place, a fact that is stressed by Newbery's making gifts of them to the two places with which they have associations.

Also in the summer of 1916, whilst in Cornwall, Newbery was to paint another of his best pictures, *In Lyonesse* (private collection) (plate 74). This was a double portrait of

his daughter Elsie and the photographer, Madame Yevonde Middleton.⁹⁴ Elsie, who had been married just before the Warcop holiday in the previous year to 2nd Lieutenant W. Douglas Lang of Paisley,⁹⁵ was recovering from a miscarriage and is seen reclining on a daybed in the bay window of a sun-filled room which looks out onto the Cornish coastline, the sea and the sky, while Madame Yevonde sits to the right, reading. Newbery handles the light from the window which flows across the figures with great effectiveness, especially in the way in which he makes it pick out the vibrant colours of the women's costumes, Elsie's blanket, her workbag and the red and green balls of wool which lie temporarily discarded on the floor. In this work the artist demonstrates that he has lost none of his skill in translating the patterns and quality of textile fabrics into the language of paint and shows that he can use highly saturated colour to signal effect, as seen in the reds and blues of the blanket and bag and the red of Yevonde's shoes.

Newbery's visit to Membury reawakened his interest in his birthplace to the extent that he conceived the idea of presenting a war memorial to the parish church. This was to be in the Decorated Gothic style and he asked his assistant professor of architecture, Alexander McGibbon, to design it.⁹⁶ However, his second breakdown and his leaving Glasgow before the end of the war meant that the plan was not carried out. The memorial which eventually found its way into the church is a simpler affair, a board, painted blue, with the servicemen's names picked out in white Glasgow Style lettering in a dark brown frame ornamented with conventionalised art deco style flowers. This was probably a collaborative effort by Fra and Jessie Newbery, with Jessie decorating the frame.

The visit to Bridport also bore fruit. Newbery had retained some contact with the town after his father's death in 1897, paying a man to tend his parents' graves, and had also, in 1911, offered to commission a design for a memorial tablet to John Beard for the Boys' General School from an old Glasgow art school student, who may have been Frances Macdonald.⁹⁷ Whilst in Bridport in 1916 he called into the School to institute two prizes for painting in colour, and made a presentation of four drawings he had purchased which had been done by Mrs Broadley, one of the most prominent students of the Bridport School of Art when he had been there. The Newbery prizes were awarded annually in the General School until 1942, Newbery occasionally judging the entries.⁹⁸

In 1918, after his second breakdown, Newbery and his wife spent some time south of Glasgow, staying at "Mayfield", the Crescent, Moffat.⁹⁹ Here again Newbery produced several paintings: a portrait of Mrs Younger of Longshawbush (untraced), and some landscapes (all untraced).¹⁰⁰ The portrait of Mrs Younger together with one of a wounded soldier (untraced) were put on sale in the town in aid of the Red Cross.¹⁰¹

After their stay in Moffat the couple left Scotland permanently for the south, finding their way to the village of Corfe Castle in the Isle of Purbeck in East Dorset. Between 1919 and 1921 they made their home at the Greyhound Inn,¹⁰² but Newbery must have had the use of a largish studio as it was in 1920 that he produced an ambitious commission, a painted war memorial for a church in Newcastle.

This would be the first of several public decorative art works which would form the most conspicuous element in the latter part of Newbery's career. It is perhaps no accident that this was so, as the art educational culture in which he had worked for so

long saw the production of paintings and sculpture for the general public as one important element in the deepening of its artistic responsiveness. The production of public works of art had been one of the considerations before the 1835 House of Commons Select Committee which had inaugurated publicly funded art education in Britain¹⁰³ and a related development, the governmentally run competition for the frescos for the new Palace of Westminster in the 1840s.¹⁰⁴ Newbery's encouragement of his diploma students in the painting of murals for Glasgow's public buildings was part of a movement which had witnessed the adornment of Birmingham Town Hall by local school of art pupils¹⁰⁵ and produced schemes for Manchester Town Hall by Ford Madox Brown¹⁰⁶ and Glasgow City Chambers by some of the Glasgow Boys.¹⁰⁷ Newbery's work with the Glasgow and Edinburgh Social Unions also demonstrated his concern to bring art to a much wider public.

Newbery had connections with the Church of England which were maintained during his Glasgow years. High Anglicanism was particularly conducive to Newbery because of the important part that art played in the adornment of its buildings and in its ritual. In Glasgow the Newberys attended the church of St Bride's near their home, and it was beautified by Jessie who designed its communion plate and a censer. For Elsie's wedding the church was decorated in white with white and purple hydrangeas and Romanesque reliefs by Mary Newbery, who was beginning a career as a designer, and Alan D. Mainds, a member of Newbery's staff and one of his most important masque collaborators.¹⁰⁸ As Newbery believed that art was important in its own right, and should not be seen solely as the handmaid of religion, he wanted it to be used not only for the benefits it could bring to the enhancement of worship but also to deepen the worshipper's responsiveness to art.¹⁰⁹

The records of St Hilda's Church, West Jesmond, do not reveal how Newbery came by his Newcastle commission. It would seem as if the church committee when it first decided to install a war memorial in April 1919 was unsure of what it wanted, some members voting for a brass. However, the meeting eventually decided that their memorial "should take the form of beautifying the Lady Chapel" and it was for the Lady Chapel that the Newbery painting would be produced. No obvious previous links between Newbery and the parish are as yet evident: the church also has a banner which may be by Ann Macbeth a member of Newbery's staff and a fellow communicant at St Bride's, but whether this predates the Newbery commission is not certain. Nor is there anything to indicate whether or not Newbery had a hand in deciding on the other decorative work which was carried out in the chapel.¹¹⁰

Newbery did have some links with the city: he had been a frequent and fairly prolific exhibitor at Newcastle's annual Artists of the Northern Counties exhibition since 1908¹¹¹ and had sold one of his major paintings, *The Lady of the Carnation*, to the city's Laing Art Gallery in the same year as he obtained the commission for the church.

The parish church had formed a sub-committee to raise money and to decide on the details of the war memorial, but there are no records of how much Newbery was paid or whether its members or Newbery decided on its form or subject matter. From the nature of the latter, however, it is almost beyond doubt that the artist had a fairly free hand throughout, and as the church was not a wealthy one it is unlikely that Newbery would have received a large sum for his work.

The war memorial was devised as a reredos to the altar in the chapel but has since been moved to another part of the building. It is a triptych, the wings of which have paintings on both sides and were designed to be opened only on Remembrance Sunday. For the remainder of the year the work functioned as an altarpiece for the Lady Chapel. As such the closed wings are painted with an Annunciation, the Virgin being represented kneeling in the left hand panel and the Archangel Gabriel, likewise kneeling, in the right (plate 76). In the work Newbery gave his knowledge of ecclesiastical iconography full reign. The Virgin was represented in an enclosed garden, symbol of her virginity, and behind her Newbery painted a ruined classical temple, symbolic of the downfall of paganism. The garden was filled with myriad flowers of every season bursting into blossom in joyous response to the Archangel's tidings. The dove, representing the Holy Spirit, was given an all-pervasive presence, existing as a bright light with outstretched wings spread out over both panels, and the Archangel was made to hold a three-headed lily, at once symbolising Mary's purity and the Trinity.

The altarpiece opens to reveal a central panel, and four subsidiary panels in the wings which, continuing the traditional theme of the veneration of the Virgin introduce elements which tie the altarpiece to its location in the city of Newcastle. (plate 77a). The wing panels on the left take as their subject local military history. They depict a Roman centurion and Hadrian's Wall and a Norman king in armour before the Black Gate of the keep of Newcastle's castle. The panels on the right wing are a memorial to the recent conflict and contain a sailor of the Royal Navy with the battleship Queen Elizabeth in the background¹¹² and a soldier of the Northumberland Fusiliers.

In the centre (plate 77b) Newbery continued his theme of merging the invisible past and the visible present. Mingling together the profane and the sacred he produced a variation on the Adoration of the Magi with quotations from Renaissance altarpieces in which donors are presented to the Virgin and Child by their patron saints. However, Newbery located his action in modern Newcastle.

The most important figures in the panel are the Virgin and Child. The Virgin enthroned and crowned with a nimbus of twelve stars, her dress of samite embroidered with the words of the *Magnificat*, holds a naked Christ Child standing in an aureole who stretches out his hands in blessing and presaging the Crucifixion.

To their left stands Saint Hilda, a local Northumbrian saint and the church's patron. She is dressed both as an Anglo Saxon princess and as an abbess and holds a model of her Abbey of Whitby. She is balanced by Saint Nicholas on the extreme right of the panel, as patron saint of Newcastle Cathedral, the tower of which can be seen behind him. Nicholas, who was Bishop of Myra, is dressed as a medieval bishop in cope and mitre with pastoral staff. On the border of his cope Newbery has depicted the legend of Nicholas' life, and as Nicholas is patron saint of children, has shown him carrying a child. The saint also has responsibility for sailors and Newbery depicts him introducing a mariner, who is holding a ship model, to the Virgin and Child. However, the mariner is drawn directly from contemporary life, as is the Cullercoates fishwife who kneels beside Saint Hilda, an engineer holding a model of a locally-built North-Eastern Railway locomotive and a miner, complete with pick and Davey lamp, who occupy the centre of the painting. In the manner of the Magi they are presenting their gifts, in their

case the fruits of their labour, to the Christ Child: the fishwife gives two fish, in memory of the miracle of the loaves and fishes, and the miner a large piece of coal. Newbery is thus going back to his Carlylean theme of the sacredness of work and placing it firmly in a local context. To underline this he has painted a representation of the River Tyne and its bridges at the back of the scene.

In the composition of the triptych as a whole, and in the central panel in particular, Newbery seems to have allowed his passion for symbolism to swamp the design which, although well considered in general terms, is over-busy and lacking the formal simplicity of many no less symbolically dense late medieval and early Renaissance altarpieces. Appropriately for Newcastle the composition of the main panel centres on the miner's gift of a piece of coal which, besides having the lines from the corners bisecting almost at its centre, stands out strongly against the white semicircle of light which contains the Virgin and Child. This semicircle is further cleverly invaded by a horizontal dynamic line which begins with the right arm of Saint Nicholas and continues inexorably through the hands and ship of the mariner and the hands and locomotive of the engineer. The area of light is similarly framed and invaded from the left by the dark figure of the fishwife with her outstretched arms and gift. There are also some fine passages of painting, particularly the robes and wimple of Saint Hilda. The depiction of the Virgin in the wing, which is a portrait of Jessie, and the head of the Archangel, drawn from one of the artist's daughters, are effectively done, as are the heads of the workpeople in the central panel, especially that of the bluff bearded sailor. Newbery's attempt, however, to represent the sacredness of the Virgin and Child by painting them in such a high tone that the Child is almost indistinguishable from the sky, lends them an insubstantial and, in the case of the Child, an almost sketchy quality. It is as if Newbery could not decide whether to represent them as a vision or to place them firmly in Newcastle.¹¹³

Newbery had finished the reredos in July 1920, a little over a year after the first church meeting. However, like many artists before him he fell foul of the ecclesiastical authorities over his too adventurous iconography. The crown he had placed on the head of the Virgin is a Roman Catholic device representing her as Queen of Heaven and he was asked to paint it out. This, however, was not done immediately, the church being informed in November 1921 by Jessie that the artist was ill, possibly from a recurrence of his nervous trouble. As the Virgin's head is now crowned with a golden circlet, it would seem that the church authorities threat to have the offending item obliterated by another artist caused Newbery to comply.¹¹⁴

Around the time that he began working on the Newcastle altarpiece, Newbery was considering another scheme for a symbolic painting. In 1919 he suggested to his friend Edward Reynolds, Mayor of Bridport, that he might undertake a painting representative of the history and characters of the town, to be presented as a gift from the artist to the Borough. The picture was entitled *A Romance of Bridport* (plate 78a) and its general theme was the importance of Bridport in English history as a supplier to the Royal Navy of ropes and sailcloth and to the fishing industry of nets. Newbery placed its action in the reign of Henry VIII and painted it on a wooden panel which he claimed was "framed and treated in the medieval manner". The frame was designed by Newbery "in the architectural style of the period" and made and gilded by A. J. White of Corfe Castle.¹¹⁵ The composition which was completed in 1923 is divided into three, marked by two

equally sized groups of figures and banners at the right and left, with a narrower central. The top of the latter is filled with sea and sky, its lower part being occupied by two children who form the centre of the design. In general terms the composition has some similarity to Velazquez' *Surrender of Breda* (1634-5) (plate 79) in which two armies with spears and banners form groups at either side of the picture and are connected at the centre by their embracing generals. Newbery, however, has employed a much lower horizon which draws a line across the picture at the shoulder level of the figures of both groups and helps to set up the grid of dominant horizontal and vertical lines which flattens the picture plane.

Newbery took as his narrative focus the granting of a charter to the town in 1529 by Henry VIII, who was depicted at the centre left of the composition surrounded by his courtiers. At the right of the picture is a similar group of figures representing the town and its trades. The visit of the king, who stands on the quay of Bridport's ancient harbour, is a purely imaginary event as is the gathering of personages all connected with Dorset in the early sixteenth century or with the history of Bridport. Thus the courtiers include two contemporaries, Frances Marchioness of Dorset and Sir John Russell of Kingston Russell and Berwick House in nearby Burton Bradstock, who was drawn by Holbein. Russell holds the Royal Charter. At the extreme left of the picture is Giles of Bridport, a non-contemporaneous, thirteenth century Bishop of Salisbury; another example of Newbery's liking for painting bishops in full vestments. He holds a model of Salisbury Cathedral which he completed and consecrated. Among the Bridport group Newbery has included two burgesses and two bailiffs, all in Tudor costume. The bailiffs, however, are drawn from the artist's personal associations with the town, one being a portrait of his teacher John Beard, the other representing his father, William Newbery (plate 78b). At the centre of the composition, being introduced to the king are the two children, allegorical representations of the plants flax and hemp on which Bridport's trade depended. The girl, in a blue gown with flaxen coloured hair, is presenting blue flax flowers to the king, whilst the boy, in a brown Dorset smock, holds a bunch of hemp plants. To the right of the children are other figures representing local industries: a man with ropes around his shoulders, a reference to the use of Bridport's ropes by the hangman; another man with a bolt of sailcloth; and a woman, symbolic of twine and nets, holding a netting needle and net, seated behind a spinning wheel like those used in Bridport's spinning walks.

At the presentation of the picture, which was hung on Newbery's recommendation on the east wall of the hall, on 8 March 1923,¹¹⁶ Newbery was granted the honour of the Freedom of the Borough of Bridport "in recognition of his great services to the teaching of art and in appreciation of his gift".¹¹⁷

The ceremony marked the beginning of Newbery's association with the decoration of the Town Hall which would continue for a further five years. In February 1923 the Council had begun a refurbishment of the walls of its hall. This centred initially on the councillors' desire to set up oak panels recording the names of past mayors¹¹⁸ in place of two shields that had previously served that function. After having decided on the position of the panels on the south wall behind the magisterial bench the Council called on Newbery to advise. Newbery, however, went further and prepared scale drawings for eight panels divided by Ionic pilasters (four on the south wall and two on each side wall) to be in keeping with the decorative elements already present in the room.¹¹⁹

Meanwhile Newbery was also working on a further two paintings which he was to present to Bridport. These were historical pieces illustrating events in the town's past, comparable with similar work produced for other town halls. For these Newbery chose to depict the escape of Charles II from Bridport in 1651 (plate 80) and the entry of Joan of Navarre, second wife of Henry IV, into the town in 1403. For the Civil War painting Newbery acquired a contemporary suit of armour and had himself photographed posing for the principal characters.¹²⁰ The paintings were given specially designed identical frames.

In June 1924 Newbery made a further offer to the Council to decorate the wall in the alcove, above the panels containing the mayors' names, with murals.¹²¹ These were painted in Newbery's studio before being installed, and he later gained the Council's agreement to allow him to paint a further two pictures either side of the alcove.¹²² The murals were all designs illustrative of Bridport industries and comprised from left to right *A Weaving Shop*, *A Spinning Walk*, *A Yarn Barton*, and *Net Braiding*. To These, in 1925, was added the offer of a further separate painting representing ship building.¹²³

The five paintings which were unveiled on 10 September 1925¹²⁴ were to some extent exercises in nostalgia as they recorded industrial practices that were carried on in Newbery's youth but were now, for the most part, superseded. Apart from this motivation, Newbery, ever the educator, was also eager to record them for posterity, before the knowledge of his generation was lost. For this reason he went to great pains in researching the details which, as well as being accurate, allowed him to introduce personal memories from his boyhood.

It is not always clear how much Newbery reconstructed his scenes from memory and how much he used the actual sites he was describing. The yard in *Ship Building* (plate 81) was completely drawn from memory as the last ship to be constructed at Bridport was built and launched by Elias Cox in 1879, and Newbery included portraits from memory of Cox and the blacksmith Eli Forsey. However, the artist went to the site of the yard at West Bay facing the East Cliff to make notes and solicited the help of a Falmouth ship builder to get his details right.

A Weaving Shop was a reconstruction of one which Newbery had known which had belonged to a Mr Pike Stephens and had as the workers' foreman a Scot, William Rathbone, who Newbery remembered had been one of the last handloom weavers in Bridport. As such, Newbery's painting depicted hand rather than power-looms and included a portrait of Rathbone taken from memory. In its effective *contre-jour* lighting with its strong silhouettes as well as accurately studied looms, however, it could hardly be other than taken from a reconstructed scene of an actual weaving shed. It is a powerful evocation of the interior of such a workshop in the mid-nineteenth century. The scene is one of hard concentrated work and contains a strong sense of movement. Three of the four figures are seen straining over their machinery. Immersed in their labour they offer no personal contact with, or acknowledgement of, the spectator. Newbery has heightened the sense of almost frenzied effort by the rhythms he has set up in his composition. The heads of the three main figures are in a line with one another and Newbery carries the viewer's gaze from the operative on the extreme right, bent over his work, through a series of diagonal lines made by the framework of the looms

and the arm of the central figure, to rest on that of William Rathbone at the extreme left. A subsidiary rhythm is also set up by the clever use of the curve of the arch of the alcove on the right of the picture, which is carried forward by the diagonal beam of the right hand loom into the bobbin wheel and on through the hank of yarn on the swifter (a cross-shaped device used for holding thread), to the figure of Rathbone. Unlike in his previous allegories Newbery has not suffered from the temptation to describe too much detail, and has been able to make the composition work through its network of horizontal, vertical and diagonal lines.

Net Braiding (plate 83) at the right hand side of the alcove acts as a companion to *A Weaving Shop*. For this painting Newbery was able to study the craft still being carried on in the home of Mrs Bagg at Myrtle Cottage in the nearby village of Loders. He, however, constructed the painting from sketches of her cottage, using models he employed in his studio at Corfe Castle.¹²⁵ Again he used *contre-jour* lighting, but there is far more characterisation in the faces and more narrative content. Newbery shows a young girl, two women in their twenties, and a much older woman at work, and the fact that they are engaged in a domestic industry is stressed by the presence of a cat, seen in silhouette at the centre of the painting, and a baby, in the cradle next to the young woman on the left.

The two alcove pictures were also taken from Newbery's memory with the aid of reconstructions. *A Yarn Barton* (plate 84) was based on an example which Newbery remembered which had belonged to a Mr Stephen Wetham at Folly Mill Lane, where Newbery had lived as a boy. It shows Wetham's Mill, still in existence at the time of the painting, and the Parish Church tower. *A Spinning Walk* (plate 84) does not appear to have been based on any particular example but, to reconstruct the scene, Newbery sought the aid of several Bridport people, with knowledge of the industry, who set up a temporary spinning walk for him, going so far as to spin a length of twine while the artist made notes.

A Spinning Walk and *A Yarn Barton* taken together are amongst the most successful pieces of Newbery's decorative art, being easy to read from a distance and eschewing over-elaborate detail. They are well adapted to the curve at the top of the alcove in which they are placed and balance one another well. Newbery, however, had to contend with the presence of the royal coat of arms which divided the two pictures, and it was eventually decided that it should be removed to the west wall of the chamber and be replaced by a centre piece. It took Newbery some time to decide that this should be a return to allegory: a female figure, *The Spirit of Bridport* (plate 84). The model for this was his friend Edward Reynolds' daughter, Kathleen, who posed in a blue dress, the colour of the flax flower, holding a distaff to represent spinning. She is seated on a chair which displays the town's coat of arms and at either side of her windows open to reveal a view of Bridport's East Cliff and a sailing ship. At the top of the arches is the date 1253, indicating when Bridport was incorporated. Whether intentionally or not Newbery's decorative ensemble of paintings, pilasters and panels in its alcove gives the impression of the portico of a classical temple complete with columns, entablature, pediment and sculptured figures.

Newbery, however, was not completely satisfied by his design and proposed one final adaptation to give it greater effect. This involved giving a dark stain to the woodwork of

the magistrate's seat and bench and the addition of dark heavy curtains to cover the openings at either side. A watercolour sketch to convey the intended impression was produced by Newbery's assistant Neil Thomas and was submitted to the Council¹²⁶ which seems to have disregarded Newbery's advice initially,¹²⁷ but the evidence of a 1930's photograph¹²⁸ indicates that the curtains were placed in position. In 1995, however, the situation is as it was in 1927, with no curtains and an unchanged magistrate's bench. (plate 85).

In addition to his work Newbery made copies of *Net Braiding* and *A Weaving Shop* and sent photographs to the Science Museum in London who had advised him on his reconstructions.¹²⁹ He also publicised his achievement by writing a description of the paintings for the local newspaper and sending a copy to *The Dorset Yearbook*, saying in his covering letter that he liked to think that he "might do for Bridport what Thornhill did for Weymouth and Stevens on a bigger scale for London" but adding that he was much too modest to suggest it.¹³⁰

The move to Corfe Castle seems to have given Newbery a new lease of life. He became fascinated by the village, once a borough in its own right., with its stone cottages and the vast medieval fortress which dominates it and much of the surrounding countryside from its steep hill guarding the gap, or corfe, in the Purbeck Hills. Whilst still at the Greyhound Newbery was already painting much of what he saw around him. Four pictures of the castle, most probably produced at this time, are known: two from the parish church tower and two from the down to the west of the castle hill (plates 86 and 87). These are fine strong paintings emphasising the imposing desolation of the monument in all its fallen grandeur, set against stormy skies, dominating the landscape with its shadow, or cloaked in shadow, standing out starkly on a moonlit night.¹³¹

The paintings Newbery produced in his retirement were sent to many of the major British exhibitions, and he also became a member of the Royal West of England Academy. In addition to paintings of the castle he made watercolours of the church tower (International Society 1919 (Autumn), no. 410 - private collection), of the village square and of West Street (private collection), one of the village's two principal thoroughfares, and wandered further afield to the Georgian town of Wareham whose Anglo-Saxon church of Saint Martin's (untraced), drawn by Mackintosh in 1895, he also painted.

Newbery was not long in taking an interest in the Corfe Castle village school. In 1919 he produced a painting of the children and their teachers in the classroom (Royal West of England Academy 1919, no. 78 - Corfe Castle Town Trust) and, in accordance with what had almost become a habit, he became involved in the children's art instruction. He and Jessie instituted a prize and offered to help pay for one of the promising pupils to attend the local school of art at Poole.¹³² In 1926 Newbery took on a local boy, Neil Thomas, as a pupil and assistant, training him on the job in the medieval tradition. Neil, who like so many of his former students, was a great admirer of Newbery, was given the task of carrying out lettering and ornament on his commissions. Newbery set him to improve his drawing by having him copy from reproductions of Holbein's portraits.¹³³

As at Walberswick Newbery kept his eye open for good subjects for portraiture and, in his first few months in the village, found one in the parish verger Frank Shitler

(International Society 1919 (Autumn), no. 89 - Dorset County Museum) (plate 88). As with his portraits of Mrs Cleeve and the Walberswick work people Newbery chose to represent Shitler as a type rather than merely as himself. To underline his intention Newbery painted his half-length portrait of the old gentleman in his full vestments with his staff of office in front of the church door and exhibited it under the titles *The Beadle* and *The Verger*, rather than under the subject's name. The portrait is an almost monochromatic study in black, grey and white. The black of the subject's suit and gown is effectively handled with long semi-transparent brush strokes over a warm earth ground, and stands out boldly against the pale grey of the elaborately carved Purbeck stone church wall. The white linen of the shirt, collar and tie is rendered with a lively impasto whilst the head is constructed from a network of paint marks which possess an independent life of their own.

Also in his first three years at Corfe Castle Newbery designed a war memorial for the village itself, in the form of a gateway to the cemetery (plate 89).¹³⁴ This was the first of a handful of small architectural commissions which he undertook and, like so much else, they pay homage to location and local tradition. The four-centred arch with its shallow pitched roof of Purbeck stone is inspired by a smaller arch which forms the entrance to Mortons House, a late sixteenth century building some fifty yards away on the same side of East Street. Above the memorial arch, Newbery, in a complete break with common practice, chose an inscription in local dialect, "Do'set men don't sheame their kind" (Dorset men don't shame their kind), which was taken from a poem by the popular nineteenth century Dorset poet William Barnes.¹³⁵

In 1921 the Newberys were able to move out of the Greyhound into their own premises. Jessie's father, William Rowat, had died in March 1920¹³⁶ and her inheritance allowed her to buy two properties which were being sold by the local landowners, the Rempstone Estate, for £990-14-0.¹³⁷ These included a former chapel and cottages grouped around a courtyard, known as Well Court, on West Street and Eastgate House, with adjacent pasture land, on East Street.

The chapel had been built for the Congregationalists in 1815 and had subsequently been used as a school and accommodation for soldiers in the war, and it is not unlikely that Newbery had been using it as his studio since 1919. John Wesley had preached from the steps in the courtyard in 1744 and both Well Court and "Wesley's Steps" would form subjects for Newbery's paintings along with the tenants of the cottages who would pose for him for half a crown an hour.¹³⁸ The studio itself was also painted by Newbery as a setting for a self portrait. The painting (untraced), bearing in mind Newbery's view that an artist was also a workman, was named *A Workshop* (Royal Glasgow Institute 1926, no. 381) and included a depiction of Newbery in his painting smock conversing with a young girl (plate 90).¹³⁹

Eastgate House, whose name the Newberys shortened to "Eastgate", is a double fronted Purbeck stone building not far from the entrance to the village on the road from Swanage. It had two rooms and a kitchen on the ground floor, three bedrooms on the first floor and an attic above, which was used for a servant. The cottage was soon decorated with the Newberys' preferred colour-washed walls, mostly in green with dark blue woodwork, and filled with the artefacts and traditional furniture they had collected. On the garden wall of the cottage the couple designed and installed a sundial, inscribed

with the legend *Ruit Hora* and ornamented with a moth, symbolic of mortality in the face of time. Access to the long walled garden was through doors from one of the ground floor rooms and it was in the garden that Jessie had full rein, dividing it up into formal square beds where she would grow her favourite old fashioned flowers: mignonette, pansies, cornflowers, evening primroses and dahlias.¹⁴⁰ She also had an orchard of apple trees and quinces and used their produce in the making of preserves. She was an excellent cook and did most of the food preparation, using a paraffin stove, whilst the servant was responsible for the cleaning. Newbery who was very much the master of the house could bask in the domesticity which Jessie provided. His privileged position and his humour is expressed in a letter he wrote to his daughter Elsie in late 1921:

The crimson curtain is drawn, the shutters are shut, the shaded lamp throws an echo of Japan in low tones, a stern reflector lamp glares at my left, the cheery fire warms my body and soul and your mother is in the kitchen making soup and pie for the rapacious maw of her noble and renowned husband.¹⁴¹

Newbery had developed a daily routine. In the mornings he would walk through the garden across the area of land known as the middle Hawes and down a narrow path to West Street and his studio. He would sleep after lunch and after his brushes had been washed at six o'clock he and Jessie would take a walk up Nine Barrow Down, the long hill that lies between Corfe and Swanage. Newbery also had tea parties for visiting friends in his studio, one of his tenants making the tea. He kept up his interest in music and the theatre. On Thursdays he would take the train to Bournemouth to hear a concert at the Winter Gardens and once, at least, he had a grand piano installed in his studio for a recital by a musician friend who was a conductor. He also invited the Balliol Players from Oxford University to give performances of Greek plays in the grounds of the Castle, events which being regarded as "too high-brow" by some of the villagers attracted interest and curiosity from miles around.¹⁴²

The Newberys' week was punctuated by shopping trips by rail to Swanage¹⁴³ and the couple also made frequent use of Billy Blake's taxi service at the village's Castle Inn as a means of touring to distant parts of the county.¹⁴⁴ In autumn when the downs turned brown and, on Newbery's insistence, at no other time, the couple would set out on their annual month-long excursion to the Continent: to Italy, Spain or the Balkans. These trips with their complex itineraries were well planned and made good use of the railway timetables.¹⁴⁵ Their favourite destination was Yugoslavia which they probably discovered in 1926 when they also visited Sophia in Bulgaria and Constantinople. They were particularly impressed by the still existing traditional culture, the peasant clothes which Jessie described in detail in her letters and which they bought a brought back with them, the jewellery, and the churches.

Back home at Corfe, however, the Newberys were something of an exotic species. Although artists such as Wilson Steer, David Murray, Augustus John and Paul Nash visited the area, few had settled. The villagers found it difficult to accept strangers and regarded Jessie's artistic clothes as eccentric and Newbery's pompous manner as rude and offhand. Jessie's friendly helpful approach to her neighbours gained her their acceptance and she came to be known as "Aunt Jessie" by many.¹⁴⁶ Newbery, on the other hand, was respected but not liked. Some of the villagers came to know the couple as employers, Mrs Newbery as a considerate one, but Mr Newbery as an autocrat who

was difficult to please. The villagers had a strong tradition of independence as quarrymen working with Purbeck stone and there were no significant great houses in the area so they were not used to service. Casual acquaintances knew the artist best from seeing him on his daily evening walks when their dislike of him was confirmed in their observation of the way in which he seemed to ignore Jessie, his stout upright figure always marching several yards ahead of his smaller slight companion.¹⁴⁷

The Newberys, however, were devoted to one another. Frank could be impatient and cantankerous and was as ready to express his prejudices and opinions in strong terms to Jessie as much as to anyone else.¹⁴⁸ Their regard for one another can be detected in the humorous ballad which Newbery wrote in 1930 about their walks. It comments on his difficulty in understanding Jessie's liking for the blue rubber shoes designed for wading on shingle which she always wore:

She
Let us pick the track the
cows have made, Oh!
my love,
Through the bovine pools
of shallow water wade,
Oh! my love.
Though the odour be out-
rageous,
Come let us be courageous,
'Tis the pathway to the
Downlands, Oh! my love.

