

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ART INSTITUTIONS IN  
QUEBEC AND ONTARIO (1876-1914) AND  
THE SOUTH KENSINGTON INFLUENCE

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The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the evolution of art educational institutions in Quebec and Ontario between 1876 and the First World War. This study reveals that for the "Canadian" art student during this period (1876-1914) drawing and art education was limited to a few art schools that had been modelled upon the British South Kensington system and its method of drawing instruction. Documented sources of private and public art schools indicate that an awareness of and written communication with the South Kensington art educational authorities existed prior to 1876; however, it was not until 1876 that a standardized system of drawing instruction was adopted by Quebec and Ontario provincial government post-secondary art schools, as well as, primary and secondary public day schools, and evening classes.

The catalyst for the adoption of a system of drawing, which would meet the needs of an emerging industrial Canada, was primarily due to British-born Walter Smith (1836-1886). Both Quebec and Ontario sent educational delegations to the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition and were impressed, as were others, with the exhibits of art students from Massachusetts, who, since 1871, had followed the Walter Smith system of drawing instruction, that was inspired by its British prototype, the South Kensington system. Smith was a graduate of and former teacher in the South Kensington system, whose ideas on art and its close relationship to industry conformed to the utilitarian philosophy promoted by the South Kensington art educators.

To evaluate the extent of the South Kensington influence in Ontario and Quebec at the provincial government art schools and at the Art Association of Montréal, Quebec, I have used six determinants: curriculum, drawing instruction, models and teaching apparatus, staff, the operation and administration of the system, and the writings of four art educators who had longstanding affiliations and influence with art schools. In Ontario, George A. Reid (1860-1947) and William Cruikshank (1848-1922); in Quebec, Edmond Dyonnet (1859-1934) at the Council art school, Montreal and William Brymner (1855-1925) at the A.A.M. The writings of two other Quebec art educators, abbé Joseph Chabert (1832-1894) and Napoléon Bourassa (1827-1916) have been examined for their contribution.



In memoriam Leslie Craig Kyle

"Our little systems have their day;  
They have their day and cease to be: . . ."

In Memoriam A.H.H.  
Alfred, Lord Tennyson (1809-92)

"If, don't you know, industry were united  
with culture and culture with industry. . . ."

Vershinin in Act IV of Anton  
Chekhov (1860-1904), Three  
Sisters in Nine Plays of Chekov  
(New York: Grosset & Dunlap,  
1946), p. 143.

Three Sisters was produced by  
the Moscow Art Theatre on  
25 May, 1901.

"The specific task of bourgeois society is  
the establishment of a world market . . .  
and of production based upon this world  
market."

Marx to Engels, London,  
October 8, 1858.  
Karl Marx and Frederick Engels,  
On Colonialism, 5th ed. (Moscow:  
Progress Publishers, 1974),  
p. 320.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

### A. Archives, Periodicals, Reference Books

- A.C.A.M. - Archives de la Chancellerie de l'Archievêché de Montréal.
- A.C.H.C.P. - Dennis Reid, A Concise History of Canadian Painting. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1973.
- A.D.C.A. - Colin S. MacDonald, A Dictionary of Canadian Artists. 6 Volumes. Ottawa: Canadian Paperbacks Ltd., 1967-.
- A.G.O. - Art Gallery of Ontario Archives, Toronto.
- A.N.Q.M. - Archives nationales du Québec à Montréal.
- A.S.C.M. - Archives des Pères de Sainte-Croix de Montréal.
- A.S.Q. - Archives Séminaire du Québec.
- B.N.Q. - Bibliothèque nationale du Québec à Montréal.
- Bulletin  
R.C.H.T.Q. - Bulletin d'histoire des travailleurs du Québec.
- C.R.C.C.F. - Centre de recherche en civilisation canadienne-française, Université d'Ottawa.
- D.C.B. - Dictionary of Canadian Biography.
- D.S. - Documents de la session, province du Québec.
- E.P.&E. - J. Russell Harper, Early Painters and Engravers in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1970.
- J.C.A.H. - Journal of Canadian Art History.
- M.M.F.A. - Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.
- M.S.R.C. - Mémoires. Société Royal du Canada.
- N.A. - National Archives of Canada, Ottawa.
- N.G.C. - National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

A. Archives, Periodicals, Reference Books (cont'd)

- O.A. - Ontario Archives, Toronto.
- O.C.A. - Ontario College of Art, Toronto.
- P in C - J. Russell Harper, Painting in Canada:  
A History. Toronto: University of  
Toronto, 1967.
- Q.I.O.A. - Inventaire des oeuvres d'art du Québec  
à Québec.
- R.H.A.F. - Revue d'histoire d'Amérique française.
- V & A Museum  
Archives - Victoria and Albert Museum Archives,  
London, England.

## B. Artistic Associations

- A.A.M. - Art Association of Montreal.
- A.R.C.A. - Associate of the Royal Canadian Academy/  
Associate of the Royal College of Art.
- O.C.A. - Ontario College of Art, Toronto.
- O.S.A. - Ontario Society of Artists.
- R.A. - Royal Academician, London.
- R.C.A. - Royal Canadian Academician.
- T.A.S.L. - Toronto Art Students League.

### C. Art Terms

Comp.	- Composition
Drwg.	- Drawing
Geo.	- Geometry
Ind.	- Industrial
Land.	- Landscape
Mech.	- Mechanical
Mod.	- Modelling
Pers.	- Perspective
Ptg.	- Painting
Sculp.	- Sculpture
w/c	- Watercolour

#### D. General Terms

A.R.	- Annual Report
c.	- circa
ch.	- chapter
ed./eds.	- edition or editor/editors
f.	- female
fig./figs.	- Figure/Figures
m.	- male
MS./MSS.	- manuscript
n.d.	- not dated
no./nos.	- number/numbers
p./pp.	- page/pages
Ref.	- Reference
Vict.	- Victoria
Vol./Vols.	- Volume/Volumes
W.B.	- William Brymner
Wm.	- William
Aft.	- Afternoon
Eve.	- Evening
Morn.	- Morning
Adv.	- Advanced
Elem.	- Elementary
Prim.	- Primary
unp.	- unpagged

## CHAPTER 1: SOUTH KENSINGTON

### Introduction

Writers have emphasized continuously, that Paris was the place to receive an art education in the last quarter of the 19th century, however, my statistics confirm that a *large* number of Canadian artists studied in Britain during the same period. Upon examination of the curriculum and methods employed at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris, after 1863, I was surprised to find that the 1863 art education reforms and subsequent re-organisation were modelled upon Britain's South Kensington system. This led me to investigate what type of drawing instruction was utilized in post-secondary art educational institutions in Quebec and Ontario between 1876-1914. Colonial Quebec and Ontario, and at a later date, other Canadian provinces, the United States, particularly Massachusetts along with several other states, as well as other countries—New Zealand and Brazil, adopted a system of drawing instruction based on the British prototype South Kensington.

The adoption of this particular system of drawing was an attempt to standardize art education primarily for commercial reasons, however, moral, educational and political nationalism were underlying motives.

The influence, both direct and indirect (through Walter Smith), of the South Kensington system and its method of drawing instruction in Quebec and Ontario was extensive and profound. I have employed six variables or set of determinants to measure the extent of the South Kensington influence in post-secondary art schools, be-



tween 1876-1914, in Quebec at the Art Association of Montreal—a privately funded art school and the Conseil des arts et manufactures provincial government art schools; and in Ontario, the independent art schools (Toronto, London, and Ottawa) from 1876 - 82/83, and after their takeover by the Ontario provincial government (1882/83 - 1912).

The six variables which reinforce the utilitarian philosophy of art and drawing instruction emphasized by the South Kensington system are: 1) How the art education system was run and administered; 2) curriculum; 3) models and teaching apparatus; 4) examination of the drawing instruction and drawings produced under such conditions from descriptions of the types of drawings in the annual student exhibitions, as well as rare examples reproduced in contemporary accounts; 5) staff; 6) six teachers'<sup>1</sup> writings and philosophy of art are examined because of their important contribution to art education. In Ontario, George Agnew Reid (1860-1947), and William Cruikshank (1848-1922), both of whom had a long association with the art school at Toronto; in Quebec, William Brymner (1855-1925) at the Art Association of Montreal art school, as its director and principal instructor from 1886-1921; Edmond Dyonnet (1859-1954) who taught mostly at the Montreal central art school

<sup>1</sup>From biographical information provided in Colin S. MacDonald's A Dictionary of Canadian Artists (Ottawa: Canadian Paperback Publishing Ltd., 1967- ), 28 artists acknowledged study with Cruikshank, 36 with Dyonnet, 44 with Brymner, and 32 with Reid. MacDonald's 6 volume 'Dictionary' has been completed alphabetically from A to R. See Appendix 1a.

of the Council, and was its director from 1892-1922; abbé Joseph Chabert (1832-94), who attempted to establish an art school in competition to those of the Council; and Napoléon Bourassa (1827-1916), who was an artist, art educator and theorist, influential writer and intellectual.

Three important conclusions have been reached by me: firstly, that the reputation of the Parisian atelier and the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, from the third quarter of the 19th century to the First War, have been inflated and distorted in terms of their importance as teaching institutions; secondly, that the South Kensington system of art schools in Britain and its method of drawing instruction have been attacked unfairly, and not objectively represented in many accounts in terms of its long term contribution to Industrial and Fine Art education; and thirdly, that in both Quebec and Ontario, a highly developed system of post-secondary drawing instruction and art education was available to Industrial and Fine Arts students from 1876.

A) Why the South Kensington Art Schools were Established and Their Objectives

The South Kensington art schools were founded in 1853 to replace the Schools of Art and Design which had been established in 1837 under the directorship of *John Buonarotti Papworth*. Critics of the 1851 'Great Exhibition,' in London had unanimously agreed that Britain's exhibits were well below the standards of other participating nations, and that France had surpassed them in design, craftsman-

ship, and artistry.<sup>1</sup> Hence, this event (the 1851 'Great Exhibition') was the catalyst for the re-organization of the Schools of Art and Design.

Henry Cole commented on the Schools of Design, to the 1849 Select Committee:

I apprehend that the assumption in starting these schools was, that the benefit should be strictly commercial. I do not think that the schools were created for aesthetic purposes, or for general educational purposes. I apprehend that the age is so essentially commercial, that it hardly looks to promoting anything of this kind except for commercial purposes. In this case, I think it was specially commercial.<sup>2</sup>

Four years later in 1853, Cole outlined the three objectives of the South Kensington art schools, in his first Report to the Board of Trade.

1st, General Elementary Instruction in Art, as a branch of national education among all classes of the community, with the view of laying the foundation of correct judgment, both in the consumer and producer of manufacturers; 2nd, Advanced Instruction in Art, with the view to its special cultivation; and lastly, the Application of the Principles of Technical Art to the improvement of all classes might be induced to investigate those common principles of taste, which may be traced in works of excellence of all ages.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The same claim had been voiced in the 1830's when the Schools of Design formed. Peter Cunningham stated: "The most general opinion of an inherent French superiority in questions of taste (a prejudice which has been shown . . . as existing in the Fine arts). . . . French superiority in design was attributed to their free access to all forms of knowledge, including museums." See Peter Cunningham, "The formation of the Schools of Design, 1830-1850, with special reference to Manchester, Birmingham and Leeds" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Leeds: University of Leeds, 1979), p. 85.

<sup>2</sup>Henry Cole, Select Committee, 1849, Cole. q. 3296. See also, Quentin Bell, The Schools of Design (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), p. 253.

<sup>3</sup>Janet Minihan, The Nationalization of Culture (London: Hamilton, 1977), p. 107.

Added to these three priorities, a few years later, in 1857, was the training of art teachers.<sup>1</sup> Almost fifty years later in 1900/01, the priorities of British art schools remained the same, as evidenced by examining the prospectus for that year.

. . . first priority was given to the application of the curriculum to trade and industries; second to the teaching of art as part of a general education; and third to the training of art teachers.<sup>2</sup>

The South Kensington system of drawing instruction was established in 1853 by the Department of Science and Art primarily for commercial reasons to elevate the skill of British designers, artisans and craftsmen in the manufactures. Richard Redgrave in the First Report of the Department of Science and Art in October 1853 stated that the South Kensington system was: "... a complete and systematic course, both for the acquisition of technical skill and execution, and for obtaining a knowledge of the principles which should guide the application of such skill, when acquired, in the practice of Design; ..." (p. 11).

In addition it was intended to be an elementary course for fine artists and art teachers, as well as provide for the public drawing education in primary and secondary schools. The principal course was for Designers and Ornamentists and was comprised of twenty-three stages of drawing courses. The remaining three courses could be followed in the field of "industrial art": Class teaching-- eight stages; General Education-- thirteen stages; Machinists, Engineers and Foremen-- seven stages. It was not a flexible system and emphasized technical instruction over fine art; stressed scientific and technical methods rather than creativity; and was objective instead of subjective.

#### B) Fine Art versus Industrial Art

The unresolved difficulty of drawing applied to science or art or both continued throughout the lifespan of the South Kensington system (1853-99), not only in Britain but also in the United States, Canada and some emerging countries.

The confused position of 'practical Drawing' shows that there was no real bridge (between Art and Science): it could be taken as an Art subject<sup>3</sup> or as a Science subject, but standards prevailed.

As Sutton has pointed out the confusion over fine and industrial art was complicated by the power struggle within Britain during the second half of the 19th century for art

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<sup>1</sup>Henry Cole, Fifty Years of Public Work, 2 vols. (London: George Bell & Sons, 1884), p. 299.

"I. The training of Schoolmasters and Mistresses and Pupil-Teachers, who should teach Elementary Drawing.

II. The training of Masters for the Schools of Art in the country.

III. Training of Students in Technical Art and generally advanced instruction."

<sup>2</sup>Marjorie Allthorpe-Guyton, A Happy Eye: A school of art in Norwich (Norwich: Jarrold & Sons Ltd., 1982), p. 112.

<sup>3</sup>Harry Butterworth, "The Science and Art Department 1853-1900" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Sheffield, 1968), p. 475.

educational control between three rival groups: the Royal Academy, South Kensington, and Ruskin and the Pre-Raphaelites. According to Sutton, these groups served the interests and were supported by members of a particular class within the society.

The Royal Academy represented the interests of the elite—those with a view that art was an accomplishment; South Kensington represented the utilitarian philosophy of art serving the interests of industry—material prosperity, etc.; and Ruskin and the Pre-Raphaelites represented (creativity) the individual art education over that of collective experience.<sup>1</sup>

France also suffered from the same dilemma over fine and industrial art. Boime stated that the indecision over the art and industry question in France was reflected in the frequent change of name of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris, just as it was in art institutions in Quebec, Ontario, Britain, and the United States.

. . . it was internally divided over whether it should serve as preparatory ground for the Ecole des Beaux-Arts or maintain rigorously its links to industry. . . . The constant revision of its name is a clue to its internal- and external difficulties: Ecole de dessin et de mathématiques to Ecole des arts du dessin appliqué à l'industrie,<sup>2</sup> and eventually to Ecole des arts décoratifs.

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<sup>1</sup>Gordon Sutton, Artisan or Artist (London: Pergamon Press, 1967), p. 95. See also, A. S. Levine, "The Politics of Taste: The Science and Art Department of Great Britain, 1852-1873" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1972), p. 113. "It [South Kensington] competed with private academies and drawing masters, and forced one part of the community to subsidize training in art for the other."

<sup>2</sup>Albert Boime, "The Teaching Reforms of 1863, and the Origins of Modernism in France," Art Quarterly (1977), new series, Vol. 1, no. 1, p. 38.

C) South Kensington Influence in Quebec  
and Ontario (1876-1914)

Although the Quebec and Ontario provincial governments' education departments were aware of the success of the South Kensington system and its method of drawing instruction in Britain, and its American counterpart organized by Walter Smith in Massachusetts in 1871, little was done to institute a similar system of drawing instruction or establish art schools prior to 1877 when the Smith system was adopted formally in all public schools under provincial jurisdiction.<sup>1</sup>

Prior to 1877, continual personal contact and written communication between South Kensington and both the Quebec and Ontario educational authorities had been initiated. Even the privately funded Art Association of Montreal approached South Kensington for advice. The A.A.M., one of the oldest institutions of its kind in North America held its first meeting at the house of Christopher Dunkin on February 18, 1860. It was at this initial meeting that someone (un-

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<sup>1</sup>Quebec provincial government post-secondary art schools adopted the Walter Smith system of drawing from 1876-1891. Primary and secondary Protestant public schools adopted the Smith system from 1877-91, the Roman Catholics from 1877-87.

Ontario primary and secondary provincial schools adopted the Smith system of drawing instruction from 1882/83-86. Ontario independent post-secondary art schools adopted a drawing system based on South Kensington from 1876-1882/3; then with the provincial government takeover from 1882/3-1912 a similar system was employed. However, the curriculum and methods of drawing instruction still stressed industrial art education over that of fine art. It wasn't until 1912, with the creation of the Ontario College of Art, that fine art was finally separated from industrial art.



identified in the archival material) suggested that the newly appointed association secretary, Thomas D. King, draft a letter of inquiry to Henry Cole.<sup>1</sup> Besides the continued correspondence of the Ontario and Quebec art schools, both public and private, with South Kensington from 1860 to 1899, concerning the hiring of South Kensington-trained teachers,<sup>2</sup> acquiring models and teaching apparatus, the Quebec and Ontario art schools (provincial) displayed several characteristics of South Kensington.

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<sup>1</sup>M.M.F.A., Archives, Council Meetings, Book I (1860-95), pp. 4-5.

Correspondence between the Council and South Kensington  
Acquisition of Teaching Models

- 10 Aug., 1880. Reply recorded 2 Nov., 1880.  
9 Feb., 1886. Council president visits South Kensington.  
10 May, 1887. Col. Donnelly, secretary of the Dept. of Science and Art.  
5 Aug., 1887. List of student works forwarded to the Council.  
16 Feb., 1888. Seven plaster casts sent to the Council.

