

Between Fine Art and Design York School of Design, 1842–1855

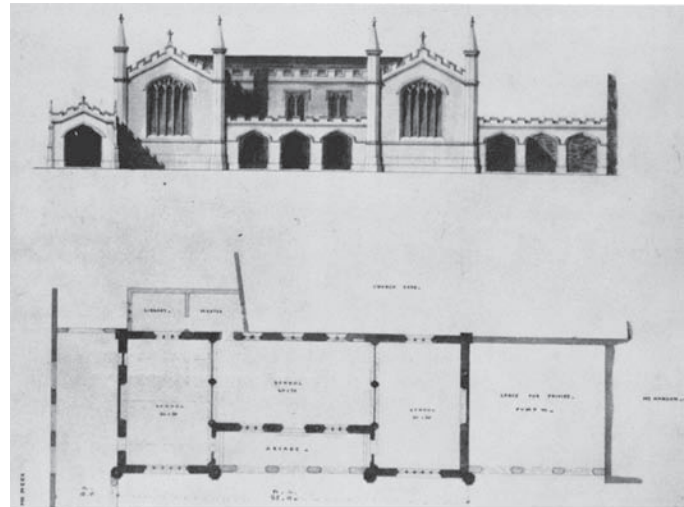
Simon Spier

The School of Design at York was established in 1842 as one of the first provincial branches of the London-based Government School of Design. It first occupied modest premises on Little Blake Street before moving to Minster Yard in 1848 where it remained for much of the second half of the 19th century until moving into the old 1879 Exhibition Building on Exhibition Square in 1890 (Pl 1, Pl 2). This little-known school in York was the product of a now well-documented government-led initiative that reshaped the teaching of the production of the decorative arts in Britain. There has been a growing body of literature which utilises these little researched institutions, that often have intact comprehensive archives, to add extra layers of understanding and nuance to the national and international Victorian project of enhancing design education.¹ This article intends to add to this body of work, as well as enhance the historical understanding of an institution that played a significant role in the social and cultural life of the city of York in the 19th century.

The British Government's decision to institutionalise industrial and applied arts in the 1830s derived from observation of successful programmes that were in place in Continental European countries such as France, Prussia and Bavaria that cultivated 'good taste' in every strata of society, from the fine artist to the mechanic or engineer.² There was a widespread feeling that Britain's arts and manufactures were inferior to those of neighbouring nations, and in the autumn of 1835 a parliamentary Select Committee was established to 'enquire into the best means of extending a knowledge of the arts and principles of design among the people (especially the manufacturing population) of the country'.³ As a result, in 1837 the Government School of Design opened in disused Government office space in Somerset House on The Strand.

It appeared, however, that simply founding an educational resource was not enough, and some perceptive commentators noted that the high standard of, for example, France's manufactures derived from the fact that the 'seat of manufactures' was in close proximity to the 'seat of art', Paris.⁴ With Britain's areas of industry and manufacture dispersed over a wide area, a means of organising art education was sought. 'Branch' versions of the 'Central' school began to be established in regional locations from 1842 and 'carefully drawn up regulations were made to control the growth and placement of provincial design schools to serve the needs of local manufacturers whilst following a prescribed national syllabus'.⁵

York School of Design was one of the first of the regional branch schools to be established, and it is usually this element of the uncompromising control of the 'Central Council' that flavours the scholarship that engages with these very early branch institutions. York presents a curious case as a city that did not fit the mould of the typical industrial city with a population directly involved in large-scale manufacturing. In this respect we need to address the question of why a school devoted to industrial design was established in York in the first place, and how its history has been flavoured by perpetuated myths and misconceptions. Previously unexplored material held at York City Archives offers new facts and sug-



1 Design for St. Peter's School (latterly the York School of Design), 1830. Chapter of York: Reproduced by kind permission

gests a fresh interpretation, providing a clearer picture of this little-known institution.

The first 15 years of the school's life encapsulate the inherent contradictions and fallacies that characterise the entire project of reforming design education in the mid-19th century. Three separate but interrelated case studies indicate tensions that reveal a complicated relationship between York School of Design and the larger project of centralised reforms in Victorian design education. The school was established chiefly through the efforts of the York-born artist William Etty (1787–1849) and the head of the Central Council, and Etty's close friend, the Scottish artist, designer and educator William Dyce (1806–1864). There were contradictory motives and reasons for York having such a school. Much of it is rooted in the perception of York as having no tangible effect on industrial practice, but Etty and Dyce justified the school's presence in shaping the 'type' of art that should be cultivated in a non-industrial location. Investigating the specific influence of local resources for teaching 'good design' shows how the school cultivated an intervention in York's small trades. The Yorkshire Philosophical Society offered a model for this, in utilising local knowledge and collections to provide students opportunities outside of those offered on the one hand by the needs of wider industrial manufactures and, on the other, those desired by the Central Council.