He
So you think the cows look
furious? Oh! my love.
No No they are but curious
Oh! my love,
To see a lady with blue
shoes,
Glide through the mire and
ooze,
Just rouses up their admir-
ation. Oh! my love.

She
Let proud man vaunt his
leather. Oh! my love.
Blue rubber suits the wea-
ther. Oh! my love.
For even up at Challow,
be the pools so deep or
shallow
My feet are always water-
proof my dear.¹⁴⁹

Although the Newberys were amongst the first artists to settle in the area there were others who soon came to join them. These were the portrait painter George Spencer Watson, A.R.A., his wife Hilda, who was a specialist in dance drama and their daughter Mary. They had holidayed at Studland on the coast near Swanage for several years. Then, in 1921, they had bought Dunshay Manor much nearer to Corfe, and lived there for part of each year. They were neighbours of Anning Bell in London and it was probably he who gave them the introduction to the Newberys.¹⁵⁰ Along with George Spencer Watson, Newbery exhibited in Swanage¹⁵¹ and at the Poole and East Dorset Arts Society.¹⁵² The two families became great friends, going on picnics together. Jessie would present flowers to Hilda at the close of the last night of the dance dramas she produced in the barn at Dunshay, and the Spencer Watsons would visit Dorset each December, especially to spend Christmas Day with the Newberys. It was for one of these occasions that George Spencer Watson wrote a poem in which he addressed his friends as "Those who illustrate most perfectly the marriage state".¹⁵³

The Newberys also became friendly with the musicians David Brynley and Norman Notley, who lived at Little Woolgarston a small hamlet nearby. Norman Notley, who was a baritone, had originally come to the village to sing at one of Hilda Spencer Watson's dance dramas. David Brynley was a tenor who also worked for the B.B.C. at Bournemouth presenting children's programmes under the name "Uncle David". Both were members of the English Singers, later the New English Singers, specialising in Tudor music.¹⁵⁴ Newbery, not to miss an opportunity, painted David Brynley's portrait and, following his by now usual practice, depicted him as a musician. Not wanting to let his collection of Serbian costumes go to waste, however, he chose to paint him as *A Serbian Musician* (Dorset County Museum). Other paintings were produced in the late twenties, of villagers in Serbian costume.¹⁵⁵ Newbery also painted other friends as occupational types, Edward Reynolds (Bridport Museum) and F. Weekes (untraced), both in their mayoral robes as chief magistrates of Bridport, and Charles Prideaux, President of the Dorset Archaeological Society (Royal Society of Portrait Painters 1925, no. 289 - Dorset County Museum) as *An Authority*. Newbery located Prideaux in Dorset by showing him examining a piece of pottery in a room with one of the artist's paintings of Corfe Castle hung on its wall.

Glasgow friends came to see the couple in retirement. Amongst these were the Mackintoshes who had holidayed with the Newberys at Clovelly at the end of the war and visited on several occasions. In the early 1920s when their friends were still at the Greyhound they stayed at least twice in nearby Worth Matravers. They also visited later and stayed at Eastgate.¹⁵⁶ The Newberys' daughters were also frequent visitors. Mary came with her husband the painter Alick Sturrock and Elsie often brought her two sons Fred and Colin for holidays.

The Newberys also went north occasionally: Elsie lived at Paisley and Mary in Edinburgh. The couple revisited Glasgow, and paid a visit to the School of Art on at least one occasion. Newbery summed up the visit in 1928 in a letter to Elsie:

The impression left on me is that I might have been there but yesterday: and yet it is eleven years since I crossed the threshold as Director...and though I would

not change Corfe for Glasgow for the best reasons possible it is good to feel that the thirty odd years spent in the city of St. Mungo were not spent in vain.¹⁵⁷

Meanwhile Newbery had much work to do in Dorset. In 1925, whilst still occupied with the Bridport paintings, he obtained another commission for himself to work on a sanctuary for the Catholic church of the Holy Ghost and Saint Edward on Victoria Avenue in Swanage. Also during the 1920s, although no connection between the two commissions is yet apparent, he painted another religious picture for the Catholic church at Chideock near Bridport. The Chideock picture, produced for the late-Victorian Italian Romanesque church of Our Lady of the Martyrs, which stands next to Chideock Manor, the home of the Welds, the most prominent Catholic family in Dorset, contains all of Newbery's ingredients. Including local topography and recalling local history to the present, it depicts the five Roman Catholic martyrs of Chideock, killed during the Protestant reformation. The men carry palm leaves, the common symbol of martyrdom, and are depicted in front of Chideock Parish Church, the long since disappeared castle, and the local landmark Golden Cap, the highest point on the South coast.¹⁵⁸

The work Newbery did in Swanage was far more impressive and took up more of his time, occupying him from 1924-5 until 1930 and it forms the most complete decorative scheme produced by him, rendered even more significant by the fact that he was the architect of the sanctuary that included it and that Jessie also had a share in the work.¹⁵⁹ The Church had originally been designed by the firm of Catholic architects Scoles and Raymond of Basingstoke and had been opened in 1904. However, not enough money had been available to complete the structure which had been left without a sanctuary. In 1924 the Rector, Philip Corr was able to raise the £1000-1500 necessary¹⁶⁰ and had Newbery undertake the design.

The Sanctuary is a simple building of Purbeck stone, rectangular in plan with a red tiled pitched roof and two windows in a simplified Perpendicular Gothic style, protruding from the north and south walls in shallow bays, capped by low pitched roofs of Purbeck stone. These roofs are similar to that which Newbery had employed in the Corfe war memorial (plate 91). Internally the windows, being recessed in alcoves, light the altar without interfering with its impact on the worshipper. On the exterior, on the apex of the gable at the east end, is carved a dove, symbolic of the Holy Ghost. On the east wall itself is depicted a host, a chalice and a cross signifying the function of the building to passers-by (plate 92).

The Newbery's altar rails have been removed, as have the three steps on which the altar once rested, but the stained glass is still in place as is the stone altar. The windows are very simple, being almost exclusively of clear glass divided into square panes. The only ornament consists of a narrow border with small intermittent insets of pink and green glass and a roundel in each light relating to the church's patron saint and the Holy Spirit. Saint Edward is represented in the south window by a crown and sceptre and in the north window by a cup and dagger, the symbols of his martyrdom, whilst in the centre light of both windows is a depiction of the Holy Spirit as a dove. The quality of the ornament here, with its understated semi-abstract approach and use of small jewel-like areas of colour against a large expanse of clear glass and in its employment of a border, is very much in the Glasgow Style and is most probably of Jessie's design.

The altar rails also made reference to the Glasgow Style, the tapered gate posts at their centre being surmounted by broad caps, much like the tapered wooden posts on the central staircase of the Glasgow School of Art.

The reredos itself (plate 92) is very much the focus of the whole church. It is a large triptych (c. 300 x 356 cm.) and depicts in the centre panel the church's patron saint, the martyred boy King Edward of Wessex. In the wings Newbery painted two other local Anglo-Saxon saints, Aldhelm, Abbot and first Bishop of Sherborne, and Elgiva, Abbess of Shaftesbury. The altarpiece refers in symbols to the lives of the saints in its panels. The central panel is full of references to Saint Edward's murder, while out hunting, at the gate of the *domus* of his stepmother Elthfrith, on the site of Corfe Castle, in 979. Newbery depicts Edward as a boy (he used a local girl, Lucy Billett, as a model for the head and his assistant Neil Thomas posed for the legs).¹⁶¹ Edward is wearing Anglo-Saxon gaiters and a square Anglo-Saxon crown and carries a sceptre and orb. Accompanied by a hunting dog and wearing a horn he stands in front of the gate of the medieval Corfe Castle representing the site of his martyrdom. The boy's sainthood is indicated by a nimbus which surrounds his head, and above him hovers a dove with a three-rayed nimbus representing the Holy Ghost.

Saint Aldhelm is shown in the left wing dressed in a bishop's mitre, cope and alb and carrying a pastoral staff and a model of Sherborne Abbey. Saint Aldhelm does not relate closely to Edward's history but has probably been included because of local associations: Saint Aldhelms Head, which Newbery shows behind the saint is a coastal feature close to Swanage, and the artist has represented the town's coat of arms on the orphreys bordering the cope which is embroidered with the saint's legend. Aldhelm may also have been included as he had some links with Wareham, where the boy king's relics were interred for the first three years after his death.

Saint Elgiva, whose figure occupies the other wing, is shown as an abbess, her abbey of Shaftesbury on its hill being seen behind her. She wears a crown denoting her royal birth as daughter of King Alfred the Great. Along with her pastoral staff she carries a reliquary, in token of the fact that it was at Shaftesbury that Saint Edward's bones were eventually laid to rest.

The triptych works well as a composition dominating the whole church, and is painted in flat areas of colour so that it can be easily read from a distance. The design of the dove at its highest point reflects the angle at the apex of the chancel arch through which the painting is seen. At the altar's consecration in May 1926¹⁶² it also displayed coats of arms relating to the church and locality at the top of each panel. It then stood alone against an unadorned wall. Soon afterwards, however, the coats of arms on the wings were replaced by the symbols of the Four Evangelists and those over the central panel were removed to make each panel of equal height. A baldacchino and decorative frieze, incorporating symbols relating to the celebration and significance of the Eucharist, were then introduced on a line with the top of the reredos.

The frieze (plates 93a & 93b), which is on canvas and was stencilled by Neil Thomas, runs in a narrow strip occupying the upper part of the wall at the back and sides of the sanctuary and the lower part of its vault. A thin strip also runs down from it at either side of the reredos and at the corners of the eastern wall, meeting the wooden panelling

that covers the lower part of the sanctuary at the level of the bottom of the reredos. The frieze is in the Glasgow Style, not only in the way in which it acts as a frame or border defining the wall space, but also in the way in which it is divided into rectangular spaces and in the design of its architectural ornaments which mostly occupy the upper area of the design. Although these ornaments are Gothic they are also reminiscent of Mackintosh.

The lower half of the frieze on the east wall depicts the instruments of Christ's passion in four panels: pincers, a hammer and a ladder; a pillar, rod and scourge; an empty cross with a lance and reed in saltire; and a crown of thorns, a purple robe and nails. These are all shown against a dark background. Above them on the upper half of the frieze is what appears to be a series of golden doors in Glasgow Style Gothic. A variation of these is continued on the upper part of the frieze on the north and south walls where Newbery has symbolised the body and blood of Christ as conventionalised ears of wheat and grapes and vine leaves. These latter which appear on the lower half of the frieze against a dark background are separated by golden doors. If these are indeed doors, and Newbery left no explanation of their symbolism, they probably represent Christ as the door to the Kingdom of Heaven, made available to the believer through his passion as represented in the mass. The narrow vertical areas of the frieze which define the edge of the reredos and the corners of the walls contain representations of Gothic windows, or niches, in which are displayed red flames which traditionally symbolise the Holy Spirit.

The baldacchino (plate 95), a painting which hangs from chains directly over the altar, continues the theme of the Eucharist. It depicts six angels apparently celebrating a mass before an altar in Heaven. They stand or kneel and one of them holds a chalice and host. However, as the mass is not celebrated in Heaven, the painting must represent a prayer that the Eucharist being performed on the altar below will be acceptable to God. Thus the central angel kneels in an attitude of prayer and holds a chalice and rayed host, symbolic of the Eucharist, whilst another angel swings a censer containing the incense which represents the prayers of the faithful, and a child angel who, much like an altar boy, acts as his assistant, stands ready to replenish the censer with an incense boat and spoon. Two other angels make music in adoration to God, one playing a violin whilst the other sings. Newbery has taken some artistic license in representing his angels as male and female. One of the female angels has her hair braided in Anglo-Saxon fashion and another holds a crown of roses and lilies which must represent the Virgin, Queen of Heaven.

The composition of the painting is strong and rectilinear, its colours dark and rich, its shadows well defined. It centres on the nimbus of white light surrounding the chalice and host which forms the brightest part of the picture and by which it is lit. Thus, the angels in the furthest part of the panel are in deepest chiaroscuro. Secondary centres of light are formed by the circular golden halos around the heads of each angel and the area of yellow reflected light under the canopy over the Heavenly altar in the centre. The strong vertical and horizontal elements in this structure, with its tracery and finials in the Decorated Gothic style (which may also represent the City of Heaven) flatten out the composition on the picture plane. With the help of the golden halos around the angel's heads these make it at once a hieratic and intense work. The intensity of the whole decorative ensemble would have originally have been stronger as the walls were once of a darker tone and probably more richly coloured than their present white, and the vault

above, which is now pale blue, was probably a darker blue and was spangled with stars to represent the vault of heaven.

In 1930 the Newberys would complete their decoration of the Church with a redecoration of the Lady Chapel, but before they did this Newbery produced another piece of symbolic art for his village. For this the Saint Edward at the centre of the church altarpiece was reproduced in modified form as a sign for the village square (plate 96). The composition was almost the same as for the central panel of the reredos except that the dove of the Holy Spirit was left out. The new work came to be known as *The Sign of Four* because it was paid for by the Newberys and the local doctor Dru Drury and his wife, the initials of the donors being painted on the reverse. Newbery designed an elaborately ornamented post and frame for the Sign, the frame being decorated with Glasgow Style squares and a representation of a cup and dagger, the symbols of Saint Edward's murder. The post and frame were painted in rich heraldic colours and adorned with the Corfe Castle arms and the date of erection, 1927, in ironwork.

For the inauguration of *The Sign of Four*, on 2 July, Newbery wrote what was to be his last pageant and had it performed by the children of the Parish School. The music to the songs which it included, which were accompanied by a village band of fiddles and drums, was written and conducted by David Brynley.

The pageant consisted of a procession to and from the school led by Hilda and Mary Spencer Watson on horseback (Hilda wearing a jacket which the Newberys had brought back for her from Yugoslavia) followed by a dedication of the Sign in the village square. The children were dressed in Serbian-cum-Anglo-Saxon costumes designed by Jessie and made by Mrs Orchard, a village dressmaker, and the procession and ceremony were accompanied by songs and readings. The unveiling of the Sign was performed by the Village Queen dressed in another costume from Yugoslavia. The readings in verse, in which Newbery showed some condescension to the local dialect, reviewed Corfe in Anglo-Saxon times, the murder of the king and the history of the construction and presentation of the Sign. In this last recitation Newbery followed Arts and Crafts principles by having most of the workmen who had contributed named and stressing the value of the presence of such creative workmen in the community:

And this sign with its picture was made here at home,
Here Artist and Craftsmen, work and dwell,
Joyce and his men forged the iron, Moss and Fooks carved
the wood,
And the Painter - thinks he's no end of a Swell.¹⁶³

He also claimed that the Sign was safe for posterity in that it was protected by a group of trustees:

More - this gift to the Parish is held here in trust,
The Trustees - Messrs. White; Newbery; Drury,
Three good men and true, and with them round about,
The sign will be safe - I assure ye.¹⁶⁴

Ironically there were those in Newbery's audience who thought differently. As a direct challenge to this authoritative outsider who had come into their village and was making a bid to run their lives, and possibly also as something of a prank, the sign was neatly cut down the following night, its post deposited ceremoniously on the policeman's doorstep and the painting flung less respectfully into the castle ditch. Whatever Newbery thought about this is not known, but Dr Drury who lived in the square and was well liked in the village saw to the Sign's reinstatement. A less resplendent replica by another hand still stands on the same site.¹⁶⁵

Newbery was to produce one last work for the village, one that was almost impossible to deface or even reach. This was a stone statue of Saint Edward, designed to stand on the eastern gable of the Parish Church, to mark the spot where the king's corpse had been placed after his murder. It was erected in 1931.¹⁶⁶

The Sign of Four, as a painting intended to be seen outside, can be linked to another of Newbery's efforts to bring art to the public, the painting of inn signs. He did several of these although few have been identified. One, for the *Rose and Crown* at Longburton, a village north of Dorchester and quite distant from Corfe, merited a column in the *Western Gazette*.¹⁶⁷ Another for the *Shah of Persia* at Poole (plate 97) was designed and painted in 1932. It is a free-standing sign with four sides, each of which depicts a character from Persian legend. The structure which is roofed and topped by a weathervane is still in use but the painted signs were badly weathered by 1938, and other paintings representing the same mythical personages now occupy their place.¹⁶⁸

Newbery's reputation as a man who painted pub signs drew him to the attention of Helen Muspratt who, in 1929, had just started out as a professional photographer in Swanage.¹⁶⁹ Conceiving the idea of having the artist paint a sign for her studio she called on him at Eastgate and received his agreement on accepting his condition that he should also decorate her studio. This was typical of Newbery's forceful personality and was the beginning of an acquaintance which would benefit Helen's career as well as giving Newbery an opportunity for further work.

She described the scheme for the frieze in her studio at 2, High Street as "a sort of Mackintosh design between the ceiling and the picture rail". This was stencilled by Neil Thomas. Newbery also designed her stationary and shop sign which featured a camera surrounded by rays of light. The lettering used was in the Glasgow Style and it and the design for the sign were incorporated into the shop's letterhead (plate 98). The studio drew the praise of one of *Professional Photographer* magazine's correspondents who wrote:

As soon as you see the outside of the premises you know the decoration was directed by a person of ideas and taste. The portraits in the window confirm this view - which is substantiated beyond possible doubt when you meet Miss Muspratt herself in her charming reception room.¹⁷⁰

Miss Muspratt counted the Newberys amongst the subjects for her portraits, taking two strong photographs of Mr Newbery in his outdoor coat and hat (plate 99) and another of Mrs Newbery seated writing by the garden window at Eastgate.¹⁷¹ When Helen moved to different premises at 10, Institute Road in 1932, Newbery was brought in to design

her studio in the garden at the back of the existing building. It was a simple but practical shed with a skylight and modern Crittal cast iron window at the north side, giving the directional light the photographer sought in her portraits. In the same year Newbery and his daughter Mary advised Helen's mother on the decoration of her new house, formed from a group of fishermen's cottages on the Swanage seafront. They had the staircase and hall painted in Newbery's favourite dark blue and Newbery designed a modern fireplace, with old tiles inset, for one room and adapted a further fireplace from an old house, again with inset tiles, for another.

Newbery had lost none of his ability for giving appropriate and timely help to young talent which had been one of the characteristics of his success at Glasgow School of Art. When Helen complained that she felt holiday portrait commissions were becoming too restricting, Newbery put her in touch with Lettice Ramsay, a young widow with two children to support, who was seeking to start a career in photography in Cambridge. The resulting partnership was a successful one which continued to produce fine work for many years.¹⁷²

Helen, who liked Newbery, remembers him as "very pushy" and it was not long before he prevailed on her, somewhat against her will, to sit for a portrait and for a painting of the Annunciation on which he was working for the Catholic Church's Lady Chapel.¹⁷³ The portrait (private collection) (plate 100), like that of Frank Shitler, is another depiction of an occupational type. Newbery insisted on including a camera in the painting and of having Helen hold a photographic print. The treatment is in stark contrast to a portrait Newbery made of the photographer James Craig Annan in Glasgow (Glasgow School of Art) which was a simple head and shoulders.

The Lady Chapel with its Annunciation painting and altar, discounting some inn signs, was Newbery's last decorative art work, and like the work in the Sanctuary was probably the result of collaboration with Jessie.

The chapel, which is part of the 1904 building, is in the south transept. The walls around the altarpiece are treated in a similar way to those of the Sanctuary, with a stencilled frieze on canvas. As in the Sanctuary the upper part displays Gothic doors but in the lower part, instead of symbols relating to the mass and Christ's passion, there is an iconographical scheme of rose and madonna lilies, symbols associated with the Virgin Mary, with a text taken from the Annunciation "*Ave Maria gratia plena*". The rose and the words *Ave Maria* are also carved in stone at the centre of the altar itself. There is a different frieze over the chapel's south window. This contains two shields, one with the letter "M", the other with the letter "V". Beneath each of the shields are further texts, "*Rosa Mystica*" and "*Stella Maris*", both titles traditionally given to the Virgin. Above the window are a rose, a lily, and a heart surmounted by a crown. The frame of the altarpiece is capped by a canopy, almost another baldacchino, on which is painted the flame and dove of the Holy Spirit.

The altarpiece itself depicts the Archangel Gabriel, posed by Helen Muspratt, delivering his message to the Virgin, who sits spinning in a doorway. Around her are roses, lilies, daisies and foxgloves enclosed by a wattle fence. Taking his cue from Rossetti and even more from Burne-Jones, Newbery has suspended his archangel in mid air, rather than

placing him on the ground as in medieval examples.¹⁷⁴ Following medieval tradition, however, the archangel points upwards to indicate the Holy Spirit.¹⁷⁵

Newbery has taken a departure from traditional iconography by depicting two small angel attendants, one either side of Gabriel, a decision which is difficult to explain on iconographical grounds but which works as a compositional device. What Newbery was most probably doing here, however, was making reference to contemporary Catholic ritual and relating it in a new way to the Annunciation narrative. It used to be common for priests to appear before their congregation, dressed in a cope which was held on either side by altar boys, in order to bless the people with the consecrated host, representing the body of Christ, displayed in a monstrance. The ritual of benediction which was not part of the mass has now largely fallen into disuse. If this is a correct interpretation, Newbery's device was a means of making the point that the Annunciation represents the moment of Christ's incarnation.¹⁷⁶ Newbery's angel, instead of holding a monstrance offers a rose, symbolic of Christ or the Messianic hope, to the Virgin. The Virgin herself is of interest because Newbery has dressed her in Serbian costume: she in fact wears a dress almost identical to that worn by the Village Queen at the Corfe pageant. She also holds an elaborate distaff which may be one Jessie recorded her husband having bought in Sofia in 1926, possibly with a view to using it in this painting.¹⁷⁷ Above Mary's head is a crescent moon, one of her symbols as the Virgin mother whose glory is borrowed from the Sun of Righteousness. The gate at which she sits is probably the Gate Beautiful of the Temple in Jerusalem which is also a symbol of the Virgin.

In 1932, when he was seventy-seven, Newbery suffered a recurrence of his illness. In 1933 he was too ill to write the forward to the catalogue of the Mackintosh Memorial Exhibition held in Glasgow that year, a task which Jessie undertook in his place, as she explained in a letter written that August:

It was a great pity that although Mr Newbery was asked to help in the organisation of the Mackintosh Exhibition he was quite unfit even to write the forward to the catalogue - which I did very inadequately. Mr Newbery has been seriously ill for the last eighteen months with one of his recurrent breakdowns. His brain is clear and we walk on the downs for three or four hours daily but he can neither work at his painting nor attend to his correspondence.¹⁷⁸

This illness seems to have marked the end of his career as an artist, as the steady stream of paintings he had been exhibiting each year now almost dried up. By late 1934 he had ceased using his studio and loaned it to the New Zealand painter Frances Hodgkins. Hodgkins was an artist of a later generation than Newbery, counting Henry Moore and Graham Sutherland among her friends. There is no indication of what Newbery thought of her work but in giving her the use of his studio he was extending his fraternal help to a fellow artist. Frances Hodgkins was grateful, although she did not regard her tenancy as an unmixed blessing. Newbery's paintings still lined the walls and she was not allowed to touch them. As she wrote in a letter:

I have a Studio-
Mr Francis Newberry, [sic] now a very aged man has let me have the use of his -

a large one time Chapel - central heated - very convenient. The high walls are hung with canvasses [sic] of a long past Academic School - not so convenient - a quaint galère to find myself in.¹⁷⁹

Newbery did continue to paint at home in an upstairs room.¹⁸⁰ *Dahlias* (private collection), an example of his later painting, betrays no loss of skill either in its composition, its decorative treatment, draughtsmanship or brushwork (plate 102).

In his last years Newbery would still take his daily walks but at a painfully slow pace and Jessie would have to bathe his feet when he came in.¹⁸¹ One of the couple's last servants, Betty, found dealing with the old man, around whose comfort and peace of mind the domestic affairs of the house were arranged, a daunting task. He was fussy about his food and insisted on the quietness which he had always regarded as a necessary condition for an artist's concentration; but his concern for it now may have been a result of his need to keep his illness at bay. Corfe was on the flight path for German air raids on Weymouth and Betty's most difficult task was to persuade the old gentleman, in night-cap and night-shirt, to get out of bed when the siren sounded. Even with Jessie's help this proved so time consuming that the all-clear had often gone before they had succeeded. Eventually they decided it was better not to disturb him.¹⁸²

Frances Hodgkins, who found Corfe something of a backwater and was suffering from illness, continued in the studio until after the war. For some of the time she found it unusable, she could not obtain fuel for the two stoves and at one time the roof gave way. This caused her some resentment towards the owner whom she referred to as "that wicked Newbery",¹⁸³ an adjective which was not really justified, given that he was old and ill and, as any disturbance of his peace of mind was considered unadvisable, he would hardly be in a position to help her.¹⁸⁴

By this time he was frequently in the care of Dr Drury. Despite this Newbery still had a keen mind and an awareness of world events. At the end of the war Helen Muspratt took her husband, Jack Dunman, to see him. As a communist activist Jack was impressed by Newbery's knowledge of the Yugoslav partisan movement and his admiration for Tito.¹⁸⁵ At about the same time, in 1945, Thomas Howarth, who was researching the life of Charles Rennie Mackintosh, went to Eastgate, and although he found both Mr and Mrs Newbery, who were in the care of their daughter Mary, very old and frail, he was impressed by Newbery's vital intelligence.¹⁸⁶

Newbery died on 18 December 1946 at the age of ninety-one. He was buried in the small cemetery at Corfe, just off West Street, overlooked by the castle which he had enjoyed painting. On his tombstone were carved a palette, a wreath of laurel and the inscription "Fra. H. Newbery, Director: Glasgow School of Art". Jessie, his wife and best friend, followed him sixteen months later.

Notes

DCRO = Dorset County Record Office

GSA = Glasgow School of Art

GSAA = Glasgow School of Art Archives

NLS = National Library of Scotland

1. GSA, Annual Report 1917-18, p. 5.
2. GSAA, F.H. Newbery, Press Cuttings, p. 63: unattributed undated cutting reporting on a lecture by Newbery entitled 'How to Build a picture' delivered to The Evening Times Camera Club. Newbery reminisced that "when a youth he used to think he could paint sixteen landscapes in a day".
3. GSAA, F. H. Newbery, *Curriculum Vitae*, and Testimonials, (1885).
4. F. H. Newbery, 'Introduction', in David Martin, The Glasgow School of Painting (London: George Bell & Sons, 1902), pp. xi-xxiii (p. xv).
5. Ibid., pp. xv and xxii.
6. Holbrook Jackson, The Eighteen Nineties: a Review of Art and Ideas at the Close of the Nineteenth Century, new edition (London: The Cresset Library, 1988), pp. 329-330.
7. GSAA, Newbery, Press Cuttings, p. 59: unattributed undated cutting, reporting on an address given by Newbery at the Govan Art Club Exhibition.
8. Robert Herbert, Jean-François Millet (Arts Council of Great Britain, 1976), p. 11.
9. Hunterian Art Gallery, Glasgow, Mary Newbery Sturrock, Letter dated 9 February 1980, stating that Newbery first visited Walberswick when "he lived in London", that is before 1885; also GSAA, GSA Correspondence 1883-1887, p. 405, 11 August 1886 addressed to Newbery at The Green, Walberswick.
10. Newbery exhibited a painting *A bit of a Cornish Village* (Royal Scottish Academy 1891, no. 411).
11. Kenneth McConkey, *Impressionism in Britain* (London: Barbican Art Gallery, 1995), pp. 27-8.
12. GSAA, Philip Wilson Steer, Letter to Newbery dated 19 January 1931: "...as I write my mind will return to the old Walberswick days...when you, Coles and several art masters were staying there". Also Hunterian Art Gallery, Sturrock, Letter 9 February 1980 in which she says that Newbery "knew Wilson Steer when he was painting [in Walberswick]". Also Steer visited Walberswick with Coles in 1888 - Richard Scott, The Walberswick Enigma (Ipswich Borough Council, 1994), p. 16. As Coles was a friend of both artists, witnessing Newbery's marriage certificate in 1889, it is possible that Newbery spent several painting holidays in Walberswick during the 1880s when he would have had the opportunity to observe Steer's developing experiments.
13. Bruce Laughton, Philip Wilson Steer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 8, 10 and 14-31.
14. Newbery, 'Introduction', p. xxiii.
15. Glasgow Art Club, Glasgow Art Club Circular Book no. 2: List of members in 1894
16. Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, Catalogue 1892, p. 12. Painters who exhibited at the Glasgow Institute in the 1880s and 90s included Millet, Corot, Joseph Israels, the Maris Brothers, Blommers, Bastien-Lepage, Sickert, Steer, Stott of Oldham and other progressive English painters. Degas and Monet were also shown. Many of the paintings were lent from local collections.
17. Roger Billcliffe, The Glasgow Boys: the Glasgow School of Painting 1875-1895 (London: John Murray, 1985), p. 205.
18. GSAA, Newbery, Press Cuttings, p. 17: unattributed undated cutting, reporting on a Newbery lecture entitled 'The Four Corners of a Picture'.
19. Ibid., p. 64. unattributed cutting, January 1896, reporting on a Newbery lecture entitled "Art and Personality" given at Govan Art Club.
20. Newbery, 'Introduction', p. xxi.