Hiring of Teachers

- Nov., 1873. Henry Bulmer visits South Kensington Museum to inquire about hiring South Kensington teachers in the Council art schools. Revisited in Nov., 1885.  
May, 1874. South Kensington teachers required.  
3 Nov., 1874. Mr. Saunders applies to Council, however, his salary demands were too high.  
8 May, 1883. Mr. Booth hired.  
5 Aug., 1887. Hugh Stannus offers to give twenty lectures on 'technical design and industrial arts.'  
1889. F.S. Cleverley hired.

Correspondence between the A.A.M. and South Kensington

- 18 Feb., 1860. A.A.M. secretary T. D. King to Henry Cole.  
Jan., 1883. Mr. Popham in London.  
7 May, 1884. Mr. Hall contacts Sir Philip Cunliffe-Owen.

<sup>2</sup>See sections on Staff. See also Harry Butterworth, op. cit., p. 351. Some South Kensington teachers were employed in the Bombay Schools of Art.



In 1882, four conditions were required before an art school could be established.<sup>1</sup>

Another similarity between South Kensington and the Ontario and Quebec provincial art schools was the financial incentive paid to teachers for enrolment of students and additional monetary remuneration if the pupil completed a course and obtained a certificate. This was in excess of their salary.

Every [art school teacher] shall be entitled to the sum of one dollar for every pupil obtaining one proficiency certificate, or two dollars for every pupil obtaining two or more proficiency certificates in the subjects named in any of the Drawing Courses, and five dollars for a full certificate in the Advanced or Mechanical Course, as determined at the Departmental Examination.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>DS (1881-82), Vol. 16, no. 2, pp. 62-63. A. S. Levine, op. cit., p. 201. ". . . that all localities provide suitable premises, and pay all charges for rent, taxes, and repairs." Regarding the second condition for the establishment of an art school in a given locality, Minihan stated, in Britain, towns with a population exceeding 10,000 could apply. J. Minihan, op. cit., p. 92. See also Harry Butterworth, op. cit., p. 258. Department of Science and Art, 1st Report, p. 108. "Precise regulations were laid down on the condition of the Local Committee which would administer the School: one condition of aid was the provision of premises, and accommodation and equipment requirements were carefully stated, even to the tint of drawing paper (green or 'neutral')." "

<sup>2</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1886-87, p. 184. Mechanics' Institutes in Ontario were offered the same financial incentives as the provincial art schools for enrolment and certificated students.

Standardization of art education was one of the priorities of the South Kensington system. A comparison between South Kensington and the Ontario provincial art schools was made in 1890.

The advantages of the excellent method of examination are not confined to Ontario alone. The minister of Education has introduced the system that obtains in South Kensington, whereby art pupils residing at a distance—for example, Manitoba, Portage La Prairie, and many other places—have been enabled to participate in the results of the examinations during the past year. There is no charge made, and all who have a taste for drawing or painting can present their work for examination just as if they had attended . . . the Art Schools here.<sup>1</sup>

It had been the policy of the Ontario government, since the takeover of the independent art schools from 1882/3-1886, and in Quebec in the Council art schools since 1876, to have a central art school with provincial branches, as South Kensington had London as its central school. Montreal was the central art school for the Council, and the Ontario School of Art, Toronto, was the central art school for Ontario.

There were two essential differences between the Ontario and the Quebec versions of the South Kensington system, which allied Ontario closer to the aforementioned British prototype institution. Firstly, Ontario established a specific certified art training course for teachers (this was one of the original functions of the South Kensington system cited by Henry Cole), and secondly, the Educational Museum, Toronto, founded by Egerton Ryerson

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1889-90, p. 305.

(1803-1882), Supervisor of Public Instruction for Ontario and, opened to the public in 1857, was perceived as an important apparatus to be employed for the dissemination of art and drawing instruction to pupils of the Ontario School of Art, Toronto, and its rural branches. The use of the Educational Museum conformed to the precedent set by and the functioning of the South Kensington Museum, London, whereby the loan exhibitions of its collection were sent to various provincial art schools. The Educational Museum, Toronto, housed a collection of art works (copies of acknowledged masterpieces of sculpture, paintings, engravings, etc., and specimens of natural science).

The Quebec provincial art schools never developed a specific teachers' art training course (one was suggested in 1882, but voted down for economic reasons) nor was there an educational museum linked to the art schools (although the local Montreal newspapers in the 1880's praised the South Kensington Museum and the Educational Museum, Toronto, because their collections were accessible to the public and students per gratis).

All the drawings done in the Ontario or Quebec provincial art schools were forwarded to either Toronto or Montreal for inspection and grading prior to awarding of medals and certificates by their respective Educational Departments. The government dictated the size and quality of paper on which drawings were executed not only to facili-

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1889-90, p. 305.

tate grading, but also to follow the example set by the South Kensington educational authority.<sup>1</sup>

Samples of work done during the session must be given in (a) Ornamental Design and Outline, and Shading from the Antique. There is no restriction as to the character or manner of the execution, nor the time occupied in this work. (b) Drawing from the Antique, full figure. The drawing shall not be less than two feet in height, on white paper, in chalk, either with or without the aid of stump, background shaded or plain work to be finished in 36 hours, regular school time, without assistance. (c) Original Design. This is to be executed in pencil, on paper provided by the Department; . . . drawing not less than six inches by four [sic] inches; time four hours. The designs recommended are those suitable for wall paper, carpet, oil cloth, etc.<sup>2</sup>

Medals and certificates were awarded to successful pupils, gold and silver medals to those in the industrial drawing course, and bronze to fine art class. An annual student exhibition was held.<sup>3</sup> Walter Smith's handbooks were awarded to students who achieved the standard of proficiency in drawing, and were distributed in an attempt to popularize drawing, as had been done with the books of William Dyce and Richard Redgrave in the South Kensington

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<sup>1</sup>Harry Butterworth, op. cit., p. 258.

<sup>2</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1886-87, p. 185.

<sup>3</sup>Harry Butterworth, op. cit., p. 259. "Central Exhibitions of work from the provinces had first been arranged in April 1851, . . . and they were an important feature under the new regime. Schools were required to submit works to Central Exhibitions, because this would 'put them to the severe test of public examination . . . and [also] instruct the public.'"

system.

The curriculum was derived from that of South Kensington. Quebec and Ontario provincial art school drawings produced a flat monochromatic quality, in style not unlike those produced in the South Kensington art schools.

Attendance in the mid to late 19th century had been traditionally a problem, not only within the art schools in Quebec and Ontario, but also in Britain and France; and not only art schools (private and public) but also public schools. Daily attendance never exceeded sixty-six per cent (averaging between 50 and 66 per cent) of the enrolment. The art schools were merely a microcosm of poor attendance endemic within the public school system. In regard to the art schools, however, artists and educators blamed the system of drawing instruction employed in Quebec and Ontario for the low attendance. One of the major reasons for the dissatisfaction with the South Kensington system in Britain was poor attendance, besides the emphasis on commercial aspects of training over creativity.

One official commented that the school attendance in Ontario was averaging only fifty-seven per cent in 1901.

. . . even the well-established Ontario school system suffered from non-attendance and poor attendance. In the province in 1901, the average attendance was only 57 per cent.<sup>1</sup>

Another criticism symptomatic of mid to late 19th century art school pupils in Britain, the United States,

<sup>1</sup>Susan E. Houston, "Social Reform and Education: The Issue of Compulsory Schooling, Toronto, 1851-71," in eds. Neil McDonald and Alf Chaiton, Egerton Ryerson and His Times (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1978), p. 283.

France, and both Quebec and Ontario private and public art schools, was the lack of discipline and unwillingness to follow a system of organized instruction at the elementary level. The A.A.M. private art school under the direction of Robert Harris was the recipient of such criticism.<sup>1</sup>

William Brymner, Harris' successor as director and principal instructor at the A.A.M. from 1886-1921, encountered the same problems amongst his students and he reiterated Harris' observations.<sup>2</sup>

D) How Drawing was Perceived in Quebec and Ontario

Drawing instruction in both Ontario and Quebec served the interest of two distinct classes of society. Mechanics'

<sup>1</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, Scrapbook, 01-121-2a; see also Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette, 23 Feb., 1886. See p. 219, 2 footnote 1.  
<sup>2</sup>A.A.M. Annual Report 1895, p. 6. See p. 230, footnote 1.

institutes were developed to provide the working classes with evening instruction in reading, writing, mathematics and eventually, drawing that stressed manual skill and proficiency to enable them to better themselves at their work place and in the community. Transient drawing masters offered drawing instruction to the sons, daughters, and families of the middle and wealthy or privileged classes as 'fine art accomplishment' for the gentleman or ladies overall education (a sort of finishing school for the well-bred and genteel). In public schools (primary and secondary), both in Ontario and Quebec, as it had earlier in Britain, drawing had been available as an extra subject with an additional fee charged to cover the cost of employing a drawing master and materials. However, as 19th century educators and theorists, from mid-century onward, acknowledged the importance of drawing, it became an essential part or component of the public school curriculum. Drawing was perceived and interpreted by educators, theorists and reformers, as an extension of calligraphy, eye to hand co-ordination, therefore, drawing assumed a new significance raising itself and the instructor to a position of elevated status.

Reprints of articles by American and British educationalists stressing the importance and similarity of both writing and drawing to the individual and the society are found continuously in official Ontario and Quebec (Upper and Lower Canada) educational reports, journals, and newspapers from the early 1860's onward. This slow, gradual,



and deliberate campaign to enlist support for educational reform resulted in government legislation and enactment in 1876 and 1877.

The Hon. Henry Barnard, a noted American educationist, thus strikingly refers to this instinct of a boy's nature. He says: 'The first instinct or inclination of a child is to handle the pencil, and to draw something.' The sparks of what may be called 'that sacred fire' should not be smothered, but formed into a flame. Drawing is the alphabet, or rather the language, of art; and when understood, the child is the possible sculptor, painter, or architect. Instruction in these elements of art corrects the taste and gives the hand skill; it gives the trained, artistic eye which detects the incongruous, the ungraceful, and the ill-proportioned, and which, on the other hand, the graceful, the harmonious, the symmetrical, never escape. The instructed eye derives the same intense delight from the pleasures of sight as the instructed ear the harmonies of sound. The introduction of this branch of study into our Public Schools will do more than anything else to popularize art, and give the whole people a taste for art in its nobler as well as simpler forms.<sup>1</sup>

These remarks were reiterated in the Journal of Education (Quebec):

Writing is one of the most important of elementary subjects. Drawing is the elder sister of writing and they mutually aid each other. The same quick eye and the same skilful hand are necessary in both.<sup>2</sup>

In 1879, Lucius O'Brien (1832-1900), Vice-President of the Ontario Society of Artists, and later President of

<sup>1</sup>Chief Superintendent's Report on Education (Ontario) 1872, "Technical Education; its purpose and object," p. 45.

<sup>2</sup>L. S. Thompson, "Some Reasons why Drawing should be Taught in our Public Schools. A paper read before the Ohio State Teachers' Association, 3 July 1877," Journal of Education (Quebec), Vol. XXI, Oct., 1877, p. 148.

the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, wrote an article on the importance of drawing not only for the fine artist, but also the artisan. His ideas were inspired from those earlier explained by Walter Smith, whose utilitarian philosophy was derived from the British South Kensington system. O'Brien, like Smith, saw the need for drawing instruction in public day schools where children would be introduced to mechanical, exact copying of form. Again, conforming to his contemporaries, O'Brien concluded that four courses of instruction were essential for a sound education.

There are now four fundamental studies required to fit children for practical life, namely:

1. Reading, because it is the means of teaching, and acquiring knowledge.
2. Writing, because it is the means of expressing knowledge.
3. Arithmetic, because it is the means of computing knowledge and values; and
4. Drawing, because it is the language of form in every branch of industry,<sup>1</sup> from the most simple to the most complex.

O'Brien specified the type of systematized drawing instruction that would benefit school aged children. His ideas were borrowed from Walter Smith. O'Brien related drawing to calligraphy.

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<sup>1</sup>L. R. O'Brien, "Art Education—A Plea for the Artisan," Rose-Bedford's Canadian Monthly and National Review, Vol. 2 (1879), p. 585. Most of what O'Brien reproduces is derived from: "On the 5th of February last there was an important gathering in Washington, being the annual meeting of the Educational Association of the United States. At this meeting Professor Walter Smith, state director of Art Education in Massachusetts, read an able and very interesting paper on 'Technical Education,' which has since been published, . . ."

The exercises are, drawing of geometrical forms with explanation of terms, drawing from memory, drawing from dictation, and arranging simple forms in original designs. The ease with which children learn to draw, and the interest they take in their drawing would astonish those who look back to the inky fingers and blank despair of their early writing lessons. The extent to which accurate recollection of form can be cultivated is displayed in the drawings from memory, and the precise appreciation of language, as proved by the drawing of complex forms of dictation, . . .<sup>1</sup>

It was through Walter Smith that Lucius O'Brien became convinced of the benefits and positive aspects, to artists and society, of employing the South Kensington system of art education.

To develop the intelligence, cultivate the taste and train the hand and eye to skilful work, is art education; . . . How best to impart practical culture [technical education] is one of the great questions that civilized countries are trying to solve, and it derives no little of its importance from the tacit acknowledgment, that upon it depends wealth and commercial supremacy. England's system of art education was born of this commercial necessity, and within the last quarter of a century it has enabled her to surpass in the taste of her designs, as well as in the skill of her workmanship, all her rivals. Her progress was virtually acknowledged by the French Government, who in 1863 appointed an Imperial Commission to discover the cause. This commission reported in effect that the advance was due to the teaching of drawing in public schools, and to the establishment of normal art schools and industrial museums.<sup>2</sup>

O'Brien continued by quoting directly from Smith's comments at the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition: ". . . the last Paris Exposition [1878] revealed great ad-

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 590.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 588.

vances in English industry, due to the Art movement developed, since 1851, by the South Kensington School, . . ."1

O'Brien was concerned that if the South Kensington system and its method of drawing instruction were not employed in public and post-secondary art classes, both the artist and artisan would lose the manual drawing skill at the elementary levels. ". . . the finer work is done for him and he has lost the tasteful skill of hand that belonged to the old artisan."2

William Coldstream (1908- ) in commenting about his own art education stated, that when he was studying at the Slade (c. 1926-27), under Henry Tonks, Tonks recommended that Coldstream consult a former coach painter to help him (Coldstream) acquire the manual skill of drawing and painting straight and curved lines, something that was unavailable in the Slade curriculum at that time. O'Brien's apprehension about an artist unable to find satisfactory fundamental drawing instruction at the lower levels, seems to have been realized.

Something else Tonks did for me because of his concern about my lack of manual skill, was to arrange for me to go and have some lessons with an old friend of his who was an elderly coach painter. He had a big workshop in one of the maze of little streets that has long since been pulled down behind the Tate Gallery. He was a man without much formal education but he had had a very thorough Victorian apprenticeship. He had enormous manual skill, and he taught me how much paint I should put on the brush and how to do a straight line. He taught as one might

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 587.

teach golf or billiards, and I like that attitude. He told me how to hold the brush and to draw the line at a steady pace, at exactly the same speed all the way along. After we had done the straight lines we did curves which are much more difficult.<sup>1</sup>

Besides the association with calligraphy and drawing being quintessential to education, the successful implementation of the vast standardized system of drawing instruction applied to industrial concern and interests in Britain during the early 1850's known as the South Kensington system of Sir Henry Cole's genius, had *attempted not only to* raise the standards of craftsmanship *but also* to *elevate* the level of taste amongst the population, *as well as to* increase the level of material wealth. Financial success and material prosperity of Britain's industries were equated with the South Kensington system of drawing instruction. Therefore, most industrialized countries or emerging industrial countries such as, the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Brazil adopted the South Kensington system or one of its imitators to remain commercially competitive in international markets. In 1863, France remodelled its already existing art educational system upon South Kensington.

It was believed that a comprehensive system of public education for the producing of classes was essential for intellectual, moral, physical, and industrial training which would strengthen the attachment of each class to their specific profession and better qualify them for success and happiness in life.

<sup>1</sup>Lynda Morris, ed., Henry Tonks and the Art of Pure Drawing (Norwich: Norwich School of Art Gallery, 1985), p.13.

Educators, politicians and industrialists realized the importance of drawing as part of general education to keep their country's manufactures ahead of foreign competition, though it also made some members of the society in power, even the clergy, uneasy. The utilitarian philosophy of the South Kensington system and the Walter Smith system was characterised by drawings that were precise, with great attention to detail and accuracy, high finish that reflected the labourious many hours, days, months of work that went into making such a drawing. Victorian society in Britain, and its colonial counterpart in French Roman Catholic (Ultramontanist) Quebec and Methodist Ontario valued such drawings and paintings. Maintaining the status quo was essential for the continuance of economic and political power in the hands of a few, assuring both the upper class (wealthy or aristocrats) and the middle class of society's stability and their unchallenged position in the class structure.

In 1856, pre-Confederation Toronto was the victim of a great number of acts of vandalism, causing the civic authorities to question why there were so many unemployed youths, who were causing civic disturbances. Hence it was suggested that the unemployed be retrained for useful employment.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>J. George Hodgins, Historical and Other Papers and Documents Illustrative of the Education System of Ontario, 6 vols. (Toronto: L. K. Cameron, 1911), Vol. 3, p. 323. Comments of H. J. Ruttan Warden, Cobourg, 27 Nov., 1856. See p. 279.

Twelve years later, in 1868, the problem persisted, and the recommended solution was to found a free industrial and art school.<sup>1</sup>

In 1884, the art school was perceived as a deterrent against crime.

. . . There does not appear to be a single instance of recognition on the part of municipal authorities of the importance of the subject (drawing and art education), but even this may yet come for Canada, and the Art School be yet regarded by our local rulers as a power working for the general good. . . . Art and crime are antagonistic; Art and commercial prosperity, to say nothing of refinement and general advance. . . .<sup>2</sup>

At the same time, in Quebec, resistance to the establishment of a system of drawing similar to that of South Kensington, was voiced.