We shall also need to reassess the claim perpetuated by most writers that York School of Design was a 'mere drawing school'.⁶ By investigating the education of the Aestheticist painter Albert Moore (1841–1893), whose biographers have always used the fact that York School of Design was a rare institution that offered drawing from the live model to explain the origins of his successful career in the fine arts, we can see that, in reality, the school was more design-orientated than ever at this point. Re-examining the school's activity after 1851, when the Government School of Design was reconfigured by that champion of applied art and design



2 *Interior of York School of Design*, 19th century. Photograph, pasted inside 'York School of Design, history of' by JW Knowles, a former pupil, unpublished MS, York City Archives KNO/6/1. City of York Council/Explore Libraries and Archives Mutual, York

3 *Outline ornament: Plate XXI* by William Dyce (1806–1864), from *The Drawing Book of the Government School of Design*, Chapman & Hall, London 1842–43

4 *Drawing of a head* by Mark Hessey (1828–1909), 1846. Pencil and crayon, 34.6 x 23.2 cm. York Art Gallery, York. Image courtesy of York Museums Trust, <http://yorkmuseumstrust.org.uk>, Public Domain

education, Henry Cole (1808–1882), and the years that Moore was a pupil, shows that life-drawing was not a part of the curriculum: rather, the school was governed by a strict regime of design instruction. This is important for understanding the history of the school but also the early career of a significant painter of the later 19th century.

William Dyce, William Etty and the role of drawing from ornament

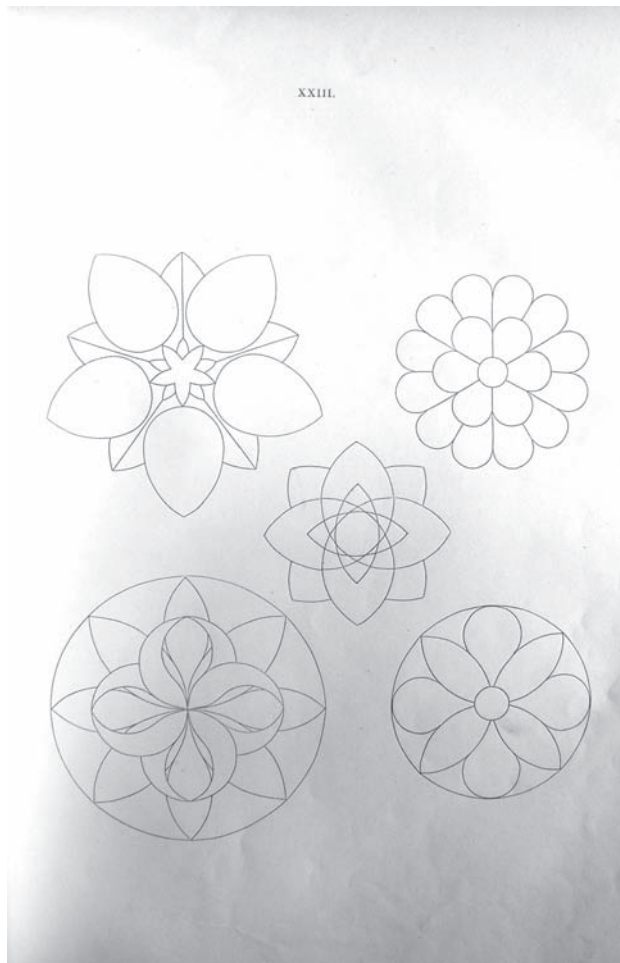
From 1842 to 1851 York School of Design was under the influence of William Dyce, with a philosophy and accompanying curriculum that aimed to make taught design practices applicable to modern day industrial processes.⁷ None the less, the school is sometimes dismissed as a failed experiment in a place that neither deserved to have nor profited from an institution. It has been suggested that the origin of the school is due to Etty sitting on the Central Council and exploiting his friendship with Dyce to make sure his hometown received an institution to nurture artistic talent.⁸ The school's tenets, however, rooted in Dyce's thoughts on pattern drawing, were founded on a strong belief in the need for a practical link between the arts of design and manufacturing industries. Dyce's convictions had already secured the endorsement of the Board of Trade and it was in this capacity that he was able to realise his own theories on the cultivation of good design through the establishment of a standardised drawing curriculum. To reinforce his pragmatic views, Dyce discouraged drawing from Antique sculpture or the live model and instead posited the vocational benefits of flat pattern drawing, such as designing wallpaper.⁹ Scholars dealing with the way in which this centralised drawing curriculum was received in branch and provincial schools have accepted the claim of writers such as Rafael Cardoso Denis, who state that drawing practices 'tended to remain at an agonizingly basic level'.¹⁰ This, of course, would have been highly disagreeable to Etty,

and by looking at the rhetoric that both William Dyce and William Etty employ to discuss the form and function of the school, a less straightforward situation of subordination of York to a dogmatic curriculum is revealed.