21. James L. Caw, 'A phase of Scottish Art', The Art Journal, 1894, p. 80.
22. GSAA Newbery Press Cuttings, p. 53: unattributed undated cutting reporting on a Newbery address to Winchester Government School of Art and his criticism of its students' paintings and designs.
23. R.A.M. Stevenson, 'Corot as an example of Style in painting', The Scottish Art Review, 1, no. 3 (August 1888), p. 51.
24. The Studio, 9 (1897), p. 140.
25. 'Art in the West of Scotland', The Scottish Art Review, 1, no. 6 (November 1888), p. 147.
26. Albert Boime, *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), pp. 166-184. Boime discusses the increasing equation of impression, the rapid but accurate apprehension of the effect, or what is seen, with genius, as best demonstrated in the sketch: and sketch-like qualities in painting as an index of individual expression in terms of a displacement of an aristocratic apprehension of originality as the possession of a few great artists by a democratic one, which, like Newbery, regarded each artist as having his own valuable individual contribution to make.
27. 'Impressionism: two conversations, con. and pro.', The Magazine of Art (1902), pp. 35-37 and 58-60.
28. Glasgow Herald, 23 February 1892, Also 'Some Remarks on Impressionism', The Art Journal (1893), pp. 103-4.
29. GSAA, Newbery Letters, 1912, M, 24 October 1912 and 1911, W, 11 January 1911.
30. GSAA, Newbery Press Cuttings, p. 17: unattributed undated cutting reporting on a Newbery lecture, 'The Four Corners of a Picture', given to the Glasgow Branch of the Teachers' Guild (probably about 1888).
31. GSAA, Newbery Press Cuttings, p. 34: unattributed undated cutting reporting on a Newbery lecture entitled 'The Language of Pictures' given at the Corporation Galleries, Glasgow.
32. Billcliffe, The Glasgow Boys, pp. 245-9 and pp. 103-4.
33. Ibid., pp. 293-8 gives a survey of the Glasgow School's growing international success from 1890.
34. Philip Athill, 'The International Society of Sculptors, Painters and Gravers', Burlington Magazine, 27, no. 982 (January 1985), pp. 21-29.
35. Glasgow Herald, 20 November 1911.
36. The Newberys lived at 2 Queen Margaret Crescent, 1889-93, 6, Buckingham Street, 1893-1913 and 9 North Park Terrace 1913-18. All their homes were in the Kelvinside district of Glasgow and a short distance from one another.
37. Glasgow Herald, 13 March 1890.
38. Ibid., 17 February 1891.
39. GSAA, GSA Correspondence 1891-4, p. 182, 4 July 1892 indicates that Newbery was staying at Lundin Mill by Largo in Fife. Also Quiz (6 December 1894) records of Newbery, "he summers in Crail, which he paints - but not red".
40. James Mavor, My Windows on the Street of the World, 2 volumes (London: J.M. Dent, 1923) 1, p. 309.
41. Ibid and James L. Caw, Scottish Painting past and present, 1620-1908 (Edinburgh: T.C. & E.C. Jack, 1908), pp. 259-61.
42. GSAA, Letter from John Lavery to Newbery 18 May 1897 refers to the admiration for Newbery's work among the Italians: "I was in Venice before the opening and "Francesco Newbery" and "Stevenson Macaulay" [sic. R. Macaulay Stevenson] was the

- only topic on which artists would remain without signs of weariness. Your pictures looked their very best. I had to leave before the show was hung but I expect that you and Macaulay occupy the places of honour".
43. Newbery was to follow this by a similar untraced picture, *Goldilocks*, of a small girl in a blue dress holding a kitten, possibly a variation on *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, exhibited at Glasgow in 1901 and Munich in 1903.
 44. The Yellow Book, 8 (January 1896), p. 139.
 45. Glasgow Herald, 2 November 1895.
 46. A copy of a Newbery letter to the Carnegie Institute Pittsburgh, dated Walberswick 2 August 1901, supplied to me by Dr John Morrison, refers to Newbery's having worked on a picture of similar dimensions entitled *East of the Sun*, a loose translation of *Sole a Levante*, for the previous four years.
 47. William Morris, The Earthly Paradise: a poem (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1896), p. 219.
 48. *Ibid.*, p. 225.
 49. *Ibid.*, p. 200.
 50. Royal Glasgow Institute, Autumn Exhibition of Scottish Art (1901), no. 318, plate 31, *Sisters Three*, is probably a worked up study for *East of the Sun*. It depicts the three central girls on the bridge with a different background.
 51. Glasgow Herald, 12 April 1898, p. 3. The review of the Royal Glasgow institute Exhibition refers to the girls as "handling the materials of whist".
 52. Isobel Spencer, 'Francis Newbery and the Glasgow Style', Apollo (October 1973), p. 290.
 53. The Art Journal (1906), p. 73.
 54. Duncan Macmillan, Scottish Art 1460-1990 (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1990), p. 270.
 55. Alistair Moffat, Remembering Charles Rennie Mackintosh: an illustrated biography (Lanark: Colin Baxter Photography, 1989), p. 79. Newbery's daughter Mary believed that her parents had bought Rooftree, but her father's letters from Glasgow School of Art make it clear that the house was rented. In fact Newbery rejected an offer to buy the property in 1911 - GCSAA, Newbery Let911, H, 16 May 1911.
 56. NLS, Acc. 10425, Cecile Walton. 'More Lives than One' [An unpublished memoir, dated Kirkcudbright, 1951], pp. 80 and 213 describe bicycle trips. She also records that she and the Newbery girls put on excerpts from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Photographs of the latter exist in a family photograph album.
 57. GSAA, Newbery Letters 1912-1913, I, 23 September 1912.
 58. June Bedford and Ivor Davies, 'Remembering Charles Rennie Mackintosh: a recorded interview with Mrs Mary Newbery Sturrock', Connoisseur, 183 (1973), p. 286, also Moffat, Remembering Charles Rennie Mackintosh, p. 79.
 59. The Studio, 66 (1915-1916), pp. 101-2.
 60. Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901, no. 62, *A Sybil*, Photograms of '96, p. 80 refers to a photograph entitled *A Head*, exhibited in Paris.
 61. Two other paintings of the garden at Rooftree are *A Summer Home, Walberswick*, c. 1914 (private collection) and *The Garden, Walberswick* (private collection).
 62. The Studio, 67 (1916), p. 263.
 63. Glasgow Herald, 16 March 1904, p. 10.
 64. Jugend, 33 (1904), cover.
 65. The Art Journal (1906), pp. 73 and 234.
 66. GSAA, GSA Press cuttings, 1907-1917, p. 186, unattributed cutting dated 14 February 1914. Newbery employed the theme of a woman with a mirror on more than

one occasion. The theme was common amongst contemporary artists and has been singled out by modern feminists as exemplifying the male gaze, treating the woman's body as an object of desire - Adele Patrick and Hilary Robinson, 'On Visual Iconography and the Glasgow Girls', in Jude Burkhauser, editor, Glasgow Girls: Women in Art and Design 1880-1920 (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1990), pp. 227-233, especially pp. 232-3.

67. The Studio, 56, no. 231 (June 1912), p. 64.

68. Henry Hellier, 'Odd Man Out', Scottish Art Review, 11, no. 4 (1968), pp. 18-19.

69. GSAA, Newbery Letters 1912, Sundries: letter dated 29 November 1912.

70. H.L. Hamilton Collection: De Courcy Lewthwaite Dewar Letters: letter dated 25 October 1903: "The arrangements for our fancy dress dance at Xmas are now in full swing. I asked Mr Newbery to take the chair at our meeting and he has taken up the matter with great enthusiasm. He does not like the ordinary motley fancy dress so has fixed on the St Mungo period about the fifth century. It is to take the form of a medieval masque, a procession of St Mungo and Bishops".

71. F. H. Newbery, A Masque of the City Arms: or the Saint; the Ring; the Fish; the Tree; the Bird; the Bell (Glasgow: 1905).

72. The Scottish Art Review, 2, no. 14 (July 1889), pp. 41-5 and The Art Journal (1888), pp. 184-7.

73. Art Workers' Guild, Beauty's Awakening: A Masque of Winter and Spring (The Studio, Summer number, (1899)).

74. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

75. GSAA, Elliot (Newbery) 'The Crescent Moon', The Magazine, November part (1894), pp.7-8; 'The Present', p. 27; 'Love' p. 48.

76. F.H. Newbery, A Masque of Science and Art: or the Saint, the Chief, the God, and the Gifts (Glasgow: [1906]).

77. Newbery, A Masque of the City Arms, p. 5.

78. Glasgow Herald, 12 October 1908.

79. F.H. Newbery, The Birth and Growth of Art: a symbolistic Masque in Five Ages and an Allegory (Glasgow: 1909).

80. GSAA, Newbery Letters 1909, volume 2, p. 683.

81. Newbery, The Birth and Growth of Art, pp. 1 and 15.

82. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

83. *Ibid.*, pp 4-5.

84. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

85. *Ibid.*, p. 7. Whistler had written that the first artist was "one differing from the rest (of men) whose pursuits attracted him not, and so he stayed by the tents with the women, and traced strange devices with a burnt stick upon a gourd... This deviser of the beautiful who perceived in Nature about him curious carvings, as faces are seen in the fire - this dreamer apart was the first artist." J.A. McN. Whistler, 'The Ten o'clock Lecture', in Eric Warner and Graham Hough, editors, Strangeness and Beauty: an anthology of Aesthetic criticism 1840-1910 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983) volume 2, p. 78.

86. Newbery, The Birth and Growth of Art, pp. 8 and 10-12.

87. *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

88. GSAA, Newbery Letters 1908-1909, p. 121. In reply to an untraced letter from Bourdon, Newbery writes: "I am confident...that there is no symbolism in the particular treatment of the material. The architect has I should say a perfectly open mind on the matter and we can talk over the matter with him on your return." Mackintosh used a

stained glass butterfly on the main door of the Architectural School but this derives from his desire to balance the butterfly design on a matching door at the opposite end of the same corridor. The symbolism on all the stained glass in the building has been fully discussed by Sally Rush 'Decorative Glass in the Glasgow School of Art', Mac Journal, 2 (1995), pp. 48-50. An identical use of the rose, lily and tree symbols is also found in a Herbert MacNair bookplate for John Turnbull Knox - Thomas Howarth, Charles Rennie Mackintosh and the Modern Movement, 2nd edition (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977), pp. 19-20.

89. Newbery, The Birth and Growth of Art, pp. 13-14.

90. GSAA, Newbery Letters 1915: P, 13 July; N, 21 July; W, 22 July.

91. GSAA, GSA Press cuttings 1907-17, p. 308, unattributed undated cutting.

92. GSAA, Newbery Letters 1916: K, 28 September; T, 28 September.

93. Illustrated Catalogue of Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture in the Collections of the Paisley Corporation and Paisley Art Institute (Paisley: 1948), p. 58.

94. Conversation with Judith Witts, Newbery's great granddaughter, who knew both subjects of the painting.

95. Glasgow Herald, 21 June 1915.

96. GSAA, Newbery Letters 1916: L, 28 September, 4 October, 24 November.

97. GSAA, Newbery Letters 1911: W, 13 June. Newbery referred to the "symbolism of the design" and its "striking character". It was to feature hearts dropping tears and would have been made by Peter Wylie Davidson. This was not carried out as the plaque which was installed was a far more prosaic affair by Singers of Frome - John Beard Memorial Committee, John Beard: A Brief Biography (Bridport: John Beard Memorial Committee, 1911) facing p. 13 and p. 22.

98. GSAA, Newbery Letters 1916: B, 28 September, 30 October. Also Bridport Museum, Newbery File, Notes from Bridport General School Log Books.

99. GSAA, GSA Minutes, 8 May 1918.

100. All the landscapes were exhibited at the International Society in 1918: three at its Spring show: *Dawn*, *Beattock*, *change for Moffat* (no. 62); *Alton*, *Moffat* (no. 350); *The Dyke*, *Moffat* (no. 320), and one at its Autumn show: *Old Moffat* (no. 26).

101. The Bulletin, 26 April 1918: also GSAA, GSA Press cuttings, 1917-1927, p. 19, unattributed cutting dated 16 April 1918.

102. The Laing Art Gallery Catalogue, Newcastle upon Tyne, records the purchase of *The Lady of the Carnation* from Newbery, whose address is given as "the Greyhound, Corfe Castle", on 28 July 1919. This was his probable address for the next three years. Mary Newbery Sturrock recalled "Mother and Daddy stayed in a hotel in Corfe Castle for three years before they bought a house and studio", June Bedford and Ivor Davies, 'Remembering Charles Rennie Mackintosh: a recorded interview with Mrs Mary Newbery Sturrock', Connoisseur, 183 (1973), p. 288.

103. House of Commons Select Committee on Arts and their connexion with Manufactures, Report (1836), p. 15, para. 98.

104. T.S.R. Boase, English Art 1800-1870 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), pp. 208-13.

105. George Breeze, 'Decorative Painting for the Common Good and Beauty of our Towns', in Alan Crawford, editor, By Hammer and Hand: the Arts and Crafts Movement in Birmingham (Birmingham: Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, 1984), pp. 63-5.

106. Teresa Newman and Ray Watkinson, Ford Madox Brown and the Pre-Raphaelite Circle (London: Chatto and Windus, 1991), pp. 172-86.

107. Billcliffe, The Glasgow Boys, pp. 215-6.
108. Glasgow Herald, 21 June 1915.
109. Glasgow Herald, 13 March 1899, p. 6: report on a Newbery lecture, 'The Holiness of Beauty'.
110. Saint Hilda's Parish Council Committee, Minute Book (1915-1924), 25 April 1919 and 14 July 1920 - information provided by Rev. Geoffrey Keyes.
111. Artists of the Northern Counties, Catalogues: Newbery exhibited 23 paintings in Newcastle between 1908 and 1921.
112. One would expect Newbery to have chosen Queen Elizabeth's sister ship, Malaya, which was built on the Tyne.
113. Most of the detail of this account is derived from an unattributed undated press cutting which hangs in the Church and would have been written by the artist.
114. St Hilda's Parish Church, Minutes, 9 November, 1921.
115. Western Gazette, 9 March 1923.
116. DCRO, DCBTB, Bridport Council Minutes, 13 February 1923. Also Western Gazette, 9 March 1923.
117. DCRO, DC/BTB, Bridport Council Minutes, 8 March 1923.
118. Ibid., 13 February 1923.
119. Ibid., 24 July 1923. Work was planned to be done in gold lettering on a dark ground but was carried out in dark lettering on a gold ground.
120. Private collection, Newbery photograph album.
121. DCRO, DC/BTB, Bridport Council Minutes, 10 June 1924.
122. Ibid., 9 September 1924.
123. Ibid., 12 May 1925.
124. Bridport News, 18 September 1925.
125. Neil Thomas, Newbery's assistant from 1926, identified two of the people as Mrs Edith Mary Deamer on the left and Polly Morris on the extreme right, both of Corfe Castle.
126. Bridport Museum, Newbery file, Newbery letters to Alderman E.S. Reynolds and Mayor A.R. Travers, 1 December 1927, and watercolour of the scheme in Bridport Museum collection.
127. DCRO, DC/BTB, Bridport Council Minutes, 4 April 1928 and 10 April 1928.
128. Bridport Museum collection, Bridport Guide Book, c. 1934.
129. Bridport News, 18 September 1925 and Bridport Museum, Newbery file, containing copies of Science Museum Minutes 1923-5. All the photographs except that of *Shipbuilding* seem to have been acceptable, one of the officials doubting the accuracy of Newbery's description of the topography of West Bay and being dissatisfied by its being a non-contemporaneous construction.
130. Dorset Yearbook (1926), p. 120. Sir James Thornhill had produced work in the Weymouth Guildhall and Alfred Stevens, a native of Dorset had most notably designed the Wellington Memorial in St Paul's Cathedral and had had a marked influence on the Renaissance-inspired decorative style of South Kensington.
131. One of two paintings of the castle from the church tower is dated 1919 on the back - Glasgow School of Art Collections. Newbery exhibited paintings of the castle in 1920, Royal Scottish Academy, no. 458; 1921, Royal West of England Academy, no. 632; 1922, International Society, no. 196; 1923, Paisley Art Institute. A further more ambitious painting, probably *Corfe Castle from the West Down*, priced at £105 was exhibited in 1926 at the Paisley Art Institute, no. 64 and at the Royal West of England Academy, no. 188.

132. Information given to me by Bill Carter, Chairman of the Corfe Castle Town Trust.
133. Conversation with Neil Thomas, July 1992.
134. The War Memorial arch was dedicated on 11 November 1922. The builder was Thomas Luther and the stone mason William Arthur Day, both of Corfe Castle. This information was supplied to me by Bill Carter, Chairman of the Corfe Castle Town Trust from local British Legion records.
135. Arthur Mee, editor, Dorset: Thomas Hardy's County. The King's England Series (Hodder and Stoughton, 1939), p. 72 states: "It is the only case we have come upon of dialect in a peace memorial".
136. Paisley and Renfrewshire Gazette, 27 March 1920.
137. The information was supplied to me from Rempstone estate records by Bill Carter, Chairman of the Corfe Castle Town Trust. and the deeds of the Newbery's house by the present owner.
138. Mr and Mrs Neil Thomas in conversation, July 1992.
139. The girl in the painting was Peggy Port whose separate portrait(private collection), in a similar pose, Newbery also painted.
140. Helen Dunman, 'Artist of Corfe Castle', Dorset County Magazine, no. 63 (May 1977) , pp. 8 and 11.
141. NLS, Acc 6577 2, Newbery letter to Elsie Lang, undated, but probably 1921.
142. Helen Dunman, 'Artist of Corfe Castle', and conversation with Mr and Mrs Neil Thomas. The Swanage Times and Directory, 3 June 1926, p. 8 contains a report of the Balliol Players who performed an English translation of Euripides' *Hippolytus* in the Castle grounds before over 1000 people. Neil Thomas remembers helping Newbery to count the £50 raised by the event. Helen Dunman, who lived in Swanage, told me that she was taken by her mother to see it.
143. Helen Dunman, 'Artist of Corfe Castle', pp. 8 and 11 and interview with Neil Thomas, July 1992.
144. Interview with Mary Spencer Watson, July 1994. Billy Blake, who ran a model T Ford, also looked after the Newberys' generator.
145. NLS, Acc 6577 Newbery letters and conversations with Mary Spencer Watson, Helen Dunman and Neil Thomas. NLS Acc 6577 nos. 3 and 4, undated letters to Elsie Lang, describe an excursion to Italy, probably in 1924, which commenced on 23 September and lasted thirty-three days, taking in Turin, Pavia, Parma, Piacenza, Bologna, Ravenna, Rimini, Fabriano, Gubbio, Borgo San Sepulchro, Arezzo, Florence, Volterra, San Gimignano, Siena, Cecina, Leghorn, Pisa, La Spezia and Genoa.
146. Mary Spencer Watson told me that "Everybody called her Aunt Jessie" and Betty, one of the Newberys' servants spoke of how she was always concerned to help people in need.
147. This view has been confirmed to me by several of the older inhabitants of Corfe.
148. Mary Spencer Watson recalled that when Newbery gave vent to such outbursts he would address Jessie as "Woman" but she would deflate him with the rejoinder "Well Frank dearie" followed by something appropriate to the occasion as she left the room. An earlier example of such an outburst at Walberswick is recorded by Cecile Walton, 'More lives than One', p. 250. She writes "It is true that Newbery could be very brusque indeed. I have seen his whole family reduced to tears; but his wife would suddenly burst out laughing and, looking at me would say: "You mustn't think Frank is bad, Cecile dear, he has the kindest heart in the world"
149. Helen Dunman, 'Artist of Corfe Castle'.

150. Mary Spencer Watson made this connection which seems to be confirmed which seems to be confirmed by the record of the unveiling of the Bridport murals in Bridport News, 18 September 1925. George Spencer Watson was present but apologies were sent from Anning Bell. Mary Spencer Watson remembers visiting the Newberys at Corfe on her family's first visit to Dunshay Manor.
151. Swanage Times and Directory, 31 July 1926: report of *The British Applied Arts and Handicrafts Exhibition* held at Swanage.
152. Peter Davies, *Art in Poole and Dorset* (Poole Heritage Trust, 1987), pp. 118-9.
153. Mary Spencer Watson . Interview, July 1994.
154. *Ibid.*: Mary Spencer Watson recalled that David Brynley was a great humorist and a special favourite with the Newberys. His frequent attendance at their house at meal times caused Newbery to remark that David's great devotion to Aunt Jessie was really a devotion to her cooking.
155. *Serbian Women* (Paisley Art Institute 1931, no. 85 - Dundee Art Gallery); *A Serbian* (Royal Glasgow Institute 1929, no. 551 - private collection); *Patience* (Paisley Art Institute 1931, no. 81 - private collection).
156. Thomas Howarth, 'Charles Rennie Mackintosh and the Secessionist Movement in Architecture' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow, 1949), p. 274, footnote, mentions the Mackintoshes staying with the Newberys at Clovelly. Newbery exhibited a number of paintings of Clovelly in 1918-19. Alistair Moffat, Remembering Charles Rennie Mackintosh, pp. 101-3 indicates that the Mackintoshes stayed at Worth Matravers on at least two occasions, one of which was in 1920, and during the winter at the Newberys' cottage which would have been after its purchase in 1921 and before the Mackintoshes' move to France in 1923.
157. NLS. Acc 6577.
158. GSAA, Newbery, 'Photographs of Decorative work by Fra H Newbery', p.4. The painting, that hangs in the church's sacristy, has been altered and its composition severely compromised since Newbery had it photographed on completion. The figure of the Virgin and one of the Martyrs which occupied an area at the top of the picture has been painted out. GSAA, Newbery, Photograph album contains photographs of Chideock Parish Church and Golden Cap which may have been used in the composition of the painting.
159. Dorset Year Book (1927), p. 179 contains a letter from Newbery in which he writes: "I completed a triptych for the new Sanctuary to the Priory Church, Swanage, and, further, designed the Sanctuary itself and superintended its building, and my wife and I, between us, designed the Altar, Altar rails, and stained glass".
160. Information supplied to me in a letter from Rev. A . Whitehead, C.R.L., 7 June 1994, referring to a minute of the Bodmin Chapter of the Canons Regular of St John Lateran, 13 August 1924.
161. Neil Thomas, July 1992.
162. Swanage Times and Directory, 5 June 1926, p. 8 gives the date as Thursday 28 May. The diary of Abbot Smith who sang mass at the opening, however, gives the correct date of 27 May - Letter from A. Whitehead, 7 June 1994.
163. GSAA, F.H. Newbery, Sanctus Edwardus West Saxonum Rex Martyr (Pageant programme) (1927), p. 6. Also F.H. Newbery, 'Sanctus Edwardus West Saxonum Rex Martyr', Dorset Yearbook, (1928), p. 104, in which he recorded that Neil Thomas had been responsible for the lettering. The wording of this has since been altered.
164. Newbery, Sanctus Edwardus, p. 6.

165. Helen Dunman, 'Artist of Corfe Castle' and conversations with witnesses. The original painting which was badly damaged by weather and had probably been repainted at least once was restored in 1991 and is now in the care of the Corfe Castle Town Trust. Its post has not survived. The present sign which stands in the square was painted in 1951 by Robin Pearce.
166. The statue, though designed by Newbery, was made by Walter Heysum a local quarryman. Newbery also designed a painted coat of arms for the village pump which stood by the market cross in the square (Corfe Castle Town Trust). This was painted by Neil Thomas and has been replaced by a more durable replica.
167. Western Gazette, 7 August 1931.
168. Eldridge Pope Archives, Dorchester. Correspondence between Newbery and the brewers, Eldridge Pope. Newbery's fee for the sign was £41. This information was kindly supplied by Bill Carter of Corfe Castle. Country Life, 10 December 1932, p. 676 contains a photograph and a letter which includes a description of the sign.
169. The following information on Newbery's association with Helen Muspratt (later Dunman) comes from conversations with her.
170. Val Williams, Women photographers: the other observers 1900 to the present (London: Virago, 1986), p. 106, quoting from Professional Photographer (December 1930).
171. GSAA has two versions of the Eastgate portrait as well as another of Jessie taken in the studio.
172. Newbery became aware of Lettice Ramsay's situation through Cecile Walton who was staying with him in 1932.
173. Helen Muspratt also photographed Newbery posing in front of this painting in his studio.
174. Rossetti, *Ecce Ancilla Domini* (1850 - Tate Gallery) and Burne-Jones *Annunciation* (1876-9 - Lady Lever art Gallery, Port Sunlight).
175. There is a figure which has been painted out, above the angel in the direction of his pointing finger. This is indistinct but appears to be the head of a bearded man surrounded by a nimbus. It may have been meant to represent God the Father who is portrayed on several medieval Annunciations.
176. One of the small angels' heads appears to have been drawn from Helen Muspratt, the other from Lucy Billett. Three angels together are more common in Eastern iconography where they represent the Trinity but are connected with Abraham rather than with the Annunciation.
177. NLS, Acc 6577,1: Letter from Jessie Newbery to Mary Sturrock, 1 October 1926.
178. Glasgow Museums, Mrs C.M. Gilruth collection. Letter from Jessie Newbery to J. Arnold Fleming, 23 August 1933.
179. Linda Gill, editor, The Letters of Frances Hodgkins (Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press, 1993), p. 463: Frances Hodgkins to A.J. McNeill Reid, 20 December 1934.
180. Conversation with Betty Bennett (July 1993). She was a servant who worked at Eastgate during the war.
181. Conversation with Fred Lang, the artist's grandson (1991).
182. Conversation with Betty Bennett (July 1993).
183. Conversation with Mary Spencer Watson (July 1994).
185. Helen Dunman in conversation.
186. Howarth, 'Charles Rennie Mackintosh and the Secessionist Movement in Architecture', p.23 and interview with the author in 1990. John Betjeman also visited

Newbery in the course of his researches on Mackintosh -Bevis Hillier, Young Betjeman (London: John Murray, 1988), p. 265.

CHAPTER 12

NEWBERY: AN ASSESSMENT

Previous accounts of Newbery, because of their concentration on his association with Charles Rennie Mackintosh and the Glasgow Style, have presented a rather two-dimensional portrait of him, allowing him to exist only in relation to these two concerns. They convey the impression that, if, according to Mackintosh's quasi-mythological status, the architect was "a man ahead of his time", his champion, Newbery, must have been an exceptionally far-sighted individual, without exploring whether this was the case. A Newbery myth has, thus, grown up as a subplot to that of Mackintosh. It takes as its starting point a not inaccurate assessment of Newbery's character as a forceful personality, endowed with abundant energy, organisational ability and promotional skills. More questionably, however, it contains the implicit assumption that Newbery was solely or almost exclusively responsible for all the developments seen as contributing to artistic progress (narrowly construed as Mackintosh's career and the Glasgow Style) at the Glasgow School of Art during the Mackintosh period.

According to the myth, elements of which are dispersed throughout the literature on Mackintosh and Newbery, the Glasgow School of Art before Newbery was an institution which concentrated mainly on fine art tuition following the restrictive South Kensington curriculum. This all soon changed after the remarkably young and energetic art master was appointed as headmaster. He immediately began to reorientate the School's teaching towards design, introducing the ideology of the Arts and Crafts movement, inviting leading Arts and Crafts practitioners to lecture at the School. As a result the School took the almost unprecedented step of introducing workshop-based tuition onto its curriculum and developed the Glasgow Style which was causally related to it. Newbery is presented as inaugurating the Glasgow Style in another way, by recognising the progressive nature of the work of the Macdonald sisters and that of Mackintosh and McNair and urging them to work together. Then, once the new style was formed, Newbery fought for it against the more conservative Glasgow art establishment and promoted it throughout Europe. The avant-garde credentials of the style, and with it Newbery's credentials as a progressive, were further in evidence when the style was condemned by the Arts and Crafts movement in the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society's 1896 show, demonstrating that that movement, previously the most progressive faction in world design, had lost its leadership to Glasgow. Newbery's position as a principal supporter of the Glasgow Style and its status as a movement at the leading edge of artistic developments was even more ensured when he organised the Mackintosh-designed Scottish Section at the International Exhibition of Modern Decorative Art at Turin in 1902. There he criticised the English Arts and Crafts

Exhibition Society's exhibit for failing to treat its exhibition space as an architectonic whole. By contrasting this with the more holistically-treated Scottish and German Sections he was allying himself with the most advanced design ideology, represented by the German critic Hermann Muthesius, himself a leading advocate of Mackintosh. Moreover, Newbery's exciting teaching regime had not only been instrumental in producing the Glasgow Style it had also resulted in the growth of student numbers making it necessary for the School to invest in a new building. This provided the occasion for a further endorsement of Newbery's credentials as a progressive figure. Not only did he have the vision to build a new school but he also raised the money and fought tooth-and-nail against the worthy but dull architectural stylists on his Board of Governors to have Mackintosh accepted as its architect.

Although this account contains not a few grains of truth, it is insufficiently well informed about the art educational and ideological context within which Newbery operated, nor does it pay more than scant attention to Newbery's work at Glasgow School of Art between 1900 and the Great War, leaving the impression that Mackintosh and the Glasgow Style summed up almost everything that happened at the Glasgow School of Art during Newbery's time.

The present work has attempted to get closer to Newbery's career as a teacher and painter with a view to assessing his work in terms of the art educational concerns of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Britain. In doing this it has attempted to illuminate in sharper focus how more general art educational policies and ideas affected specific local situations. A parallel purpose has been to examine the educational context in which the Glasgow Style emerged as a unique and innovative development in a late nineteenth century British school of art.

The main focus has been Newbery's work at Glasgow School of Art but the first two chapters have served to set the scene by establishing the characteristics of the South Kensington system, within which Newbery had to work, and in particular to highlight the ongoing purpose of government-funded art education as being the improvement of design, both in its production by the manufacturer and workman and in its informed reception by the consumer. The concern for design as opposed to fine art, despite the use of the term "schools of art" as the nomenclature of the institutions which dispensed it, is brought out in the study of the Bridport School of Art. In Bridport's case this concern has to be examined in the anomalous context of a town with no industries requiring design training. The phenomenon of Bridport is instructive in several respects. It highlights the DSA's policy of encouraging the foundation of schools of art in all population centres of a reasonable size, its policy of paying for such schools from largely local sources, but also from insufficient grants paid on results, which meant that schools were chronically underfunded and that they either had to satisfy the DSA's examination requirements or attract sufficient middle class fee income if they were to survive. Such shortage of funding was one factor which prevented local art masters from working outside the DSA's curriculum or of concentrating on its more advanced aspects such as life drawing. This serves as an introduction to the chapters on Glasgow School of Art where Newbery and his predecessors were frustrated in their educational objectives by scarce resources. It also highlights the way in which different social classes used the schools: the middle classes, not in terms of the DSA's objectives, to inform their taste as consumers, but in order to develop their fine art skills in pursuit of art as an accomplishment; and the working classes to acquire basic drawing skills,

useful in a whole host of occupations such as engineering and the building trades which were not necessarily associated with artistic manufactures. This pattern was also replicated in Glasgow. At Bridport, and at Glasgow under Newbery's predecessor, Robert Greenlees, the disjunction between the Department's aims and those of its middle class clients produced tensions between the local school and the central authority focusing on the Department's requirement that the curriculum's stress on training in sound drawing should have priority over the students' desire for accomplishment art. In Bridport's case the dispute was resolved when the local school's middle class managers supported the Department. At Glasgow it was resolved under Newbery by an increasingly effective teaching regime which enabled middle class students to see the function of art as more than a mere social accomplishment.

The Bridport management was characterised by a high regard for South Kensington, which, unlike the committees of many other local schools, saw its links with the DSA as a matter of pride rather than a burden. This may have contributed in some measure to Newbery's own pro-South Kensington attitude. It is also likely that Newbery would have been grateful for the fact that the existence of a school of art in such an unlikely location as Bridport had afforded him, as a boy from a rural county, the unexpected opportunity of taking up a career in art education.