In Quebec, the same colonial Victorian attitudes were expressed. The idea of an emerging women's work force in industrial art and design threatened not only a male dominated field but also the traditional values and 'very fabric' of 19th century Quebec society. It went against

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<sup>1</sup>J. George Hodgins, op. cit., p. 372. See pp. 279-80.

<sup>2</sup>The Dominion Annual Register and Review 1884, p. 198.



the idea of motherhood, hearth and home, and conflicted with the ultramontanist ideology of Quebec's Roman Catholic Church.<sup>1</sup>

The President of the Council believed ". . . it undesirable and impracticable that the sexes should be instructed together."<sup>2</sup>

In 1897, the year after Wilfrid Laurier's Liberal party victory in the Canadian Federal election, S. C. Stevenson, Director and Secretary of the Council art schools, attempted to reassure the Roman Catholic Church officials and government members that the Council's art schools would maintain the status quo by re-affirming Quebec's ultramontanist church-state philosophy. The pedagogic function of the Council art schools was to promote the proper morality. The teacher was a role model for his students, to inspire and to be emulated.

. . . Je veux engager notre Conseil des arts et Manufactures, . . . dans une voie saine et propre à moraliser la jeune génération, que les nécessités de la vie poussent d'une manière inconsciente vers la ruine de la famille et de la société.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 10 June 1895, p. 1032.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 186, footnote 2.

<sup>2</sup> A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 25 Oct., 1894, p. 1031.

<sup>3</sup> DS (1896-97), Vol. 31, no. 3, p. 290.



The Victorian outlook and attitudes were reflected in local Montreal newspapers during the 1890's and c. 1900, exemplified as well by the absence of drawing from the nude male or female model in the city's art schools.

There is a prejudice in many minds against figure subjects, in their tendency to the semi-nude and nude, and not without reason, for the loathsomeness and abominable licentiousness of a certain section of the French school merits the severest reprobation.<sup>1</sup>

J-R Ostiguy remarked that Quebec artist Ozias Leduc (1864-1955) had to study in Paris to be exposed to the nude, as there is not one nude drawing executed prior to his Parisian sojourn in 1897.<sup>2</sup>

In 1898, the Montreal police raided the centrally located art gallery of William Scott and Sons, to seize what were considered obscene sculptures. Plaster casts of the Venus de Milo, Apollo Belvedere, and the 'Lutteurs des offices' were confiscated.<sup>3</sup>

The demographic shift in population from rural to urban industrial centres was significant in the last quarter of the 19th century in both Ontario and Quebec.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>"English School of Art," Montreal Gazette, 17 Jan., 1890, p. 2. See abbé Pierre Leduc, "Les origines et le développement de l'Art Association de Montréal (1860-1912)" (unpublished M.A. thesis, université de Montréal, 1963), p. 94. See also Trobridge quote p. 369.

<sup>2</sup>Jean-René Ostiguy, Ozias Leduc, Symbolist and Religious Painting (Ottawa: The National Gallery of Canada for the Corporation of the National Museums of Canada, 1974), p. 99.

<sup>3</sup>abbé Pierre Leduc, op. cit., p. 95.

<sup>4</sup>Canadian Collector, Mar./Apr., 1978, p. 77. See p. 181, footnote 2.

In the larger towns and cities this caused increased crime, unemployment and civil disruptions, noted in government documents and contemporary newspaper accounts. Technical and industrial art education were perceived as a solution to these problems. Drawing was interpreted as the core of all education, therefore it was not surprising that a variation of the South Kensington system was utilized not only to advance manufactures but also with the intention of moulding a new urban industrial class and to instil in them a high sense of morality.

. . . how persons of average capacity, or with only a limited amount of time and energy, can learn or be taught drawing, for on an accurate drawing of form all Art depends. A single course of freehand and object drawing, properly taught, and faithfully worked through by the pupil, will give him the amount of patience, firmness of hand and mental perception which will last him his life. . . . Solid study of accurate form, however, must come first [before originality], or no educational result will follow. As to the question of power to learn to draw rightly, it is simply one of time and attention; . . . In this they are doing their part to lift Art into its proper rank among those studies which contribute to the mental and moral illumination of their pupils.<sup>1</sup>

Richard Baigent, a graduate of the South Kensington system, a member of the Ontario Society of Artists, an associate member of the Royal Canadian Academy, and a drawing instructor at the Ontario School of Art, Toronto,

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<sup>1</sup>Richard Baigent, "Art Education," Canadian Educational Monthly, Vol. 3 (1881), pp. 60-61.

stated the responsibility of the system and of the teacher was "influencing and molding popular education socially, morally and intellectually. . . ."<sup>1</sup> Art Education, as part of a liberal, or of an ordinary education, sufficiently attests the value of the intellectual and moral benefits to be derived from it, . . ."<sup>2</sup>

The ideas of John Ruskin with regard to moral education and the role of art can be found in many passages in Canadian artists' writings, both quoted directly and indirectly.

Baigent stated:

Education means unfolding or developing of the natural or original powers of the intellect, the soul and the senses; and to educate in Art is to develop and cultivate the sense of colour and form, as well as to make more skilful the powers of the hand or eye. To realize the infinite beauties of nature, to be able to produce what is meant by pictorial beauty, which is undoubtedly its highest faculty.<sup>3</sup>

J. A. Radford reiterated Baigent's views about the depiction of nature and its direct link to God.

The true artist paints because he loves God, nature and humanity, . . .<sup>4</sup> The man who studies the works of Nature, with God Himself holds converse, and grows familiar day by day with His conceptions. States fall, arts fade; but Nature does not die, and the works of the artist who approaches Nature the nearest, in all her phases of sunshine and storm, will live the longest.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 60.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 59.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 60.

<sup>4</sup>J. A. Radford, "Canadian Art Schools, Artists and Art," Canadian Magazine, Vol. 2 (Nov., 1893-Apr., 1894), p. 462.

Many of the spasmodic eruptions of wantonness displayed on canvas suggest a want of feeling and refinement, or they are the product of diseased brains, and were intended for a time less intellectual and moral than ours. The artists who fall so low as to produce such pictures, lay aside their morality and propriety as easily as a snake sheds its skin.<sup>1</sup>

#### E) Critical Reaction to South Kensington

Ruskin's writings on art were circulated widely in Ontario and Quebec from 1869, in fact, his books were cited regularly by art instructors such as William Brymner, A.A.M. director for thirty-five years, from 1886-1921. As well, Ruskin's text on Drawing was on the list of recommended reading for all teachers in the Ontario provincial system of art schools from the 1885/86 session.

However, John Ruskin was highly critical of the drawing instruction at the South Kensington art schools.

It is merely to be regretted . . . that the art education of our Government schools is addressed so definitely to the guidance of the artisan, and is therefore so little acknowledged hitherto by the general public, especially its upper classes.<sup>2</sup>

In 1877, Ruskin wrote:

. . . the suddenly luminous idea that Art might possibly be a lucrative occupation, secured the submission of England to such instruction as, with that object, she could procure: and the Professorship of Sir Henry Cole at Kensington has corrupted

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 463.

<sup>2</sup> Gordon Sutton, op. cit., p. 72. See also John Ruskin, Education in Art, address to the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science. Transactions of London, 1858; a supplement to A Joy for Ever (London: Allen & Unwin, 1880).

the system of art-teaching all over England into a state of abortion and falsehood from<sup>1</sup> which it will take twenty years to recover.

As Minihan has pointed out, Ruskin ". . . abhorred the notion that design should be considered an adjunct to industrial enterprise."<sup>2</sup> Ruskin described how poor designs resulted in horrible finished products for consumer society.

Now the iron bars which, uselessly (or in great degree worse than uselessly), enclosed this bit of ground, and made it pestilent, represented a quantity of work which would have cleansed the Carshalton pools three times over; —of work, partly cramped and deadly, in the mine; partly fierce and exhaustive, at the furnace, partly foolish and sedentary, of ill-taught students making bad designs: work from the beginning to the last fruits of it, and in all the branches of it, venomous, deathful, and miserable. Now, how did it come to pass that this work was done instead of the other, that the strength and life of the English operative were spent in defiling ground, instead of redeeming it, and in producing an entirely (in that place) valueless piece of metal, which can neither be eaten nor breathed instead of medicinal fresh air, and pure water. . . . There is but one reason for it, and at present a conclusive one,—that the capitalist can charge percentage on the work in the one case, and cannot in the other.<sup>3</sup>

Boime has pointed out that the attention to detail, precision and accurate depiction in art during the Victorian period, whether it was the utilitarian philosophy of the

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<sup>1</sup>"Fors Clavigera, Letters to the Workmen and Labourers of Great Britain," Letter 79 (18 June 1877), in The Works of John Ruskin, eds., E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, 39 vols. (London: George Allen, 1902-1912), Vol. 29, p. 154. See also Janet Minihan, op. cit., p. 135.

<sup>2</sup>Janet Minihan, op. cit., p. 134.

<sup>3</sup>John Ruskin, Crown of Wild Olive (London: J. M. Dent & co., 1866), pp. 5-7.

South Kensington system, academic tradition, Victorian moral ideals or moral virtues described by Ruskin and Pugin, had its derivation in medieval society.

A traditional academic emphasis on patient and diligent labor dates back to the medieval guild system, and it generally implied a moral commitment to the virtues of labor and industry, . . .

But the nineteenth century Academy stood alone in dogmatically asserting not only the moral and didactic bases for hard work, but also the pictorial display of laborious and diligent application.<sup>1</sup>

A.S. Levine has stated, not only did Ruskin and Morris draw from Pugin, but also Henry Cole was inspired by him.

"Ruskin and Morris—and, as we shall see, Henry Cole and his circle—derive their principles from A. W. W. Pugin (1812-1852). . . ." <sup>2</sup> The nature of production was interpreted as a question of morality. "What Pugin's philosophy amounted to was this: only good men could produce good buildings."<sup>3</sup>

Where Cole and Ruskin differed, however, was in their approach to drawing instruction.

It is interesting to compare his [Rousseau] outlook with that of Ruskin. . . . Both men see the necessity for drawing from the object rather than copies of the object upon paper, and insist upon the 'searching out of the secrets of nature.'<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Albert Boime, "Academic Instruction and the Evolution of Nineteenth Century French Paintings" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1968), p. 60.

<sup>2</sup>A. S. Levine, op. cit., p. 7.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>4</sup>Margaret Stevens, "Study of English Manuals of Drawing" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Leeds, 1959), p. 105.

According to Stevens, Ruskin's art theory was inseparable from his moral outlook.

He [Ruskin] links up his art theory with a wider moral one: e.g., 'What grace of manner and refinement of habit are in society, grace of line and refinement of form are in the association of visible objects . . . there is no moral vice, no moral virtue which has not its precise prototype in the art of painting; so that you may at your will illustrate the moral habit by the art, or the art by the moral habit.'<sup>1</sup>

Ruskin was not the only one to criticize the South Kensington system; there were others. In 1852, *Henry Morley* (1822-94) described one of his characters, Mr. Crumpet, who visited "The Department of Practical Art and 'saw that he had been living among horrors.'"<sup>2</sup>

*Charles Dickens* (1812-70)

. . . included a trenchant parody of the Department's pedagogic methods and aesthetic attitudes in the first two chapters of Hard Times (1854), where an unidentified gentleman delivers a lecture to schoolchildren on how not to decorate carpets, crockery, and wallpaper. Described as a 'mighty man at cutting and drying . . . a government officer . . . always with a system to force down the general throat like a bolus,' he was surely a veiled portrait of Cole.<sup>3</sup>

K. J. Fielding has identified Cole in Dickens' second chapter of Hard Times as "the schoolmaster M'Choakumchild,

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<sup>1</sup> Margaret Stevens, op. cit., pp. 111-112.

<sup>2</sup> *Henry Morley*, "A House Full of Horrors," Household Words, 4 Dec., 1852, p. 266. See also Anne Lohrli, Household Words: a weekly journal 1850-54 conducted by Charles Dickens (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1973) pp. 270-80.

<sup>3</sup> J. Minihan, op. cit., pp. 133-134. See also Charles Dickens, Hard Times (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1854).



as one of many teachers 'lately turned at the same time, in the same factory, on the same principles, like so many piano-forte legs.' One of his acquired skills was 'drawing from models.'"<sup>1</sup>

Sir Hubert Von Herkomer (1849-1914), Slade professor, and one of the most progressive art teachers in Britain during the second half of the 19th century with his private art school at Bushey, expressed his opinion that the South Kensington system was useless. "The outline drawings supplied from South Kensington were worse than useless, a mere waste of time."<sup>2</sup>

Harry Butterworth<sup>3</sup> has stated that the certificates obtained from the South Kensington art schools were valued by former students, contrary, however, to the belief of H. G. Wells.

H. G. Wells not only detailed his experiences as a student in his Experiment in Autobiography: his Mr. Lewisham found that his 'bluish green certificates' had 'value beyond mural decoration,' and went to London 'to be paid a guinea a week for listening to lectures . . . Huxley and Lockyer.' His final examination failure there matched that of his creator, but before that, he 'licked up paper certificates like a devouring flame, and went down to become a teacher after all.'<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>K. J. Fielding, "Charles Dickens and the Department of Practical Art," Modern Language Review, Vol. 48 (July 1953), pp. 270-277. See also Janet Minihan, op. cit., p. 134, footnote 1.

<sup>2</sup>Gordon Sutton, op. cit., p. 166.

<sup>3</sup>Harry Butterworth, op. cit., p. 386.

<sup>4</sup>H. G. Wells, Love and Mr. Lewisham (London: Bern [Essex edition], 1927), pp. 9, 59, 192. See also, Harry Butterworth, op. cit., pp. 395-396.



In The New Machiavelli, H. G. Wells dismissed the importance of the South Kensington system. "The Science and Art Department has vanished entirely from the world, and people are forgetting it with the utmost readiness and generosity."<sup>1</sup>

Examination of the critical literature of the period reveals that the public, manufacturers, artists, educators, government officials, and men of letters remained highly sceptical about the South Kensington system, its method of drawing instruction and the expanding provincial art schools. The South Kensington system created an uneasiness and class insecurity. Ironically, much of the criticism was directed personally at Henry Cole, the novus homo, civil servant who emerged from Britain's government bureaucracy to shape the system of art education. According to Bonython,<sup>2</sup> Cole founded the Victoria and Albert Museum, built Albert Hall, worked with the Prince Consort, organized the Great Exhibition (1851), introduced the Penny Post (with Rowland Hill), reformed the Public Records, controlled the Society of Arts, published the first Christmas card, invented "South Kensington," and according to Lord Derby, was "The most generally unpopular man I know."

In spite of Cole's accomplishments, his friendship and influence with the Prince Consort, Albert, caused jealousy amongst his peers. Minihan has pointed out that it was not

<sup>1</sup>H. G. Wells, The New Machiavelli (London: John Lane, 1911), p. 22. See also, Harry Butterworth, op. cit., p. 471.

<sup>2</sup>Elizabeth Bonython, King Cole (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, n.d.).

only personal criticism of Cole<sup>1</sup> but also British resistance to government intervention on a large scale in public lives.

In evaluating the broader public response to the Department of Science and Art, it is important to remember that the traditional British antagonism towards active, interfering government was still strong in the 1850's and 1860's. Much of the hostility expressed against Cole and his department was part of the hostility towards all efforts to establish centralized administrative control in any sphere of activity.<sup>2</sup>

However, all the criticism was not negative, by the late 1870's and early 1880's some positive aspects of the South Kensington system were perceived for the benefit of society, art and industry. The National Association for the Promotion of Social Science commented favourably upon South Kensington, as well as The Magazine of Art.

An improvement could be seen in manufactures 'after one generation' of its work, and the 'middle-classes showed a better attitude,' thought one Art critic. . .<sup>3</sup> and even the

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<sup>1</sup>Cole, MS. Diary, 4 July 1853. See also, Harry Butterworth, op. cit., p. 42. "One cause of friction was hinted at by Grey when he said that Cardwell was, possibly, irritated because he thought that Cole was the Consort's servant and was attempting to usurp authority." See Harry Butterworth, op.cit., p. 128. "Many saw him [Henry Cole] as a virtual 'King.' To W. H. Dixon, Editor of Atheneum, he [Cole] was the 'King of South Kensington,' and Lord Elcho talked of 'calling at your Kingdom the other day.' 'He was commonly known as King Cole,' believed Sir Charles Dilke."

<sup>2</sup>Janet Minihan, op. cit., p. 133. A. S. Levine, op. cit., p. 60. See Art-Union Journal for criticisms of Cole and the government art schools and for positive comments promoting Cole and the South Kensington system see the Journal of Design. See also, Christopher Duke, "A Study of the Department and Public Opinion to 1864" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, London University, 1966).

<sup>3</sup>Harry Butterworth, op. cit., p. 282.

Magazine of Art, not normally complimentary, could say 'South Kensington . . . whatever its defects . . . has the credit of training some of the foremost artists of the day.'<sup>1</sup>

Throughout the late 1870's the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science and the Engineer stated that the South Kensington system had improved taste and design.

Even the Engineer was prepared to admit that the Museum had had a good influence on design, as early as 1860. It was 'a great help to the artisan,' and 'the extraordinary attendance' was 'proof of the interest of the working classes.'<sup>2</sup>

J. C. Robinson, upon his retirement in 1880 from the South Kensington system, expressed his bitterness toward it and its' workings.

With his [J. C. Robinson's] resignation, Robinson became one of the most virulent critics of the Department. 'The meaningless and absurd term "Practical Art" invented as a concrete designation for . . . nebulous doctrines, . . . crude, nasty, impractical schemes . . . the useless expenditure of large sums of public money,' summed up his views.<sup>3</sup>

Walter Crane defended the Government art schools by stating: "The recent Departmental Commission on the Art Schools was mainly composed of men more or less hostile to the Government Art Schools and the Royal College of Art, . . ."<sup>4</sup>

Perhaps less appreciated during its time of operation, the Science and Art Department was credited by some, for

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 287.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 299.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 302.