On the opening of the York School in September 1842, an address was given by both William Dyce and William Etty at the Yorkshire Philosophical Society Museum. The local press recounts Dyce's speech as designating York a 'centre of advancement of taste outside of industry'.¹¹ More like a decentred version of London – and a miniature version of the School of Design system – York is not subservient to its manufacturing classes, but it nurtures advancement in taste in general and then transfers it to the surrounding areas.¹² Dyce also refers to York Minster as a 'treasure house of ornamental design', reinforcing the identity of a centre as somewhere in close proximity to a source of artistic inspiration, like Paris or London. In response to this, Etty began his address by acknowledging the emphasis on the artisan and the 'less ambitious' ends of the project, but quickly moved on to comment on how York was 'admirably adapted for the study of the more refined arts'.¹³ The confusion of the rhetoric of both individuals, where they attribute to York qualities of both innovative regional capital and passive province reveals Etty and Dyce not as opposites in positing artistic ideals, but rather in a similar state of ambivalence as to York's status as a cradle of the arts.

Considering Etty's academic training, and the opposition that Dyce posed to the elitism of institutions such as the Royal Academy, it is the difference between 'ornamental arts' and the 'refined fine arts' that divides them. The dissonance between the views of Dyce and Etty lies in the matter of the practicality of the ornamental arts. Dyce's implied relationship between taste, art, and trade was at odds with Etty's vision of the school as an outlet of the fine arts. Reading between the lines towards the close of Etty's speech reinforces this view, as he recalls an earlier, unsuccessful attempt to establish a school of *art* in York. The opportunity to establish a branch of the Government School of Design in York obviously presented itself as one step nearer to the polite and refined art school that he favoured.¹⁴

Despite Etty's interventions, the Central Council was evidently satisfied with the development of the school, as in 1845 they approved the continuation of financial assistance on the basis that 'the council entertain no doubt as to the further extension and utility of the school and if their anticipations are realised, it will contribute to the advancement of ornamental and industrial arts beyond the limits of York, and reflect credit on the place in which it has been fostered'.¹⁵ In the council's view, therefore, the mission to pursue accomplishment in the practical arts was being met to some degree, but the tension between the Dyce-led centralised curriculum and Etty's expectation of something more like an autonomous fine-art institution emerged at one of the



twice-yearly meetings of the committee. These events were a forum to reassure the school's subscribers of its satisfactory progress in the eyes of the government, and also offered sizable exhibitions of the students' work alongside which prizes were distributed for various accomplishments in the design curriculum; and here Etty had offered a monetary prize for the best painting of flowers from a hedge bottom.¹⁶ In response to this, the *Yorkshire Gazette*, reported:

When Mr. Etty... came to inspect the specimens, he found that they were not exactly what he wished; that is, they were not deficient in merit, but they were not in the style which he had contemplated. He had therefore altered the prize, which would be competed for next year, the task assigned being the production of a combination of flowers the most pleasing to the eye, still resembling nature as closely as possible.¹⁷

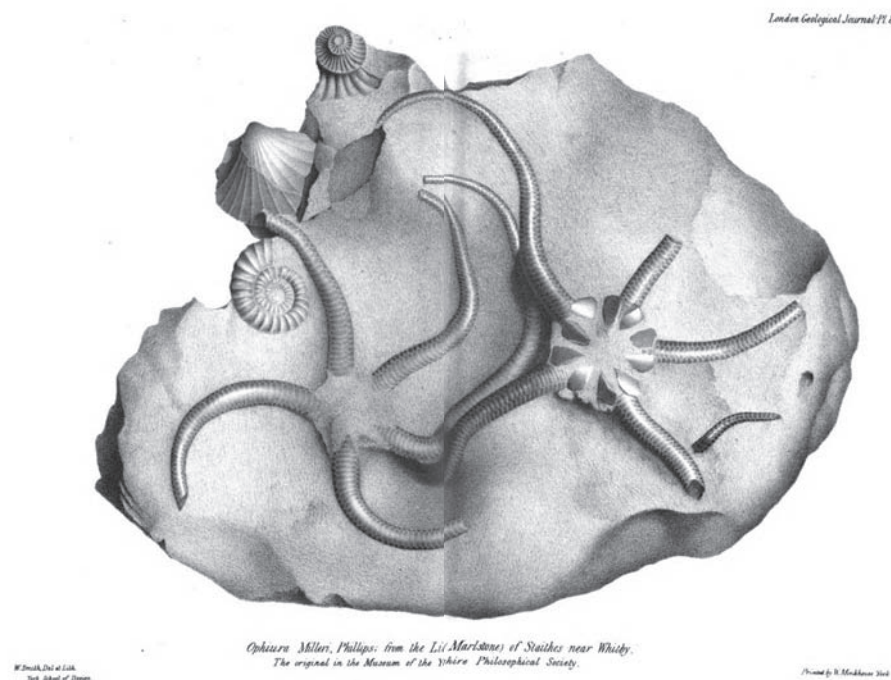
For Etty, 'pleasing to the eye' is an artwork that shows fidelity to nature, as shown through how he alters the conditions for next year's prize in order to find a compromise between the artist's imagination and the designer's eye. The surprise in encountering the students' depictions must surely stem from the fact that the pressures of a strict utilitarian and practical curriculum shaped the representation of what, to Etty, would constitute an academic still-life picture. To the students, the object of this work would have been the production of a pattern transferable to the loom or the printing press, in line with Dyce's design manual *The Drawing Book of the Government School of Design* (1842–3). This is made overt in the introduction, which reads as a theoretical treatise on the objects and methods of ornamental patterning: 'Beauty with [the ornamentist] is a quality separable from natural objects; and he makes the separation in order to impress the cosmetic of nature on the productions of human industry.'¹⁸ Some plates from Dyce's drawing manual serve as an idea of the



kind of outline drawing the students were encouraged to undertake (Pl 3). Here is evident the truly geometrical representation of nature which Dyce propounded and which, according to Etty's own surprise at the students' exhibition, appeared to be dictating the curriculum in York.