The Department's prioritising of design, as brought out in the Bridport committee's and their middle class female relatives' efforts in that area, in making designs for fans, dessert services and architectural ornament, was highlighted further in the second chapter which was concerned chiefly with Newbery's training at the National Art Training School at South Kensington. Not only were the art master's certificates, which Newbery took, orientated towards design, but the head of the School and Director for Art up to 1881, Edward Poynter, who has often been cast in the role of a fine artist with very little interest in design, was well aware of this purpose. I have argued that Poynter, far from representing a "swing to fine art" in art school education, as Stuart Macdonald's seminal work has claimed, should be seen primarily as a significant figure in the improvement of drawing, concentrating in what Newbery called "labour saving methods", as opposed to an obsession with meticulous finish to the detriment of good observation which had characterised the Department's teaching up to 1875. The ability to draw well was an equally essential skill for the designer as for the fine artist. In fact, as far as design was concerned Poynter should, more justly, be seen as an introducer of an arts and crafts ideology, if not its practice, into the Training School. He was a member of the same circle as William Morris, a designer of interiors and a muralist, had shared a studio with Walter Crane and was the brother-in-law of Morris's closest friend Edward Burne-Jones. His published lectures on design, which antedate those of Morris, show an informed familiarity with Ruskin's concern for the craft ethic and betray a close kinship to Morris's ideology, seeing the evidence of skilled craftsmanship as an essential qualitative element in any kind of artefact. His advocacy of the unity of the arts as different species of workmanship was echoed in Newbery's own attitude and would enable him to approach both fine art and design as equivalent and equally valuable activities for a school of art to undertake.

Newbery's frequent defence of South Kensington is perhaps accounted for more by his positive experiences at the Training School than by any other factor. In referring to South Kensington, Newbery was not primarily speaking about the regime which under

Henry Cole had deadened art training in Britain since 1853 and which continued to hobble it with its system of payments on results and its bureaucracy. On the contrary, Newbery recognised that South Kensington in the 1880s and 1890s was a changing institution. Whilst retaining the bureaucratic structures, vicious grants system and examination regime of Henry Cole's department, it also represented more progressive views in art and design teaching practice which Newbery endorsed and shared. Although part of Newbery's defence of the DSA before his Glasgow audience was political: in defending it he was defending his own school which stood before the Glasgow public as South Kensington's principal representative; the main thrust of Newbery's argument in favour of the DSA revolved around two points, the one negative, the other positive. On the negative side Newbery took the position that the Department's main contact with the local schools was through its examinations, not through any codified system of teaching methods, and that, contrary to the popular view, the local headmaster had ample scope to develop his own ideas and methods. This attitude was born of Newbery's experience under Poynter's regime at the Training School. Not only was the latter a good technician in his own right, he had also introduced other skilled artist teachers onto his staff. Some of these appointments, such as Newbery's teachers Dalou and Legros, could work under South Kensington and employ a far different approach to teaching than the mindless copyism which was generally associated with the DSA. These were Newbery's models when he spoke of the art master's autonomy within the system, and his examination successes in following a similar approach would have confirmed him in his pursuit of independent teaching practices which he and they had demonstrated could flourish under the DSA.

Newbery's positive, if qualified, defence of the Department is also explained by his identification of the DSA with what might be termed its "progressive wing". Poynter's successor as Director for Art at the DSA, Thomas Armstrong, was from the same artistic circle and shared and promulgated the same views on the importance of good workmanship to the quality of an artefact and on the unity of art. Because Newbery could see that South Kensington was changing under its new leadership, he could defend the better schools of art by claiming that they produced designs of comparable quality to those found in the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society's shows. Newbery would have been aware of the enlightened views that these men represented. Armstrong and Newbery knew each other well and the former was a friend of Newbery's chairman, Sir James Fleming. Some of Newbery's more independent curricular reforms, whilst under South Kensington and afterwards, can also be traced to the influence of his teachers: his abandonment of all drawing from the flat, which was still part of the DSA's course, was a move of which Poynter would have approved; and his embarkation, after 1901, on the unusual step of appointing foreign artists to key positions, was a reflection of his time at the Training School when working with Legros and Dalou. Newbery's major staff appointments, when under the Department, were also men from the Training School who would have had the same masters: Nicholas, Dunlop and Kellock Brown, of whose abilities as teachers and artists he was confident. Their worth to Newbery is seen in the fact that both Nicholas and Dunlop would remain with him throughout his career in Glasgow and would both make valuable contributions to the School as a teaching institution.

Glasgow School of Art, contrary to the Newbery myth, did not owe a new concentration on design, in the face of a swing to fine art, to Newbery. Nor did Newbery's appointment as its head master in 1885 bring about an orientation away from fine art.

Rather it resulted in an improvement of teaching in both areas which Newbery regarded as equally important. In Glasgow there was a long tradition of educating personnel for industry and an appreciation of the importance of design to Glasgow's performance as a manufacturing and trading city. The purpose of the Glasgow School of Art since its foundation in 1845, by a group of leading citizens, the majority of whom had manufacturing interests, had been to train operatives for Glasgow's multifarious industries in drawing and design. These included architecture, building, engineering and ship building, furniture and decorative art and designing for textiles. The need to cater for textile manufacture, in which Glasgow, as a centre, was second only to Manchester was the main concern of the School's founders and continued to be of primary importance down to the Great War. During the 1870s, however, the School had fallen into a malaise in which it was content to cater for working class requirements for basic drawing skills and middle class demands for accomplishment art, whilst neglecting the need to provide more advanced training for designers. Newbery's predecessor Thomas Simmonds had reoriented the School in the direction of design improving its performance *vis-à-vis* other schools of art in the South Kensington examinations. However, this move and in particular Simmonds' establishment of a technical workshop catering for the practical needs of house and ship decorators should be seen against the background of Glasgow's own pioneering work in the area of technical education, a concern which was coming increasingly onto the national agenda during the last thirty years of the nineteenth century. The concern for better technical education was not only a response to the narrow concerns of William Morris and the Arts and Crafts movement for better quality handicrafts, but was, in part, a means towards improving practical training in processes and materials for industrial production. Glasgow had a proud tradition in workers' education, antedating the city's foundation of the first mechanic's institute in 1823. It was also probably the first community to establish a technical training institution, giving workshop tuition, in the shape of its Weaving College, set up in 1878 as a response to similar measures being taken by Britain's trading rivals. Moreover, it was no accident that it was a Glasgow MP who opened the debate calling for the appointment, in 1880, of the influential Royal Commission for Technical Instruction whose deliberations resulted in the legislation which saw the setting up of technical art schools throughout the country.

Newbery's arrival in Glasgow, then, did not inaugurate but rather continued a local tendency towards catering for design which was already beginning to move towards workshop training. However, Newbery's belief in the unity of art blurred the boundaries between art and design and the contrast between them. The unity of art, for Newbery, was not just based on Poynter's vision of art and design as different species of workmanship. Nor did it derive mainly from the Owen Jones' perspective promulgated as DSA doctrine that the decorative arts arose from and should properly be attendant on architecture, or the amplification of that doctrine by Ruskin that the fine arts, reached their noblest expression, as decorative art, in relation to building. Newbery's approach to the concept of the unity of art flowed mainly from his educational ideology.

Any attempt to understand Newbery should start by taking his educational philosophy into consideration. For it was this which allowed him to develop his particular approach to art and design which in turn contributed to his school's own peculiar characteristics. Newbery's theory that there existed a universal and innate art instinct and that every person was a potential artist, which he found support for in some measure in the

writings of Ruskin, Froebel and Spencer, was basic to all his statements and actions relating to art and art education. In general terms it enabled him to see art as a universal possession of mankind and as a distinct human activity without which any society or culture would be incapable of reaching its greatest potential or its fullest expression. Newbery saw other social activities and phenomena, such as commerce, religion and ethics as similarly autonomous but necessarily distinct from art which could develop separately from, though often in alliance with, them. Thus Newbery could claim that art was not of greater value when it contained ethical or religious elements nor should it be made subservient to the needs of commerce as the government, in its support for art and design education, had attempted to make it, but it could serve the needs of each in rendering religion more attractive to the worshipper and commercial products more appealing to the consumer. Yet it could never be properly cultivated unless pursued for its own sake. Art, if a universal possession of humanity, was only universal in that it was the property of each individual and it was only at the individual level that it could be cultivated and where it could find its expression. Art could be defined as the expression of the individual in response to nature in the production of artefacts. Nature, allegorised by Newbery in *The Birth and Growth of Art* as the god Pan, was not only represented by the inborn art instinct but also by the individual's natural surroundings. These, which Newbery saw as a spur to art as well as its frequent subject matter, were transmuted through the artist's personality into the artefact. Thus the production of art was the outcome of a continual dialogue between the natural expressive needs of the individual and external nature. Through this ongoing dialogue the would-be artist gradually developed his skill and his means of expression until such time as he was able to articulate his inner imperative in a sophisticated and progressively exact way. Such a person was said by Newbery to have a fully developed artistic personality, the possession of which could only be judged from the individuality and skill which his work displayed. Although everyone, according to Newbery was thus a potential artist only such a person had fully realised his potential and could justly be termed "an artist". As all individuals were different, so the media which they chose as their means of expression would be different: some would be painters, others sculptors, architects, designers or craftsmen. Thus the school of art should not set out to produce designers only or fine artists only, but artists pure and simple, aiding them in the discovery of their means of expression and training them in its use. As the art instinct was universal it was possessed in equal measure by both sexes and each should be helped to realise their artistic potential. Thus there was no place for accomplishment art which had always been seen as a social acquisition, as a feminine ornament. Newbery's concept of artistic personality required something far more essential, springing from the core of an individual's being. The DSA's and the public's conflicting views of the purpose of schools of art as the production of designers or the production of artists (usually seen as synonymous with painters) were thus resolved by Newbery whose approach allowed both to flourish as the outworking of a basic human need.

It was the art teacher's task to aid in the discovery and development of the student's pre-existent potential for art and as only the artist had realised his own artistic personality, it was only the artist who was qualified to teach. Yet it was not the artist-teacher's task to impose his own personality on his students in terms of insisting on his own preferred style but to aid them in discovering their own mode of expression. The task of the teacher was complicated by the fact that he was in part inculcating skills, which the pupil could be assumed not to possess, such as the handling of materials and the

analysis of the motif, while at the same time cultivating the pupil's artistic personality, the former teachable the latter only realised through a combination of encouragement and guidance.

Newbery's practice as a painter accorded particularly well with this approach. He maintained that the artist should never cease to be a student and his work betrays an interest in the exploration of various problems, the effects of light and the decorative quality of the paint surface. He also had a catholic and eclectic approach to style which mirrored his broad artistic culture, particularly admiring Rembrandt, Velasquez and Whistler, but also coming under the influence of the Hague School, the work of French Rustic Naturalists such as Millet and English Aestheticism.

Newbery's educational philosophy, with its stress on the individual interaction of teacher and student, should help to explain why Newbery claimed to be against the use of systems and methods in education. He was certainly overstating his case and unnecessarily complicating the issue when he claimed that art education could not be "schemed or timetabled": without such measures he would not have been able to do his own job. He would have been nearer the mark which he was attempting to hit, however, if he had said that art education could not be summed up in terms of schemes and timetables. Newbery was being a little dishonest, or a little unreflective or, perhaps, characteristically playing to an audience, in claiming to be against systems and methods. He was a strong advocate of teaching by demonstration and seems to have believed in the use of a series of graded studies adapted to the individual student's needs. If one is not to regard Newbery as opening himself up to a charge of self-contradiction in his claimed opposition to systems a context for his views should be sought. Their broad background is undoubtedly the philosophical position of romantic individualism which Newbery espoused, found in Carlyle's condemnation of systems as so much machinery and in the latter's belief that all human advances had been achieved not by systems but by individuals. Such a view should be seen against the background of art teaching under the DSA which, under Cole and Redgrave in particular, had concentrated on producing people who could teach on its system rather than on training artists who had a teaching vocation. If, for Newbery, true art education only occurred as a progressive and individual interaction between the artist teacher and the evolving artist pupil, then tuition at the hands of a non-artist applying a ready-made teaching method would not educe the artist. Newbery's view is illustrated by the two major recorded instances where he came out against systems and methods: his advice to an ex-student not to employ Ablett's system; and his attack on Lecoq de Boisbaudran's scheme for training the memory as expounded in a book. In both cases he was contrasting the use of book-derived systems with personal teaching by an artist. In the case of Ablett Newbery not only argued against employing his system but pointed out that in his view the ex-student was a better artist than Ablett, thus almost casting the latter in the role of the South Kensington-trained art teacher who was a poor practitioner. In Lecoq's case Newbery was in part opposing his method of memory training because it was being imparted by a book rather than by the artist in person, but he was also going further than this. He knew of Lecoq at second hand, probably through Legros who had been his pupil, and was ready to remark that he was a good artist and teacher but as a teacher he was only prepared to praise him for his more traditional methods, regarding the system of memory training as something superadded to what for him was the artist's main concern, the craft of drawing and painting. Newbery's rejection of such a system, which

undoubtedly had beneficial effects: by stocking the memory it was aiding the imagination, an area in which Newbery's own work as a painter might be said to be lacking: indicates that Newbery was unprepared to move outside traditional academic methods in art training.

There can be little doubt, however, that Newbery used traditional methods in an extremely effective and challenging way, not only in training the student but in inculcating his own artistic philosophy. Newbery was not at the front rank of his profession as a painter but he was a highly competent craftsman and well able to initiate his students into the mysteries of his craft. At the core of Newbery's approach was a reliance on demonstration by the master, a practice learnt from his teachers such as Legros and Poynter, followed by hard practical work on the part of the student under the guidance and advice of the master. Newbery's characteristics as a teacher realised his philosophy in practice, as recalled by his students. Peter Wylie Davidson wrote that "he inspired all the latent qualities in the students under him and he went all out to foster their efforts".¹ His impact on his students and his use of demonstration was recalled by Henry Y. Alison, a painting student from 1906 to 1911.

Teacher he certainly was having the ability to demonstrate (and explain in words while doing so) and impart knowledge...

This was done in a humorous and challenging way. Alison continued:

...although at times rather disheartening. After a really constructive criticism he would break a piece of charcoal, throw a part to the floor, drag his foot over it and say, "Well make a mess at least if you cannot do better".²

The importance of teaching by demonstration was drummed into his staff and passed on to his students who later became teachers, such men as Robert Sivell, later head of painting at Aberdeen, William Frater who taught at Melbourne in Australia, and David Forrester Wilson who became head of painting at Glasgow School of Art.

Newbery also insisted in an emphatic way on good craftsmanship.

As a teacher he had a driving force which instilled enthusiasm into even the dullest student. A hard taskmaster almost to the point of being brutal but was never sparing of praise for that which he thought good. His criticisms were somewhat comic but penetrating such as when he found a student with her painting smothered in oil he enquired "going to fry it?"

A student trying to economise on pigment would find all his colours wiped off his palette with one swipe of a brush, the palette thrown back at him with the remark "one usually sets his palette before starting to paint".³

Through his challenging manner as a teacher and by positing the existence of a universal art instinct, which was discovered and developed only in the individual artist, Newbery undermined complacency, encouraged experiment and instilled confidence in his students who were made to think for themselves and to mark out their own path. Mackintosh is the clearest example and reflected Newbery's views in his lecture

'Seemliness' which also stressed Newbery's belief in the innate nature of art and his view that architects and designers were primarily and essentially artists:

You must be independent - independent, independent, don't talk so much - but do more - go your own way and let your neighbour go his...and go alone crawl - stumble - stagger - but go alone.⁴

and

The architect the art worker depends very greatly for his success upon a kind of instinct, a synthesis, or integration of myriads of details and circumstances of which he cannot directly be conscious but the appreciation of which makes the master in every profession. But this appreciation must be inborn, it can be cultivated, but it cannot be acquired it must be a personal one and expressed without resorting to the remote accessories in use elsewhere.⁵

A seemingly conservative aspect of Newbery's approach as a teacher was his immersion of his students in the European artistic tradition which they were encouraged to respect. The study of tradition, the cumulative achievement of different individuals through time, involved at its best, an engagement with the historical individual's artistic personality as expressed through his work. For Newbery the purpose was to follow the spirit, not the letter, of past work. In doing this the student should aim to know the tradition. This was important because, whether he neglected it or paid attention to it, each individual would be affected by tradition, consciously or unconsciously. To understand tradition made an artist its master: he could stand apart from it so that he might build on, move beyond and add to it. Such an approach, added to Newbery's characteristics as a tutor, set up a dialectical tension and a dynamic in his teaching which encouraged experimentation, seeking personal authenticity through a synthesis between tradition and internal and external nature within artistic expression. Newbery's respect for the formula, tradition + nature + individuality = innovative work, as opposed to the view that originality should overturn tradition was central to his approach to teaching and can be detected in Mackintosh's own perspective on artistic practice. Thus Mackintosh could write:

The artist may gather from A [sic] close and careful study of old work a great deal that will refine his tastes, that will help him to a more adequate appreciation and therefore a fuller enjoyment of art and nature and life.⁶

But like Newbery he warned against the dangers of being entrapped by tradition.

Let us look upon the worlds [sic] artistic achievements as the beginning the morning of our lives - not the grave of our aspirations the death knell of our ambitions.⁷

Newbery's respect for tradition, then, was in no way a refusal to open himself up to new ideas, but, on the contrary, was a means of ensuring that new developments had good soil in which to attach their roots. Newbery's period at Glasgow School of Art witnessed the emergence of an outstanding group of artists and designers whose work was all significantly different. Apart from the Four, other Glasgow Style designers whose work was marked by strong individuality were Jessie Newbery and Jessie M. King. Painters,

all of whom were outstanding and different from one another, emerging from the School throughout Newbery's career, were Bessie McNicol, John Quinton Pringle, Norah Neilson Grey, James Cowie and William McCance. The point about all these students' work is that it did not slavishly reproduce the styles of those which contributed to it but, by synthesis, it achieved a style which was uniquely the artist's own mode of expression.

Newbery's contribution to the Glasgow Style should be seen in this context. As a painter, rather than a designer, he had no overt stylistic input to make but as an encourager and supporter of individualistic innovative work and as a confidence builder, defender and promoter, his presence was invaluable. It is no doubt significant that all of the members of the Four, excepting McNair, were Newbery's personal students, each taking life drawing and figure design with him in the crucial years 1892-1894 when the Glasgow Style emerged. Their new form language, as an individualised addition to existing tradition, demonstrates Newbery's own philosophy. The highly stylised marriage of plant and figurative forms, abstracted from nature and adapted to specific ornamental purposes, can be understood as fulfilling the requirements of the DSA's teaching on design with its emphasis on the need to conventionalise, rather than to copy, from nature in order to adapt natural forms to the needs of ornament. However, the Four's work did not stay within current South Kensington practice, which tended to adapt plant form in a fairly naturalistic manner and to obey classical canons in its conventionalisation of the figure. Instead it took conventionalisation to new extremes, moving towards abstraction, paying primary attention to the formal aspects of the composition and of the space ornamented.

Part of the Four's achievement resulted from an openness to the most advanced contemporary work, a tendency which Newbery was ready to encourage. Newbery's own eclecticism as a painter, together with his breadth of knowledge and curiosity about art, were constantly being fed and informed by his trips to London and the continent and it is more than likely that his students were made aware of the most recent developments through Newbery's own lectures, his invitation of outside speakers and his private urging. James Mavor noted that Newbery's arrival in Glasgow was marked by a change of emphasis in the teaching which made the School at once open to the art of the continent.⁸ That Newbery did not oppose the Four's appropriation of Beardsley and Toorop in 1893 speaks of such an open-ended and dynamic approach to tradition. In fact the work of these two artists had evolved out of the Aesthetic Pre-Raphaelitism which had been highly fashionable in London during Newbery's student years and Newbery's admiration for another progressive artist of the same period, James McNeill Whistler, was not only evident in his own practice as an artist but probably fed through to Newbery's students. Mackintosh's preference for large plain wall surfaces in his interiors relates closely to those preferred by Whistler and his architect E. W. Godwin, and Newbery himself not only employed a similar formal and colouristic approach to Whistler in such paintings as *My Lady Greensleeves* but also adopted a similar aesthetic in the rooms of his own houses.

A significant characteristic of Newbery's personality which contributed to the emergence of the Glasgow Style was his extroverted pushiness. It was present in his challenging mode of teaching but it was also at the service of the students in his promotion of their work. He regarded "push" as an indispensable characteristic of the successful manager yet this quality was combined with stylish presentation which

caused so many people who knew him to describe him as a “showman”. This trait so impressed Newbery’s contemporaries that even a Glasgow drunk meeting him on one of the city’s trams, on observing his unusual dress and demeanour, asked him whereabouts in Glasgow he was performing.⁹ Newbery’s students owed much to his conspicuousness and his ability to represent and promote Glasgow School of Art wherever he went. He gave the School a high profile in the city: organising exhibitions, from that of the Glasgow School of Art Club to the Artist Teacher’s Exhibition Society; putting on artistic entertainments such as his masques; and holding celebrity lectures. He was a successful painter on an international scale in his own right, selling works to public collections in Britain, Europe and the Americas and winning a medal for his work at an international exhibition in Santiago. His paintings were published in several art periodicals in Britain and abroad and he also wrote pieces on art for several journals. He was fairly reticent about his own talents, however, and turned down a proposal by some of his friends in the Royal Scottish Academy to put his name forward for associateship; one suspects because he was unsure about being elected.¹⁰ Newbery’s many contacts through his own artistic, journalistic and educational career were used as means of promoting his students and it is significant that where the Glasgow Boys and their associate Newbery showed their work the Glasgow Style designers soon followed. It may even have been due to Newbery’s efforts that the Four were given their exposure in *The Studio* which first made their work known across Europe. The fact that *The Studio* was the only journal to make any feature of the Glasgow work at the 1896 Arts and Crafts show either suggests that its reporter was more perspicacious than other journalists or that the work was specially pointed out to him. If the reviewer of the exhibition was indeed Gleeson White as is generally believed, he was already known to Newbery who visited London often. Newbery had, in fact, already crossed swords in print with White in *The Scottish Art Review* in the late 1880s over the question of the humdrum nature of art school students’ work. On that occasion Newbery had argued that such work could not only be innovative but was also of equivalent standard to the work of established artists to be seen in the Arts and Crafts Exhibitions. It would thus have been completely in character for Newbery to have shown White the work of his most inventive students in the 1896 show just to prove his point.

I have argued that Newbery’s philosophy changed very little during his Glasgow years and there is no evidence for a change in his attitudes to the process of innovation, either as a result of the Four’s appearance, or after 1900. This can be demonstrated in his approach to each of the three areas of fine art, architecture and design.

During the late 1880s, before the emergence of the Glasgow Style, Newbery maintained that his school needed the services of a local museum, well-stocked with examples of historical ornament, arguing that contemporary design was essentially derivative and required such a stimulus. This, however, while indicating that Newbery saw an engagement with tradition as necessary for designers, does not argue for a conservatism on his part. It indicates, rather, that Newbery, like Sedding and Morris, was aware of the *impasse* which contemporary design had reached. It is most likely that Newbery already believed that individuality was the way to break out of this cul-de-sac and the Glasgow Style confirmed his view rather than involving him in any change in his theoretical position.

If Newbery's openness to new artistic directions from outside the School is not in question in the 1880s and 1890s, doubts have been expressed about his continued readiness to accept new developments after 1900. William Eadie has noted that at least one ex-student of the School believed that this was so. Characterising himself as "an Old Student" in a letter to the *Glasgow Herald*, this individual recorded:

Students of 20 years ago remember the painfully careful drawings of classical and renaissance ornament which used to occupy or waste their time, but it was thought that a new regime had altered all that. Today, however, we find that the school has to all intents and purposes reverted to a style of work which was found to be antiquated a generation back.¹¹

The Old Student was almost certainly pointing up a similarity between the highly-finished antique drawings produced from 1902 by Paul Artot's students, which was part of Newbery's successful effort to improve the teaching of the figure, and the drawings associated with the old South Kensington regime prior to Newbery's arrival in Glasgow. Artot's work, however, was hardly a reversion to the approach of South Kensington but was an attempt by Newbery to embrace all that was best in the continental *Beaux-Arts* tradition. Even if the Old Student was mistaken in his analysis, Eadie has raised an important question. Why is it that Glasgow School of Art no longer seems to have continued to foster an avant-garde after the early 1900s? The answer would not appear to lie in Newbery's approach to pedagogy which had not changed. Alison's reminiscences, quoted above, come from the period after 1900 and such late students as the painters McCance, Cowie and Frater are almost as good examples as Mackintosh as followers of Newbery's philosophy of individualistic experimentation. In the area of the fine arts a closer approach to a solution can be found partly in Newbery's ambivalent approach to European innovations in the early twentieth century. There is evidence that Newbery retained a curiosity, and continued to inform his students, about progressive artistic movements. He invited Michael Sadler, a leading advocate of Post-Impressionism to lecture at the School, soon after the ground-breaking London exhibition, *Manet and the Post-Impressionists*, of 1910 and by 1913 "Post-Impressionist" work was appearing and winning prizes in the School's own exhibitions.¹² Baltus was discussing new art movements in his lectures, although his own particular position on them is unclear,¹³ and Newbery was endorsing Symbolism, Futurism, and Cubism, in his usual way, as evidence of the outworking of individuality. At the same time, almost replicating his views in the late 1880s, then discussed in relation to design, he was acknowledging that painting had reached an *impasse* and, if it continued to base itself on "imitation", would be rendered unnecessary by the invention of colour photography. As a solution he believed that it was necessary somehow to break through "convention" towards "the expression of emotion through colour".¹⁴ Such an attitude had vast open-ended implications and could lead to abstraction but Newbery did not explain what he meant by his statement and his own work, which continued to explore themes and styles current in the 1880s, shows no evidence that he was interested in pursuing such a path for himself. Yet, if Newbery believed that painting must find a way forward, and if he encouraged his students in the exploration of new directions, it is unlikely that he saw its future in some of the continental movements he seemed to be welcoming. I have already noted that Newbery was wary of the practices of some of the Paris studios and he betrayed an insular conservatism when he observed that

movements which affected continental opinion did not thrive here - Futurism had no meaning for us and added that such an attitude was perhaps due to a certain quality of hard common sense. We might adopt a thing because it was good but not merely because it was adopted by other nations.¹⁵

Given Newbery's basic philosophical position, that innovation was the expression of authentic individuality based on an engagement with tradition, he could not be ideologically opposed to any new work whose authenticity he could understand. The probable reason for Newbery's view on continental developments is that he had not taken the trouble to encompass the issues which such painters were trying to address and could not see their relevance to the tradition. This does not mean, however, that Newbery could not continue to encourage progress at the local level where he was fully in tune with its context.

Newbery's continuing emphasis on individuality, good craftsmanship and a respect for the European tradition fostered a group of young painters who, first appearing as the Glasgow Society of Painters and Sculptors in 1920, developed diverse and progressive approaches to their art which maintained an independence from the School of Paris. James Cowie and William McCance were producing remarkable original work in the 1920s. Cowie managed a unique and individual synthesis of Cézanne, Pre-Raphaelitism and the Italian Renaissance. McCance was painting canvases which, while deriving from the Vorticists, held a dialogue with Léger in seeking a marriage between art and the machine, but, basing his approach on his Scottish cultural roots, he maintained that Scotland, because of its history, was capable of bringing about a synthesis between art and engineering.¹⁶

Newbery's practice of employing artists as teachers, but only those who were competent to teach along traditional academic lines, which tended to suppress individuality to a certain extent, may also have had an effect on the School's currently perceived stylistic conservatism in the fine art area during the early twentieth century.

Contrary to the received account Newbery had not initiated teaching by artists and professional practitioners at Glasgow School of Art, which already had a tradition dating back to the early 1850s, of employing architects, engineers and sculptors on its staff. But his belief that the teacher should also be an artist and competent practitioner had resulted in the enlargement of this policy as soon as Newbery had the financial means to do so, in the first instance when the residue grant enabled him to open his technical studios in 1893 and later when the liberal policy of the Scotch Education Department permitted him to appoint leading artists from outside Glasgow to key positions. These appointments were also a continuation of a long-term policy initiated by Simmonds to raise the standard of teaching in the School from its concentration on elementary drawing in the 1870s to ever more advanced art and design training. From the start of his incumbency, however, Newbery was beginning to raise standards beyond those acceptable to Simmonds as exemplified by the replacement of the former's deputy, McKinlay by Dunlop, in the name of better teaching.

The more progressive young artists of Newbery's generation looked to Paris as a model in the training of painters and Newbery was no exception. He had been educated under Paris-trained men and some of his governors and his friends among the Glasgow Boys,

had spent time in the Parisian *ateliers*. Newbery began to betray a general bias towards *Beaux-Arts* -trained artists with the appointment of Thomas Corsan Morton in 1894 and his preference for *Beaux-Arts* methods in art and design education gained fuller expression after 1900 with the appointment of Jean Delville, the possessor of a Belgian *Prix-de-Rome*, and that of his compatriot Paul Artot to run the drawing and painting school, of the Frenchman Adolphe Giralton as design professor, of Paul Wayland Bartlett to head sculpture and of the continuation of a *Beaux-Arts* programme under Greiffenhagen. If the direction of his preferences was clear, however, Newbery at no time placed educational system before personality in his appointments. Even though he had preferred the more conservative Bartlett to the “individualist” Epstein for educational reasons, he would not necessarily always choose a *Beaux-Arts*-trained artist in place of a more accomplished practitioner who would be more of a stimulus to the students. In 1906 Newbery and his governors were considering a successor for Delville. The latter had recommended Emile Motte, head of the Mons Ecole des Beaux-Arts whilst the Glasgow Boy, John Lavery, had indicated the interest in the post of Maurice Greiffenhagen, an important London artist, with no teaching experience. After examining Motte’s own work and that of his students Newbery summed it up as “correct, academic, but not very inspired”, and by comparison with Greiffenhagen, suggested that Motte was not “an artist capable of stimulating his pupils to still greater efforts”.¹⁷

After 1900, because of his growing administrative duties and outside commitments and the increasing size of the School, Newbery had to rely less on his own resources and more on the teaching strengths of his staff to carry his programme forward. As one of his gifts was an ability to work with others, to trust their abilities once he had the measure of them, and to delegate, he was happy to do this. In fact the calibre of the teachers he had been able to attract, together with the institution's European reputation based on the Glasgow Style, encouraged him to regard his school as having few rivals. He even expressed the view that the heads of such schools as that at Manchester were “people whom he would not admit to the lowest seat on his own staff”.¹⁸ There are indications, however, that, in hindsight, Newbery came to believe that such pride had also been attended by a certain complacency, perhaps even that individuality had been replaced, to a certain extent, by mannerism. Writing in 1921 to his ex-student Jessie M. King, he contrasted the days before 1900 with those in the new School of Art.

in the dirt and in the gas fumes and the general squalor of those dear, dreary, dirty rooms in Rose Street...we worked because things had to be done and the outside world was a world well lost. Nothing like starving an artist to get the best out of him or her.