<sup>4</sup>Frank P. Brown, South Kensington and its Art Training (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1912), p. 37.

the industrial prosperity and 'supremacy' Britain achieved in the early 20th century, after it had been formally dismantled.

It is the Science and Art Department which has so far saved our industries . . . men trained under the Department will enable us to retain our industrial supremacy . . . it has recently doubled its great efficiency. . . .<sup>1</sup>

Even with all the internal criticism the South Kensington system or parts of it lasted well into the 20th century in Britain, and externally or internationally was adopted by art educators in Australia, New Zealand, Brazil, some parts of the United States, most of Canada, particularly Ontario and Quebec, and was the catalyst of the art educational reforms of 1863 in France. In the opinion of most people Britain had regained her supremacy in the world of design over France at the 1862 London International Exhibition.

Unfavourable comments directed at the South Kensington system persisted until the 1960's in published works by Richard Carline, Draw They Must (1968), Gordon Sutton, Artisan or Artist (1967), and Stuart MacDonald's The History and Philosophy of Art Education (1970). However, recently a re-evaluation on the extent of its influence has begun, *being a little less negative.*

Henry Cole retired in 1873, however "his" system continued, although authors cannot agree on the exact dates, well into the 20th century. John Ruskin's 1877 statement that "the Professorship of Sir Henry Cole at Kensington has

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<sup>1</sup>Harry Butterworth, op. cit., p. 477.

corrupted the system of art-teaching all over England into a state of abortion and falsehood from which it will take twenty years to recover"<sup>1</sup> would seem now in retrospect rather inaccurate and conservative. According to Levine it was

. . . in fact Cole, not Ruskin, [who] came to dominate British art education after 1850; and instead of a philosophy that stressed handicrafts, imitation of natural (construed in the broadest sense) and curvilinear drawing, the country got one that stressed serial production, stylised ornament and the practical needs of the manufacturer.<sup>2</sup>

Allthorpe-Guyton has stated that the National Competition, an integral part of the South Kensington system, wasn't abandoned until 1915 and it (the system) persisted in the provincial art schools in Britain until the 1920's.

. . . the National Competition was discarded in 1915. . . . Students continued to follow the traditional methods even after 1913; indeed one past student, at the School [Norwich] in 1914-19, still possesses a 'stump-chalk picture of the Egg Plant from the plaster cast. . . .'<sup>3</sup> However, despite the resignation of Cole in 1873 and of Redgrave in 1875 the South Kensington System, as it became known, persisted in British provincial Schools of Art until as late as the 1920's.<sup>4</sup>

One of the individual aspects of the multi-levelled curriculum has been shown to have existed into the 1950's.

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<sup>1</sup>Janet Minihan, op. cit., p. 135. See also Fors Clavigera, Letters to the Workmen and Labourers of Great Britain, Letter 79 (18 June 1877), in The Works of John Ruskin, ed., E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, 39 vols. (London: George Allen, 1902-1912), Vol. 29, p. 154.

<sup>2</sup>A. S. Levine, op. cit., p. 212.

<sup>3</sup>Marjorie Allthorpe-Guyton, op. cit., p. 113.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 80.

Stage 8 of the Course included time sketching from memory which would involve the drawing of both skeleton and an écorché (showing the muscles): this practice was continued into the nineteen-fifties.<sup>1</sup>

Levine *has written*: "The syllabus of Redgrave and the principles of Owen Jones were handed down from generation to generation at South Kensington; . . ." <sup>2</sup> As Levine *has pointed out* besides the retention of the curriculum for many years, the South Kensington system was administered by a few bureaucrats and same number of teachers, the latter who merely shifted from one art school to another. The entire system operated within a vacuum, in an hermetically sealed environment of study.

. . . their successors, in turn were imbued with South Kensington doctrine. For forty-five years the Department was administered by a small group of men whose ideas had firmly set by the '50's, and who knew not the ways of Morris and the Arts and Crafts movement. . . .<sup>3</sup> But even with the larger staffs of the '80's and '90's, officials continued to be transferred from one branch to another, . . ."<sup>4</sup>

MacDonald *has cited* the First World War as the termination date for most of the South Kensington influence.

During the first world war Cole and Redgrave's system was finally eradicated. The National Competition went in 1915, and in 1913 the Board of Education's Drawing Examinations in Life, Antique, Memory and Knowledge, Architecture, Anatomy and Perspective

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid. See also Stuart MacDonald, The History and Philosophy of Art Education (London: University of London Press Ltd., 1970), p. 51.

<sup>2</sup>A. S. Levine, op. cit., p. 261.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 265.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 276, footnote 73.



replaced the many categories of drawings which could be submitted piecemeal to the Board for Art Class Teacher's and Art Master's Certificates.<sup>1</sup>

Butterworth *has stated that* the influence of the South Kensington system was not immediate, but was long term.<sup>2</sup> He has cited four particular characteristics that have survived to the present: systematisation of International Exhibitions, initiation of Summer courses, scholarships for students, and "the inauguration of the modern 'text-book industry.'"<sup>3</sup>

As Morris *has observed*: ". . . the South Kensington course of instruction survived to remain the most distinctive feature of official British art education for a further half-century."<sup>4</sup>

This last comment can be applied to the art education in Quebec and Ontario. Although a form of the South Kensington system was employed strictly in the schools at all levels in Quebec, between 1876-91, and in Ontario, from 1882/83 - 86,<sup>5</sup> its influence was extensive and profound, post-

<sup>1</sup>Stuart MacDonald, *op. cit.*, p. 304. However, MacDonald also stated: "mechanical and imitative drawing imposed on the schools by Cole and Redgrave did not receive its coup de grâce until the nineteen-thirties." Stuart MacDonald, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

<sup>2</sup>Harry Butterworth, *op. cit.*, p. 472.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 476.

<sup>4</sup>Colin Morris, "History of the Liverpool Regional College of Art, 1825-1970" (unpublished M.Phil. thesis, Liverpool Polytechnic, 1985), p. 62.

<sup>5</sup>C. D. Gaitskell, "Art Education in the Province of Ontario" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1947), p. 10. The Walter Smith system was replaced by the Canadian Drawing Course. The Canadian Drawing Course (Toronto: The Canadian Publishing Company Ltd., 1885); The Kindergarten Drawing Course (Toronto: Selbey and Company, 1887); The High School Drawing Course (Toronto: Gripp Publishing Company, 1887); The Public School Drawing Course (Toronto: Canada Publishing Company, Ltd., 1892); High School Drawing Course (Toronto: Canada Publishing Company Ltd., 1894).

dating those limited chronological periods, and became entrenched at the elementary levels of art instruction in primary, secondary, and technical and industrial schools where drawing was still interpreted and associated with the material prosperity of industrial progress.

F) Paris: Alternative to South Kensington Study?

The extensive and profound influence of the South Kensington system and its method of drawing instruction in Quebec and Ontario, 1876-1914, dispels the myths or unsubstantiated statements by writers (dealing with art education or art history) regarding the so-called lack of post-secondary levels of drawing instruction, which according to those authors led to or resulted in the mass migration of Canadian artists to study (independent study with a particular artist, or enrolment in an art school) abroad (Britain, France, primarily, although some studied in Holland, Germany, and Italy). As my own investigations prove this explanation is no longer valid, because the system of art education, particularly drawing instruction, was elaborate and highly organized.

In innumerable instances, a Canadian artist's study in Britain is not cited or is noted only briefly in a sentence, whereas the length of time spent in Paris ateliers has been distorted. Such was the case of William Cruikshank (1848-1922), who was to have studied at the atelier Yvon in 1870, however Cruikshank fled Paris with Yvon and two unnamed Scottish students after only two weeks' work at the time of the Franco-Prussian War. Cruikshank's name continued to be



associated with that of the atelier Yvon, even though his time of study was short; however, few writers, contemporary to Cruikshank's time or today have mentioned his long apprenticeship of seven years at the Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh, then subsequently at the Royal Academy, London. This is remarkable when it is considered that Cruikshank became famous as a draughtsman. J. W. H. Watts (1850-1917), member of the Royal Canadian Academy, architect, and later from 1907 the custodian of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, commented rather derogatorily about Canadian artists who advertised themselves having studied with French artists.

Foreign travel, study under French and Dutch masters may lead, not to a healthy assimilation, but to an imitation of the spirit. . . .<sup>1</sup> I doubt that many of our so called Canadian artists who advertise that they have studied under Bougereau, Constant, Fleury, Lefevre [sic], etc., will disagree with me.<sup>2</sup>

Writer, art critic, and painter J. A. Radford (1860-1940), in the early 1890's, reiterated Watt's earlier comments.

The greatest fault with many Canadian artists who have been fortunate enough to travel abroad to study is that, on their return, they advertise themselves as pupils of some world-famed master. As if that would make any difference in their ability to paint.<sup>3</sup>

In addition, close examination of the French system of art education at the lower and post-secondary levels after

<sup>1</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, Watts MSS., Vol. 4, pp. 312-313.

<sup>2</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, Watts MSS., Vol. 2, p. 148.

<sup>3</sup>J. A. Radford, op. cit., p. 464.

the 1863 Reforms indicate how the French altered their system to match the *internationally acclaimed yet domestically criticised* South Kensington system that received so much publicity at the 1862 London Exhibition.

By the terms of the decree of 13 November (1863), the absolute control of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and the Academy of France in Rome was wrestled from the Academy of the Beaux-Arts and turned over to the government.<sup>1</sup>

Albert Boime has pointed out that the "English began implementing programs to improve the aesthetic quality of their mass-produced goods since the time of the July monarchy."<sup>2</sup>

Another reason given for the 1863 Reforms in the French Academy other than the primary catalyst which had been the tremendous impression Britain made at the 1862 London Exhibition, was the growing popularity, acceptance and recognition of the Salon des Refusés as a legitimate organization.

. . . in 1863, the year, during the crucial period of the Academy's incipient decline, in which the Salon des Refusés

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<sup>1</sup>Albert Boime, Art Quarterly, *op. cit.*, p. 4, see also note 31. "The French adopted Great Britain as the standard of performance at an early date: see F. de Tapiés, La France et l'Angleterre, Paris, 1845, pp. i, 81ff., 286, 367ff. and 481ff.; C.P. Kindleberger, Economic Growth in France and Britain 1851-1950 (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), p. 2. This competitive spirit was strongly felt during the Second Empire as well: revealing letter from D. Potonié, a hardware merchant, to the Emperor, dated 17 April 1854, states: 'Nous devons faire notre Exposition aussi bien ou mieux que les Anglais' (Archives Nationales F<sup>2</sup>1519). See also C. Lavollée, 'Des expositions universelles à propos du rapport du Prince Napoléon,' Revue des deux mondes, 2<sup>ième</sup> sér., 15, 1858, p. 430."

Boime does not specifically identify the 1863 Reforms, however neither do any other contemporary authors. The French were aware that the English established the Schools of Design in 1837. Furthermore Boime has stated that during the reign of Louis-Philippe France modelled their own Ecole de Dessin upon Britain's School of Design. "Responding to the challenge of Great Britain, which had founded the the Government School of Design for industrial artists in 1837 and opened branch schools a few years later, Louis Philippe's Administration broadened the base of its own industrial art schools (the Ecole de Dessin) and encouraged artists and pedagogues to invent new methods for teaching art to the masses." *Ibid.*, p. 4.

The success of British Design at the 1862 London exhibition caused the French to reconsider their own system of art instruction and education which resulted in the 1863 Reforms. Boime has remarked that "industrial entrepreneurs and art teachers" in France "called for the end of Academic elitism and urged the popularization of art instruction." The 1863 Reforms do not follow in detail the South Kensington system but were a compromise in which the intention to establish a more systematic basis for art teaching is quite clear.

Nieuwekerke was responsible for synthesizing the ideas and suggestions made by France's leading authorities on art education, such as Étex, Merimée, and most importantly the influential Viollet-le-Duc. All these men believed that the academies' curriculum which until 1863 was divided into painting, sculpture and architecture, was too narrow and they proposed a more generalized program of study to include history, genre, landscape, "and even more rarified specialities such as battle scenes, still-life, portraits, watercolor, pastel, etc." *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Perhaps the most important of the 1863 Reforms was the establishment of the atelier as a "practical workshop" for painting, sculpture and architecture. Until the 1863 Reforms students "practical" experience could only be found in privately run ateliers, with the Ecole des Beaux-Arts only teaching theoretical art study and emphasizing drawing. This combination of practical and theoretical instruction was a direct influence of South Kensington goals. "The corps of instruction was to consist of seven professors, chiefs of studios, who were to teach painting, sculpture, architecture, and engraving, with seven others charged with special courses, who were to give instruction in the history of art and aesthetics, anatomy, perspective, elementary mathematics, descriptive geometry, geology, physics, and elementary chemistry." C.H. Stranahan, A History of French Painting (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1889), p. 267.

<sup>2</sup>Albert Boime, Art Quarterly, *op. cit.*, p. 4, note 31.

led to major changes in the official system's formal rules.<sup>1</sup>

From the mid-1850's to the late 1880's, the French government and various educational committees investigated continuously the English system of drawing instruction and art education. "Henri Delaborde submitted a report in 1856," followed "by the director of primary education in Paris in 1871, by Antonin Proust (Minister of Fine Arts) in 1884,"<sup>2</sup> and in 1889, Marius Vachon's report entitled 'Rapport sur les musées et les écoles d'art industriel en angleterre.'<sup>3</sup>

Examination of the findings and conclusions of these reports reveal that the French were in unanimous agreement

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<sup>1</sup>Harrison C. White and Cynthia A. White, Canvases and Careers, Institutional Change in the French Painting World (New York: John Wiley & Sons Inc., 1965), p. 45.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 104. See also, G. Cougny, L'Enseignement Professionnel des Beaux-Arts dans les Ecoles de la Ville de Paris (Paris: 1888). H. C. White and C. A. White have pointed out that, "Rapid development of applied art training in Germany, England, and Russia after 1850 provided further evidence of the desirability of reform [in France]."

<sup>3</sup>Gordon Sutton, op. cit., p. 299, Appendix E. Harrison C. White and Cynthia A. White, op. cit., p. 45. Another British influence was that the Salon was held in the Palais d'Industrie during the Second Empire. "By the middle of the Second Empire the Salon was being held in the Palais d'Industrie, the enormous exhibition hall built by Napoleon III in imitation of Victoria's Crystal Palace," p. 30. Crystal Palaces were built to house art and industrial exhibits around the world as evidenced by their construction in New York, Philadelphia (1876), Montreal (1860), Toronto, and Dublin (1853). The New York Crystal Palace was destroyed by fire in 1858. See Robert O. Mellown, "Nineteenth-Century American Attitudes towards the nude figure in art" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1975), p. 183. See also Giles Hawkins, "The Montreal Exhibition Building and Museum 1860: A Monument to Preconfederation Canadian Economic Nationalism" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Concordia University, 1986); Patrick Beaver, The Crystal Palace, 1851-1936, A Portrait of Victorian Enterprise (London: Hugh Evelyn Ltd., 1970).

that the English South Kensington system was functioning well and that it was the catalyst for Britain's regained superiority in international arts and manufactures.

In 1852, the Emperor had ordered a special commission, headed by Comte de Laborde, to make a report on the English World's Fair that year. . . . Laborde's conclusions led to a recommendation for closer alliance between art and industry in the interest of raising the level of industrial goods.<sup>1</sup>

A few years later, in 1862, Merimée reiterated the earlier findings by recommending a change in the French art education curriculum to emulate that of the highly successful British South Kensington system.

In 1862 Merimée traveled to London as a member of the French delegation and international jury at the World's Fair of 1862. Astonished at the visible progress of the English, he wrote that the situation was 'grave, et même menaçante' and again urged the overhaul of the Ecole's curriculum.<sup>2</sup>

Boime has stated that in France, the shift from theoretical to practical in art instruction and from private to public instruction under the July monarchy, was probably the influence of South Kensington.<sup>3</sup> "The French adopted Great Britain as the standard of performance at an early date."<sup>4</sup>

The French were impressed by the early developments of the South Kensington system and its purpose to provide drawing instruction for the working class.

<sup>1</sup> Albert Boime, "Academic Instruction and the Evolution of Nineteenth-Century French Painting" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1968), p. 387.

<sup>2</sup> Albert Boime, Art Quarterly, op. cit., p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Albert Boime, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, op. cit., p. 15. See also Albert Boime, The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century (London: Phaidon Press, 1971), p. 4. "This separation of the artist's instruction into the practical and the theoretical was retained in fact until 1863."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Albert Boime, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, op. cit., p. 24, note 71.

Individuals like Dupuis, Mme Cavé, Rouillet, Etex, Gélibert and Lecoq de Boisbaudran wanted to introduce art instruction to the working classes, not only for enlightenment but also to improve the quality of French industrial design. They argued the necessity of reuniting art and industry to bridge the gap between art and masses and to enrich the individual worker through self-fulfillment.<sup>1</sup>

Not only did the French hold the Salon exhibitions in the Palais d'Industrie, the French equivalent of Britain's Crystal Palace, but also they "developed a 'Central Union of Fine Arts' in imitation of the Department's system."<sup>2</sup>

Leslie stated: "Criticism of all institutions is natural, is perennial, and is good for them."<sup>3</sup> The official Salon and the Ecole des Beaux-Arts were not beyond criticism, like their Canadian or South Kensington counterparts.

Constant changes in the Salon rules reflect the storms of protest that harassed the different governments. It was evident that the Salon was a highly unsatisfactory institution to most artists, and yet pictures kept coming in by the carload every year. The painter could not live with it—but neither could he do without it under the existing system. . . .<sup>4</sup>

As the flow of students increased during the 19th century, the Ecole and associated ateliers had to adapt to numbers larger than

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<sup>1</sup>Albert Boime, Art Quarterly, op. cit., p. 3. See also note 27, p. 28. A. Rouillet, Principes de dessin (Paris: 1857); Etex, Cours élémentaire de dessin (Paris: 1853).

<sup>2</sup>Harry Butterworth, op. cit., p. 276.