Drawing from the round Local sources of design principles

Although the students may not have been drawing 'true to nature' as Etty would have hoped, the regional character of the design school was emerging in separate ways, such as through the types of objects that the students were encouraged to copy from and adapt, and how these were then utilised. The Central Council was obliged to provide each school with the resources from which students could learn the processes of drawing and designing, and, in 1843, at the first annual meeting of the committee at York, an inventory was drawn up of the principal casts and books supplied by the Government for the use of the institution in its drawing practices. Concluding the list of standard-issue statues, busts and reliefs are, in addition: 'Numerous Anatomical casts of hands and feet, likewise grotesque heads, bosses and ornaments from the Minster and St. Mary's Abbey at York.'¹⁹ It is unclear whether the York inclusions were stock supplies from the Central Council, or made-to-order, special requests, or the result of a decision on the part of committee in York, but the wording of the entry, as well as its position on the list is telling. Whether the committee considered the casts of the Minster and St Mary's Abbey of high aesthetic merit and influence or not, they still feature as the last entries on the list. Their inclusion, however, recalls Dyce calling the Minster a 'treasure-house of ornamental art', and also the flavour of



many of the addresses of speakers at York's annual exhibitions, where the Minster and St Mary's Abbey were perceived as offering refined artistic material.

Many other local sources of drawing were evidently on offer to the students and, to provide a fuller sense of the York school's autonomy from London we may compare the outputs of two artists while they were students at York. Both dated to c1846, the first is a drawing of a head in profile in a classical style by Mark Hessey (Pl 4), who had a moderately successful career as a stone carver and sculptor, and the second is a lithograph of a drawing of a fossilised specimen by William Smith, whose subsequent career is difficult to trace (Pl 5). Hessey's sketch has no evident visual reference, but the stylised facial hair and the strong chiaroscuro effect make this a typical example of a copy from the catalogue of cast reliefs sent from London.²⁰ The drawing by Smith, on the other hand, is an accurate rendering of a Yorkshire object that was on display in the Museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society (hereafter YPS) at the time (cat. YORYM : YM53).

In the broader context, the school had a relationship with the YPS's museum that enabled the students to go and copy from the collection and make casts from some of the more interesting specimens to supplement their own cast collection. This interaction suggests that the YPS was certainly seen as a reservoir of instruction. The Keeper of the museum, and patron of William Smith and his lithographs, Edward Charlesworth (1813–1893), even adopted the practice of mounting his fossils on wooden boards lined up in cases, a technique that was so innovative at the time it was displayed at the Great Exhibition in 1851.²¹ In the interest of design for industry this method certainly increases the imagery of them as apposite drawing subjects. Charlesworth published Smith's illustration in the *London Geological Journal*, a periodical set up to promote the advances of geological knowledge in the provinces. The title of the journal suggests that the network of geological research and advancement was centralised in metropolitan London, but it was traditional mining areas and areas of industrial production that were most prolific in their contributions to the discipline, as they were quite routinely

unearthing good quality specimens from which to learn.²² An editorial in the first publication states the wish to bring to light 'a multitude of interesting species... lying in private cabinets or public museums, comparatively lost to science', and to do so, 'the talent of the best draughtsmen will be employed in delineating their forms with accuracy and artistic skill'.²³ What links the work by Hessey and Smith is an association of interest in the historical and the Antique that was mobilised in the provinces as much as the capital.

The prominence of lithography provides an interesting counterpoint to the perception of what constitutes industrial manufacture at this point. Lithographic printing was part of the early teaching syllabus at the York school, which was not the case in many other provincial branches, but its relevance to industry is not small: the use of lithography for transferring designs onto embroidered textiles was key from the 1840s.²⁴ The curator of Antiquities at the YPS's museum, the Revd Charles Wellbeloved (1769–1858), speaking of the lithographs of drawings of fossils produced by Smith, echoes this view in 1846:

These [lithographs] may perhaps be thought not to come strictly within any of the classes of works expected to be produced by pupils in Schools of Design. They are not immediately connected with ornamental art or manufactures, and they may therefore be thought not likely to enter into pattern drawings for the use of any kind of manufactures, or to serve for any of the purposes of art. Nor is lithography included in the branch of instruction imparted in Schools of Design yet as a beautiful specimen of accuracy of copying, they show that one of the elementary studies enjoined in this school has been successfully pursued by these two young men. And I know not why a pattern drawer of taste and skill may not select interesting and even graceful objects from the remains of nature of the remotest ages as well as from weeds now growing in the hedge bottoms, or from any other portion of animated nature; and I might plead that lithographic copies of these or any other are not wholly foreign to manufactures. They form now an essential part in the manufacture of books – one of the most general of modern manufactures, and I cannot imagine that the founders and patrons of this school would think that their object would not be answered in those instances in which the pupils might devote their talents to the careful illustration of science in all its various branches.²⁵