We grew too luxurious up on the top of Garnethill; and the thin air piqued us and what we gained in altitude we lost by self consciousness and in this thing there is death. Better do badly but it be as good as you are able to do, than let the best Professor in the world show you how easily it is all accomplished!¹⁹

In this situation Newbery's large personality, which used its strength to set others free to be themselves, was diluted by those of other leading members of staff whose personalities may have suppressed those of their students. This, despite the fact that

Newbery was still teaching in the painting school and in the composition classes, would have dulled the impact of his presence to a certain extent. Newbery had a high opinion of the abilities of Delville and Greiffenhagen, Cayley Robinson, Bourdon and Anning Bell, but whereas during the 1890s the student-generated Glasgow Style was the most notable product of the School, during the 1900s it was beginning to share its place with the Professors' styles. This was noted by Bell when commenting on the design school. By the 1920s, when most of Newbery's appointments were still in place, it could equally well be said of the painting school. One pupil, Mary Armour's observation that its students were so many "mini-Greiffenhagens"²⁰ is certainly born out by the evidence of their paintings, their palette and their common use of bold outline. From the evidence of photographs, the diploma works of the period had a strong resemblance to one another which they also shared with the work of Bell, with his preference for low horizons, and some of the mannerisms of Cayley Robinson, with his borrowings from Puvis de Chavannes. Doubtless Newbery had an influence on the style of his students, but at least that was never his intention, and the most notable painters from the 1890s, Bessie McNicol and John Quinton Pringle were far more independent, and better painters than their master, whom they nevertheless held in the highest regard. Nevertheless, the Glasgow School of Art painting style, fostered by Newbery's professors, should not be hastily dismissed as conservative. The catalogue of the Whitechapel Art Gallery's 1914 exhibition, *Twentieth Century Art : a Review of the Modern Movement*, which was mainly concerned with recent developments in British painting, identified four major modernist groupings. Apart from the Sickert group, the Vorticists, and Bloomsbury it also noticed the existence of painters who created "imposing decorative design" influenced by Puvis de Chavannes, Legros and Augustus John.²¹ Such a categorisation describes the figurative painters trained in Newbery's later years at Glasgow with some accuracy, and a reappraisal of their work as a contribution to the artistic debate around the time of the Great War is perhaps overdue.

If the School was attuned to a strand of British modernism in painting much the same can be claimed for its architectural department. Newbery's deference to, or compliance with, his governors in appointing a *Beaux-Arts*-trained architect to head his architectural school is a good example of how Newbery was able to work with others and use their expertise to the benefit of his institution. From his arrival in Glasgow, Newbery had sought to use the advice of his architect governors in the teaching of their subject and had, in accordance with his principles, not attempted to teach in the architectural classes, even though he had a South Kensington certificate which, some might have thought, qualified him for the work. Bourdon's appointment and the adoption of the most thorough-going *Beaux-Arts* architectural curriculum in Britain was very much in accordance with the views of some of the School's governors, in particular those of John James Burnet. The *Beaux-Arts* tradition also seemed to many to represent the most modern development in British architecture in the years just before the Great War. As Gavin Stamp has pointed out "when Bourdon came to Glasgow, the systematic teaching methods of the *Beaux-Arts* and the monumental Classical buildings of Chicago and New York (usually designed by the *élèves* of the Ecole) seemed the way forward".²² By contrast, the individualistic free style architecture represented by Mackintosh was *passé* by 1910, already being stigmatised as "art nouveau", a short-lived style for upholsterers.

In the *Beaux-Arts* architectural curriculum, it should also be noted that Newbery was not taking the retrogressive step of embracing the classical style. Bourdon maintained that he was uninterested in style as such, his concern was to train his students in the architectural tradition, the purpose being that students should be able to work competently in any formal language.

Newbery's embracing of a *Beaux-Arts* architectural curriculum raises the question of his relationship towards Mackintosh, Burnet and *Beaux-Arts* architecture. Mary Newbery Sturrock maintained that Burnet "couldn't bear" Mackintosh²³ yet Newbery, the advocate of Mackintosh's work, could also describe Burnet's Ingram Street Glasgow Savings Bank as "an absolute work of art and one of the most beautiful buildings in Glasgow".²⁴ Moreover, both Mackintosh and Burnet sat with Newbery on the School's governing board and presumably debated its educational policies.

No one has ever suggested that Mackintosh had any admiration for the *Beaux-Arts*. He had abandoned classicism in his own work by the second half of the 1890s and apart from consulting him about matters related with the School's building, Newbery never used him in any official role in connection with the architectural teaching in the School. On the other hand he employed Burnet as a member of the annual architectural diploma jury. Perhaps Mackintosh was so inimical to the *Beaux-Arts* that Newbery could not use him. This did not, however, prevent Newbery from employing Mackintosh on his design diploma panel, alongside such people as Walter Crane and the free style architect C. F. A. Voysey, a man whom he had sought to secure as his design professor in 1908. Although it might appear, from a late twentieth century perspective, like artistic schizophrenia, to employ free style architects for design work and *Beaux-Arts* practitioners for architectural, it should be remembered that both Mackintosh and Voysey were great decorative artists whilst their architectural work had been mainly domestic. Neither of them had been responsible for the large offices, banks and civic buildings which the *Beaux-Arts* had made its own. (Voysey had built a small factory and Mackintosh two newspaper warehouses, two schools and an art school.)

Nor does Newbery's deference to Burnet in matters of architectural education mean that he necessarily preferred Burnet to Mackintosh as an architect. Burnet, after all, had been a entrant in the School of Art competition when Newbery had chosen Mackintosh's scheme and, judging from Newbery's comments, made in 1912, about Mackintosh as a planner of educational buildings it is probable that he would have made the same decision again. The fact that Newbery, could admire the work of both men, is consistent with the catholicity of a man whose business was the nurturing of different artistic personalities.

Newbery's deference to his governors in matters of architectural education calls in question the view, implicit in the Newbery myth, that everything that happened at Glasgow School of Art during his time there was at Newbery's instigation. Anning Bell's description of Newbery as a "benevolent despot"²⁵ is no doubt accurate in the area of the day-to-day running of the School but larger decisions would often have been made in consultation with the governors. One case in point is the picture of Newbery as the man who saw the need for a new art school building and raised the money to make it possible. This is so distorted that it bears no relation to what actually happened. It was Simmonds who saw the need for a new school and the governors who took up the

campaign which was carried through to success, with the greatest work in fund raising being done by their chairman Sir James Fleming. Yet this did not mean that Newbery did not play an important role in the choice and erection of the new edifice. The Mackintosh myth would have people believe that Newbery was responsible for securing Mackintosh the job against conservative opposition, but although this was not the case, in so far as Mackintosh's competition entry was chosen by Newbery, the assessors and the South Kensington authorities as the best scheme on *practical* grounds, Newbery's role in the planning of the building was perhaps greater than the Mackintosh myth would suggest. His very exact competition brief was followed closely by Mackintosh in his planning of the building and Newbery may even have had an indirect role in its appearance. Newbery had known Mackintosh well in the latter part of the architect's student career and it is not unlikely that Newbery would have spoken to him in positive terms of the good daylighting of the National Art Training School which the north elevation of Mackintosh's school so much resembles. Moreover, there is even a possible personal reference to Newbery, and his origins, in the bay to the left of the main entrance which appears to be modelled on two vernacular examples in Lyme Regis and Bridport, sketched by Mackintosh whilst on a tour of Dorset in 1895. Indeed, judging from the number of small villages he visited in the Bridport area, it is more than likely that Mackintosh made his tour on Newbery's prompting with an itinerary supplied by the latter.

Whilst the architectural and painting schools can be said to have represented some of the most progressive developments in British art educational terms in the early twentieth century, Newbery's record with regard to design, during that time, is a little more difficult to evaluate. His very espousal of a romantic individualism, the motive force behind the Glasgow Style, would arguably become a hindrance to a fuller compliance with the needs of Glasgow's industrial community and would curtail advancement towards a mode of pedagogy which would cater for growing twentieth century requirements for design for the mass market.

The turn of the century school of art justified its existence in terms of its usefulness to local industry and Newbery was no exception in claiming this as one of the benefits which his school brought to Glasgow. Before the setting up of the technical studios in 1893 Newbery could argue that the School gave training in designing for different materials and processes to artisans who would be acquainted with the processes involved through daily contact with them in the factory and workshop. If the School's South Kensington examination performance can be taken as a yardstick, it was particularly successful in this, not only, by 1897, achieving the position of most successful school in the UK, but also winning most of its medals and awards for designs produced by working designers among its students.

Before 1893 most of the School's teaching activity in design involved the long-standing South Kensington practice of producing designs on paper without carrying them out in the material. This was an appropriate approach for several of Glasgow's industries and the emphasis on design as drawing would continue to be a marked feature of the School's approach throughout Newbery's period as headmaster and director. Textiles were Glasgow's most important manufacture involving design. The opening of the technical studios in September 1893, being an extension of design training into areas where handicraft skills were essential, did not involve a reorientation of design training

in textiles away from current practice, nor was there any attempt to put all design students through the craft studios in the expectation that a training in different crafts would strengthen their work in their own areas of practice. The School continued to give tuition to large numbers of textile designers, gradually increasing the practical nature of its courses by more closely involving the Weaving College and by introducing lectures and demonstrations on colour and design at the hands of practitioners. Access was also given to looms for those who required it, but on the whole the ability to produce designs on paper, coupled with an understanding of the exigencies of manufacturing processes, was what was chiefly required. The fact that throughout the Newbery period, the largest single group of students attending the School, between 200 and 250, (between a quarter and a third of the total number excluding teachers on in-service training), were categorised as designers, draughtsmen and lithographic artists²⁶ attests to the perceived usefulness and practicality of the course which Newbery offered in this area.

Another important feature of the School's provision was made for house and ship decorators. Some of their training was craft-based but other aspects of it, again, were concerned with the making of designs on paper. The furniture course run in the architecture department appears to have had no workshop content even if the School ran a course on wood carving as an adjunct to its sculpture department. It was, however, closely attuned to the needs of the trade being run by a designer for the leading Glasgow firm of Wylie and Lochhead.

The technical studios, on the other hand, were specifically for students intending to make a living in those particular crafts for which they catered. In this endeavour they helped to strengthen existing craft industries such as stained glass, an area in which Glasgow was particularly strong and for which numbers of students ranged between 30 and 40 between 1900 and 1912,²⁷ many of the leading practitioners passing through the School. The School introduced and created a demand for new crafts such as *repoussé* metalwork and enamelling and fostered some crafts such as art needlework and pottery which were also successfully developed as day school subjects. Many of the students, the greater number being women, who passed through the technical studios, rather than going into existing firms, set up their own studios in the city which, according to Newbery, were well enough supported by the local community to increase in numbers down to 1914.

The pioneering nature of Newbery's initiative in opening his technical studios in 1893 has to be qualified to a certain extent when Simmonds' inauguration of technical workshops over ten years earlier, the existence of the Glasgow Weaving College since 1878 and the parallel move by the Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College to open industrial art classes, also in 1893, are taken into account. The thoroughgoing nature of Newbery's commitment to an arts and crafts ideology should also be questioned when one considers that rather than make hands-on training in various crafts the core of his curriculum, Newbery made it an optional extra for advanced students, still relying to a great extent on the more traditional South Kensington practice of giving priority to the production of designs on paper even for craft subjects.

Moreover, the impact of an arts and crafts philosophy of workshop training on design teaching in the School was less marked, in another sense, as the School never developed into a full-blown technical art school catering directly to the perceived needs

of local trades. All of this owed something to Newbery's art educational philosophy and something, I would argue, to his painter's approach to craftsmanship.

Newbery's prioritising design as against craftwork is a rather unorthodox approach for an arts and crafts school recalling as it does South Kensington's practice. This does not exactly mean that Newbery was unaware of the limitations that the material placed on design but it does infer that he wanted to realise the artist before he would train the craftsman. I have pointed out that Newbery's position with regard to the unity of art was, in part, derived from Poynter's argument that art consisted, to a certain extent, in good workmanship. Poynter had arrived at this position as much from his attendance in the Parisian *ateliers*, where he had learnt that an artist had to be a master of his materials, as from moving in arts and crafts circles, and his concept of workmanship applied as much to painting as it did to any other craft. This was also true of Newbery, who similarly viewed design and handicraft from the point of view of his own practice as a painter for whom design resided in drawing, craftsmanship in painting, the one preceding the other. This dichotomy was present in all of Newbery's craft workshops which each had two teachers, one an artist-designer, the other a technician who attended to ensure that the students' designs were practical. Newbery's approach was very different from that of the architect and craftsman William Richard Lethaby at the London Central School of Arts and Crafts who had his students, most of them already workmen or apprentices, engage with materials from the start and let their ongoing experience of the limitations of their material dictate how their designs were made. Lethaby's approach guaranteed a respect for materials and their characteristics, Newbery's prioritised the artistic individuality of the designer. In fairness to Newbery, however, his approach was probably a real response to the state of affairs as it existed for the designer in Glasgow's firms, which supplied furnishings for houses and ships. As David Brett and Michael Donnelly have pointed out, these were often designers rather than craftsmen²⁹ and it was for these that he catered in his furniture design section. The designers who had initiated the Glasgow Style, whilst using the arts and crafts workshops as a means of carrying out their designs, were designers first, art workers second, their designs being sometimes more viable on paper than when realised in the material. If Gleeson White could praise the early artefacts of the Four for their respect for materials, the divorce of the designer from his materials in Glasgow Style work could occasionally result in such aesthetically stunning but constructionally weak designs as some of Mackintosh's tea room chairs.

Newbery's classes, were different from those in the Technical College in that, in accordance with his ideology, they catered for artists, mainly middle class women, who saw the handicrafts as a means of expression. On the other hand, the Technical College's classes, like those in the majority of art schools which established such classes before the Great War, were tailored to the further training of tradesmen both in technique and in drawing, with a view to improving their competence in the commercial workshop.

Newbery had always believed that a school of art should lead taste rather than follow it and he could point to the Glasgow Style which had affected design in so many areas, from shop fronts to women's costume, as an endorsement of his view and as proof that his school had succeeded so notably in this area. As a corollary he maintained that a school of art should not associate itself too closely with trade interests as they would restrict its freedom as an artistic institution, tending to force it to teach artistically

questionable styles just because they were currently in vogue. Newbery, thus, criticised the Glasgow and West of Scotland's Technical College classes for following trade fashions too slavishly, as well as for admitting students who were inadequate draughtsmen. However, it was only because the College existed and catered for the art-educational needs of large numbers of workmen, that Newbery was able to pursue his own more elitist agenda.

Newbery's school, unlike so many others, such as Lethaby's Central School, Birmingham School of Art or Edinburgh College of Art had not established close associations with trade organisations and seems to have had no arrangements for training apprentices on a day-release system. His claim that too close a relation with trade interests curtailed an art school's artistic autonomy may have been, in part, an excuse for his failure to become more involved, in this respect, with local industry. Catterson-Smith at Birmingham realised the dangers equally as well as Newbery but this did not prevent his school from setting up a series of such links.²⁸ The Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College, unlike the School of Art, had set up trade links from the inception of its industrial art classes and perhaps pre-empted Newbery in this area. Although many tradesmen passed through his school as individuals, Newbery could hardly claim that he was doing everything possible to influence design in the real world when he was not addressing the issue of training apprentices.

In fairness to Newbery, however, that he did not do so may have been partly because circumstances worked against his more ambitious plans for an annexation of the Technical College's trade classes by the School of Art. Although the College's classes continued until the Great War, from the mid 1900s it was actually seeking ways to jettison them and Newbery expressed an interest in taking them over. Newbery's failure to accomplish this was connected with a parallel failure on his part to set his design department on an even keel before Anning Bell's appointment in 1911. His appointment of Giraldon had been a failed attempt to introduce *Beaux-Arts* training in design and to alert more textile firms, who admired French design, to the School's usefulness. The subsequent disastrous employment of W. E. F. Britten, who should have acted as head of a Glasgow School of Design co-ordinating the work of the School, the Technical College and the Weaving College, wasted a great deal of time. Newbery's final solution, coming too late in his directorship to be carried through, to set up a Decorative Trades Institute under the School Board, was due for implementation in 1914. It would have established the Decorative Trades Institute as part of a hierarchy of artistic institutions in Glasgow taking students from the continuation classes with the eventual option of the best of these passing on to the School of Art. This would have guaranteed that tradesmen entering the new Institute were already competent draughtsmen and well on the way to becoming artists in Newbery's understanding of the term. It would also have meant that he would have had more of an influence on how the Institute was run, helping to set its curriculum as he had done with the School Board continuation classes. A comparison of the effectiveness of the Art School in the training of workmen in design industries in Glasgow with that of the Technical College, suggests that they were complementary rather than rival institutions but that Glasgow failed its tradesmen as a whole because it did not fully co-ordinate its educational efforts. There can be little doubt that the School produced better draughtsmen and designers. However, it is unlikely that its students would have had as much direct training in the use of tools and materials in some areas as those in the Technical College.

Newbery's identification with the progressive Glasgow Style, the impact of that style on the development of modernism in design particularly in Germany, together with his long association with German artists and educationists, raises the question of Newbery's own position with regard to German developments in the direction of the inter-war Modern Movement. Newbery's approval of tried and tested methods, both as exemplified in his adoption of a *Beaux-Arts*-derived approach in fine art and architectural teaching, and his opposition to memory training, might suggest a certain lack of openness in adopting new educational approaches. However, it is unlikely that he had a closed mind on such matters or he would not have made such intensive tours of continental art schools to inform himself on their practice. His visit to Germany in 1905 for example did not serve to close his mind to that country's efforts as he made an extensive visit again in 1910 and maintained a close friendship throughout most of his career with the leading German art educational administrator, Hermann Muthesius, who himself, as a leader of the German Werkbund, remained abreast of, or even led, the most advanced thinking in German design. Newbery's interest in Behrens' educational methods is a case in point. In 1905 Behrens was pioneering an approach to teaching which encouraged the student to extract basic forms from nature as building blocks for design. Parallels can be found between this and some of the designs produced at Glasgow School of Art with their extreme conventionalisation and formalisation of natural elements. Unfortunately it is not known whether Behrens acceded to Newbery's request to send him drawings illustrating his course or what effect it had on the teaching of individual members of staff if they were able to inspect the drawings. It is clear, however, that Behrens' course was not adopted by the design department as a whole because of the almost contemporaneous appointment of Giralton with his *Beaux-Arts* methodology. However, regardless of whether Behrens' designs had been sent and had produced little effect in Glasgow, one should be careful not to assume from this that Newbery was taking up a negative position to Behrens' better known work as an industrial designer and architect for the electrical firm, the A. E. G. and by implication to the development of Modernism with its realisation that art should encompass the needs of industry and product design. Behrens, in 1904, was known as a *Jugendstil* designer and architect and would not begin to work for the A. E. G. until 1907.

However, the fact that the A. E. G., a firm which specialised in electrical goods, could see the benefit of employing a designer indicates that German manufacturers were far more forward-thinking than were their Glaswegian or British counterparts. For that matter, German art educationists such as Muthesius had also begun to wrestle with the problem of the design of everyday goods, a matter which does not appear to have been considered by Newbery who was still mainly concerned with design as ornament. If he agreed with his wife Jessie that design should concern itself with the humblest object, such as the pepper pot, Glasgow School of Art never attempted to make prototypes for such items for industrial production. It was more concerned with their decoration. Through his friend Muthesius, Newbery would also have been aware of Germany's efforts, led by the Werkbund, to bring about closer relations between art, design, education, manufacturing, trade and the consumer. Newbery would have been in agreement with this programme which involved the education of the producer and consumer, a long-standing policy of the DSA, and of the middleman. In this latter connection Newbery had, himself, set up a course for commercial men in the textile trades, because he realised the crucial role that they played as intermediaries in

determining the aesthetic quality of the goods which were offered to the public, and were thus made in the factories.

Newbery would have been familiar, too, with Muthesius' efforts in the direction of the stylistic standardisation of commodities in the marketplace. In this endeavour, Muthesius was not only concerned with good design but in establishing a uniform national style based on an accommodation with modern production methods. Newbery could hardly have been in agreement with Muthesius in this. As an advocate of individuality, an appropriate philosophy for an art master concerned with the one-off craft-based modes of production to be found in many of Glasgow's leading industries such as ship building and the decorative arts, he would have almost certainly taken the position of Henry Van der Velde, Muthesius' opponent in the Werkbund, who had argued that a style imposed from above was bound to be no better than a fashion and would stultify the creativity of the individual artist. For Van der Velde as for Morris and Lethaby, and one suspects for Newbery, a true universal style, such as defined the artistic cultures of historical periods, from the very fact that it was universal, would be unconscious. A contemporary universal style would thus have to develop naturally as a response on the part of a large number of artists and designers working in common cultural and socio-economic conditions. Nor one suspects, despite his acceptance of the machine as a fact of life which the artist must learn to exploit, would Newbery have been happy with the machine aesthetic of the inter-war years. For him the machine had its function as a labour-saving device but he was opposed to art being dominated by and limited by the capabilities of the machine. Such a state of affairs would severely circumscribe the scope of the artist's field of expression.

Yet, Newbery believed in rationality in design, in the concept of fitness for purpose, translated by the Modern Movement into the slogan "form follows function". However, when the Design for Industries Association was set up in 1915, as a direct response to the Werkbund, taking fitness for purpose as its *credo* and adopting a programme of education in and the dissemination of good design among all levels of society, Newbery chose not to support it. The reasons for his refusal are unclear. His only explanation was that the D.I.A. was attempting to do the work that the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society was already doing. Yet the latter, whilst standing for good design was too closely associated with expensively produced handicrafts that could only be bought by the rich. Moreover, there was no inconsistency in supporting the D.I.A. and the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society as several members of the latter were members of both.³⁰ The reason for Newbery's refusal to endorse the D.I.A. was probably nothing more than a whim of the moment: he had been dangerously ill with a mental breakdown and would soon succumb to a more severe recurrence. After his retirement Newbery would show that he could again move with the times, and was not averse to simple modern products and designs. In the 1920s he insisted on using modern critical windows in the photographic studio he designed for Helen Muspratt and at around the same time he designed fireplaces for her mother, which, in their modernity and simplicity, would not have been out of place thirty years later.

As he left them, however, Glasgow School of Art's arts and crafts studios were still concerned with the production of one-off luxury goods: they had not shown an interest as had the Leicester School of Art, for example, in the design of simple objects.³¹ Despite his public pronouncements about the practical usefulness of his courses one is

left with the uneasy feeling that Newbery was aware that he had not been able to do enough to integrate his school's provision with the needs of industry. His pioneering appointment of a design master in 1885 although it can be construed, and was presented by Newbery, as a response to the real needs of a manufacturing city, helped the School to win South Kensington awards and must have enabled it to train large numbers of competent working designers, was probably not enough to interest the majority of manufacturers in forming closer links with the School. In fact, throughout his career Newbery expressed misgivings about the gulf that existed between the School and the manufacturing community. He complained privately that Nicholas was not proactive enough in forging closer links. His attempt to rectify the situation in regard to textiles by appointing Giraldon who could be expected to appeal to the predilection of Glasgow textile firms for French designs failed in its purpose as Giraldon unaccountably seemed to expect Nicholas rather than himself to liaise with local firms. Giraldon's successor, Britten, had no experience in designing for, or working with, industry and never attempted to gain any after his appointment, and Bell, despite and perhaps because of, his credentials as a master of many crafts, failed to satisfy either Newbery or the governors that he was doing enough to interest manufacturers in the School. One suspects that Newbery's views on trade taste were based on a long experience of a lack of interest on the part of tradesmen and manufacturers in general in promoting good innovative design. Even if Newbery had been more responsive to the interests of his German friends or had been ready to support the Design for Industries Association it is unlikely that he would have been able to achieve a more dynamic relationship with manufacturing industry. His romantic individualist belief in the artist-designer, his inability to see that much of the future of design lay with a concern for the everyday functional object which could easily be mass produced meant that he had failed to bequeath a vision to his School on which its future development might rest. It was not until the late 1940s that Glasgow School of Art began to teach product design.

In conclusion, Newbery should be seen as an immensely gifted teacher and administrator with vast energy, a talent for working with others and for inspiring students to individual effort, and great abilities as a publicist. He was not an original thinker but used the ideas of others which were current in his culture to the advantage of the art educational situation in Glasgow. He had arrived in Glasgow with a belief in student-centred educational methods and as a representative of the reforms in teaching drawing and painting and of the arts and crafts ethos of the more progressive wing at South Kensington. Although he initially struggled against falling numbers and income at the Glasgow School of Art he maintained it as one of the three most successful schools of art, in South Kensington's terms, in the United Kingdom. Although, up until 1900, he was obliged to follow the South Kensington curriculum, by means of a vital, challenging and intelligent approach to teaching on his own part and through a rigorous selection of staff and a liberal interpretation of the DSA's regulations and closer relations with the Glasgow School Board, whose evening classes were converted from rivals to the School of Art into feeders of talent, Newbery was able not only to raise the School to the position of most successful school of art under the DSA but also to foster a novel design style.

The Glasgow Style although the product of a group of Newbery's own students owed little to Newbery as a form language but it owed much to Newbery's inspiring teaching and to his openness to innovation. It also owed much to him as a champion who

promoted it across Europe thus influencing the direction of the nascent modern movement. It was, however, only indirectly affected by the craft workshops which Newbery had been one of the earliest headmasters to introduce into an art school context. Newbery had done this as part of a Glasgow-wide movement which he had done much to push forward since his appointment by means of lectures by leading figures in the Arts and Crafts movement and by local artists and craft workers. The craft workshops were a symptom rather than a cause of a wider ethos. It was this new ethos, fostered by Newbery in Glasgow, but by many others elsewhere, under the banner of the unity of art, which instituted an international decorative art movement and made it possible for artists to view design and the crafts as a legitimate area of activity. It was not the institution of the craft workshops, which gave rise to the Glasgow Style, essentially a design movement, it was rather the Glasgow Style which used the crafts as a vehicle to enable it to represent itself in various craft exhibitions. It was the Glasgow Style, the product alike of his student's inventiveness and Newbery's promotional abilities that made his school famous across Europe.

The Glasgow Style emerged in 1893 when Newbery's school was at last recovering from the falling student numbers and fee income, brought on by a long recession. From the early 1890s gradually increasing income from fees, the DSA grant, and the customs and excise residue grant enabled the School to establish itself on a firmer financial footing which would be further strengthened after 1901 when it became a Central Institution under the Scotch Education Department. Its greater financial stability coupled with its reputation and Newbery's and his governors' contacts enabled the School to attract important artists onto its staff. Although free from the DSA Newbery did not develop a novel set of curricular ideas but fell-back on what had been regarded as the best art-educational practice during his youth, namely an accommodation with the *Beaux-Arts* system, most in evidence in the School's architectural training but also present in the programmes of other departments. Rather than developing the School as a technical art school, catering for craft trades, Newbery saw its role as the training of artists who were only incidentally painters, designers, craftsmen or architects. Its craft studios were thus not the main branch of the School but were almost a craft department of a *Beaux-Arts* school following a loose continental model. They also formed part, but not the whole, of a design school which did not base its teaching primarily on a direct knowledge of the working qualities of materials but rather on the development of the expression of the artist as designer. Such an approach had worked well in the 1890s giving talented students the confidence to produce innovative work for a market which was attuned to the production of luxury goods for the wealthy. It would become increasingly out of touch with developments as the new century progressed when Germany in particular began to produce well designed standardised products for the mass market.

Newbery was one of several art school heads throughout the country to engage in teacher education and in this he emphasised the art teacher's essence as an artist rather than a teacher in charge of a particular subject. He did much to give Scottish art teaching in general education its pupil-centred approach and to raise the prestige of the art teacher in the school. He was also forward-looking in his attempts to raise the profile of art as an academic subject in higher education, broadening the art student's education and linking it to the study of its socio-economic and cultural context. His efforts to turn

his diploma into a university degree would only be taken up again and bear fruit in the 1980s.

The Glasgow School of Art became, under Newbery's headship, an artistic centre in Glasgow and one of the leading art teaching institutions in Britain if not in Europe, attracting attention across the continent through its students and through Newbery's efforts in promoting their work. If Newbery's educational ideas did not change significantly during his thirty-three years at Glasgow, the staff which he appointed on the basis of his school's reputation was probably without parallel in any comparable British institution not only in terms of the prestige and ability of his professors but also in terms of the numbers of women on the establishment, mirroring Newbery's fairly enlightened views on the status of women as artists. Although Newbery argued that women had equal potential with men in the visual arts, he did not make any major appointments of women in the most highly regarded area of drawing and painting, nor did he appoint any women to the position of professor in any of his subject areas.

As John Taylor claimed, the School was in some respects a unique institution among British art schools, not just because it had fostered its own house style, and employed continental artists on its staff, but because of its particular concentration on artistic individuality, a gospel which Newbery was able to spread far and wide through his energetic promotion of teacher education. Newbery's particular message was that art was a human need and its expression made for the fuller development of individuals and societies alike and that artistic innovation, although continually necessary, should not be pursued for its own sake, as an attempt at creating a new fashion or following the latest trend, but should come about naturally as the result of the authentic outworking of an individual imperative. Newbery's unswerving adherence to this ideology is fully exemplified in his own work as an artist, not only during his years as a teacher but even more fully in the years following his retirement.

Notes

GSA = Glasgow School of Art

GSAA = Glasgow School of Art Archives

NLS = National Library of Scotland

SRO = Scottish Record Office

1. Davidson Family, Peter Wylie Davidson, (Unpublished autobiography), p.44.

2. GSAA, Henry Y. Alison, Lecture notes, c.1950.

3. Ibid..

4. Pamela Robertson, editor, Charles Rennie Mackintosh: The Architectural Papers (Wendlebury: White Cockade, 1990), pp. 222-3.

5. Ibid., p.22.

6. Ibid., p.225.

7. Ibid..

8. James Mavor, My Windows on the Street of the World, 2 volumes (London: J. M. Dent, 1923)I (1923), p.233 "A great change came in 1888 [sic] with the appointment of a young and vigorous headmaster. ...He brought important lecturers on art from Paris and elsewhere... Under him the school became a vivifying influence..."