<sup>3</sup>George Dunlop Leslie, The Inner Life of the Royal Academy (London: John Murray, 1914), p. 280.

<sup>4</sup>Harrison C. White and Cynthia A. White, op. cit., p. 31.



they had been conceived to handle. The rote copying method of teaching, the mainstay of a beginner's training in the Ecole, could not easily be extended to large classes, as could the atelier system where a master appeared once a week. . . . Teaching at the Ecole was under constant fire from all sides; the liberals claimed it stifled creativity with its dull, exact reproductions of an infinitude of plaster casts; the conservatives claimed that it had degenerated into an undisciplined, superficial training which produced, at best, facile copyists and no artists 'in the great tradition of French painting.'"<sup>1</sup>

One of the criticisms of the Royal Academy, London, was the high number of visiting professors and their infrequent visits and inspections of students' work, however, the same criticism was made against the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris, and its system of rotating professorships. ". . . daily exercise in drawing after the live model and the plaster cast, and administered by twelve professors alternating monthly; . . ." <sup>2</sup>

In both cases, the lack of close supervision was perceived as detrimental to the progress of the student which contributed to and eventuated in the opinion that "no artists of importance" were produced at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris, and South Kensington. "The rare visits of the masters (twice weekly, at most) served to emphasize the gulf between them and their pupils."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 26. This criticism is identical to the remarks of English novelist and amateur artist, George Moore, who severely criticized both the South Kensington system of art schools and the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, and the few artists of quality produced in their schools.

<sup>2</sup>Albert Boime, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, op. cit., p. 23.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 116.

G) Why Was Paris Selected by American,<sup>1</sup> Canadian and British Artists for Furthering Their Art Education?

After the Franco-Prussian War, non-Francophone artists were attracted to Paris by the Bohemian milieu and romantic and notorious lifestyle described in innumerable publications. James MacNeil Whistler and Oscar Wilde gave glowing accounts of the Paris community, which appealed to the aspiring artists and writers, that contrasted with the less exciting descriptions of London and English life.

George Du Maurier's novel Trilby (1896)<sup>2</sup> had been widely circulated and contributed to create the exciting, cosmopolitan atmosphere of Paris. William Brymner lectured on his Paris art experiences of the late 1870's, when director of the Art Association of Montreal in the 1890's, and cited Du Maurier's interpretation 'as painting a true picture of the Parisian artistic community.' When studying at the Académie Julian, Brymner conformed to his non-conformist environment by growing a beard, which he shaved before returning to Montreal. The Bohemian atmosphere of the last quarter of 19th century Paris has been preserved in numerous accounts and memoirs of Canadian, British, French,

<sup>1</sup>Lois Marie Fink, "American Participation in the Paris Salons, 1870-1900" (Saloni, gallerii, musei e loro influenza sullo, sviluppo dell'arte dei secoli XIX e XX, Bologne, Comité International d'Histoire de l'Art, Vol. 7, 1977), pp. 89-93. See also H. Barbara Weinberg, "Nineteenth-Century American Painters at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts," American Art Journal, Vol. XIII, no. 4, Autumn 1981, pp. 66-84.

<sup>2</sup>Sylvaine Marandon, L'image de la France dans l'Angleterre Victorienne 1848-1900 (Paris: Armand Colin, 1967), p. 620. "Si un livre comme Trilby, écrit en 1896, donne encore l'impression qu'être à Paris, dans le monde des arts, est pétillant de gaieté, c'est qu'il porte sur des souvenirs de jeunesse."

American *and Russian artists such as* William Brymner, Emily Carr, J. W. L. Forster, William Rothenstein, George Moore, William Low, Marie Baskirtseff, August Rodin, W. C. Morrow, and R. Whiteing.

The descriptions of Parisian life, atelier activities, etc., are well chronicled by foreign artists from Canada, the United States and Britain during the period 1870-1914. All accounts conform to a general sameness of description, thereby confirming the criticisms about the classroom art and drawing instruction or lack of it. All agreed that the environmental conditions for learning were far from ideal. The facilities have been described as inadequate, with extremes of hot and cold rooms, poor lighting, etc.; the fortnightly visits of the instructors to comment on each pupil's work has been stated by some as worthless or too general to be of value. This had always been one of the chief complaints about the Royal Academy visiting professors, that their comments were too general and their appearances too few. However, most young artists agreed enthusiastically that the benefits of atelier study were the camaraderie amongst students from all nations and the sketching trips they themselves made to the French countryside, where in a rural setting discussion and criticism of each other's work, and the exchange of ideas were perceived as the true value of the collective atelier system of study.

Emily Carr (1871-1945) described the Académie Colarossi, Paris, in 1910.



Working conditions, however, were unpleasant. The small packed rooms were hot (when the stove overheated in the life class, even the nude model perspired) and filled with oppressive smells of perspiration, fresh paint, smoke, and often damp clothes. . . .<sup>1</sup>

William Rothenstein (1872-1945) made similar observations about the Académie Julian, during his time there.

All this was an important part of my Paris experience; it was not studying at Julian's only, it was a new dynamic sense of the fullness of life, of which I was daily becoming aware. . . .<sup>2</sup> For the heat of the studios at Julian's after a few weeks, became unendurable, and a few days at Giverny were a respite from this. . . .<sup>3</sup> The Academie Julian was a congeries of studios crowded with students, the walls thick with palette scrapings, hot, airless and extremely noisy. . . . To find a place among the closely packed easels . . . was not easy. It seemed that whenever one settled one was in somebody's way.<sup>4</sup>

William Low (1853-1932) expressed his opinion that it was the interchange of ideas and communication between the students which was the true merit of the atelier system.

I also remember keenly the helpful and frank criticism we gave each other, and I realize that in the common emulation and effort to the attainment of

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<sup>1</sup>Maria Tippet, Emily Carr: A Biography (Toronto, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 87-88.

<sup>2</sup>William Rothenstein, Men and Memories: Recollections of William Rothenstein 1872-1900, 3 vols. (London: Faber & Faber Ltd., 1931-39), Vol. 1, pp. 48-49. See also Catherine Fehrer, "New Light on the Academie Julian and its Founder (Rodolphe Julian)," Gazettes des Beaux-Arts, Vol. 103 (May-June), 1984, pp. 207-216.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 50.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

the same object lies the chief value of atelier work. The criticisms of a master are . . . general in character, . . .<sup>1</sup>

English writer and artist, George Moore (1852-1933) in his book Modern Painting (n.d.) criticized severely both the South Kensington system<sup>2</sup> and French art schools.<sup>3</sup>

Be sure that after five years of the Beaux-Arts you cannot become a great painter. Be sure that after five years of Kensington you can never become a painter at all.<sup>4</sup>

Moore in Impressions and Opinions (1913) attempted to discredit the French system of art education and addressed most of his concerns at what he called the over commercialism of the work produced under the atelier system at Académie Julian, Paris.

But to-day young men go to Paris knowing nothing; and they go there not to visit the Louvre but to shut themselves up in a studio from eight to ten hours daily, accepting blindly an elaborate system of education organised on principles as purely commercial as those at the Bon Marché . . . to persuade students that it is not necessary to go to Paris. . . . The commercialism of Julian's studio is the most flagrant, its appeal to England and America the loudest, but its influence on our art is hardly more detest-

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<sup>1</sup>William H. Low, A Chronicle of Friendships 1873-1900 (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1908), p. 23. For two other texts written by William Hicok Low, 1895 Paris Salon; a comprehensive selection of the contemporary art of all schools as represented by the notable works of the great exhibitions of eighteen hundred and ninety-five; with critical and descriptive text by Charles Yriarte [1832-1898] (New York: J. Clarke, 1895); and Jean-Léon Gérôme, in Van Dyke, John Charles editor. Modern French Masters, pp. 31-43. Plates (New York: 1896).

<sup>2</sup>George Moore, Modern Painting (London: The Walter Scott Publishing Co., Ltd., n.d.), pp. 63-66.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 59, 61.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 68.

able than that of another Parisian studio. True, had I to choose I would accept Duran's instruction in preference to Bouguereau's, . . .<sup>1</sup>

A. S. Hartrick described the drawing instruction he received at the Slade under Alphonse Legros (1837-1911), stating that it held him in good stead and preparation for the less than satisfactory conditions for learning in the Parisian atelier.

At the Slade under Legros I was first taught to draw with the point by the character of the 'contour,' and not by the mass. In Paris, a little later, I found drawing by the mass in charcoal was mostly insisted on. I regret that at the time I did not properly understand or appreciate to the full the meaning of Legros' teaching, but I am now convinced that his was the soundest principle of teaching a student to see and so to draw. Kinyon Cox, the American artist, in his book the Classic Point of View, has given a very excellent definition of this kind of drawing. 'Drawing,' he says, 'is a great expressional art and deals with beauty and significance. Its great masters are the greatest artists that ever lived, and high attainment in it has always been rarer than high attainment in colour. Its tools are line and so much of light and shade as is necessary to convey the sense of bulk and modelling, . . .' It seems curious to me to-day to think that the French, whose greatest draughtsmen have followed this method, should have neglected it in the schools of

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<sup>1</sup>George Moore, Impressions and Opinions (London: T. Werner Laurie Ltd., 1913), pp. 183ff., 199, 202-203. Although Moore is extremely nationalistic, his comments about contemporary art are personal and at times biased, he does provide the reader with accurate accounts and details of atelier drawing methods and descriptions of South Kensington art school techniques substantiated later, by more reliable and objective observers (pp. 64-69). See also, Albert Boime, Art Quarterly, op. cit., p. 13. " . . . the Académie Julian, an institution originally designed to prepare pupils for the Ecole's entrance requirements, but which developed into a rival school of equal international significance."

the eighties and nineties. . . .<sup>1</sup> I am convinced that the conditions of chaos in Art teaching that have been evident during the last twenty years in Parisian studios, and from there have spread all over the world, are the direct result of the brutalizing surroundings existing in these studios.<sup>2</sup>

Maria Bashkirtseff (1860-1884) described Paris with the same wit and enthusiasm as Sir Gilbert Parker.

France is a charming and amusing country with its riots, revolutions, fashions, wit, beauty, and elegance—everything, in short, that gives charm and piquancy to life.<sup>3</sup>

However, she did comment upon the atelier and Salon competitions as being useless and not an indication of an artist's talent.

Finally, they have come to the conclusion that the competitions are nothing but a farce, especially as Lefebvre has bad taste and only likes drawings stupidly copied from life, and Robert Fleury is no colourist.<sup>4</sup>

H.S. Tuke, R.A., remarked that the best artists, many of whom had already acquired reputations as exceptional artists, from all countries flocked to Paris for art studies in the last quarter of the 19th century, once political and social stability had been restored after the Franco-Prussian War.

. . . the strongest men from all countries flock here [Paris]. For example those who

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<sup>1</sup>A. S. Hartrick, Drawing: From Drawing as an Educational Force to Drawing as an Expression of the Emotions (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, Ltd., 1921), p. 24.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 52.

<sup>3</sup>Maria Bashkirtseff (va), The Journal of Maria Bashkirtseff (va), trans. Mathilde Blind (London: Cassell & Co., Ltd., 1890), p. 381.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 339.



took the highest honours at the R.A., at Kensington, and at Antwerp all come to pousser [sic] their studies further. One most noticeable thing is the length of time the big men study, 8 or 9 years usually.<sup>1</sup>

Certainly this is applicable to many visual artists, who after years of drawing instruction at the Ontario and Quebec government art schools where the curriculum et al. were modelled upon the South Kensington system, continued their advanced art studies abroad. Some trained in Paris for only a few weeks, months, whereas others stayed for years, at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, private atelier, or independent study with a particular master, and a few exhibited at the various salons. However, questions arise about their Paris study. What was learned from their Paris study? How did this contribute to their overall art education? Did all the artists who studied in Paris

achieve international reputations and have splendid careers? Or were these artists exceptional before they arrived in Paris, with Paris providing further stimulus for their natural evolution and development. As can be derived from the numerous quotations attributed to foreign artists (non-French) who studied in Paris between 1870-1914, most enjoyed the new surroundings but were sceptical about the system of art education. Drawing from the nude male or female model was a distinct feature that few in the United States, Britain, and Canada (Quebec and Ontario) could partake due to the morality and lack of available models.

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<sup>1</sup>Stuart MacDonald, op. cit., p. 56.

John Charles Pinhey (1860-1912), A.R.C.A., who had been trained at the Ontario School of Art, Toronto, in 1880, and then subsequently at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and the Académie Julian, Paris, observed one of his pupils, Charles Gill (1878-1918), in the Advanced Freehand course at the Montreal art school in the 1889/90 session, had more knowledge, in his opinion (Pinhey), than the vast majority whom Pinhey had known in Paris.

I regret very much that Mr. C. Gill leaves for Paris next fall so that he will not be one of my class. He is the one that has the firmest and truest grip on what art really is. He shows a realization of what is what that surprised me. Many that have been in Paris for years have not got anything like the big way of looking at things that he has. After all the great thing in drawing and painting is in the big way of taking as the subject whatever it is no matter what the mechanical treatment may be big or little, if the conception be great the result will be also. Gill possesses this quality. I predict a fine future for him. I hope he will always work hard. Nothing can develop without work.<sup>1</sup>

J. C. Pinhey's comments support the hypothesis that those with extensive and successful long drawing instruction in the South Kensington art schools or their colonial counterparts fared better than those entering the Paris studios less prepared in elementary drawing skills.

Sir Gilbert Parker (1862-1932),<sup>2</sup> author of popular novels and British parliamentarian, wrote about life in the

<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., 06M, ZQ 22/1, C.A.M.P.Q., 32P10, 29 Mar., 1890.

<sup>2</sup>W. L. Morton, "The 1920's," Chap. 7, in J. M. S. Careless and R. Craig Brown, eds., The Canadians 1867-1967 (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1967), p. 225. W. L. Morton analyzed Parker's Canadian readership in the context of his time and Canadian society. ". . . a simi-



Paris 'Latin' quarter and its attractions to Anglophone artists. According to H. C. and C. A. White, if the romantic notions are stripped away from these descriptions, four less attractive, however, more practical reasons emerge explaining why Paris became Europe's leading cultural centre.

1. Concentration of dealers with an international clientele.
2. International scope in recruitment of art students.
3. Higher prices of contemporary French painting, as compared to the contemporary painting of other countries.
4. Dominance of France in forming the language and criteria of art journalism."<sup>1</sup>

larly typical novelist, Sir Gilbert Parker, wrote for the more worldly of the middle class, for the established businessman and his family—novels of remote and aseptic action with the fruity accent and cigar-smoking atmosphere of the clubroom and the den. Such writers appealed to the romanticism, the desiccated nostalgia of a people raised on the romantic writings of Scott and Tennyson, of Longfellow, Lowell, and Whittier, and quite unused to an imaginative and searching discussion of their own society, and in their idiom. Literature was in Canadian experience unreal, and an amusement, never a criticism of life." For biographical information and a list of his books about Canada, see Elizabeth Waterston, "Gilbert Parker and the Rebellion of 1837," Journal of Canadian Studies, Vol. 20, no. 1, Spring 1985, pp. 88-89. "In politics, Parker chose Britain. He moved toward a seat in Parliament, a knighthood, a baronetcy, a role in major committees on South African and Irish policy, a place on the Privy Council, and a crucial job in wartime Washington. In fiction, he would continue to produce an astonishing series of world best-sellers, eight of them set in Canada." See footnote 2, p. 89. "Parker's best-selling historical romances on the Canadian French-English theme include The Trail of the Sword (1894), When Valmond Came to Pontiac (1895), The Seats of the Mighty (1896), The Pomp of the Lavillettes (1896), The Money Master (1915), The Power and the Glory (1925). In The Battle of the Strong (1898) and A Ladder of Swords (1904) he features French-English tensions in the Isle of Jersey; romances which do not use this theme include The Weavers (1907—Quaker vs. Muslims in Egypt) and The Promised Land (1928—Israel in the time of David). His other novels were set in modern Canadian West and Quebec, and in South Africa." See also National Union Catalog Pre-1956 Imprints, Vol. 442, pp. 326-338 for a list of Parker's books and re-editions.

<sup>1</sup>Harrison C. White and Cynthia A. White, op. cit., p. 76.

Recently, lists have been compiled by a few researchers<sup>1</sup> of the number of Canadian artists who studied in Paris between 1867 and 1914. The figures cited vary with each writer, however, they provide a general idea, if not an exact number.

Approximately one hundred and fifty Canadian artists . . . visited France between 1867 and 1914. . . .<sup>2</sup> Only about fifteen Canadians were enrolled at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts between 1867 and the First World War. . . .<sup>3</sup> Approximately seventy Canadians . . . exhibited at the annual Salon in the period between 1870 and the First World War.<sup>4</sup>

Another writer stated:

Le nombre de 130 artistes étudiés se compose des catégories suivantes: 85 Canadiens (37 Canadiens français et 48 Canadiens anglais) séjournent en Europe entre 1880 et 1905; 23 peintres français émigrent ou font un séjour au Canada; 22 autres artistes d'une autre nationalité, mais ont étudié en France et travaillé au Canada, complètent le tableau.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Laurier Lacroix, "Les artistes canadiens copistes au Louvre 1838-1908," J.C.A.H., Vol. II, no. 1, 1975, pp. 54-70. Sylvain Allaire, "Les canadiens au salon officiel de Paris entre 1870 et 1910: sections peinture et dessin," J.C.A.H., Vol. IV, no. 2, 1977-78, pp. 141-154. Sylvain Allaire, "Elèves canadiens dans les archives de l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts et de l'Ecole des Arts Décoratifs de Paris," J.C.A.H., Vol. VI, no. 1, 1982, pp. 98-111. Sylvain Allaire, "Les artistes canadiens aux Salons de Paris de 1870 à 1914" (unpublished M.A. thesis, université de Montréal, 1985).