5 *Lithograph of a fossil* by William Smith (active 1846), 1846.
Lithograph, from *The London Geological Journal: and record of discoveries in British and Foreign*

6 *Anatomical studies of the human figure in ink* by Thomas Mewburn Crook (1869–1949), examined 1893. Pencil, ink and watercolour on paper, 73 x 48.5 cm. Henry Moore Institute Archive, Leeds Museums and Galleries, Leeds. Reproduced by kind permission from the Mewburn Crook Estate and the Archive of Sculptors Papers, Henry Moore Institute

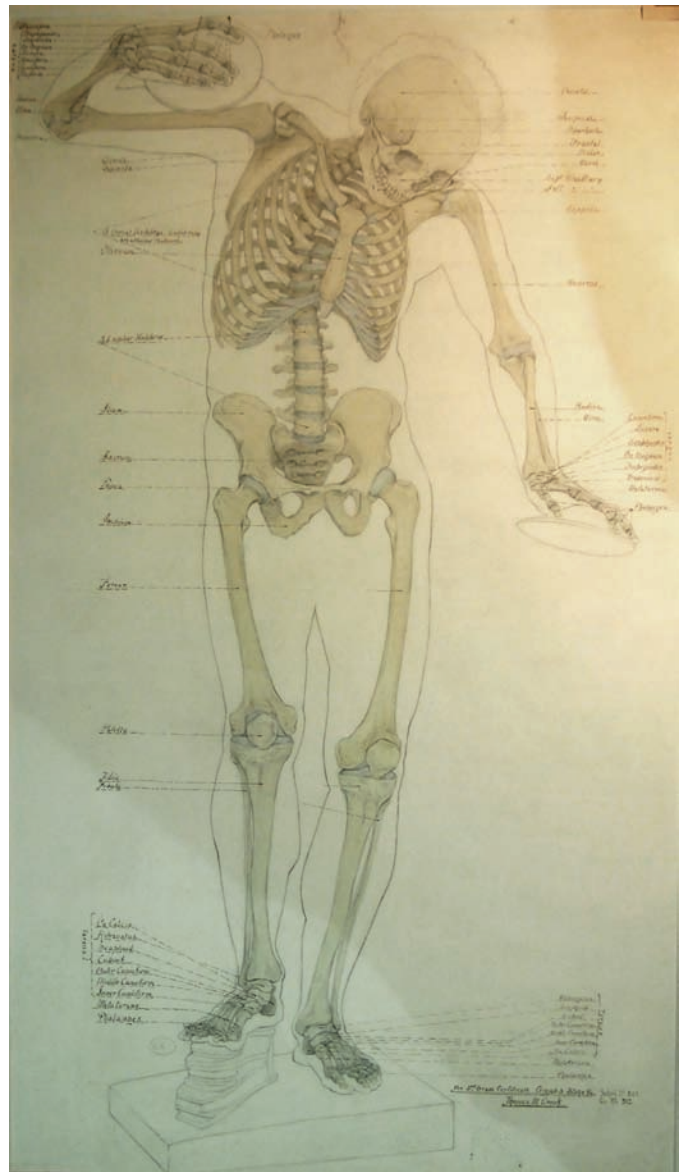
The school could be considered as situated between the centre of true industrial manufacture and the peripheral rudimentary textile embroidery, a status apt for cultivation in an ambiguous industrial design state such as York.

Albert Moore and the role of life-drawing

The contested curriculum of the Schools of Design has been seen as having originated in a collision of the ideologies of William Dyce and the much more traditional views of the British history painter Benjamin Robert Haydon (1786–1846), which were essentially rooted in those practised at the Royal Academy in London.²⁶ We have seen above how Dyce promoted the idea of art being practically applied to manufactures. In contrast, the Academy believed that drawing the human figure was fundamental to art education, first from the Antique and then from the living model.²⁷ This question of the relationship between the fine arts and the York School of Design has remained obscure, and one large factor was the role that the school plays in the career of several fine artists, one significant example being the painter Albert Moore.

Drawing from the figure and the reputation of York School of Design are, unhelpfully, much more closely related than usual because of its association with William Etty and his well-known academic principles. Etty's role in the establishment of the school is indisputable, but key histories of the design-school projects have often, misleadingly, suggested that these principles shaped teaching at the school. Robyn Asleson's book on Albert Moore, for instance, states: 'The curriculum bore the personal impress of the figure painter and Royal Academician William Etty' and 'the emphasis on life drawing at the York School of Design paved the way for students to pursue careers in fine art'.²⁸ Stuart Macdonald's *The History and Philosophy of Art Education* (1970) explicitly credits Etty, stating: 'Under his influence, the School developed into a drawing and painting school for aspiring artists and well-born young ladies.' Macdonald goes on to claim: 'Many ladies came to copy flowers from French lithographs and from life, and the great Etty himself conducted the life class on occasion.'²⁹

If, however, we consult the archival records, we find that it wasn't until relatively far into the school's life – November 1848 – that a proposal for a life-drawing class was approved by the committee.³⁰ Etty may have conducted this class from then until his death in November 1849 but, shortly after he died, in March 1850, it was decided the life-drawing class would be discontinued 'on account of expense'.³¹ According to a report in early 1852, a 'living model class, and a draped model or rustic figure class' took place, but the committee was quick to emphasise that these classes were not part of the standard curriculum and also not government endorsed.³² It is also hard to measure the length of time this class took place but, presumably, as there is no mention of it in the following year's report, it was as short lived as the first attempt. It is therefore quite inaccurate to characterise the York School of Design as a mere 'drawing and painting school' on the basis of two inconsecutive years within a 15-16 year history of centralised government control.