9. GSAA, Henry Y. Alison, Lecture notes.

10. GSAA, GSA, Letters Received January-June 1916, letter from Newbery to E.A. Walton dated 31 March 1916. Newbery wrote: "Were I a private artist with a desire for Academical recognition I should be quite willing to face any appraisal, either of myself or of my work, that might happen at the hands of brother Artists empowered to sit in judgement, but for good or ill, my name and work are inseparably bound up with the fortunes of an Institution whose dignity and reputation are very dear to me and I cannot allow that the accident of my happening to be its Director should be the means of the Glasgow School of Art being, perhaps quite unconsciously, I certainly think quite unwittingly, subject to those incalculable and often uncontrollable forces and currents that humanly assert themselves in the course of an election, where candidates outnumber the possibility of places."
11. William Eadie, Movements of Modernity: the Case of Glasgow and Art Nouveau (London: Routledge, 1990), p.161.
12. GSAA, GSA Press Cuttings, 1907-17, p.158, unattributed review dated 15 December 1913 of the Glasgow School of Art Club exhibition. It records that Miss Amour's Post- Impressionist figure subject won a prize.
13. GSAA, GSA Press Cuttings, 1907-17, p.155: unattributed cutting dated 13 January 1913 on modern decorative painting which included a discussion on Post-Impressionism and Futurism.
14. GSAA, GSA Press Cuttings, 1907-1917, p. 195, cutting from Glasgow News dated as March 1914.
15. GSAA, GSA Press Cuttings, 1907-1917, p.183, unattributed cutting dated 22 December 1913.
16. Duncan MacMillan, Scottish Art, 1460-1990, (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1990), pp. 339-342 and 350. Duncan Comrie is at present engaged in doctoral research on the Glasgow Society of Painters and Sculptors and also sees the importance of tradition as a basic element in their artistic philosophy.
17. GSAA, Report of a Deputation appointed to visit London and Brussels, June 1906 (manuscript), pp.3-4.
18. SRO, ED 26 274, SED Records, Glasgow School of Art General Administration 1901-1910, 22 February 1910.
19. NLS, Acc.6740 no 26.
20. Mary Armour, Interview, 1995.
21. Anna Gruetzner Robins, Modern Art in Britain, 1910-1914 (London: Merrell Holberton in association with Barbican Art Gallery, 1997), p.140. Apart from the influence of Puvis de Chavannes and certain similarities to the arrangement of figures in Legros' canvases, Glasgow work, for example that of Archibald McGlashan, was also influenced by Augustus John.
22. Gavin Stamp, 'Mackintosh and Bourdon : a discussion', MacMag, 17 (1992), pp.8-9 (9).
23. Remembering Charles Rennie Mackintosh, p.283.
24. GSAA, GSA Press Cuttings, 1897-1907, p.90. Undated unattributed cutting recording a Newbery lecture entitled 'The Weft of Art in the Warp of City Life' delivered, about 1902 at the Christian Institute to the Glasgow and West of Scotland Teachers' Guild.
25. GSAA, Robert Anning Bell, Letter to Chairman and Governors of Glasgow School of Art, May 1933.
26. GSAA, GSA, Annual Reports 1900-1914.
27. Ibid..

28. Charles Holme, editor, Arts & Crafts: a review of the work executed by Students in the leading Art Schools of Great Britain and Ireland (London: The Studio, 1916), p.95.
29. David Brett, C. R. Mackintosh: the Poetics of Workmanship (London: Reaktion Books, 1992), p.23 and Michael Donnelly, Glasgow Stained Glass: a preliminary study (Glasgow: Glasgow Museums, 19812, p.17.
30. Fiona MacCarthy, All Things Bright and Beautiful: Design in Britain, 1830 to Today (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1972), p.78. Even Anning Bell showed an interest.
31. Charles Holme, editor, Arts & Crafts, p.106.

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 London, Building News.
 London, Daily News and Leader.
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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: The National Course of Instruction

The National Course of Instruction (Department of Science and Art, Directory (1889), pp. 58-60) This represents the amplified course with which Newbery had to work at Glasgow. Redgrave's original course, whilst employing the same twenty-three stages, had fewer sub-divisions.

Stage 1. *Linear drawing by the aid of instruments.*

- a. Linear Geometry.
- b. Mechanical and Machine drawing (from the flat, from the blackboard lessons, or from elementary solids or details of machinery and building construction).
- c. Linear perspective.
- d. Details of architecture from copies.
- e. Sciography.

Stage 2. *Freehand outline drawing of rigid forms from flat examples.*

- a. Objects.
- b. Ornament (showing elementary principles of design).

Stage 3. *Freehand drawing from the round.*

- a. Models and objects.
- b. Ornament.

Stage 4. *Shading from flat examples.*

- a. Models and objects.
- b. Flat examples.

Stage 5. *Shading from the round or solid forms.*

- a. Models and objects.
- b. Ornament.
- c. Drapery.
- d. Time sketching and sketching from memory/.

Stage 6. *Drawing the human figure, and animal forms, from flat examples.*

- a. In outline.
- b. Shaded.

Stage 7. *Drawing flowers, foliage, and objects of natural history, from flat examples.*

- a. In outline.
- b. Shaded.

Stage 8. *Drawing the human figure or animal forms, from the round or nature.*

- a. In outline from casts.
- b1. Shaded (details).
- b2. Shaded (whole figures).
- c1. Studies of heads from the life.
- c2. Studies of the human figure from the nude model.
- d. Studies of drapery arranged on figure from the antique or on the living model.
- e. Time sketching and sketching from memory.

Stage 9. *Anatomical studies.*

- a. Of the human figure.
 - b. Of animal forms.
 - c. Modelled from flat or examples in the round or relief.
 - d. Modelled from nature.
- Stage 10. *Drawing flowers, foliage, landscape details and objects of natural history from nature.*
- a. In outline.
 - b. Shaded.
- Stage 11. *Painting ornament from flat examples.*
- a. In monochrome (either in water-colour, tempera, or oil).
 - b. In colours (either in water-colour, tempera, or oil).
- Stage 12. *Painting ornament from the cast &c..*
- a. In monochrome (either in water-colour, tempera, or oil).
- Stage 13. *Painting from flat examples, flowers, still-life, &c..*
- a. Flowers or natural objects in water-colour, in oil, or in tempera.
 - b. Landscapes or views of buildings.
- Stage 14. *Painting direct from nature.*
- a. Flowers or still-life in water-colour, oil or tempera without backgrounds.
 - b. Landscapes or views of buildings.
 - c. Drapery.
- Stage 15. *Painting (from nature) groups or still-life, flowers &c. , as compositions of colour.*
- a. In oil colour.
 - b. In water-colour or tempera.
 - c. In monochrome, or light and shade.
- Stage 16. *Painting the human figure or animals in monochrome from casts.*
- a. In water-colour or tempera.
- Stage 17. *Painting the human figure or animals in colour.*
- a. From flat examples.
 - b. The head from nature, or draped figure.
 - c. The nude figure from nature.
 - d. Time sketches.
- Stage 18. *Modelling ornament.*
- a. Elementary, from details, such as single ornamental devices, scrolls &c..
 - b. Advanced, from casts of ornamental compositions for pilasters, friezes &c.
 - c. From drawings or photographs.
 - d. Time sketches from examples.
 - e. Modelling from memory.
- Stage 19. *Modelling the human figure or animals.*
- a. Elementary, from casts of hands, feet, &c..
 - b1. Advanced, from casts of heads or masks from the antique in the round or relief.
 - b2. Advanced, from the antique figure in the round or relief.
 - c. From drawings.
 - d. The head from nature.
 - e. The human figure from nature.
 - f. Drapery from actual stuffs and not from casts.
 - g. Time sketches.
 - f. Modelling from memory.

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

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

Stage 22. *Elementary design.*

- a. Studies treating natural objects ornamentally.
- b. Ornamental arrangements to fill given spaces in outline, monochrome or modelled.
- c. Ornamental arrangements to fill given spaces in colour.
- d. Studies of historical styles of ornament drawn or modelled.

Stage 23. *Applied designs, technical or miscellaneous studies.*

- a. Machine design, naval architectural design, drawings from actual measurement of machines, buildings &c..
- b. Architectural design.
- c. Ornamental design as applied to decorative or industrial art.
- d. Figurative composition, and ornamental design with figures, as applied to decorative or industrial art.
- e. and f. The same as 23c and 23d, but in relief.

Appendix 2: Arts and Crafts Classes at the Glasgow School of Art

Arts and Crafts Classes and Teachers at Glasgow School of Art

	Stained Glass	Wood Carving	Stone Carving	Needlework	Book Decoration	Metalwork - Wrought & Repoussé	Ceramics	Etching	Textiles	Lithographic Design
1893	Norman M. McDougall	John C. Porter	John C. Porter	Miss Dunlop						
1894	Harry Roe, Wm. Stewart	John C. Porter	John C. Porter	Miss Dunlop, Jessie R. Newbery	Francis H. Newbery	Kellock Brown	Helen Walton	Susan F. Crawford		
1895	Harry Roe, Wm. Stewart		James McKinnon	Miss Dunlop, J. R. Newbery	F. H. Newbery	Kellock Brown	Helen Walton		A. Aston Nicholas	Francis H. Newbery
1896	Harry Roe, Wm. Stewart	James Gray, Samuel Cameron		Miss Dunlop, J. R. Newbery	F. H. Newbery	Kellock Brown, Peter Wylie Davidson	Helen Walton		A. A. Nicholas	F. H. Newbery
1897	Wm. Stewart	John Crawford, James Gray	Wm. Vickers	Miss Dunlop, J. R. Newbery	F. H. Newbery	P. W. Davidson	Helen Walton		A. A. Nicholas	F. H. Newbery
1898	Alex Walker, John Guthrie	John Crawford	Wm. Vickers	Miss Dunlop, J. R. Newbery	J. R. Newbery	Alex Walker, P. W. Davidson	Helen Walton		A. A. Nicholas	Alex Webster
1899	Alex Walker	James Gray, Colin Kenmure	Wm. Vickers	Miss Dunlop, J. R. Newbery	Jessie M. King, John Macbeth	Alex Walker, P. W. Davidson	Helen Walton	S. F. Crawford	A. A. Nicholas	Alex Webster, Robt. Stark (printer)
1900	Alex Walker	Colin Kenmure	Wm. Vickers	Miss Dunlop, J. R. Newbery	Jessie M. King, John Macbeth	P. W. Davidson	Helen Walton	S. F. Crawford	A. A. Nicholas	David B. Carter, R. Stark
1901	Alex Walker, J. Guthrie	Colin Kenmure	Wm. Vickers	Miss Dunlop, J. R. Newbery, Ann Macbeth	Jessie M. King, John Macbeth	Dorothy C. Smyth, P. W. Davidson	Helen Walton	S. F. Crawford	A. A. Nicholas	David B. Carter, R. Stark
1902	J. Guthrie	Colin Kenmure	Wm. Vickers	Miss Dunlop, J. R. Newbery, Ann Macbeth	Jessie M. King, John Macbeth	D. C. Smyth, P. W. Davidson	Helen Walton	S. F. Crawford	A. A. Nicholas	David B. Carter, R. Stark
1903	Stephen Adam Jr.	Colin Kenmure	Wm. Vickers	J. R. Newbery, A. Macbeth	Jessie M. King, John Macbeth	D. C. Smyth, P. W. Davidson	Helen Walton	S. F. Crawford	A. A. Nicholas	David B. Carter
1904	Stephen Adam Jr.		George Gregory	J. R. Newbery, A. Macbeth	Jessie M. King, John Macbeth	Agnes B. Harvey, P. W. Davidson	David G. Miller	S. F. Crawford	A. A. Nicholas	David B. Carter, Alex Cameron (printer)
1905	Stephen Adam Jr.	Colin Kenmure	George Gregory	J. R. Newbery, A. Macbeth	Jessie M. King, John Macbeth	Olive Smyth, P. W. Davidson	David G. Miller	S. F. Crawford		David B. Carter, Alex Cameron
1906	Stephen Adam Jr.	Colin Kenmure	George Gregory	J. R. Newbery, A. Macbeth	Jessie M. King, John Macbeth	O. Smyth, P. W. Davidson	David G. Miller	S. F. Crawford		David B. Carter, Alex Cameron
1907	Stephen Adam Jr.	Colin Kenmure	George Gregory	J. R. Newbery, A. Macbeth	Jessie M. King, John Macbeth	P. W. Davidson, Ann Macbeth	Jessie M. King, Jessie Macdonald	S. F. Crawford		David B. Carter, Alex Cameron
1908	Stephen Adam Jr.	Colin Kenmure	George Gregory	J. R. Newbery, A. Macbeth	Jessie M. King, John Macbeth	Frances MacNair, P. W. Davidson	Annie French	S. F. Crawford		David B. Carter, Alex Cameron
1909	Stephen Adam Jr.	Clara Carlyle Tucker	George Gregory	J. R. Newbery, A. Macbeth	Ann Macbeth, John Macbeth	F. MacNair, P. W. Davidson	Annie French	S. F. Crawford		David B. Carter, Alex Cameron
1910	W. E. F. Britten	C. C. Tucker	George Gregory	Frances MacNair, A. Macbeth	W. E. F. Britten, J. Macbeth	F. MacNair, P. W. Davidson	Annie French	S. F. Crawford		David B. Carter, Alex Cameron
1911	Robert Anning Bell	C. C. Tucker	George Gregory	F. MacNair, A. Macbeth	Wm. Macbeth, J. Macbeth, Alan D. Mainda, Joseph Hamilton	P. W. Davidson	Robert F. White, A. French	S. F. Crawford	Archibald Walker	Alan D. Mainda, Joseph Hamilton
1912	R. A. Bell	C. C. Tucker	George Gregory	A. Macbeth, Margaret Swanson	Helen Paxton Brown, W. Macbeth, J. Macbeth, A. D. Mainda, J. Hamilton	R. Anning Bell	Robert F. White, A. French	S. F. Crawford	A. Walker	A. D. Mainda, J. Hamilton
1913	R. A. Bell	C. C. Tucker	George Gregory	A. Macbeth, Ann Knox Arthur	H. P. Brown	R. A. Bell	James Gray, Ann Macbeth	S. F. Crawford	A. Walker	
1914	R. A. Bell	C. C. Tucker	George Gregory	A. Macbeth, A. Knox Arthur	H. P. Brown	R. A. Bell	J. Gray, Ann Macbeth	S. F. Crawford	A. Walker	
1915	R. A. Bell	Peter Wylie Davidson	Wm. Vickers	A. Macbeth, A. Knox Arthur	H. P. Brown	R. A. Bell	J. Gray, Ann Macbeth	S. F. Crawford	A. Walker	

Enamels	Mosaics	Posters	Director	Interior Decorations	Black Cutting	Sgraffito Glasses	Weaving	Illumination	Stencilling
Jessie R. Newbery	Jessie R. Newbery	Francis H. Newbery							
J. R. Newbery	J. R. Newbery	F. H. Newbery							
J. R. Newbery	J. R. Newbery	F. H. Newbery	John Guthrie	William G. Morton					
John Guthrie, J. R. Newbery	John Guthrie, J. R. Newbery	Alex Webster	John Guthrie	W. G. Morton, Wm. J. Anderson					
Helen Muirwood	J. Guthrie, Signor Zani	Alex Webster, Robt. Stark (printer)	John Guthrie	W. G. Morton, Alex McGibbon	Helen Muirwood	John Guthrie, Dorothy C. Smyth			
H. Muirwood	J. Guthrie, Signor Zani	David B. Carter, R. Stark	John Guthrie	W. G. Morton	H. Muirwood	D. C. Smyth	T. Brown Jr.		
De Cossey L. Dewar	J. Guthrie, Signor Zani	David B. Carter, R. Stark	Francis H. Newbery	W. G. Morton		D. C. Smyth	T. Brown Jr.	Dorothy C. Smyth	William G. Morton
D. C. L. Dewar	J. Guthrie, Signor Zani	David B. Carter, R. Stark	F. H. Newbery	W. G. Morton	Olive Smyth	D. C. Smyth	T. Brown Jr.	D. C. Smyth	W. G. Morton
D. C. L. Dewar	D. C. Smyth, Signor Zani	David B. Carter	F. H. Newbery	W. G. Morton	Olive Smyth	D. C. Smyth	T. Brown Jr.	D. C. Smyth	W. G. Morton
D. C. L. Dewar		David B. Carter, Alex Cameron	Adolphe Giraldon	W. G. Morton	Olive Smyth				W. G. Morton
D. C. L. Dewar		David B. Carter, A. Cameron	Adolphe Giraldon	W. G. Morton	Olive Smyth				W. G. Morton
D. C. L. Dewar		David B. Carter, A. Cameron	Adolphe Giraldon	W. G. Morton	Olive Smyth				W. G. Morton
D. C. L. Dewar, Arthur Gaskie (Visitor)	Signor Zani	David B. Carter, A. Cameron	Adolphe Giraldon	W. G. Morton	Olive Smyth				W. G. Morton
Frances Macnair, D. C. L. Dewar	Signor Zani	Olive Smyth	W. E. F. Britten	W. G. Morton	Olive Smyth				W. G. Morton
F. Macnair, D. C. L. Dewar	Signor Zani	O. Smyth	W. E. F. Britten	W. G. Morton	Olive Smyth				W. G. Morton
F. Macnair, D. C. L. Dewar	W. E. F. Britten, Zani	Alan D. Malinda, Joseph Hamilton	W. E. F. Britten	W. G. Morton	Olive Smyth	Olive Smyth		Olive Smyth	W. G. Morton
D. C. L. Dewar	R. Anning Bell, Zani	A. D. Malinda, J. Hamilton	R. Anning Bell	W. G. Morton	Olive Smyth	O. Smyth		O. Smyth	W. G. Morton
R. Anning Bell, D. C. L. Dewar	R. A. Bell, Zani	A. D. Malinda, J. Hamilton	R. A. Bell	W. G. Morton	Olive Smyth	O. Smyth		O. Smyth	W. G. Morton
	R. A. Bell		R. A. Bell	W. G. Morton	Olive Smyth	O. Smyth		O. Smyth	W. G. Morton
			R. A. Bell	W. G. Morton	Olive Smyth	O. Smyth		O. Smyth	W. G. Morton
			R. A. Bell	W. G. Morton	Olive Smyth	Dorothy C. Smyth		Dorothy C. Smyth	W. G. Morton

Appendix 3: Tables

TABLE 1: Gender comparison of numbers of GSA students entered on Registers as designers 1892-1895 (GSAA, GSA, Registers, 1892-3 - 1894-5.)

Date	Designers		Total student numbers	
	M	F	M	F
1892-3	19	7	328	180
1893-4	37	52	324	208
1894-5	47	51	352	212

TABLE 2: Social background of women students, already on roll, registering as designers in 1893-4 session. (GSAA, GSA Registers, 1881-2 - 1892-3)

(Father's occupation is given in all cases except for where * denotes own occupation)

Entry Date	No	Father's occupation on entry
1881-2	1	(Insurance Agent)
1884-5	1	(Curtain Manufacturer)
1885-6	1	(Tea importer)
1886-7	2	(Design copyist*; tracer*)
1887-8	2	(Engineer; Merchant)
1888-9	3	(Carriage Hirer; Art Studentx2*)
1889-90	2	(Merchant; Pensioner)
1890-1	6	(Grocer; EstateManager x2; LeatherMerchant; Furrier; Draper)
1891-2	4	(LaceDraughtswoman*; Tailor; Jeweller; ?)
1892-3	13	(Telegraphist*; InsuranceSecretary; Engineerx2; ArtStudentx2*; Tailor; Artist; Designer*; Grocer; Doctor; Accountant)

TABLE 3: Social background of male students, already on roll, registering as designers in 1893-4 session (GSAA, GSA Registers, 1881-2 - 1892-3)

(Father's occupation is given in all cases except where * denotes own occupation)

Entry Date	No	Occupation on entry
1881-2	1	(Designer*)
1882-3	1	(Designer*)
1884-5	1	(Designer*)
1885-6	3	(Draughtsman*;Designer*;Optician*)
1886-7	1	(Designer*)
1889-90	5	(Designer*x3;Art Student*;Spirit merchant)
1890-1	3	(Designer*x2;Draughtsman*)
1891-2	7	(Designer*x2;StudioBoy*;Clerk*;Storekeeper; LithographicArtist*; Art Student*)
1892-3	5	(Drysalter;Designer*x2;Clerk*;Architect*)

TABLE 4: Technical work sent to South Kensington for examination, 1897-1899

(numbers of students sending works in each craft by gender) (GSAA, GSA, Correspondence with DSA, 1897-1900)

	M	F
1897		
Painted ceramic	1	1
Hammered metalwork/enamels	2	2
1898		
Hammered Metalwork	2	8
Unspecified (metalwork or ceramics)	-	5
Needlework	-	1
painted ceramic	-	1
1899		
Hammered Metalwork	-	6
Painted ceramic	-	5
Needlework	-	5
Mosaic	-	1

TABLE 5: Comparative employment of male and female staff at Glasgow School of Art, 1885-1901 (GSAA, GSA, Annual Reports)

(g= general South Kensington curriculum; t= technical classes M=male, F=female)

(Staff working in both general and technical classes are only counted as working in the former)

		M	Total M	F	Total F	Total staff	F Percentage
1885	general	11	11	-	-	11	0
	technical	-	-	-	-		
1892	general	10	10	2	2	12	16.6%
	technical	-	-	-	-		
1894	general	12	14	4	5	19	19 26.3%
	technical	2	1				
1895	general	13	16	3	6	22	27.2%
	technical	3	3				
1900	general	17	28	4	10	38	26.3%
	technical	11	6				

TABLE 6: GSA national medals in design 1886-1900 (GSAA, GSA Annual Reports)

1. 1886-1893 (before opening of technical studios)

M	F	Total
21	10	31

2.1894-1900 (after opening of technical studios)

M	F	Total
59	26	85

Total 1886-1900

80	36	116
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LIST OF PLATES

Chapter 1

1. Portrait of Newbery, c. 1890, photograph (Glasgow School of Art Collection).
2. Stage 2b (Department of Science and Art, Supplement to the Directory containing illustrations of works executed by Art Students showing the Principal Stages of Art Instruction (London: H.M.S.O., 1891), p. 5).
3. Stage 5a (Department of Science and Art, Supplement, p. 7).
4. Stage 5b (Department of Science and Art, Supplement, p. 7).
5. Stage 8a (Department of Science and Art, Supplement, p. 8).
6. Stage 10a (Department of Science and Art, Supplement, p. 13).
7. Richard Redgrave, Study of a sow thistle and Sow thistle treated ornamentally, (Richard Redgrave, Manual of Design (London: Chapman & Hall, 1882), pp. 166 and 167).
8. Designs based on a flowering plant to fill spaces. (John Fisher, National Competitions, 1896-97: an illustrated Record (London: Chapman & Hall, 1899), p. 62).

Chapter 7

9. Helena R. Dow, Design for Wallpaper and Freize. (Fisher, National Competitions, p. 58).
10. Joseph M. Sadler, Design for Axminster Carpet. (Fisher, National Competitions, p. 9).
11. Andrew Allan, Programme, Third Annual Reunion of Past and Present Students of Glasgow School of Art, 1889 (Barclay Lennie, Glasgow).
12. A. E. Holmes, Programme, Students' Annual Reunion, Glasgow School of Art, 1888 (Barclay Lennie, Glasgow).
13. Aston Nicholas, Design for a majolica panel (Art Journal, (1880), p. 136).
14. Kellock Brown, *Time and Tide* (Academy Architecture, (1895), p. 91).
- 15a. Frances Macdonald, Bookplate for Lucy Raeburn (Glasgow School of Art Archives, 'The Magazine', 1893).
- 15b. Margaret Macdonald, Programme for a Glasgow School of Art Club 'At Home', 1894 (Glasgow School of Art Archives).
16. C.F.A. Voysey, Design for a wallpaper frieze in eight colours (The Studio, 1, (1893), p. 231).
17. Frances Macdonald, *Crucifixion and Ascension* (Glasgow School of Art Archives, 'The Magazine', April 1894).
18. Aubrey Beardsley, Illustration for Oscar Wilde's *Salome* (The Studio, 1, (1893), p. 19).
20. Charles Rennie Mackintosh, *Part Seen, Imagined Part*, 1896 (Glasgow Museums).
21. Charles Rennie Mackintosh, Murals in Buchanan Street Tearooms, 1896 (Thomas Howarth, Charles Rennie Mackintosh and the Modern Movement, plate 48).
22. Frances Macdonald, Design for a decorative frieze, 1895-7. (Christies', The Dr Thomas Howarth Collection (Christies' (1894), p. 67).

23. Margaret and Frances Macdonald, *Drooko Umbrella Poster*, 1898. (Dekorative Kunst, (1898), p. 74).

24. Charles Rennie Mackintosh, Scotland Street School, Railings, 1904.

Chapter 8

25. Manchester School of Art, perspective of original design (Building News, 1 November 1878).

26. Liverpool School of Art, perspective of winning design (Building News, 4 February, 1881).

27. Glasgow School of Art, c. 1900 (Glasgow School of Art Collection).

28. Francis Fowke, National Art Training School, 1863: south elevation.

Chapter 11

29. F. H. Newbery, *Portrait of James Mavor*, 1892 (dated 1893), oil on canvas, 51x42 cm (Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto).

30. F. H. Newbery, *The First Bathe*, c. 1896, untraced (Munich Secession, Catalogue, (1896)).

31. Hugh Cameron, *The Careful Sister*, 1892, oil on canvas, 50.8x38.1cm (Glasgow Museums).

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33. F. H. Newbery, *Under the Moon*, c. 1895, oil on canvas, 170x126cm (Galleria Internazionale d'Arte Moderna di Ca'Pesaro, Venice).

34. Edward Atkinson Hornel, *The Dance of Spring*, 1891, oil on canvas, 142.4x95.2cm (Glasgow Museums).

35. William Stott of Oldham, *Ronde d'Enfants*, c. 1883, untraced (Exh. Paris 1883).

36. F. H. Newbery, *East of the Sun and West of the Moon*, c. 1901, oil on canvas, 152x220cm, (Galleria Civica d'Arte Moderna e Contemporanea, Turin).

37. F. H. Newbery, *The Round Table*, c. 1898, untraced (Royal Glasgow Institute, Catalogue, (1898)).

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40. F. H. Newbery, *My Lady Greensleeves*, c. 1905, oil on canvas, 134x70.5cm (Private Collection).

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43. F. H. Newbery, *The Garden*, c. 1913, untraced (Royal Glasgow Institute, Catalogue (1915) and The Studio, 66 (1915), p. 101).

44. F. H. Newbery, *The Nimbus of Toil*, c. 1897, untraced (Glasgow Institute, Catalogue, (1899)).

45. Jean-Francois Millet, *Going to Work*, 1850-1, oil on canvas, 55.5x46cm (Glasgow Museums).

46. Hugh Cameron, *A Lonely Life*, 1873, oil on canvas, 84.5x63.5cm (National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh).

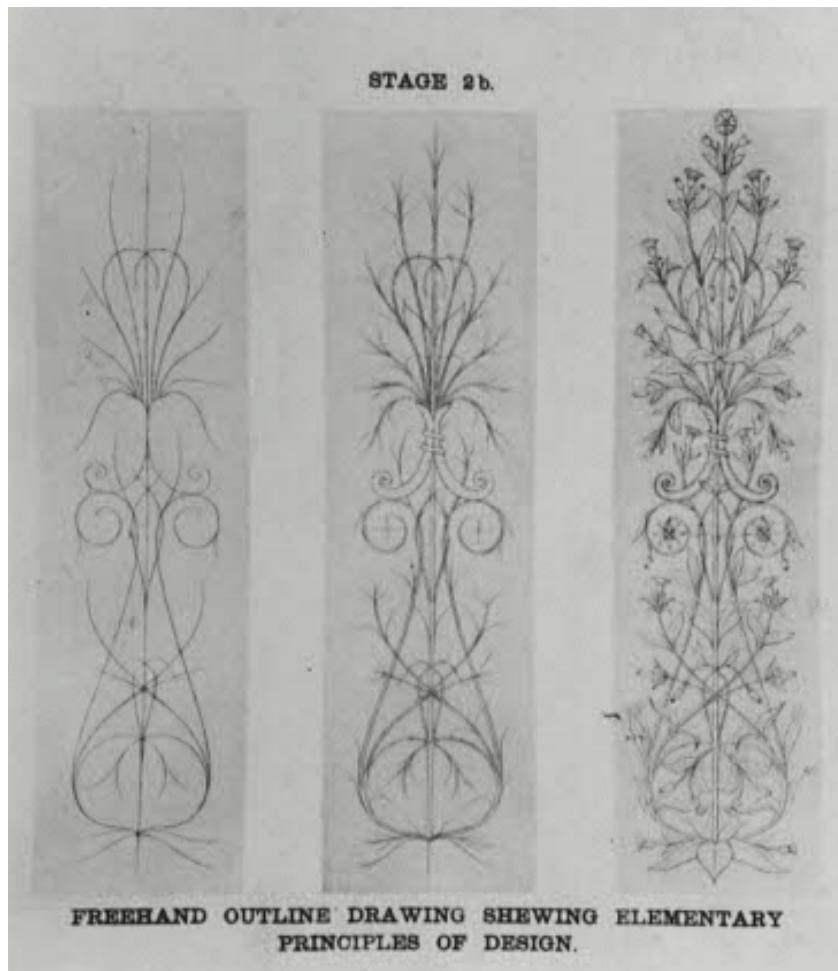
47. F. H. Newbery, *The Warden of the Marshes*, c. 1899, oil on canvas, 145x87cm (Museo Nacional Bellas Artes, Santiago, Chile).
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58. F. H. Newbery, *An Embroideress*, c. 1904, oil, untraced (Jugend no. 33, (1904)),
59. F. H. Newbery, *The Mirror*, c. 1911, oil on canvas, 105.4x75.6cm (Private Collection).
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61. Philip Wilson Steer, *The Japanese Gown*, 1894, oil on canvas, 127x101.6cm (National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne).
62. F. H. Newbery, *The Spanish Shawl*, c. 1916, oil on canvas, 162.5x77.5cm (Private Collection).
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68. Diego Velazquez, *Venus at her Mirror*, 1644-8, oil, 123x177cm (National Gallery, London).
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70. Philip Wilson Steer, *Girl Reading a Book*, 1895, oil on canvas, 63.5x76.2cm.
71. F. H. Newbery, *The Building Committee of the Glasgow School of Art*, 1913, oil on canvas, 133x171cm (Glasgow School of Art Collection).
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74. F. H. Newbery, *In Lyonesse*, 1916, oil on canvas, 89.5x89.5cm (Private Collection).
75. Portrait of Newbery, 1913, photograph (Glasgow School of Art Collection).
76. F. H. Newbery, *Lady Chapel Altarpiece*, 1919-21, outer wings, oil on panel, each 132x93.5cm (St Hilda's Church, West Jesmond, Newcastle upon Tyne).
- 77a. F. H. Newbery, *Lady Chapel Altarpiece*, 1919-21, open, oil on panel, triptych, inner wings, each painting, 132x45.5cm, centre panel, 132x198cm (St Hilda's Church, Newcastle upon Tyne).
- 77b. F. H. Newbery, *Lady Chapel Altarpiece*, 1919-21, centre panel, oil on panel, 132x198cm (St Hilda's Church, Newcastle upon Tyne).
- 78a. F. H. Newbery, *A Romance of Bridport*, 1923, oil on panel, 114.3x180.3cm (Bridport Town Hall).
- 78b. F. H. Newbery, *A Romance of Bridport*, 1923, detail, portraits of William Newbery and John Beard (Bridport Town Hall).
79. Diego Velazquez, *Surrender of Breda*, 1634-5, oil, 307x367cm (Prado, Madrid).
80. F. H. Newbery, *Escape of Charles II from Bridport in 1651*, c. 1924, oil, 91.4x106.7cm (Bridport Town Hall).
81. F. H. Newbery, *Shipbuilding*, 1925, oil on canvas, 119.4x170.2cm (Bridport Town Hall).
82. F. H. Newbery, *A Weaving Shop*, 1925, oil on canvas (part of a mural scheme, whole scheme 91.4cmx18m approx.)(Bridport Town Hall).
83. F. H. Newbery, *Net Braiding*, 1925 (part of a mural scheme)(Bridport Town Hall).
84. F. H. Newbery, *A Yarn Barton, The Spirit of Bridport, A Spinning Walk*, 1925-27 (part of a mural scheme)(Bridport Town Hall).
85. F. H. Newbery, Bridport Town Hall scheme, 1925-27: *A Weaving Shop; A Yarn Barton; The Spirit of Bridport; A Spinning Walk; Net Braiding*.
86. F. H. Newbery, *Corfe Castle from the West Down*, c. 1926, oil on canvas, 129.5x102.9cm (Private Collection).
87. F. H. Newbery, *Corfe Castle*, c. 1919, oil on canvas, 32x41cm (Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow).
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89. F. H. Newbery, *Corfe Castle War Memorial*, 1922.
90. F. H. Newbery, *A Workshop*, c. 1926, oil, untraced (Royal Glasgow Institute, [Catalogue](#) (1926)).
91. F. H. Newbery, *Holy Ghost and St Edward*, Swanage, South Window, 1926.
92. F. H. Newbery, *Holy Ghost and St Edward* Swanage, East Gable, 1926.
93. F. H. Newbery, *Altarpiece*, 1926, oil on canvas, 540x356cm approx. (Holy Ghost and St Edward, Swanage).
- 94a and b. F. H. Newbery and possibly Jessie Newbery, frieze stencilled on canvas, c. 1927 (Holy Ghost and St Edward, Swanage).
95. F. H. Newbery, *Baldacchino*, c. 1927, oil on canvas, 115x 356cm approx.. (Holy Ghost and St Edward, Swanage).
96. F. H. Newbery, *The Sign of Four*, 1927, contemporary photograph, Corfe Castle Village Square (Corfe Castle Town Trust).
97. F. H. Newbery, *Shah of Persia Inn Sign*, 1932 (contemporary photograph, [Country Life](#)).
98. F. H. Newbery, Letterhead for Helen Muspratt, c. 1930 (Private Collection).