<sup>2</sup>David Wistow, 19th Century Paris and the Canadian Artist (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1979), p. 4.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 8

<sup>5</sup>Laurier Lacroix, "Essai de définition des rapports entre la peinture française et la peinture canadienne au 19<sup>e</sup> siècle," Les relations France-Canada au 19<sup>e</sup> siècle, no. 3, Apr., 1974, p. 40.



According to Parker, twenty-five Canadians studied art in Paris in 1892.<sup>1</sup> This seems insignificant when contrasted with the total of ten thousand registered artists in the same year. Over a forty-seven year period (1867-1914), an estimated one hundred and fifty Canadians studied there. How does this compare quantitatively with Canadians taking art classes in Britain during the same period? Utilizing two major reference books,<sup>2</sup> which listed over four thousand artists, eighty-five artists<sup>3</sup> were trained in British art schools, of which most were under the jurisdiction of the South Kensington system.

In addition, many other Canadian artists travelled to Britain annually to visit relatives and friends, to sketch, to paint, to view British artists' work in public art galleries, and were members of established British art clubs where they exhibited regularly.

Even with the importance placed upon Paris, London was still respected for its art education, particularly drawing instruction.

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<sup>1</sup>Gilbert Parker, "Canadian art students in Paris," The Week, 1 Jan., 1892, pp. 70-71. "There are ten thousand artists and art students in Paris. Of these, twenty-five, perhaps, are Canadians. . . ." See also Jean-René Ostiguy, "The Paris Influence on Quebec Painters," Canadian Collector, Jan./Feb., 1977-78, pp. 50-54.

<sup>2</sup>J. R. Harper, E.P. &E., op. cit. Colin S. MacDonald, op. cit.

<sup>3</sup>Of the 85 artists, 34 were born in Canada, the remaining 51 emigrated to Canada shortly after completing their art studies in Britain. Of the 51, 35 were from England, 10 from Scotland, 2 from the United States, 1 from South Africa, 1 from Wales, 1 from Australia, and 1 from India. Of the total of 85, 20 were women, 65 men. See Appendix 1b.

Go to London, . . . for drawing; go to Rome and Florence and Munich for colour and character; go to Paris for the soul of art. . . , can-can, cognac, and cigars.<sup>1</sup>

Canadian-born artist, Charles Stuart Millard (1837-1917), was Headmaster of the Cheltenham School of Art for twenty-five years, from 1882 to 1907, and had words of praise for the South Kensington system and remembered a significant number of fellow Canadian artists who trained within it.

I am pleased to learn that you are making such a good progress in Art matters currently in Canada, but especially in the School of Art work. . . . [It] is the only way of raising the standard of your Exhibitions, which at Kensington for some years I saw how much you needed a movement in this direction from the number of Canadians that attended that school alone. . . .<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Gilbert Parker, op. cit., pp. 70-71.

<sup>2</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, Watts MSS., Vol. 2, p. 215. Letter from C. S. Millard to J. W. H. Watts, 18 July, 1885. As was the case in Paris, artists from all over the world came to study at the South Kensington art schools in Britain. For a Japanese art student's impression of the South Kensington art school, London, 1898, see Yoshio Morkino, A Japanese Artist in London (Philadelphia: George W. Jacob & Co., 1910).

## CHAPTER 2: QUEBEC

### PART I: The Early Years: The Importance of Drawing

#### Introduction

Until the last quarter of the 19th century drawing instruction had been limited to a few lessons in public schools when there was a demand for it. Fine art was associated with the general education of 'ladies and gentlemen,' and was described as an extra-subject with an additional fee charged in public schools. Fine art was offered also in the form of private or individual lessons. British and German artists who taught in Quebec, such as Adolphe Vogt (1842-71),<sup>1</sup> William Raphael (1833-1914),<sup>2</sup> Otto Jacobi (1812-1901),<sup>3</sup> and the Dutch-born Cornelius Krieghoff (1815-72),<sup>4</sup> who had taken their art education at the Berlin, Düsseldorf, and Munich academies had been exposed to the ideas of the utilitarian philosophy of art and the importance placed upon precise drawing for industrial and fine art purposes.

In 1828, the Montreal Mechanics' Institute was established, however, it wasn't until 1840 that drawing instruction was included in their general curriculum for the workingman.

When drawing was recognized by art educators, educationalists, politicians, industrialists, and artists as an

<sup>1</sup>J. R. Harper, E.P.&E.; op. cit., p. 318.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 259.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 171-72.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 184. See also, J. R. Harper, Cornelius Krieghoff (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), pp. 25, 137, 173.

important subject, the mechanics' institutes, limited instruction in public schools, and private lessons were inadequate to handle the increased enrolment.

In 1859, Krieghoff criticized the government for not taking an active part in the promotion of drawing and art education.

Something ought to be done to further art in the province [Quebec]. Our very normal schools, high schools, etc., are without able drawing masters, or collections of prints or ornaments. . . . This is a matter of importance and we should not follow the low wake of the United States indifference to the fine arts. . . .<sup>1</sup>

In Quebec prior to 1876, two individuals made significant contributions to the promotion of drawing instruction and art education.

Napoléon Bourassa (1827-1916) and abbé Joseph Chabert (1832-94) were art educators, writers, artists, received their art training in Europe, and were contemporaries in Quebec, who like their counterparts in Britain, Germany, France and the United States, believed drawing instruction was essential to a general education. Both men were aware of the South Kensington system with its utilitarian philosophy of art and its progressive attitudes toward art and industry. Bourassa addressed himself to art instruction for children as well as industrial and fine art education, whereas Chabert emphasized drawing and art education for Quebec industrial purposes, particularly for the workingman.

Bourassa, a native-born Quebecer, from a politically influential and socially prominent Quebec family, had a dis-

<sup>1</sup>J. R. Harper, P in C, op. cit., p. 104.

tinct advantage over Chabert. Bourassa's anima mundi ideas about art were theoretical, intellectual and philosophical, which appealed more to the middle and upper classes and were more acceptable because they worked within the already existing educational institutions (mechanics' institutes, fine art and public schools). The practical ideas of Chabert, the French emigré, received more resistance. Described by some as a radical, he offended not only the values of the middle and upper classes, but also the Conservatives, the Roman Catholic church officials and the ultramontanes, who promoted the Syllabus of Errors of Pius IX, which condemned science and progress in the 19th century. Chabert in his attempts to establish a school of industrial art, served as a catalyst for the provincial government to found industrial art schools. With the adoption of the Walter Smith system of drawing instruction in 1876 and 1877, in the provincial industrial art schools and the public schools respectively, both Chabert's and Bourassa's influence in art education greatly diminished.

#### A) Napoléon Bourassa

Napoléon Bourassa was the author of many texts. He was the editor of and a prolific writer for the illustrated periodical Revue canadienne (founded in 1864),<sup>1</sup> who contributed numerous articles on a variety of subjects, of

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<sup>1</sup>Roger LeMoine, Napoléon Bourassa: l'homme et l'artiste (Ottawa: Cahiers du C.R.C.C.F., no. 8, Editions de l'université d'Ottawa, 1974), p. 59. According to LeMoine, the founding of Revue canadienne in January, 1864 signified the establishment of the first Montreal literary society.

which a few<sup>1</sup> were devoted to the importance of drawing, art history and education. This eclecticism was characteristic of many authors and endemic to the second half of the 19th century.

As evidenced by examining the preparatory notes for his published and unpublished texts, Bourassa derived historical information and philosophic ideas from two<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The following list, arranged chronologically, contains printed and unpublished texts by Bourassa. "Lecture de M. Bourassa. Les Beaux-Arts," Le Pays, 19 Dec., 1861, p. 1; "Lecture de M. Bourassa. Les Beaux-Arts," Le Pays, 21 Dec., 1861, p. 1; "Lecture de M. Bourassa. Les Beaux-Arts," Le Pays, 24 Dec., 1861, p. 1; "Discours d'introduction au cours de dessin pratique de M. Bourassa à l'Ecole Normale Jacques Cartier," Journal de l'instruction publique, Vol. 6, no. 1, Jan., 1862, pp. 4-6; "Discours d'introduction au cours de dessin pratique de M. Bourassa à l'Ecole Normale Jacques Cartier," Journal de l'instruction publique, Vol. 6, no. 2, Feb., 1862, pp. 27-29; "Prospectus," Revue canadienne, Vol. 1, no. 1, Jan., 1864, pp. 3-8; "Quelques réflexions critiques à propos de l'Art Association of Montreal," Revue canadienne, Vol. 1, no. 3, Mar., 1864, pp. 170-82; "Causerie artistique sur l'exposition de l'Art Association of Montréal," Revue canadienne, Vol. 2, no. 3, Mar., 1865, pp. 170-79; "Causerie artistique," Revue canadienne, Vol. 2, no. 6, June, 1865, pp. 376-79; "Causerie artistique," Revue canadienne, Vol. 4, no. 10, Oct., 1867, pp. 789-98; "Du développement du goût dans les arts en Canada," Revue canadienne, Vol. 5, no. 1, Jan., 1868, pp. 67-68; "Du développement du goût dans les arts en Canada," Revue canadienne, Vol. 5, no. 3, Mar., 1868, pp. 207-15; N.A., Napoléon Bourassa Papers, MG29, D.80, no. 1267. "Conférence à la Société des arts et métier," n.d., 20 pp.; "Influence du caractère national sur art," n.d., 23 pp.; "Influence du sentiment religieux sur l'art," n.d., 47 pp.; "Art gothique," n.d., 23 pp.; "L'Art grec," n.d., 88 pp. "La Science dans l'Industrie," n.d., 12 pp. See also "Ouvrages publiés par Napoléon Bourassa," Bulletin des recherches historiques, Vol. 30, 1924, p. 198.

<sup>2</sup>N.A., Napoléon Bourassa Papers, MG29, D.80, no. 1267, Vol. 1. See especially "L'Art grec" (94 pp.) and "Art gothique" (23 pp.).

particular French authors, Victor Duruy (1811-94)<sup>1</sup> and Marie Nicolas Bouillet (1798-1864), whose popular encyclopaedic histories of ancient (Greek and Roman) and Medieval civilisations were published and reprinted continuously from the mid-1850's.

Bourassa was impressed greatly by the South Kensington system of drawing instruction and the collection of art and specimens of natural science on public display at the South Kensington Museum. He attributed their founding and development to the efforts of Prince Albert and his knowledge of German educational systems.

Parmi les oeuvres les plus remarquables de ces sociétés de beaux-arts, je dois signaler la collection du Palais Sydenham, qui, si elle est jamais terminée, formera le musée le plus étonnant et le plus complet du monde entier. On se propose rien de moins que de remplir tout l'ancien Palais de Crystal de modèles ou de copies de tous les monuments de l'art antique et moderne, comprennent toutes ses époques et tous ses types, chez tous les peuples du monde!

Je dois le dire ici, celui qui, peut-être, à le plus contribué à préparer ce grand mouvement artistique, est le Prince Albert: artiste lui-même par le sentiment et par l'éducation, il a travaillé à propager,

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<sup>1</sup>P-J-O. Chauveau had literary interests and corresponded with Victor Duruy from 1859 and in 1884/85 was accused by some members of the Roman Catholic clergy of perverting "the Christian notion of education" with "the poisonous ideas of the masonic programme." Quebec Conservative party colleagues, Prime Minister C. E. de Boucher de Boucherville and Minister of Public Instruction Gédéon Ouimet, commissioned Bourassa to prepare a report on European educational systems in 1877, however, the Conservatives lost the 1878 provincial election to the Liberals and Bourassa's report was disregarded. C.R.C.C.F. P13/1/11, pp. 337-49.



en Angleterre, la révolution commencée en Allemagne.<sup>1</sup>

He praised the English for their initiative in promoting and encouraging fine art and the British government for their intervention into the arts by establishing the schools of drawing instruction particularly for industrial purposes.

Mais l'on remarque aussi, avec plaisir, que depuis un quart de siècle, il s'est produit un grand changement chez les Anglais, sous ce rapport. Plusieurs sociétés se sont organisées, dans le but de favoriser les produits de l'art national élevé. Recrutées parmi les hommes de fortune et de rang, ces associations ont obtenu déjà de grands résultats: des expositions ont eu lieu sur différents points du pays, sous leur patronage: elles ont ouvert des concours aux peintres, aux sculpteurs et aux graveurs; elles ont fondé des écoles de dessin, etc. Le gouvernement, appréciant enfin ces derniers établissements, non seulement à cause de l'éclat qu'ils pourront jeter un jour sur la nation, mais encore pour les perfections qu'ils apporteront aux diverses industries, s'est empressé de les protéger....

. . . Cette révolution, j'en suis persuadé, ne tardera pas à s'accomplir. Car tout aujourd'hui, semble y concourir: pendant que l'art du dessin, sous l'intelligente direction des sociétés particulières et du gouvernement, entre dans les voies plus larges: pendant qu'il s'enhardit dans ses nouveaux espaces et que, désertant enfin le coin du feu et la basse-cour, il s'élève peu à peu à la dignité historique, . . .<sup>2</sup>

According to Bourassa, based on the German and the British successes, the advantages of drawing instruction, although multifarious, in a general education were prima-

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<sup>1</sup>Napoléon Bourassa, "Quelques réflexions critiques à propos de l'Art Association of Montreal," Revue canadienne, Vol. 1, no. 3, Mar., 1864, p. 176. See also R. LeMoine, op. cit., p. 201.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.



rily commercial and economic.

Il me reste maintenant à parler des avantages immédiats qui procure l'étude du dessin aux artisans de tout genre, et par suite, à l'industrie, au commerce, à la prospérité publique toute entière.<sup>1</sup>

Bourassa offered drawing lessons in the early 1860's at Montreal's Ecole normale Jacques Cartier. He criticised the government for not including compulsory drawing instruction in the public school curriculum, as he perceived drawing to be an important subject.

. . . l'on considère que l'enfant qui manque, dans son foyer, de tous les moyens d'instruction ne peut pas arriver bien

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<sup>1</sup>"Lecture de M. Bourassa. Les Beaux-Arts," Le Pays, 21 Dec., 1861, p. 1. See [Napoléon Bourassa], "Discours d'introduction au cours de dessin pratique de M. Bourassa à l'Ecole Normale Jacques Cartier," Journal de l'instruction publique, Vol. 6, no. 1, Jan., 1862, p. 5. See also R. LeMoine, op. cit., p. 191.

haut dans la carrière de l'art, s'il n'en étudie que la partie mécanique et matérielle; on a donc mis à côté des classes destinées à l'étude du dessin et de la forme, des chaires d'Histoire, de Mathématiques, et d'autres sciences.<sup>1</sup>

Schools and the educational system should be used to popularize art and drawing, particularly in a young country.

L'école et l'école seule dans un pays neufs et constitué comme le nôtre, popularise la connaissance de l'art, elle crée un goût plus sûr par la critique, d'abord au milieu d'un petit noyau, puis, avec les années, au milieu des masses.<sup>2</sup>

The objective of the drawing course Bourassa initiated, was to help the working man, amateur and professional alike, to appreciate art as well as to use the acquired skill of drawing for pleasure in everyday life and to increase competence in the workplace.

. . . Cours préparatoire, parce qu'il est absolument nécessaire pour arriver à l'art sérieux, qu'il est d'une utilité journalière à tous ceux qui, dans leur occupation professionnelle, ont besoin du dessin, et qu'il est amplement suffisant pour les amateurs qui voudraient faire du dessin une distraction utile et agréable. . . .<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>"Lecture de M. Bourassa. Les Beaux-Arts," Le Pays, 21 Dec., 1861, p. 1. See [Napoléon Bourassa], "Discours d'introduction au cours de dessin pratique de M. Bourassa à l'Ecole Normale Jacques Cartier," Journal de l'instruction publique, Vol. 6, no. 2, Feb., 1862, p. 27. See also R. LeMoine, op. cit., p. 193.

<sup>2</sup>"Lecture de M. Bourassa. Les Beaux-Arts," Le Pays, 24 Dec., 1861, p. 1. See [Napoléon Bourassa], "Discours d'introduction au cours de dessin pratique de M. Bourassa à l'Ecole Normale Jacques Cartier," Journal de l'instruction publique, Vol. 6, no. 2, Feb., 1862, p. 29. See also R. LeMoine, op. cit., p. 197.

<sup>3</sup>"Lecture de M. Bourassa. Les Beaux-Arts," Le Pays, 24 Dec., 1861, p. 1. See [Napoléon Bourassa], "Discours d'introduction au cours de dessin pratique de M. Bourassa à l'Ecole Normale Jacques Cartier," Journal de l'instruction publique, Vol. 6, no. 2, Feb., 1862, p. 28. See also R. LeMoine, op. cit., p. 194.

. . . Ce sera pour un certain nombre de jeunes gens, qui auraient du goût pour le dessin, un incontestable avantage de venir passer quelques heures de nos longues soirées d'hiver dans un exercice qui à ses agréments, quand on l'aime, et dont ils goûteront l'utilité plus tard, quand ce ne serait que pour juger pertinemment un moreau d'art.<sup>1</sup>

He defined drawing as observation and analysis. An artist must have a fundamental knowledge in the technical aspects of drawing to liberate him from the mechanical reproduction of form in order to enable him to develop the artistic freedom necessary for the creation of a work of art. The copying exercise was only the first level of study.

Le dessin est essentiellement un travail d'observation et d'analyse. Aussitôt qu'il a pour but de reproduire les objets qui se présentent à nos regards, il oblige l'esprit aussi bien que l'oeil à en étudier les formes réelles, les modifications, les mouvements, les points par lesquels ils harmonisent avec le reste de la nature, les influences morales qu'ils subissent, si ce sont des objets animés et intelligents. De la forme apparente, on passe insensiblement à la nature essentielle des choses. . . .<sup>2</sup>

. . . Un autre avantage de la pratique du dessin est de nous graver la forme exacte des objets dans la mémoire, de manière à pouvoir la reproduire quand nous désirons mettre ces objets, sous le regard des autres. De là suit cette autre ressource,

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<sup>1</sup>"Lecture de M. Bourassa. Les Beaux-Arts," Le Pays, 24 Dec., 1861, p. 1. See [Napoléon Bourassa], "Discours d'introduction au cours de dessin pratique de M. Bourassa à l'Ecole Normale Jacques Cartier," Journal de l'instruction publique, Vol. 6, no. 2, Feb., 1862, p. 29. See also R. LeMoine, op. cit., p. 196.