We may refine our understanding further by observing that Etty's fine-art intervention in York was not necessarily mediated through the promotion of life-drawing, but through a recognition of the artistic pursuit of finding ornamental forms in nature. For example, in an address to the students of the York School of Design, he advises:

Study with accuracy and care the objects of Art in the school, but also, the varied forms and Colour which Nature presents; the beauty of plumage in birds, the colours and shapes of shells, flowers, and plants, both wild and cultivated. Try to express these with a pure, accurate, and clear Outline; the first essential. Without this, the best Colouring is almost a nonentity. Add careful detail, and finish, on which, much of the beauty of Ornament depends.³³

This was stated towards the end of 1844, and this passage is used by Albert Moore's biographer Asleson to emphasise York School of Design as teaching the 'study of nature in general, as well as the human figure in particular'.³⁴ But, as we have seen, this date is four years before the first life class was established and, moreover, Etty's words do not necessarily equate copying from nature as 'truth to nature', but rather point to the use of nature adapted to suit ornamental means. Albert Moore was a student at the York School of Design for two to three years in the early part of the 1850s but, although life-drawing was not a staple part of the curriculum in this decade,



7 *Study of an ash trunk* by Albert Moore (1841–1893), 1857. Watercolour and gouache with gum Arabic, 30.4 x 22.8 cm, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

he is still identified as emerging from an environment underpinned by drawing from the human figure. In fact, Moore's unique formalism has been described using terms such as 'abstract' and 'geometric', and these are certainly not alien terms to the mid-century Victorian design school classroom. Through a closer examination of this period we can gain a clearer sense of the art education he was actually receiving, and how it may have shaped his artistic practice.

Moore began studying at York School of Design possibly as early as 1852, when the local newspaper reports a prize being awarded for a 'chalk drawing of ornament from the flat' to an Alfred Moore.³⁵ Evidence of this actually being Albert is written in the manuscript of John Ward Knowles, stained-glass-maker and avid chronicler of York's 19th-century art scene in a manuscript 'York Artists', preserved in York City Archives.³⁶ It is also worth noting that Knowles himself won an award that year, and so would have remembered. We know that Moore was certainly at the school in 1855 when the Yorkshire Gazette reported that he was awarded a national prize for a full-length skeleton figure.³⁷ To disassociate this latter work from any life-drawing tendencies of Moore, the article explains this class of work as 'anatomical studies, which are intended to induce a knowledge of the human body, by copying some well known antique statue, from which a correct outline can be made'. The centrality of this exercise to design education is attested to by its longevity: it was still part of the formal examination of designers in to the 1890s, as is illustrated by anatomical drawings by the sculptor Thomas Mewburn Crook (1869–1949) executed while he was at the Manchester School of Art, preserved in the archives of the Henry Moore Institute (Pl 6).³⁸

These years when Moore was studying are particularly crucial for developments in the entire Design School network. It was widely acknowledged that, under Dyce, the schools had

rather failed to advance the quality of Britain's art manufactures.³⁹ After the success of the Great Exhibition in 1851, where the potential of wide knowledge in international design was realised, one of its commissioners, Henry Cole, was charged with creating and heading a Department of Practical Art (later the Department of Science and Art) that would assume control of the schools of design. He set about reorganising the whole administrative structure of the schools, including the curriculum. This curriculum was designed to be intensely hierarchical and teach good design principles through a step-by-step process, and offered little prospect of students flourishing in the regional schools, since everything over a certain level could only be examined in London.

Drastic changes to the governance of the York School are evident in the records pertaining to the 1850s. In May 1853, the committee minute books record that a notice is to be posted up in the school, detailing the following:

The committee of the school of design call the attention of the students to the fact, that although one object in the establishment of this school was the education of the public generally in the principles of art, a not less important one was the education of designers for the different branches of ornamental art and manufactures practiced in the city and neighbourhoods

With a view of encouraging the study and practice of this honourable profession this committee hope to offer the following prizes to be awarded next month and will also endeavour to obtain the sale of any designs that are meritorious and their execution by manufacturers of the country.