99. Helen Muspratt, *Portrait of Newbery*, photograph (Glasgow School of Art Archives).
100. F. H. Newbery, *Portrait of Helen Muspratt*, c. 1930, oil on canvas, 36x75cm (Private Collection).
101. F. H. Newbery, *Annunciation Altarpiece*, 1930, oil on canvas, 304.8x162cm approx. (Holy Ghost and St Edward, Swanage).
102. F. H. Newbery, *Dahlias*, c. 1935, oil on canvas, 37x49.5cm (Private Collection).
- PLATES



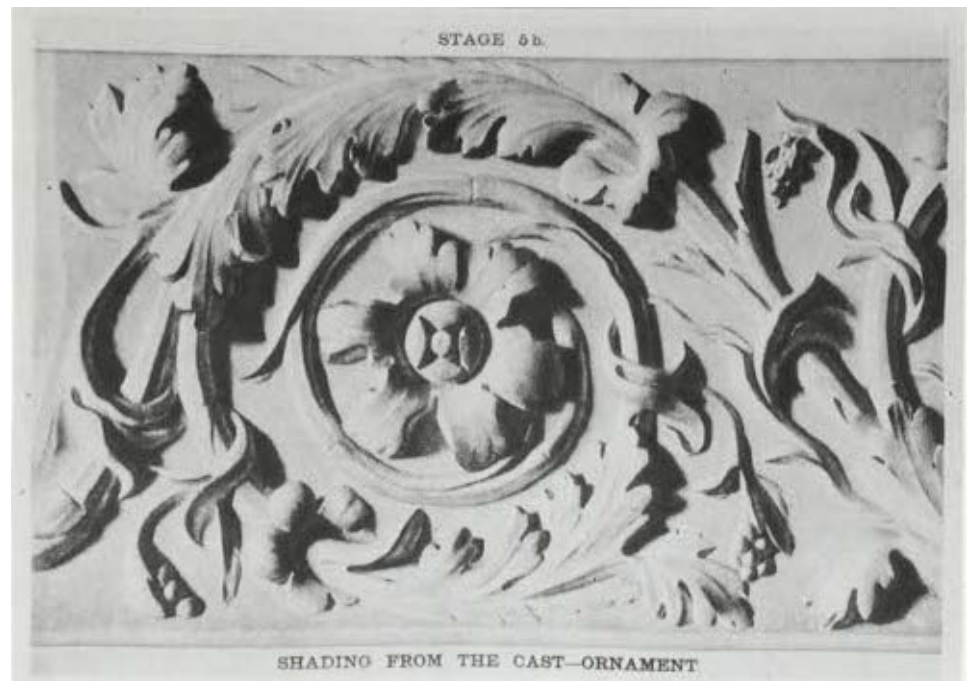
1. Portrait of Newbery, c. 1890, photograph (Glasgow School of Art Collection).



2. Stage 2b (Department of Science and Art. Supplement to Directory containing illustrations of works executed by Art Students showing the Principal Stages of Art Instruction (London: H.M.S.O., 1891), p. 5



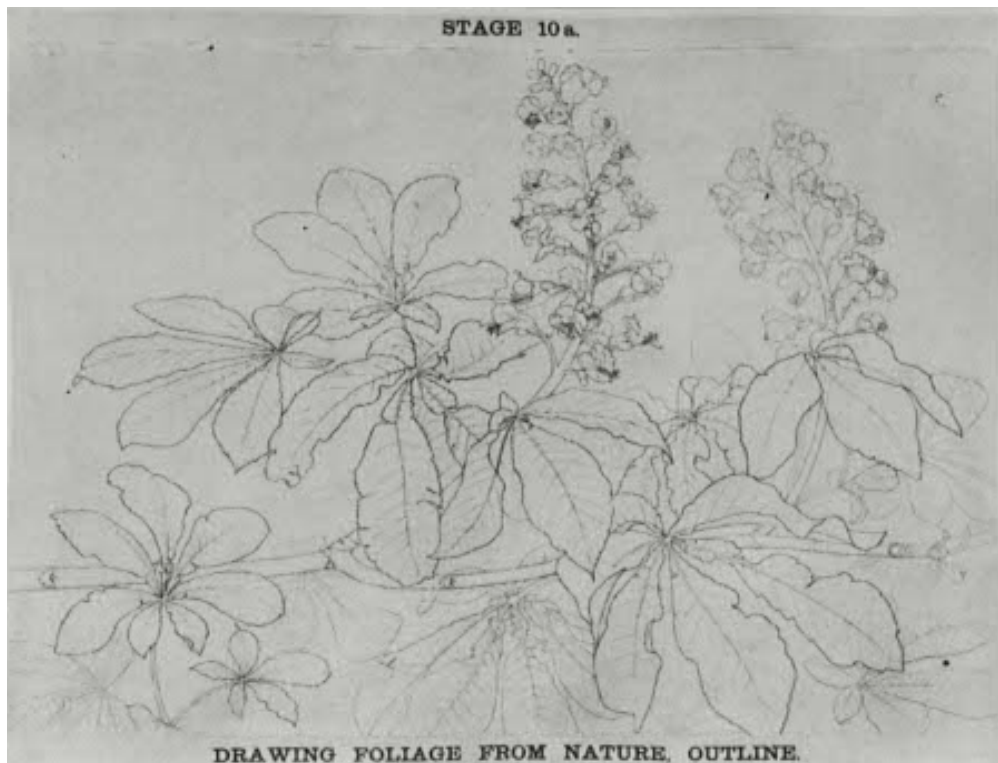
3. Stage 5a (Department of Science and Art, Supplement, p. 7)



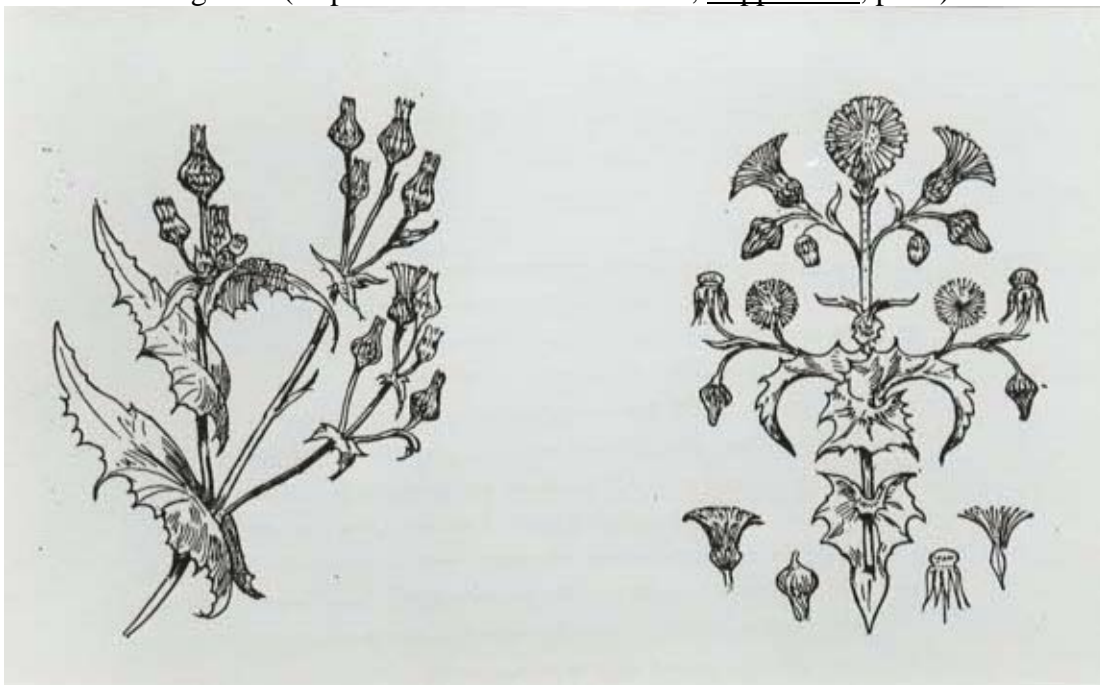
4. Stage 5b (Department of Science and Art, Supplement, p. 7)



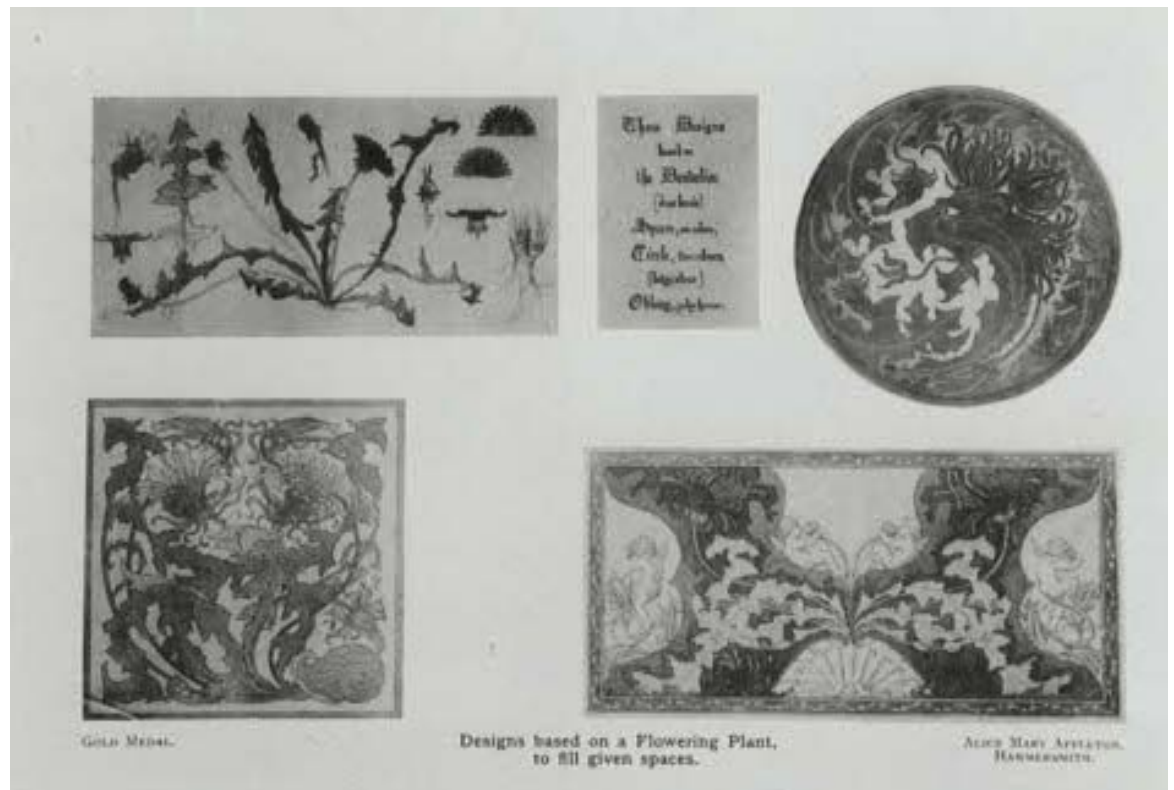
5. Stage 8a (Department of Science and Art Supplement, p. 8)



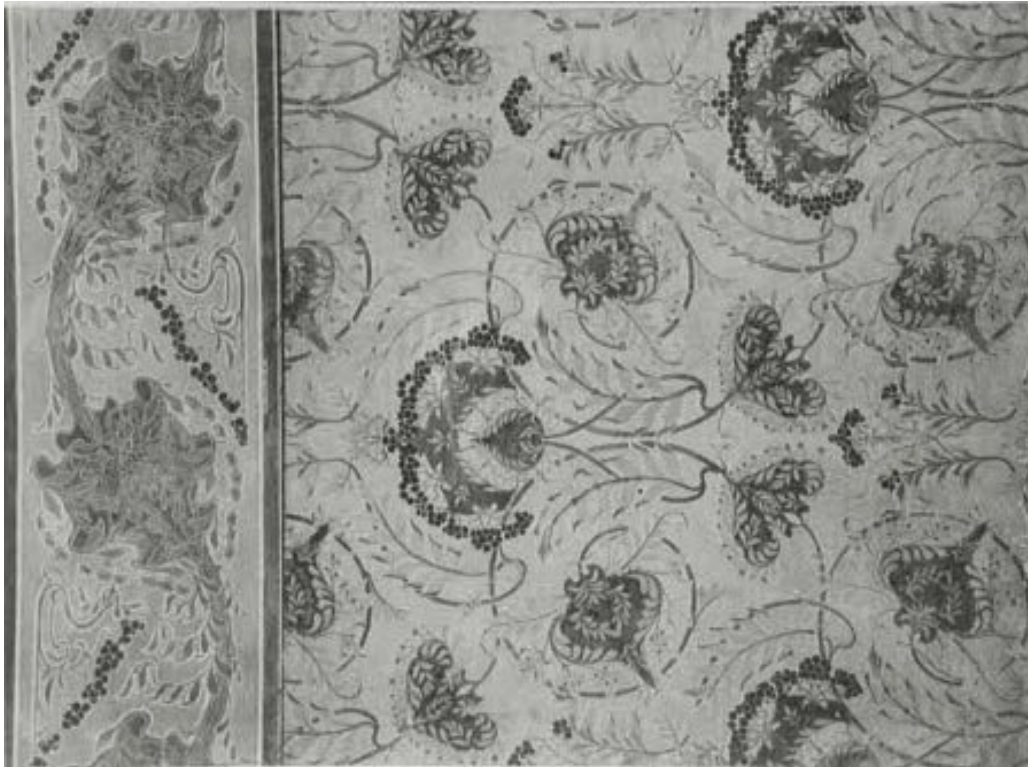
6. Stage 10a (Department of Science and Art, Supplement, p. 13)



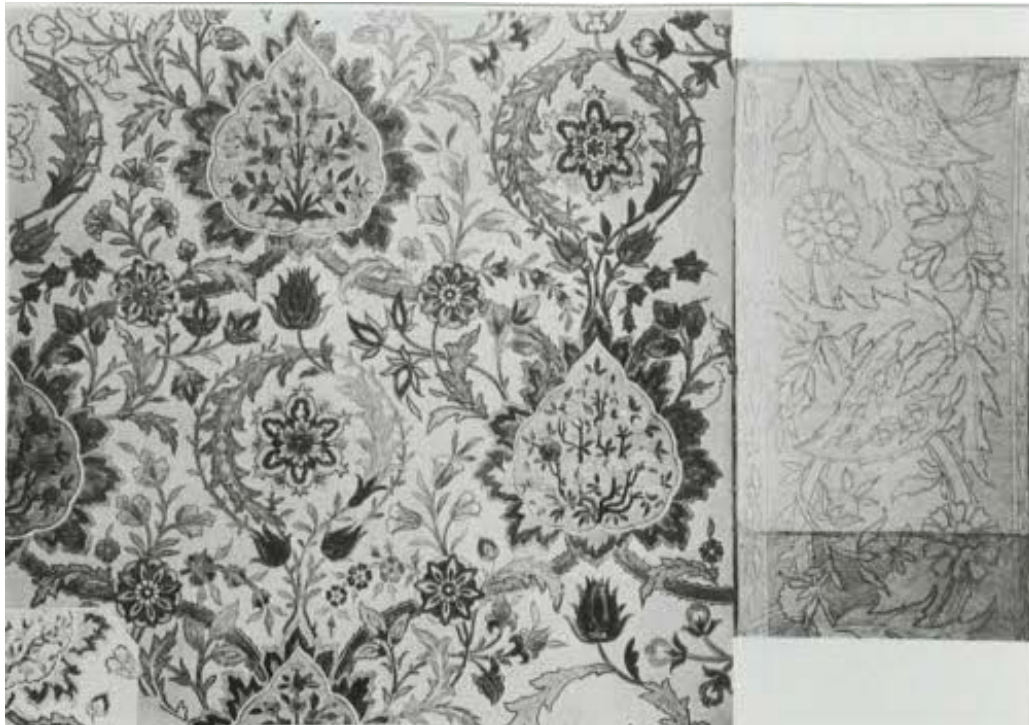
7. Richard Redgrave, Study of a sow thistle and sow thistle treated ornamentally (Richard Redgrave, Manual of Design (London: Chapman & Hall, 1882), pp. 166-7)



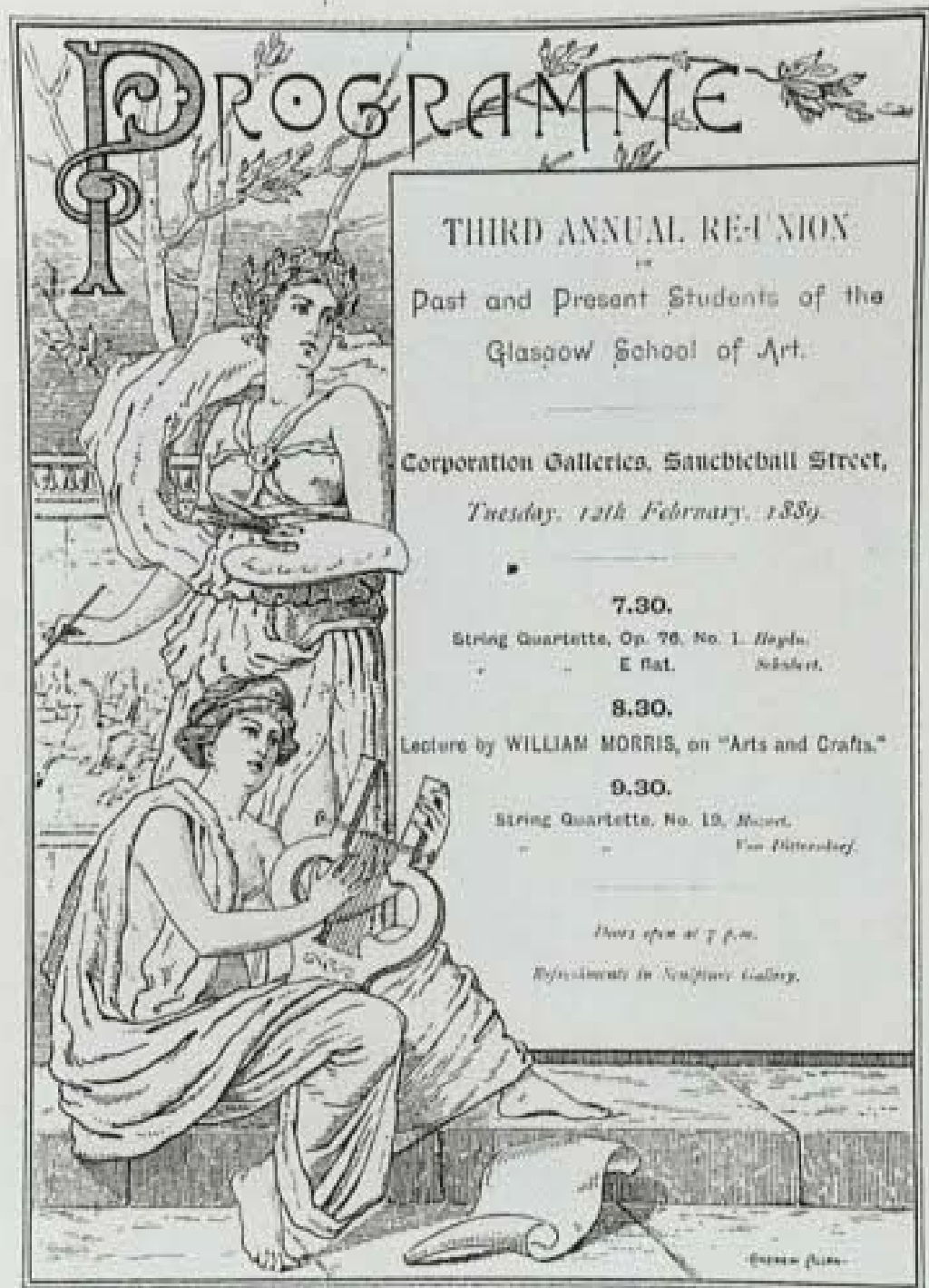
8. Designs based on a flowering plant to fill given spaces (John Fisher, National Competitions (1896-97): an illustrated Record (London: Chapman & Hall, 1899), p. 62)



9. Helena R. Dow, Design for Wall Paper and Frieze (Fisher, National Competitions, p. 58)



10. Joseph M. Sadler, Design for Axminster Carpet (Fisher, National Competitions, p. 9)



11. Andrew Allan, Programme for Third Annual Reunion of Past and Present Students of the Glasgow School of Art, 1889 (Collection Barclay Lennie, Glasgow)



12. A.E. Holmes, Programme for Students' Annual Reunion, Glasgow School of Art, 1888 (Collection Barclay Lennie, Glasgow)



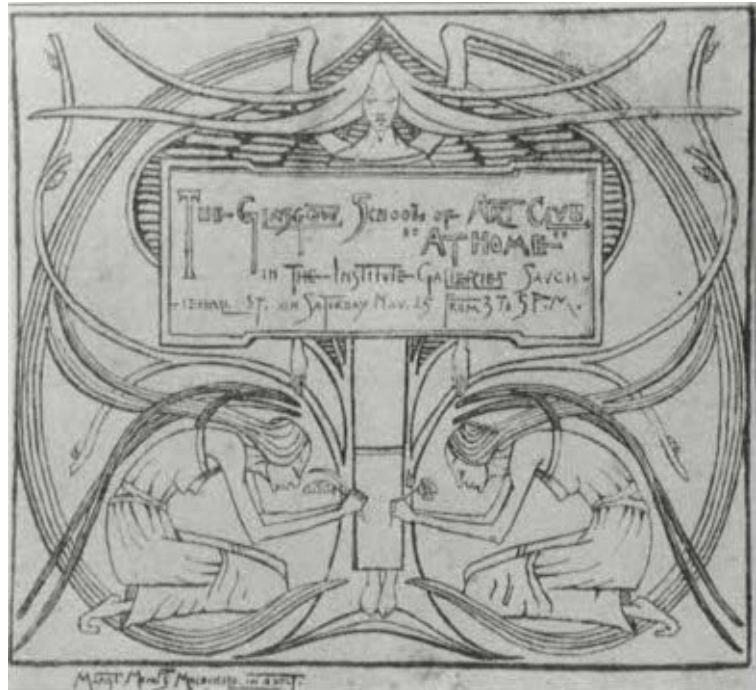
13. Aston Nicholas, Design for a majolica panel (Art Journal (1880), p. 136)



14. Kellock Brown, *Time and Tide* (Academy Architecture (1895), p. 91)



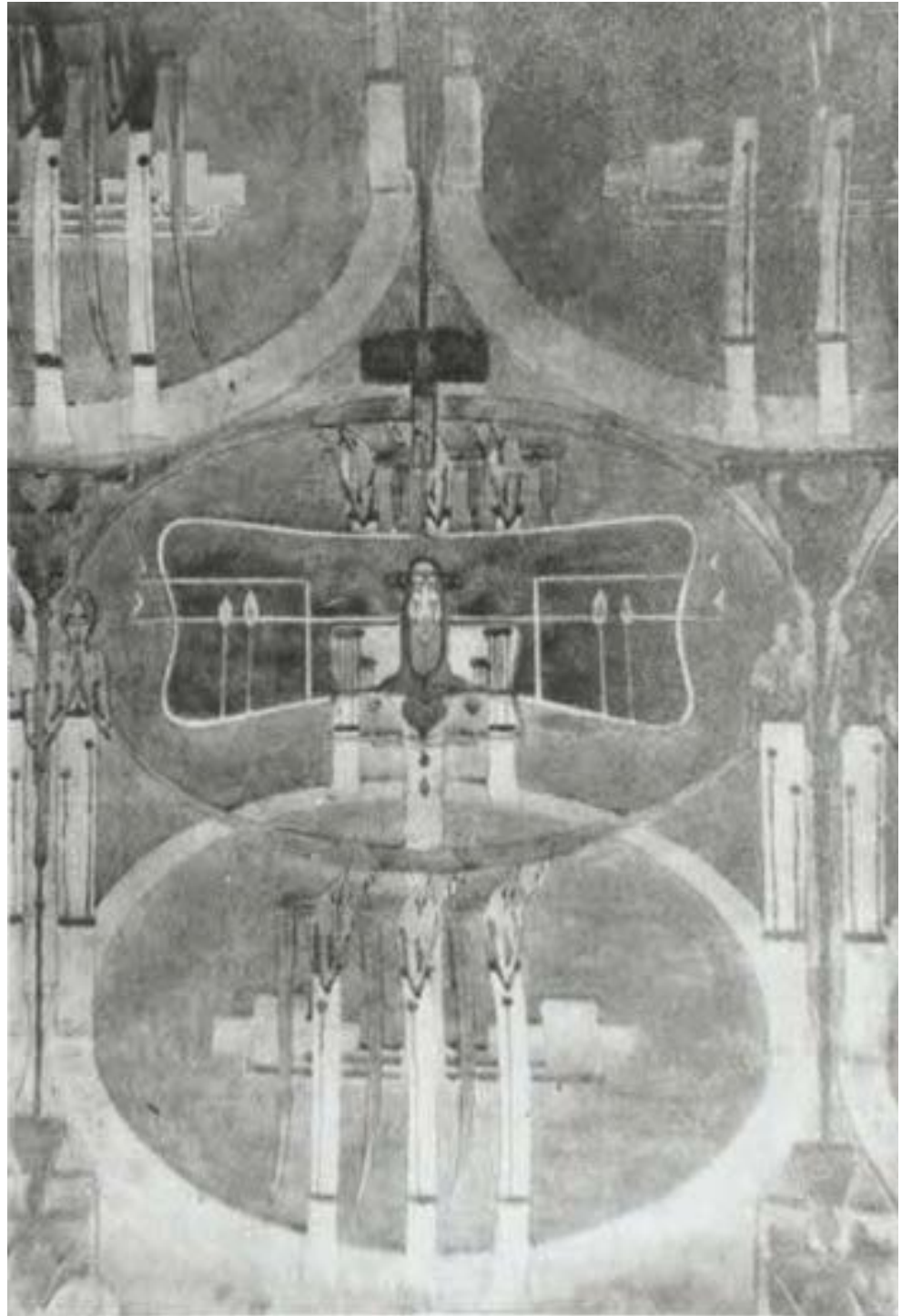
15a. Frances Macdonald, Bookplate for Lucy Raeburn, The Magazine, 1893
Glasgow School of Art Archives and Collections



15b. Margaret Macdonald, Programme for a Glasgow School of Art Club 'At Home', 1894 (Glasgow School of Art Archives and Collections)



16. C. F. A. Voysey, Design for a wallpaper frieze in eight colours (The Studio, 1 (1893), p. 231)



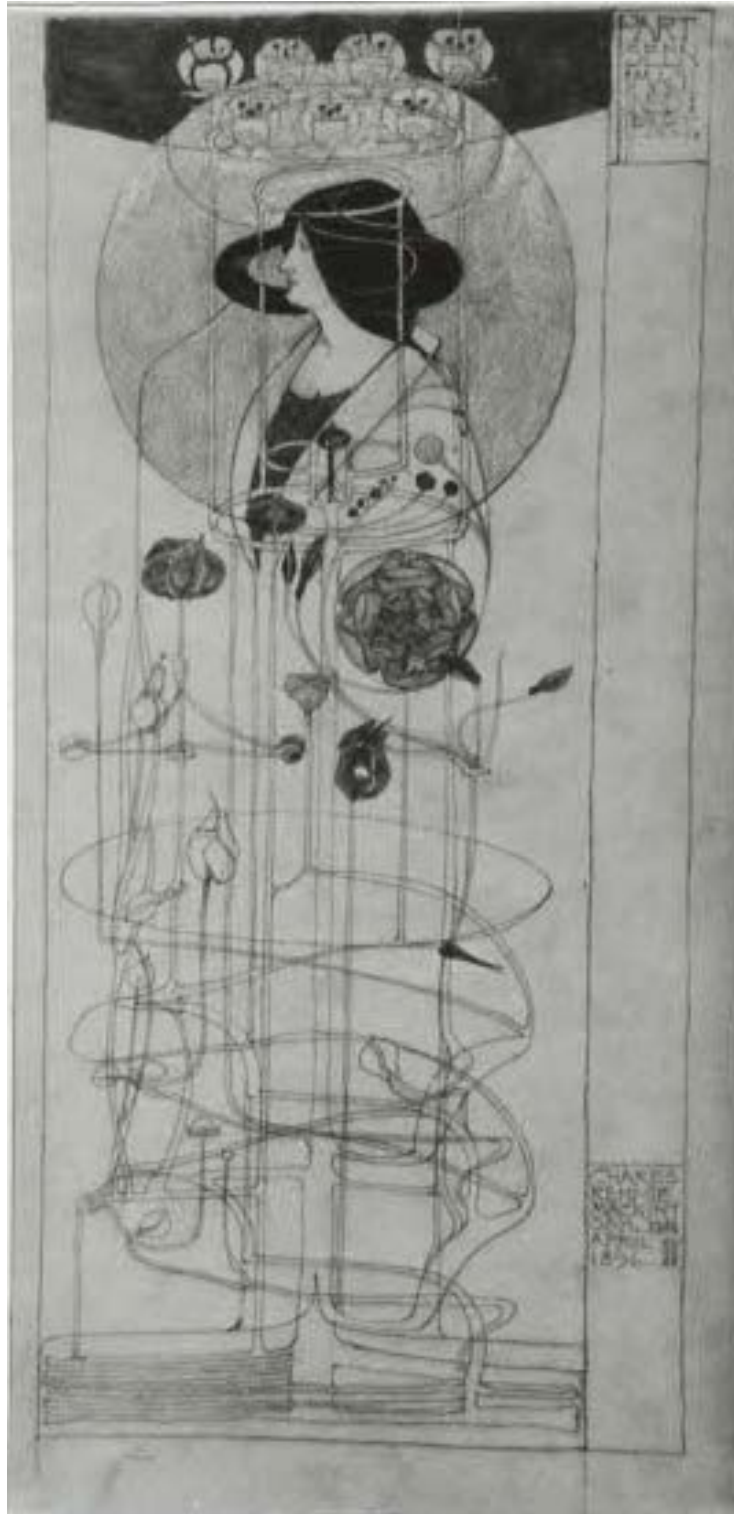
17. Margaret and Frances Macdonald, Crucifixion and Ascension, (The Magazine, April 1894 Glasgow School of Art Archives and Collections)