<sup>2</sup>"Lecture de M. Bourassa. Les Beaux-Arts," Le Pays, 19 Dec., 1861, p. 1. See [Napoléon Bourassa], "Discours d'introduction au cours de dessin pratique de M. Bourassa à l'Ecole Normale Jacques Cartier," Journal de l'instruction publique, Vol. 6, no. 1, Jan., 1862, p. 5. See also R. LeMoine, op. cit., p. 190.

de pouvoir retracer sur le papier les figures conçues par votre imagination. Combien de services a rendus à la science expérimentale l'art du dessin?<sup>1</sup>

The study of historical ornament and landscape was essential to any art course; however, according to Bourassa drawing from the human figure was the most important, because of its complexity and variety of form and movement afforded the artist.

J'ai dit que le cours pourrait aussi s'appliquer au dessin d'ornement et au paysage, mais ce ne serait qu'incidemment, c'est-à-dire, j'aurais devant les élèves quelques modèles de ces divers genres, et dans l'énoncé des principes généraux, je signalerais ceux qui peuvent s'appliquer à eux. L'étude du dessin se ferait toujours sur la figure humaine, parce qu'elle est la plus belle forme créée, qu'elle est la plus variée dans ses mouvements, ses poses, ses aspects, ses expressions; parce qu'elle est la plus harmonieusement combinée avec tout la nature; parce qu'elle est comme la quintessence de la création; parce qu'elle est la source d'une étude infinie dans ses variétés et ses applications.<sup>2</sup>

In the 19th century, the interest in classical antiquity was perpetuated by archaeological excavations in Greece and Italy, and by the writings of men of letters on all aspects of past civilisations.

In Bourassa's opinion, the moral code or measure of a civilisation's greatness was reflected in the outward appearance, form or character of the art work. He, and

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., see also R. LeMoine, op. cit., p. 191.

<sup>2</sup>"Lecture de M. Bourassa. Les Beaux-Arts," Le Pays, 24 Dec., 1861, p. 1. See [Napoléon Bourassa], "Discours d'introduction au cours de dessin pratique de M. Bourassa à l'Ecole Normale Jacques Cartier," Journal de l'instruction publique, Vol. 6, no. 2, Feb., 1862, p. 28. See also R. LeMoine, op. cit., p. 194.

many of his contemporaries, including Karl Marx,<sup>1</sup> considered that the ancient Greeks achieved the purest and highest standard, both in technical quality and in aesthetic beauty. Academies of art had their students copy from plaster casts, or reproductions of art from the Greek classical period.

Le peuple grec, qui a le plus cultivé la forme et lui a donné la plus grande perfection dans son application la plus universelle, qui, en, outre, a mis le plus de raison dans la culture et le développement de l'esprit humain, avait parfaitement compris cette vérité, que tout s'enchaîne, que tout s'entr'aide dans l'ordre moral comme dans l'ordre physique.<sup>2</sup>

In fact, Bourassa's a priori ideas such as, virtue, truth, and beauty were derived from Plato, as was his thought that Greek sculpture embodied the highest moral and physical order, mens sana in corpore sano. Throughout his writings there was a strong religious sentiment, reflective of his own French Roman Catholic upbringing and education in the second quarter of 19th century Quebec. He believed the Christian religious images produced during the Medieval and Renaissance (Italian) periods were a continuation of the spiritual and physical perfection of the

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<sup>1</sup>Karl Marx, A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, trans. by S. Moor and E. Aveling (New York: Modern Library, 1936), pp. 311-12. ". . . in certain respects the standard and model beyond attainment." See also K. Marx and F. Engels, Literature and Art (International, 1947).

<sup>2</sup>"Lecture de M. Bourassa. Les Beaux-Arts," Le Pays, 19 Dec., 1861, p. 1. See [Napoléon Bourassa], "Discours d'introduction au cours de dessin pratique de M. Bourassa à l'Ecole Normale Jacques Cartier," Journal de l'instruction publique, Vol. 6, no. 1, Jan., 1862, p. 4. See also, R. LeMoine, op. cit., p. 189.

pagans (Greek). To Bourassa the perfection in art and nature were synonymous with God. This pantheistic view of nature was shared by many men of letters, including Ruskin.

L'étude des beautés qui vous environnent, à laquelle invite naturellement la pratique du dessin, conduit peu à peu l'esprit vers l'éclectisme en toute chose, et le dispose à saisir rapidement et justement le beau, partout où il se trouve et à en jouir à toutes les heures de la vie. Cette belle nature, si, variée, si abondante, n'a-t-elle pas été la source de toutes les nuances, de toutes les formes gracieuses et puissantes du langage? Et cette richesse des images que l'on a remarquée dans les langues des peuples grossiers qui habitaient nos forêts, n'a de source que dans l'observation constante des lois des harmonies et des beautés infinies de la création . . . dans sa longue contemplation de l'oeuvre de Dieu; . . .<sup>1</sup>

The central point of the Protagoras was that virtue was the result of knowledge rather than imitation. According to Bourassa the same analogy could be made regarding art. Art was the result of close observation of nature, not imitation nor copying of acknowledged masterpieces of art. Measurement corrected distortion. The more accurate each image of nature was visually represented the more aware the viewer became of its spiritual significance. Once the artist mastered the preliminary drawing instruction (associated with the scientific - measurement), he was free to use his technical skills and imagination to interpret nature, and perhaps achieve and find the values associated with high art, such as perfection, truth of depiction, beauty and knowledge (episteme). He stressed the importance of accurate drawing, geometry and perspec-

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., see also R. LeMoine, op. cit., p. 191.

tive, particularly for architects.<sup>1</sup> He not only admired the Medieval and Renaissance periods as the exemplum virtutis of art produced under Christianity, but also was impressed by the atelier system with its obvious advantages for collaboration between master and apprentices.

Comme la décoration des églises et le culte demandent à l'art des produits variés, il arriva que les artistes en tous genres furent invités ensemble à fournir leur contingent de travail, ce qui contribua à établir un contact entre eux, qui exerça une influence heureuse sur tous. Une ardente émulation s'empara d'eux. Les peintures, les sculpteurs, les mosaïstes, les orfèvres, les ciseleurs, les architectes, les modeleurs en stuc s'enseignaient mutuellement leur procédés.<sup>2</sup>

There was a well-developed and traditional system of apprenticeship for artists and craftsmen in Quebec during the 19th century. Bourassa, himself, was apprenticed to the well-known portrait painter, Théophile Hamel (1817-70),<sup>3</sup> and therefore it was not surprising that he, primarily a painter and muralist of religious scenes, who received commissions to decorate many Quebec Roman Catholic churches, modelled his atelier upon the Medieval and Renaissance workshops.

Bourassa, in addition to his educational background in Quebec, studied in Florence (1852-3) and Rome (1853-5)<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., see ibid., p. 5, see also R. LeMoine, op. cit., p. 189.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., see ibid., p. 6, see also R. LeMoine, op. cit., p. 192.

<sup>3</sup>J. R. Harper, E.P.&E., op. cit., p. 40.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.



where he was exposed to works by and introduced to the ideas of the Nazarenes, who based their philosophy and artistic style upon masters of the early Italian Renaissance. He was influenced stylistically and iconographically by them, and they reinforced his strong Christian beliefs.

Depuis quelques années il se produit dans beaucoup de pays réformés, en Prusse surtout et en Angleterre aussi, une révolution rapide et constante qui, je n'en doute pas changera bientôt les conditions de l'art dans ces pays. La peinture chrétienne et je dirais même catholique est rentrée triomphante dans les temples protestants de Berlin, avec les génies de Cornelius et d'Overbeck retempés au foyer du beau véritable, Rome.<sup>1</sup>

In 1861, when Bourassa was a drawing instructor at the Ecole normale Jacques Cartier, Montreal, eight years before his appointment to teach drawing at the Montreal art school of the Board of Arts and Manufactures (1869), and sixteen years prior to his 1877 report on European education for the Quebec government, he published a series of articles about the organisation and structure of a drawing course. At this time he hoped to persuade the government to incorporate drawing as a compulsory subject into the public school curriculum, as well as expose the inadequacies of instructors and drawing courses offered in public schools (extra-subject fine art lessons), mechanics' institutes, and A.A.M. art lessons.

<sup>1</sup>Napoléon Bourassa, "Quelques réflexions critiques à propos de l'Art Association of Montreal," Revue canadienne, Vol. 1, no. 3, Mar., 1864, p. 175. See also R. LeMoine, op. cit., pp. 201, 249. From 1870-72, Bourassa decorated la chapelle de Nazareth, Montreal, in the style of the Nazarenes.



Bourassa's preliminary art course<sup>1</sup> would ideally consist of three meetings of two hours each week, lasting for five months. The classes would be held from seven to nine in the evenings to facilitate working men, however, a day class for children and young men could be arranged if requested by enough people. Bourassa perceived evening classes to be tiring to children, young men and working men. Enrolment between forty and sixty would be acceptable.<sup>2</sup> He suggested, upon completion of the course, an exhibition<sup>3</sup> of pupil's drawings be held in the form of a competition to encourage the students and also to promote an awareness of art and drawing amongst the public.

A drawing course would be the first step, before a school of art could be established. The second step would be to acquire a large collection of casts, engravings and lithographs of famous works of art from all historical periods to be at the disposal of art school students.

Une collection de plâtres, modèles de figures et d'ornements; et il n'est pas nécessaire qu'elle soit considérable. . . . Une autre collection essentielle serait celle des grands maîtres représentés par la gravure et la lithographie; ainsi que des dessins d'ornements de divers styles, classés comme la série des grands maîtres, par ordre de date.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>"Lecture de M. Bourassa. Les Beaux-Arts," Le Pays, 24 Dec., 1861, p. 1. [Napoléon Bourassa], "Discours d'introduction au cours de dessin pratique de M. Bourassa à l'Ecole Normale Jacques Cartier," Journal de l'instruction publique, Vol. 6, no. 2, Feb., 1862, pp. 28-29. See also R. LeMoine, op. cit., pp. 194-95.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

Bourassa's idea that a vast collection of classical teaching models was essential for art pupils conformed to the general art educational philosophy in the 19th century. He no doubt derived this outlook from his knowledge of European and British art galleries and museums, as well as an awareness of Egerton Ryerson's Educational Museum (1857), Toronto.

The proposed curriculum for his art school was not only confined to the study of various aspects of drawing, but also included sculpture and painting.

Nous pourrions donc, à l'aide de cette humble petite galerie, diviser votre école comme suit: deux sections pour l'étude de la bosse ou des reliefs, dont l'une embrasserait la figure humaine, et l'autre, l'ornement, et qui se réuniraient d'ailleurs dans un même exercice; 2 sections pour le modelage, après le relief, destinées spécialement aux élèves, sculpteurs en figure ou en ornement, et qui seraient encore réunies dans la pratique. Enfin ceux qui voudraient s'adonner à la peinture, trouveraient un atelier ouvert pour y apprendre la manipulation des couleurs et le métier de la brosse: et l'on pourrait en outre les diriger devant le grand tableau de la nature qui, pour cette partie de l'art, est le seul et grand modèle que chacun doit voir et interpréter à sa manière.<sup>1</sup>

#### B) Abbé Joseph Chabert

In December 1870, a Montreal newspaper announced the forthcoming January 1871 opening of an art school, Institution nationale, under the direction of abbé Joseph

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

Chabert (1832-94).<sup>1</sup> In Montreal at this time the only other post-secondary drawing courses were offered by the Board of Arts and Manufactures, mechanics' institutes, la société des artisans canadiens-français and the A.A.M.<sup>2</sup>

Before emigrating to Canada in the spring of 1865, Chabert is reported to have studied art c. 1862 at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and the Ecole impériale des Beaux-Arts, Paris,<sup>3</sup> and then taught drawing briefly at Ecole des Beaux-Arts des Ternes.<sup>4</sup> As a student in Paris, Chabert would have been exposed to the ideas and utilitarian philosophy of drawing promoted by the South Kensington system. The curriculum of Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris, was re-organized in 1863 based upon the South Kensington schools, stressing industrial art over fine art

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<sup>1</sup>La Minerve, 21 Dec., 1870, p. 3. See, "Beaux-Arts," La Minerve, 5 Jan., 1871, p. 2. See also J. R. Harper, P in C, op. cit., p. 185. "New vitality was given to the Canadian art world immediately after Confederation when the Ecole des Arts et Manufactures was founded in Montréal. Abbé Chabert initiated classes there on 1 January 1871." Harper has confused both the name and Chabert's art school with that of the Board.

<sup>2</sup>Anne Bourassa stated that the A.A.M. offered evening art classes for workingmen during its early period (1860-83), however, no documentary evidence has been found to support her claim. See Anne Bourassa, Un artiste canadien-français. Napoléon Bourassa. 1827-1916 (Montréal: Pierre Desmarais Inc., 1968), pp. 22-23.

<sup>3</sup>Q.I.O.A., dossier Joseph Chabert, fiche 07028. La Minerve, 21 Dec., 1870, p. 3. Céline Larivière-Derome, "Un professeur d'art au Canada au XIX siècle: l'abbé Joseph Chabert," R.H.A.F., Vol. 28, no. 3, Dec., 1974, p. 349.

<sup>4</sup>A.S.C.M., CB14, pp. 287, 300, 301, 329.

education. The South Kensington influence upon Chabert is evidenced from examining his writings on art, his 1874 art school curriculum, and even the name of his art school—Institution nationale. Ecole spéciale des Beaux-Arts, Sciences, Arts et Métiers et Industrie.

He arrived in Canada from France in the spring of 1865, as part of a group recruited by Mgr. Faraud, "oblat de Marie-Immaculée" for the Saint-Boniface mission, Manitoba, but due to illness he was sent to the "Séminaire de Sainte-Thérèse," where he was a drawing instructor. A former student of Chabert, Augustin Laverdière, described his experiences with the abbé:

. . . Nous avons à Ste-Thérèse, depuis le départ de Mgr. Faraud, un dessinateur de première force. . . . En quelques coups de crayon, il [Chabert] vous fait un portrait parfait dans toutes les positions et de toutes les grandeurs que vous voulez. Nous avons mis notre classe de dessin sur un haut pied; nous avons plus de quarante élèves, et nous leur enseignons les vrais principes. . . . J'ai maintenant de toutes autres idées sur l'art du dessin; et sur la manière de l'enseigner. Dans un instant il nous a fait des modèles pour nos quarante élèves; aux uns des nez, des bouches; aux autres des oreilles, des yeux, dans toutes les positions imaginables. Il a commencé d'abord par des exercices préliminaires pour délier la main et apprendre à faire des lignes et des ombres. . . . Il commence par faire travailler exclusivement la figure; et il prétend que celui qui fait bien la figure, fait par là même le paysage. . . .<sup>1</sup>

After a brief stay in Terrebonne, Chabert moved to Ottawa, where in 1866, he opened an art school.<sup>2</sup> In

<sup>1</sup>A.S.Q., Fonds Laverdière, no. 169. Letter from A. Laverdière to C. H. Laverdière, 30 May, 1865. See Larivière-Derome, op. cit., pp. 348-49.

<sup>2</sup>Joseph Chabert, La guerre au Canada. Published by the Classes ouvrières de Montréal, avec les concours em-presse des clubs Cartiers, National et Letellier, représentants des idées et des intérêts du Canada entier (Montréal: 1881), 59 pages.

February 1867, he gave a lecture at the Institut canadien, Ottawa, on "L'éducation des classes ouvrières et leur spécialisation technique et artistique."<sup>1</sup> It was reviewed unfavourably with the result that Chabert removed himself from public scrutiny to a more obscure position as director of the Oblats de Marie-Immaculée<sup>2</sup> and resided at the Collège Saint-Joseph.<sup>3</sup> Chabert's ideas were condemned as "les idées menaçaient de plonger les classes ouvrières dans une misère à la fois Physique et morale."<sup>4</sup>

In July 1869,<sup>5</sup> Chabert's 'institute of fine arts' at the Congregation of Notre Dame, Ottawa, held an exhibition of student drawings, which was attended by the Governor-General and Lady Young. Shortly thereafter, due to adverse publicity and his reduced circumstances, Chabert moved to Montreal. In order to raise funds to enable him to establish a school of drawing in Montreal, he auctioned some of his own art and those of his Ottawa students between 29 December, 1870 and early January, 1871.<sup>6</sup> The proceeds were used to popularize drawing and conduct free art lessons for the working class.

<sup>1</sup>Larivière-Derome, op. cit., p. 350.

<sup>2</sup>L'Opinion publique, 17 July 1879. Larivière-Derome, op. cit., p. 340.

<sup>3</sup>A.S.Q., Fonds Verreau 23, no. 333. Letter from J. Chabert to abbé Verreau, 8 Sept., 1869.

<sup>4</sup>Larivière-Derome, op. cit., p. 350.

<sup>5</sup>"Vice-Regal Visit," Journal of Education (Quebec), Vol. 13 (1869), July, p. 133.

<sup>6</sup>Q.I.O.A., dossier Joseph Chabert, fiche 07030. See also Le Journal de Québec, 3 Jan., 1871, p. 2.

. . . faire connaître les principes du dessin dans la ville de Montréal et ainsi tandis que l'on offrirait un but noble et digne à poursuivre pour la plus haute classe, on présenterait les moyens de la plus grande importance pour le perfectionnement de la classe ouvrière et pour le succès de l'industrie dans toute la branche, en Canada.<sup>1</sup>

Chabert was unable to receive financial assistance for his privately funded art school from the Quebec government, however, during a brief visit to France in the spring of 1871, he persuaded Charles Blanc, and French government officials to donate models estimated at a value of between six and eight thousand dollars.