For the best design for a paper hanging or stained glass window – £1

For the best design for the decoration in colours of a wall, ceiling or floor – £1

For the best designs for a baluster or ... bracket suitable to be cast in iron to be modelled full size in clay – £1

For the best design for an enriched carving to be modelled in relief or in colour on a moulded block – £1

For the best design for a capital or bracket in which an English plant is adapted either naturally as in Gothic architecture or conventionally as in Classic – £140

These are followed by an important postscript:

In awarding these prizes the committee will consider chiefly the simplicity and elegance of form and colour, economy of production and a strict adherence to the 'principles of decorative art' as printed and posted in the school.⁴¹

Quite clear is how relatable these prizes are to the pre-eminent crafts in York – glass staining and stone carving – but the 'strict adherence' to the principles of decorative art was a nationwide phenomenon. This is probably referring to the large-format posters, dictating various dogmas as applied to different trades – pottery, paper hanging, carpets – compiled at the request of Cole's close ally, the artist and design theorist Richard Redgrave. Redgrave intended these to be in the spirit of a lecture by Owen Jones of 1852 in which are found the seeds of *The Grammar of Ornament* of 1856. Redgrave had these posters disseminated to every branch school in the country, including York, and the minutes of the proceedings of the committee reveal the importance that they had in the day-to-day instruction in the classroom.

As if to reinforce the point, the records show that Henry Cole himself visited York School of Design in December 1854. Presented in the minute books is a long list of observations and 'suggestions' that he furnished the school's council with, as follows:

[Cole] found the copies used being of a totally unsuitable character, and found the discipline of the school very defective.

He strongly urged that a class room should be furnished wherein by means of a blackboard simultaneous instruction might be given by the master to a large body of students, and suggested that by a rearrangement of the desks the northern wing of the building of the building might be made available for this purpose.

That the walls of the school should be uncoloured and the casts painted.

Mr. Cole further recommended that the instruction given should be divided into three classes, namely Elementary, advanced and special, and that all without distinction should be required to pass through the elementary class.⁴²

The highly prescriptive and regimented structuring of the classroom space is typical of Cole's vision for design education and suffice it to say that the school council were more than obliging to Cole's requests. This, then, would have been the classroom environment from which Albert Moore emerged after his few years at the school, learning geometric draughtsmanship and copying from casts, adhering to Redgrave's universal 'principles of design'. Indeed, Asleson has picked up on this undeniable universalising of Moore's pictures, describing how he 'shifts from forest glades to draped and papered rooms with no appreciable difference in effect; patterned wallpaper and carpet fulfil the same purely decorative function as foliage and lawn'.⁴³ Writing specifically on one of Moore's early natural works, *Study of an Ash Trunk* (Pl 7), executed in 1857, soon after Moore's departure from York School of Design, Asleson states: 'Placed shallowly within the pictorial space before a flat wall of colour, Moore's three-dimensional botanical specimens dissolve into two-dimensional surface pattern'.⁴⁴ Many of Moore's paintings treat space and depth in a very two-dimensional way, and having now explored the outset of his artistic education at York, it does not seem so much of a leap to read the impress of Cole's curriculum on his subsequent career as a painter of 'fine art'.

- 1 For example, for Leeds see Rebecca Wade, 'Pedagogic Objects: The formulation, circulation and exhibition of objects for art and design education in Leeds, 1837–1857', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leeds 2012; for Manchester, Imogen Hart, *Arts and Crafts Objects*, Manchester, 2010; for Birmingham, John Swift, 'Birmingham and its Art School: Changing Views 1800–1921,' in Mervyn Roman, ed., *Histories of Art and Design Education: Collected Essays*, Bristol 2005.
- 2 Lara Kriegel, *Grand Designs: Labour, Empire, and the Museum in Victorian Culture*, London 2007, p33.
- 3 The subsequent report was published as the 'Report from the Select Committee on Arts and their connection with Manufactures with the minutes of evidence, appendix and index. House of Commons, 16th August, 1836.'
- 4 Gilbert R Redgrave, *Manual of Design: Compiled from the writings and addresses of Richard Redgrave, R.A.*, London 1890, pp156–57.
- 5 Swift, p70.
- 6 A view expressed by architect and Design School Inspector Ambrose Poynter (1769–1886) and quoted in Quentin Bell, *The Schools of Design*, London 1963, p127.
- 7 Dyce's official tenure as superintendent finished in 1844 but his vision endured until the early 1850s.
- 8 Bell, p125.
- 9 Marcia Pointon, *William Dyce: A Critical Biography*, Oxford 1979, p45.
- 10 Raphael Cardoso Denis, 'Teaching by Example: Education and the Formation of South Kensington's Museums', in Malcolm Baker, ed, *A Grand Design: The Art of the Victoria and Albert Museum*, London, 1997, pp107–116. An example of an article which has added to the perpetuation of this view is Caroline Jordan, 'The South Kensington Empire and the Idea of the Regional Art Gallery in 19th-Century Victoria,' *Fabrications*, vol 20, no. 2 (2011), pp34–59.