18. Aubrey Beardsley, Illustration for Oscar Wilde's *Salome* (*The Studio*, 1 (1893), p. 19)



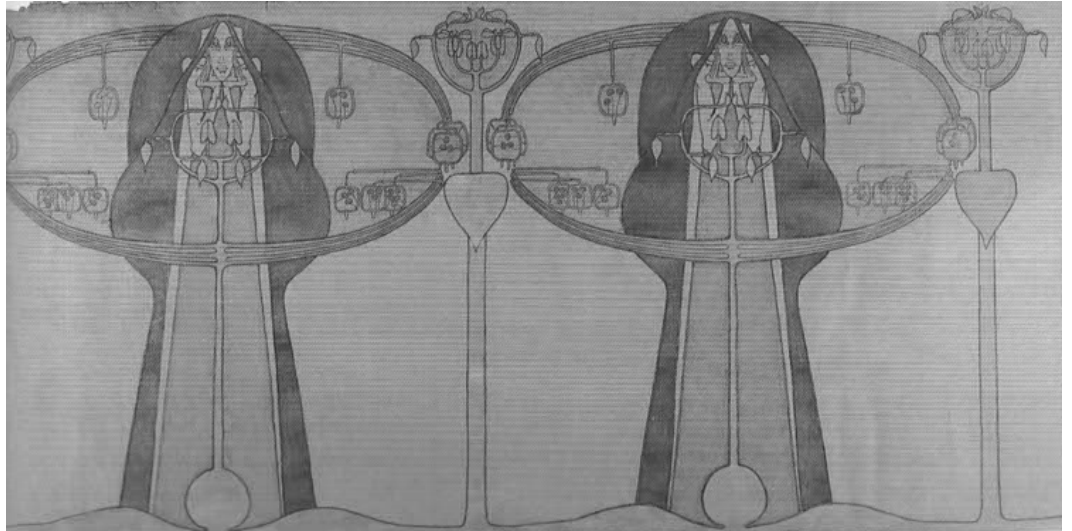
19. Jan Toorop, *The Three Brides* (*The Studio*, 1 (1893), p. 247)



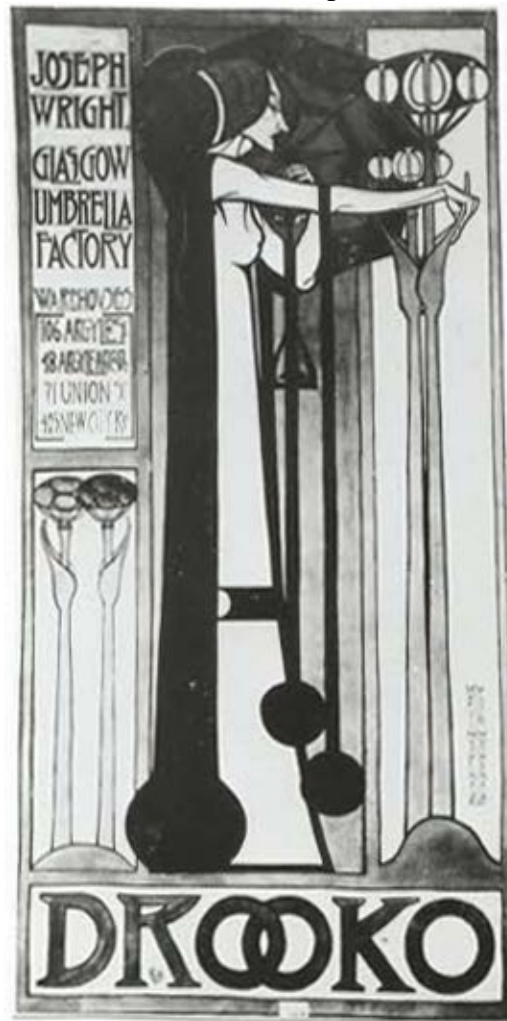
20. Charles Rennie Mackintosh, *Part Seen, Imagined Part*, 1896 (Glasgow Museums)



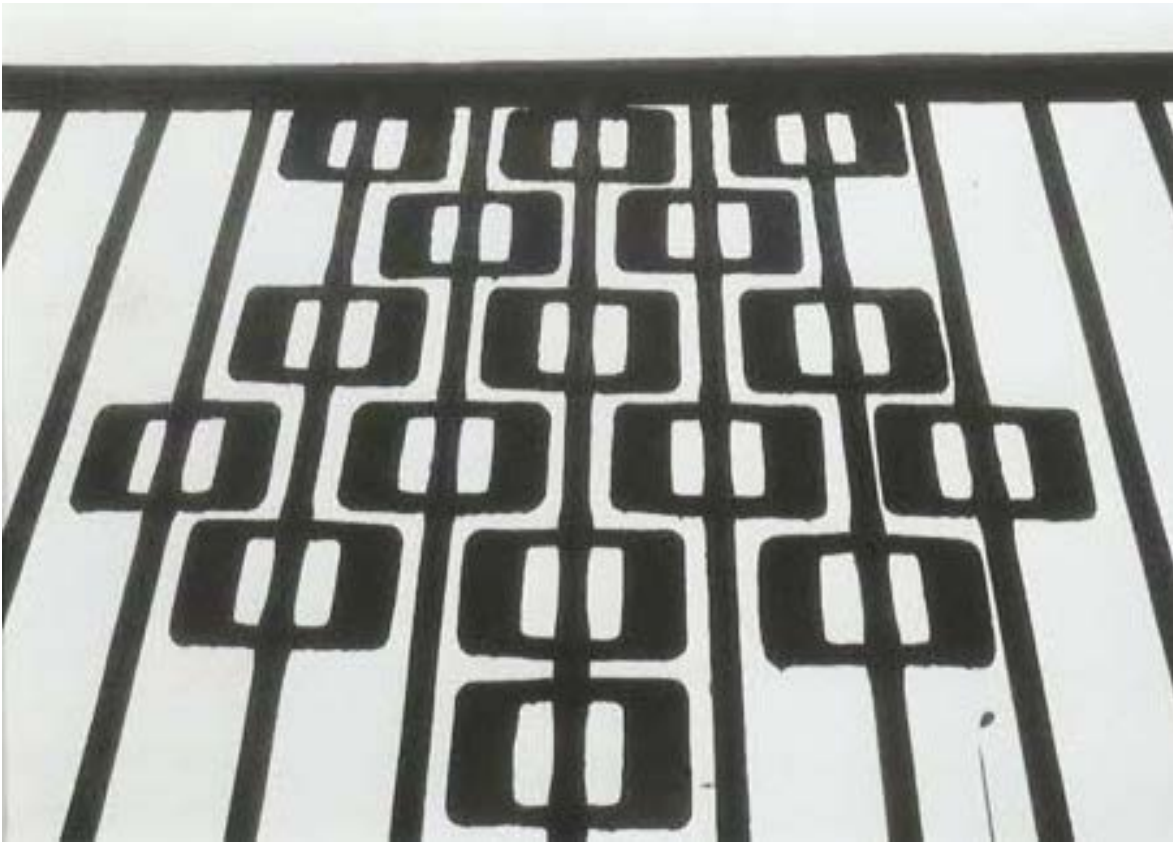
21. Charles Rennie Mackintosh, Murals in Buchanan Street Tearooms, 1896
(Thomas Howarth, Charles Rennie Mackintosh and the Modern Movement, plate 48)



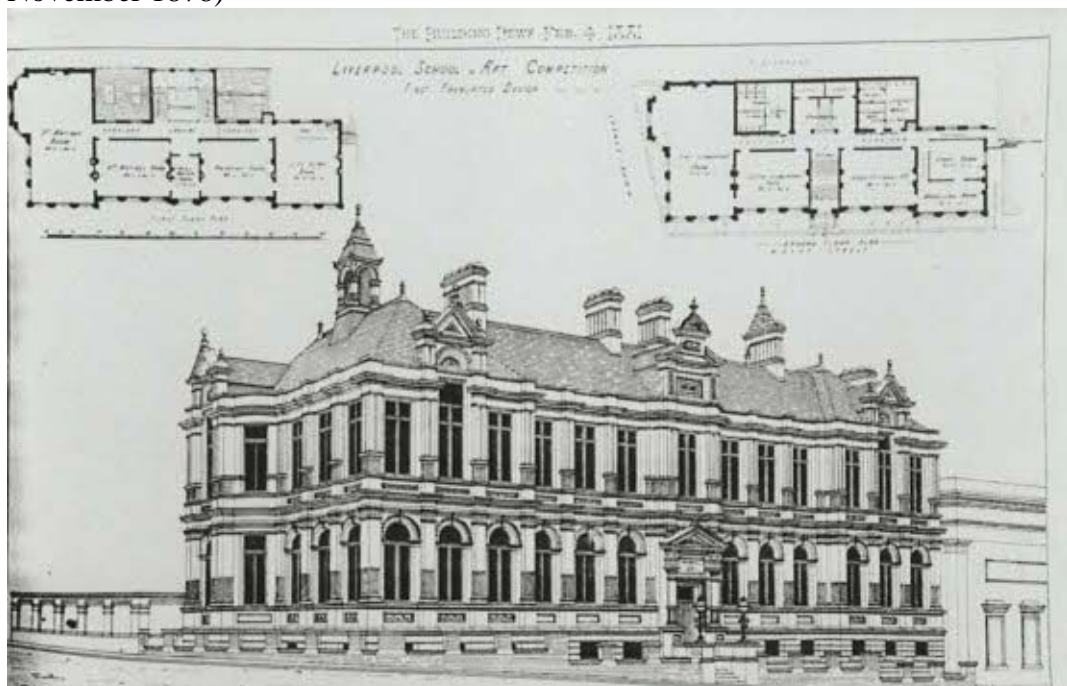
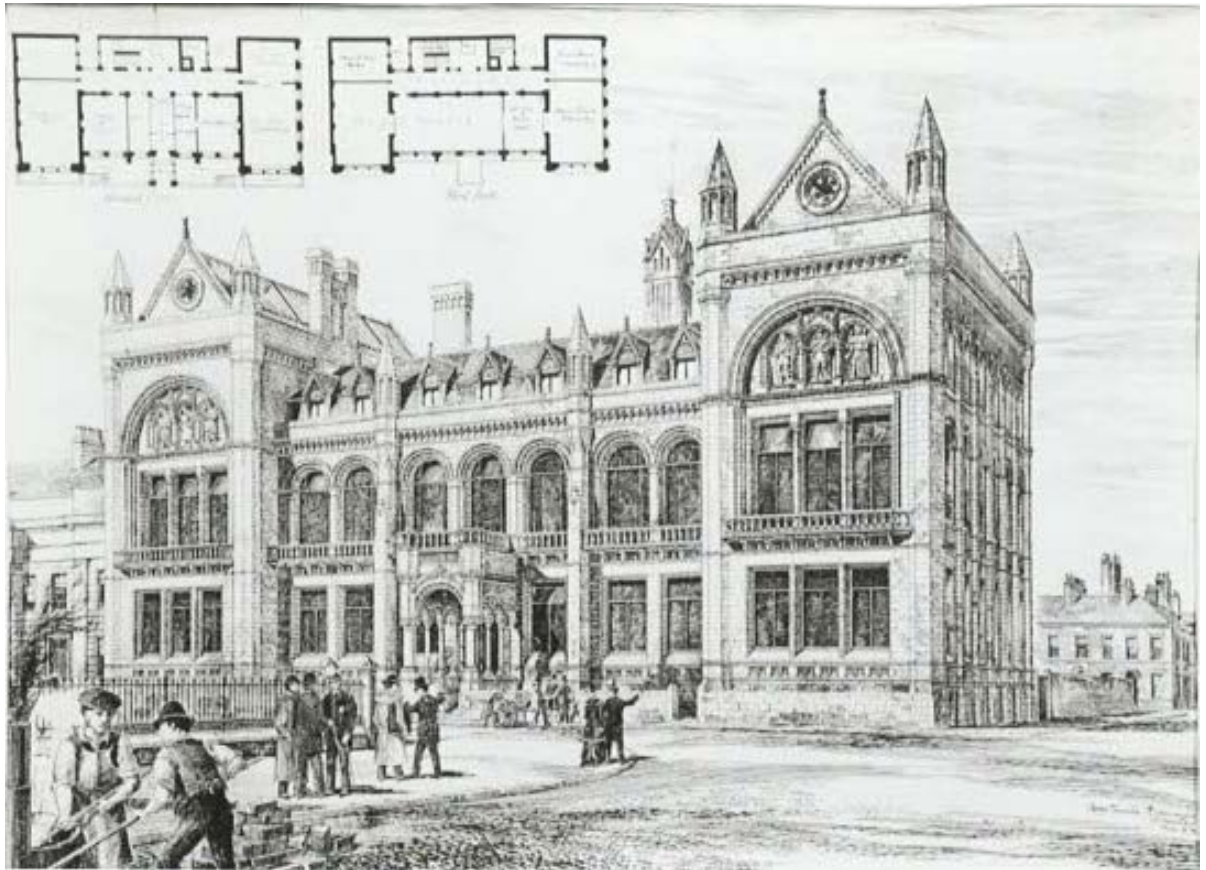
22. Frances Macdonald, Design for a decorative frieze, 1895-7 (Christies' The Dr. Thomas Howarth Collection (Christies' (1994), p. 67)



23. Margaret and Frances Macdonald, *Drooko Umbrella Poster*, 1898 (Dekorative Kunst (1898), p. 74)



24. Charles Rennie Mackintosh, Railings, Scotland Street School, 1904





27. Charles Rennie Mackintosh, Glasgow School of Art, c. 1900 (Glasgow School of Art Archives and Collections)



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67. F.H. Newbery, *The Red Shawl*, c. 1913 (Untraced) (Liverpool Institute, Catalogue (1913))



68. Diego Velazquez, *Venus at Her Mirror*, 1644-8 (National Gallery, London)



69. F.H. Newbery, *The Blue Scarf*, c. 1912 (untraced) (*The Studio*, 56 (1912))



70. Philip Wilson Steer, *Girl Reading a Book*, 1895



71. F.H. Newbery, *The Building Committee of the Glasgow School of Art*, 1913, oil on canvas, 133 x 171 cm (Glasgow School of Art Archives and Collections)



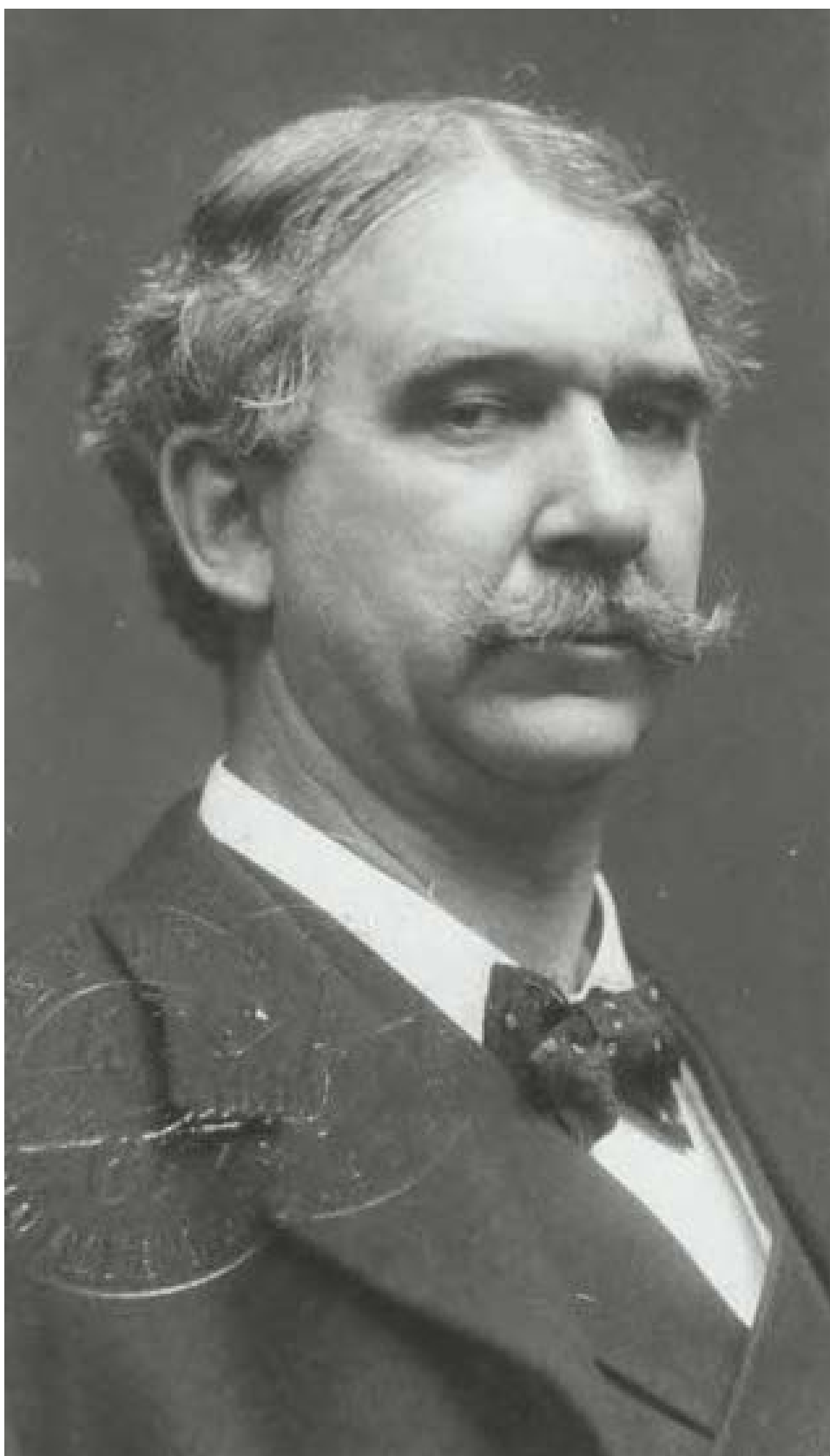
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73. F.H. Newbery, *The Paisley Shawl*, c. 1910, oil on canvas, 104 x 82.5 cm
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75. *Portrait of Newbery*, 1913, photograph (Glasgow School of Art Archives and Collections)



76. F.H. Newbery, Lady Chapel Altarpiece: outer wings; closed , 1919-21 (St Hilda's Church, West Jesmond, Newcastle upon Tyne)



77. F.H. Newbery, Lady Chapel Altarpiece: open , 1919-21 (St Hilda's Church, West Jesmond, Newcastle upon Tyne)



77b. F.H. Newbery, Lady Chapel Altarpiece, 1919-21: centre panel, oil on panel, 132 x 198 cm (St Hilda's Church, Newcastle upon Tyne)



78a. F.H. Newbery, *A Romance of Bridport*, 1923, oil on panel, 114.3 x 180.3 cm (Bridport Town Hall)



78a. F.H. Newbery, *A Romance of Bridport*, 1923: detail, portraits of William Newbery (left) and John Beard (right) (Bridport Town Hall)



79. Diego Velazquez, *Surrender of Breda*, 1634-5 (Prado, Madrid)



80. F.H. Newbery, *Escape of Charles II from Bridport in 1651*, c. 1924, oil, 91.4 x 106.7 cm (Bridport Town Hall)



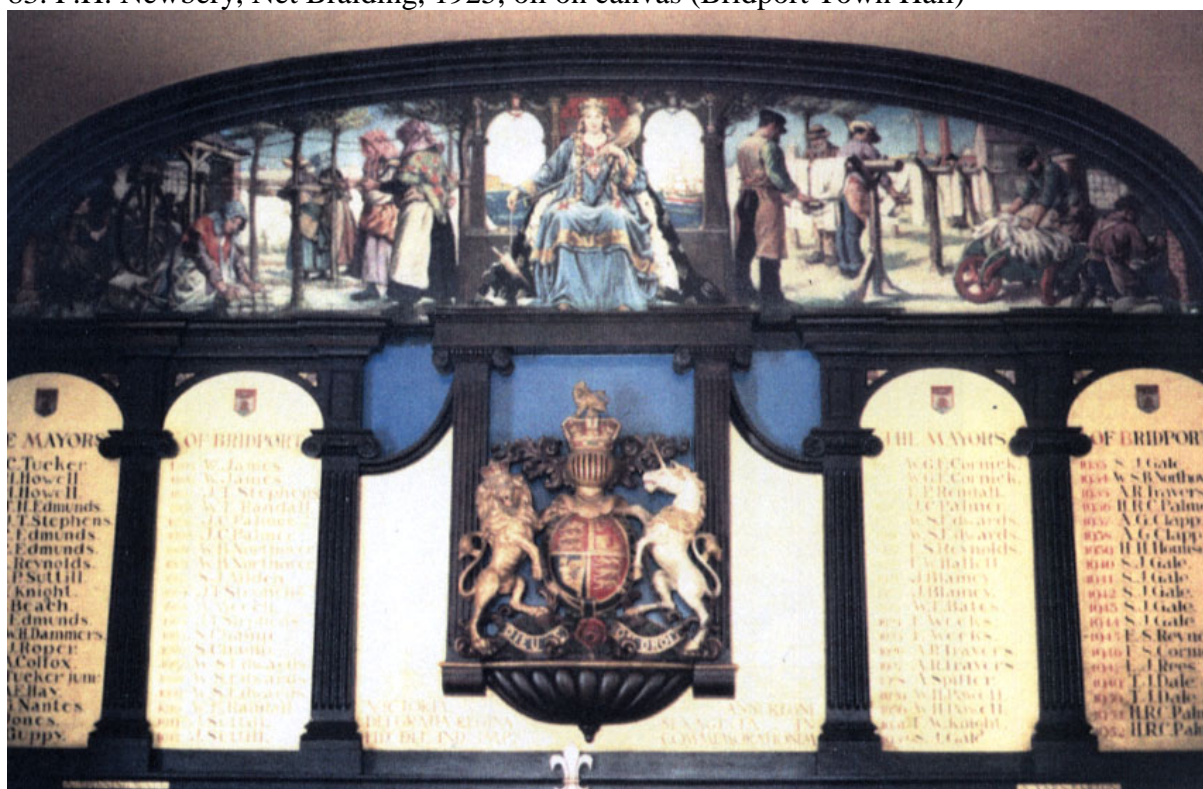
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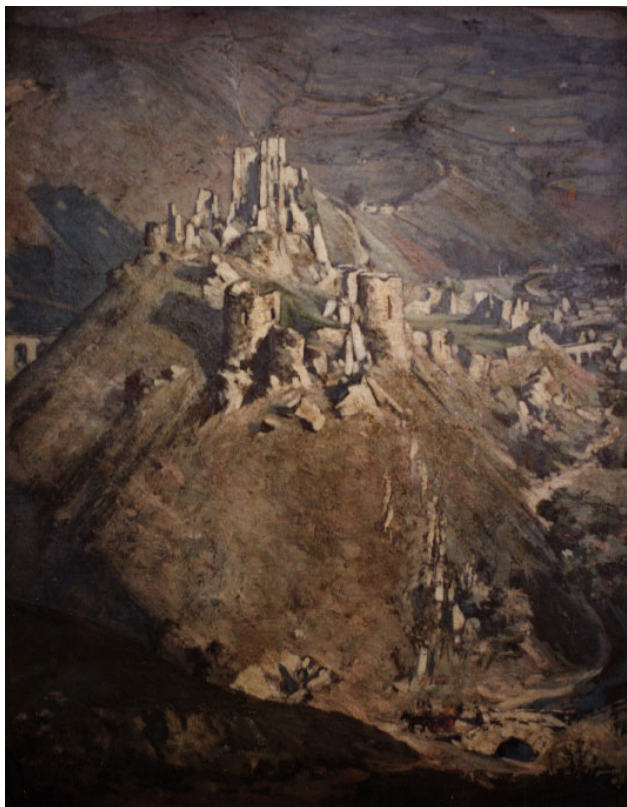
83. F.H. Newbery, Net Braiding, 1925, oil on canvas (Bridport Town Hall)



84. F.H. Newbery, A Spinning Walk (left); The Spirit of Bridport (centre); A Yarn Barton (right), 1925-7 (Bridport Town Hall)



85. F.H. Newbery, Bridport Town Hall mural scheme, 1925-7, oil on canvas, 91.4 cm x 18m approx.



86. F.H. Newbery, *Corfe Castle from the West Down*, c. 1926, oil on canvas, 129.5 x 102.9 cm (Private Collection)



87. F.H. Newbery, *Corfe Castle*, c. 1919, oil on canvas, 32 x 41 cm (Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow)



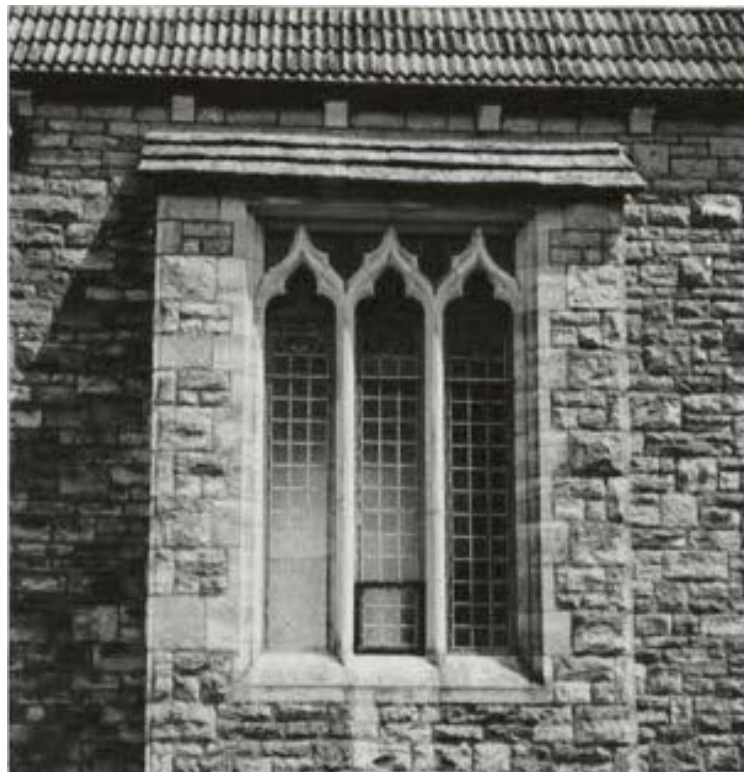
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91. F.H. Newbery, South Window, Sanctuary, Holy Ghost and St Edward, Swanage, 1926



92. F.H. Newbery, East Gable, Sanctuary, Holy Ghost and St Edward, Swanage, 1926



93. F.H. Newbery, *Altarpiece*, 1926, 540 x 356 cm approx. (Holy Ghost and St Edward, Swanage)



94a and b. F.H. Newbery and possibly Jessie Newbery, Frieze, c. 1927 (Holy Ghost and St Edward, Swanage)



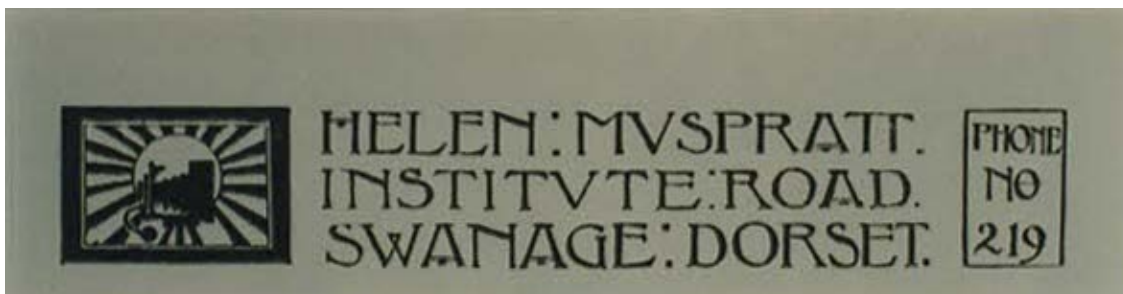
95. F.H. Newbery, Baldacchino, c. 1927, 115 x 356 cm approx (Holy Ghost and St Edward, Swanage)



96. F.H. Newbery, *The Sign of Four*, 1927. Corfe Castle Village Square (contemporary photograph, Corfe Castle Town Trust)



97. F.H. Newbery, *Shah of Persia Inn Sign*, 1932 (Country Life, contemporary photograph)



98. F.H. Newbery, *Letterhead for Helen Muspratt*, c. 1929 (Private Collection)



99. Helen Muspratt, *Portrait of Newbery*, c. 1930, photograph (Glasgow School of Art Archives and Collections)



100. F.H. Newbery, *Portrait of Helen Muspratt*, c. 1930, oil on canvas, 36 x 75 cm (Private Collection)



101. F.H. Newbery, *Annunciation Altarpiece*, 1930, oil on canvas, 304 x 162 cm approx. (Holy Ghost and St Edward, Swanage)



102. F.H. Newbery, *Dahlias*, c. 1935, oil on canvas, 37 x 49.5 cm (Private Collection)