- 11 Anon, 'York School of Design', *York Herald*, 17 September 1842.
- 12 See also the reflection of Dyce describing York as 'nursery for national taste' quoted by Bell, p125.
- 13 *York Herald*, 17 September, 1842.
- 14 Etty goes into this in much greater detail in an address given at the annual meeting of the School of Design in 1848, in which he recounts: 'It may be recollected, some years ago, when we were endeavouring to establish a School of Art in the Hospitium of the Museum... I was, however, obliged to go to London; and in brief, that attempt failed.' Anon, 'York School of Design', *Yorkshire Gazette*, 30 December 1848, p8.
- 15 York School of Design Minutes of Proceedings 1842–1855, 30 October 1845. York City Archives (YCA)
- 16 York School of Design Minutes of Proceedings 1842–1855, 8 September 1845. YCA
- 17 Anon, 'York School of Design', *Yorkshire Gazette*, 20 December 1845. YCA
- 18 William Dyce, *The Drawing Book of the Government School of Design*, London 1842–3, p1.
- 19 York School of Design Minutes of Proceedings 1842–1855, 18 September 1843. YCA: The entire (legible) list is as follows: **Figures** – Apollo Belvedere, Venus de Medici, Antinous, Apollo Sauroctonos, Fighting Gladiator, Venus de Milo, Discobolos & Boy Extracting a Thorn. **Busts** – Capitoline Jupiter, Lucius Verus, Ariadne, Demosthenes, Laocoon, Helen, Apollo & ? **Vases** – Larger Vase from British Museum and ten others from various collections. **Reliefs** – Numerous casts from antique friezes, Reliefs and ornaments from the temples of Jupiter Stator, Antoninus & Faustina & Jupiter Tonans etc. at Rome, Many specimens of ornaments, pilasters and patterns of the cinquecento period. A portion of the capital from the temple of the Sibyl at Tivoli near Rome. Large antique frieze from the Aldobrandini Palace at Rome. Numerous Anatomical casts of hands and feet, likewise grotesque heads, bosses and ornaments from the Minster and St. Mary's Abbey at York.
- 20 This assumption derives from looking through the 1889 *Catalogue of Casts for Schools* by Domenico Brucciani (accessed at www.archive.org) and also the plaster cast section of Beazley Archive (<http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/index.htm>) and finding no discernible source for the image.
- 21 Edward Charlesworth 'will show a series of objects illustrating a new process of mounting and preserving specimens of zoology'. Anon, 'The Exhibition of 1851: Contributions from York', *Yorkshire Gazette*, 1 February 1851, p5. For an extensive account of Edward Charlesworth and his career at the YPS Museum and within Geology in general see Barbara J Pyrah, *The History of the Yorkshire Museum, and its Geological Collections*, York 1988, pp52–65.
- 22 John Bowes Morrell, 'Perpetual Excitement: The Heroic Age of British Geology', *Geological Curator*, vol 5, no. 8 (1994), p311.
- 23 Barbara J Pyrah, *The History of the Yorkshire Museum*, York, 1988, pp59–60.
- 24 Toshimu Kusamitsu, 'British Industrialization and Design Before the Great Exhibition', *Textile History*, vol 12, no. 1 (1981), p80.
- 25 Anon, 'York School of Design: The Half-Yearly Exhibition', *Yorkshire Gazette*, 27 June 1846, p5.
- 26 Stuart Macdonald, *The History and Philosophy of Art Education*, London 1970, pp116–128; Bell, pp77–9; Kriegel, pp23–31.
- 27 Macdonald, pp116–17.
- 28 Robyn Asleson, *Albert Moore*, London 2004, pp11, 13.
- 29 Macdonald, p103.
- 30 York School of Design Minutes of Proceedings 1842–1855, 12 November 1848. YCA.
- 31 York School of Design Minutes of Proceedings 1842–1855, 11 March, 1850. YCA.
- 32 The annual report of that year explains: 'These classes, although not forming part of the regular course of studies, are assisted by a small grant from the school funds, and by the use of the school, gas, &c., Artists and amateurs, not being students, may attend these classes, by payment of the school fee and a small additional contribution.' quoted in Anon, 'York School of Design', *Yorkshire Gazette*, 20 March 1852, p7.
- 33 Alexander Gilchrist, *Life of William Etty*, London 1855, vol 2, p180.
- 34 Asleson, p12.
- 35 Anon, 'York School of Design', *Yorkshire Gazette*, 20 March 1852, p7.
- 36 John Ward Knowles, *York Artists*, unpublished MS, YCA.
- 37 Anon, 'Exhibition of Prize Drawings in York', *Yorkshire Gazette*, 1 December 1855, p11.
- 38 Ibid. For a comprehensive breakdown of the design school curriculum, implemented in 1851, see Appendix C in Macdonald, pp388–91. Albert Moore's anatomical sketch was for examination for Stage 9.
- 39 Edward Bird, 'The development of art and design education in the United Kingdom in the 19th century', unpublished PhD thesis, Loughborough University 1992, p227.
- 40 York School of Design Minutes of Proceedings 1842–1855, 9 May, 1853.
- 41 Ibid.
- 42 York School of Design Minutes of Proceedings 1842–1855, Special Meeting, 9 December 1854.
- 43 Robyn Asleson, 'Nature and Abstraction in the Aesthetic Development of Albert Moore,' in Elizabeth Prettejohn, ed, *After the Pre-Raphaelites: Art and Aestheticism in Victorian England*, Manchester 1999, p117.
- 44 Asleson, p15.