La collection de modèles comprend des modèles de dimensions colossales et d'autres de proportions naturelles, des groupes, des bustes, tous objets du plus grand prix.<sup>2</sup>

The following year, in 1872, the French government made an additional gift of casts, lithographs and other teaching models to Chabert.<sup>3</sup>

In the autumn of 1871, a Montreal newspaper<sup>4</sup> announced that Chabert had established a program of courses for his art school, however, it wasn't until 1874 that a prospectus<sup>5</sup> was printed, detailing an extensive curriculum. It

<sup>1</sup>Q.I.O.A., dossier Joseph Chabert, fiche 07029. See "Beaux-Arts," La Minerve, 5 Jan., 1871, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup>"Correspondance," L'Opinion publique, 23 Nov., 1871, p. 569. See also Larivière-Derome, op. cit., p. 353.

<sup>3</sup>"M. Abbé Chabert," L'Opinion publique, 26 Sept., 1872, p. 465.

<sup>4</sup>"Les classes du soir," L'Opinion publique, 28 Sept., 1871, p. 476.

<sup>5</sup>Joseph Chabert, Programme de l'Institution nationale . . . (Montréal: Imprimerie du National, 1874).

has been assumed<sup>1</sup> that Chabert's art school continued uninterrupted from 1871-76, without difficulty, as he secured accommodation for a classroom and exhibition space from a wealthy Montreal leather goods merchant, John Pratt (1833-76).<sup>2</sup> However, new evidence casts doubt on that theory. *The following information reveals* that Chabert's school had either collapsed or was having severe financial difficulties. In August 1873, Chabert offered to transfer his teaching models to the Council for use in their art schools, "provided he [Chabert] had some assurance that the School would be conducted as to meet the object which he had in mind when procuring them."<sup>3</sup>

The Council paid Chabert by cheque for his models in November 1873,<sup>4</sup> and the following year, in July 1874, he refused a teaching position in the Council art schools.<sup>5</sup>

In late February 1875,<sup>6</sup> after two previously unsuccessful attempts to secure public funding, Chabert had his school incorporated

<sup>1</sup>Larivière-Derome, op. cit., pp. 354-55.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 12 Aug., 1873, pp. 149-52.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 4 Nov., 1873, pp. 152-53. He was issued a cheque for \$497.50.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 20 July, 1874, p. 175. "The reply of Abbé Chabert to the letter of the Secretary offering him the position of Professor in the Schools under the direction of the Council was read. . . ."

<sup>6</sup>"Nouvelles Diverses," L'Opinion publique, 25 Feb., 1875, p. 94. Chabert had applied originally for financial assistance from the provincial government in 1870 and again in 1874, however, was refused because it was perceived that drawing instruction was "carried on efficiently by the Council" art schools. See A.S.Q., Fonds Verreau 28, no. 56. Letter from J. Chabert to abbé Verreau, 17 Sept., 1870. A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 3 Nov., 1874, p. 188. See also "Nouvelles," L'Opinion publique, 3 Dec., 1874, p. 597. A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 4, 23 Feb., 1875, p. 197.



and received one thousand dollars from the provincial government.

The program of study was not unlike that of the Council art schools, however, it had a larger number and greater range of courses. The staff numbered eight men: Chabert, Rodolphe Bresdin (1825-85), Ernest Cleff, Ed. Benac, J. Escoubes, A. Massy, J. Gillet, and J. Kieffer (1813-91). Chabert not only assumed the duties of director, but also taught drawing and painting, as well as organising the occasional lecture on the history of art, and art and industry, to complement the courses. The curriculum consisted of Painting, Engraving, Architecture, Applied Sciences, with Drawing and Sculpture divided into elementary and advanced classes.

Painting was limited to decorative and genre studies executed in water colour, pastel and oils.

Elementary drawing was composed of:

. . . dessin copié (exercices préliminaires, méthode, principes élémentaires de la figure, esquisses de la tête de grandeur nature); dessin d'animaux, de paysage, de fleurs, de fruits, et de nature morte; dessin de l'ornement; dessin de mémoire.<sup>1</sup>

Advanced drawing covered the following individual subjects:

. . . travail fini de la tête de grandeur nature; dessin de l'académie et des groupes académiques; étude des proportions du corps humain; étude de l'ostéologie et de la myologie (à l'usage des étudiants en médecine); dessin de mémoire et après la peinture; composition d'ornement et de sujets académiques; dessin d'après nature et d'après la bosse (bustes et statues antiques); dessin de

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<sup>1</sup>Larivière-Derome, op. cit., p. 355.

l'ornement d'après l'antique; étude de la plante vivante et du modèle vivant.<sup>1</sup>

Engraving was taught by Rodolphe Bresdin.

Cette section dispensait des cours pratiques de gravure tant sur bois, sur pierre qu'à l'eau-forte, sur acier, cuivre et zinc. Tous les exercices étaient faits et imprimés à l'École. Les cours abordaient également les sujets suivants: caractère de la gravure à l'eau-forte, outillage, préparations diverses, dessin à la pointe sur la planche, calque décalque, morsure, épreuves, procédés particuliers, planches de zinc et d'acier, théories diverses.<sup>2</sup>

Ernest Cleff, who in 1875 was commissioned to repaint the interior of Montreal's Notre-Dame church, was responsible for teaching elementary and advanced Sculpture.

The elementary course consisted of:

A l'élémentaire, on donnait les leçons suivantes: exercices préliminaires; préparations d'argile; méthode classique du modelage; modèles copiés (ébauches de fragments et de figures humaines de grandeur nature); modelé de l'ornement après l'antique; modelé de la tête d'après l'antique; modelé esquissé d'après la plante vivante.<sup>3</sup>

The following subjects were offered in advanced Sculpture:

. . . modelé de la figure d'après l'antique, la plante vivante, la nature morte, la gravure; leçons sur les divers genres et styles de l'ornement; explications et démonstrations au tableau noir; composition (exécution en bas-relief et motifs d'ornements); étude des proportions du corps humain; ostéologie et myologie; démonstration sur nature et fac-similé; modelé d'après l'académie antique et le modèle vivant; esquisses de sujets

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 355-56.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

académiques; exercices pratiques de sculpture de l'ornement et de la figure sur bois, pierre, plâtre, marbre et métaux, aux ateliers de l'Ecole.<sup>1</sup>

Architecture was organized into four sections. J.

Escoubes taught Civil Architecture.

. . . arithmétique, algèbre et géométrie; dessin linéaire à vue et d'après croquis; tracé géométrique; imitation et réduction des modèles d'architecture; croquis d'après le modèle nature; dessin des ordres; étude des styles; coupe des pierres; assemblage des bois; 'dessin du tour'; perspective linéaire.<sup>2</sup>

A. Massy was the instructor for Naval Architecture, both hydraulic and military.<sup>3</sup> J. Kieffer and J. Gillet were in charge of the mechanical section,<sup>4</sup> with Edouard Benac responsible for the Applied Sciences.<sup>5</sup>

In the mid-1870's, no doubt in order to draw attention to his art school, share his philosophy of art and emphasize the importance of drawing instruction for the working class, he published two brochures (1874), neither of which have survived, entitled L'Art du dessin and Du présent et de l'avenir en Canada, des Beaux-Arts, des Arts et Métiers et de l'Industrie.<sup>6</sup> He founded the periodical Propriétaire et l'ouvrier,<sup>7</sup> which lasted only four months, from 31 July

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 357.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>"Nouvelles," L'Opinion publique, 12 Nov., p. 561.

<sup>7</sup>"Nouveau Journal," Le Bien publique, Vol. II, no. 84, 31 July, 1875, p. 3. See also Le Canadien, 11 Oct., 1875, p. 2.

to October 1875, and later, in 1877 published a book, Le premier Canadien nommé à l'éminente charge de paléontologiste de la Commission géologique au Canada. Richesses Géologiques de la Puissance. Vie du Dr. J. A. Crevier (Montreal: Chapleau, 1877). The brochures and periodical were reviewed unfavourably by the local press. His beliefs on universal access to education for the working classes challenged the status quo views and Roman Catholic church control over provincial education.

With the death of John Pratt in 1876, the rooms where Chabert conducted his art classes at 75 rue St-Jacques were no longer available. Over the next ten years the school changed addresses<sup>1</sup> frequently and disappeared from the Montreal City Directories between 1879-84. Chabert probably had been reduced to giving private drawing lessons to individuals or small groups.

In 1879, upon his return from Europe he found that the l'Institution nationale had been vandalized<sup>2</sup> with the result that he may have been forced to take a teaching position at the Ecole normale Jacques Cartier.<sup>3</sup> However, in 1881 he gave a public lecture entitled La guerre au

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<sup>1</sup> John Lovell, ed., Montreal Directory 1877-78, pp. 330, 799. In 1877 Chabert's school was listed at 186 rue St-Paul. From 1877-79 Chabert was in Italy and France on personal or church business. See A.C.A.M. 450.903, 875. Letter from Chabert to Mgr. Bourget 14 Mar., 1879. In 1884-85 the Directory listed the school at 85 rue St-Jacques and in 1886-87 at the Salle Nordheimer, 215 rue St-Jacques. See John Lovell, ed., Montreal Directory 1886-87, p. 467.

<sup>2</sup> J. Chabert, La guerre au Canada, op. cit., p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> A.S.Q., Fonds Verreau 33, no. 60. Letter from G. E. Prévost to Chapleau, 13 Dec., 1880.

Canada, which outlined his struggle to educate workers.

Drawing instruction was the key to their moral, spiritual and economic satisfaction. He envisioned tremendous potential for an industrialized Canada if the working class was well-trained and -educated in the arts and sciences.

. . . la consécration de ma vie vous est bien connue: instruire les classes manufacturières pour fortifier en toutes matières le pays en cherchant à intéresser ses chefs à cette oeuvre de bienfaisance et de civilisation moderne, et exalter et défendre tout progrès canadien relevant des arts et sciences, voilà ce que je n'ai cessé de faire depuis douze ans que je suis auprès de vous.<sup>1</sup>

Shortly, thereafter, a Montreal newspaper announced that the Institution nationale would be re-opening with abbé Chabert as its director.<sup>2</sup> Although listed in 1884/85, the 1886/87 Montreal Directory included a brief outline of the curriculum, modified, reduced and less ambitious than the 1874 prospectus.

Special School of Drawing in all its Branches of Painting, Sculpture and Applied Sciences. Instruction analogous to that of the National School of Drawing, tc [sic], Paris.

Special Courses.

Day Courses for Amateurs; for artists who wish to apply Fine Arts to Industry; for medical Students (Academy Astrology, Myology and General Anatomy); of those intending to teach Drawing; for the Pupils of Several Schools during their holidays.

Evening Course - Study of Proportions of the Human Body and the Expression of Passions applied to the Composition.

N.B. Private lessons in Latin, Greek and French Literature.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>J. Chabert, La guerre au Canada, op. cit., p. 46.

<sup>2</sup>"Choses et autres," L'Opinion publique, 21 Dec., 1882, p. 609.

<sup>3</sup>John Lovell, ed., Montreal Directory 1886-87, p. 467.

Even his modest attempt to re-establish an art school ended in disaster. In 1887,<sup>1</sup> a fire destroyed the building and its contents, and abbé Chabert was committed to a mental institution in early January 1888,<sup>2</sup> where he remained until his death on March 29, 1894.

After 1876, Chabert's influence on Quebec artists and art education diminished greatly, however, his importance from 1871-76 also can be questioned. It is possible that Quebec art writers over-emphasized the significance of this tragic and romantic figure. Although contemporary newspaper accounts contributed fragmented pieces of information about Chabert's activities and his art school, very little has survived to provide a reliable chronology of events, lists of students, attendance and enrolment. The absence of facts has not deterred authors from revealing names of Chabert's students from undisclosed sources.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>B.N.Q., Annexe Aegidius Fauteux, collection E. Z. Massicotte, Les Glanures, III, p. 309.

<sup>2</sup>Chabert entered hôpital St-Jean-de-Dieu on 7 Jan., 1888. See C. Larivière-Derome, op. cit., p. 365.

<sup>3</sup>Georges Bellerive, Artistes, peintres canadiens-français les anciens (Québec: Librairie Garneau, 1925), p. 101. Olivier Maurault, Marges d'histoire: l'art au Canada (Montréal: Librairie d'action canadienne-française, 1929), p. 127. Olivier Maurault, "Georges Delfosse," M.S.R.C., Vol. 46 (1940), section 1, pp. 75-76. "Il compta parmi ses élèves Suzor-Côté, Franchère, Henri Julien, Charles Gill et Georges Delfosse." Emile Falardeau, Artistes et artisans du Canada (Montréal: Ducharme, 1943), p. 47. "Archambault, Barbeau, Barré, Bayard, Beau, Beau-lieu, Blanchard, Carli, Delfosse, Dubé, Edson, Ferland, Gadbois, Gélinas, Gill, Gault, Gravel dit Lajoie, Gratton, Hawksett, Huot, Labelle, L'Africain, Lamarche, Lamouche, Laperle, Larose, Leduc, Lefeutein, Marois, Masson, Mesnard, Miller, Perrault, Pauzé, Raza, Richer, Napoléon [sic], Saint-Charles, Tourville, Vincent." R. LeMoine, op. cit., p. 55, footnote 46. See also Larivière-Derome, op. cit., p. 366. "L'abbé Chabert aura été à l'origine de plusieurs carrières: ne mentionnons que celles de Joseph-Charles Franchère, Charles Gill, Henri Beau, et Eugène L'Africain."

Subsequent authors added to those who supposedly attended Chabert's school, without questioning the unsubstantiated lists. Ironically none of the previous writers had access to the papers, including student lists, of the Council of Arts and Manufactures, where the vast majority of those attributed to have studied with him were enrolled.<sup>1</sup> It is conceivable that previous writers have confused the Council art school in Montreal with Chabert's school as it occupied the same building as the Council art school, until December 1874, when the Council moved to St. Nicholas Hall, Jacques Cartier Square.<sup>2</sup>

Chabert can be admired for his persistent attempts to offer free drawing and industrial-oriented art education to the working classes, however, it must be remembered that the Council art schools essentially were offering the same type of instruction. Realistically, his small and privately funded art school, run and administered by one individual, could not compete with publically financed government art schools. Chabert did, however, act as a catalyst for change and perhaps was responsible to a small degree for the re-organisation in the early 1870's of the government art schools offering more than merely an expanded form of the mechanics' institutes curriculum.

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<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 3 Feb., 1874, pp. 164-67. See also, *ibid.*, 18 Dec., 1874, p. 189.

<sup>2</sup>A number studied at both the A.A.M. and Council art schools.



C) Conseil des arts et manufactures (1857-76)

The Conseil des arts et manufactures du Québec (1857-1929) played a significant role in the dissemination of drawing instruction throughout the province. Conveniently the evolution of the Council art schools can be placed into three distinct periods. From 1857-1876, the drawing instruction and curriculum were modelled upon the British mechanics' institutes of London, Edinburgh, and Glasgow. Although classes were conducted in rented rooms of the local mechanics' institute and other available accommodation, a school in the formal sense did not exist. In 1873-74, after investigation into different systems of drawing instruction and technical education, preparations were made to found a school of art and design in Montreal, with branches throughout the province. The reports of a number of select committees recommended the Walter Smith system which was employed successfully in Massachusetts and widely used in the United States. Smith's system was based upon the influential British prototype, the South Kensington system. From 1876-1891, the Smith system was used with varying degrees of success in the Council's art schools. During this second period contact was made with the South Kensington educational authorities regarding all aspects of the operation and administration of the Council art schools (curriculum, staff and hiring of teachers, teaching models, and drawing instruction). Within a third period, 1891-1914 (the end of the present study), for the first time in the Council's history an attempt to distinguish between and

separate industrial and fine art emerged. Fine art courses were developed mainly through the influence of Edmond Dyonnet. Although these chronological divisions are clear cut, the utilitarian philosophy and drawing techniques of the South Kensington system and those of Walter Smith go beyond the 1876-1891 period as is revealed by examination of the curriculum, drawing instruction, staff, and models used in the Council art schools. The South Kensington and Walter Smith systems had both an extensive and a profound influence upon artists, art institutions, and art education in Quebec long after the "official" influence was to have ceased (1876-1891).

A number of authors<sup>1</sup> stated erroneously that the Council (Board) was created in various years, but only one,<sup>2</sup> recently dated correctly, its establishment in 1857. In 1857, the Board began proceedings to offer a drawing course in conjunction with the Montreal Mechanics' Institute.

The Sub-Committee of the Board of Arts and Manufactures for Lower Canada/elected on the 25th August 1857/held its first meeting this day at the Mechanics' Institute<sup>3</sup> . . . and that they be authorized to make such purchases for the model room and museum.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Jean-Pierre Charland attributed the creation of the Conseil to 1869; Audet, Heap, and Charles Halary and Marcel Fournier to 1872. See Charles Halary & Marcel Fournier, "L'enseignement professionnel au Québec: débats et enjeux," Bulletin R.C.H.T.Q., Vol. 5, no. 1, 1978, pp. 2-29.

<sup>2</sup>Gilles Janson, Répertoire numérique détaillé au fonds du Conseil des arts et manufactures, publication no. 17, avril 1984. "Loi pour l'encouragement de l'Agriculture des Arts et de l'Industrie" (20 Vict., Chap. 32). Jean-Pierre Charland et Nicole Thiverge, Bibliographie de l'enseignement Professionnel 1850-1980 (Collection: Instruments de travail, no. 3. Institut Québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1982).

<sup>3</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 3 Sept., 1857, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

With the evolution toward state run and controlled education, the Board of Arts and Manufactures was founded in 1857. One of its functions was to provide post-secondary technical instruction, which it was believed, was founded upon drawing. From 1857 to 1872, the instruction in these schools resembled an expanded form of mechanics' institutes, however, it was only after a reorganisation of the Board's schools in 1872/73, that the curriculum was modelled specifically upon the South Kensington system.

At the time of Canadian confederation in 1867, education came under provincial jurisdiction and the struggle for control between Church and State was initiated. The Langevin bill of 1866, divided the school system into Roman Catholic and Protestant factions. P-J-O Chauveau (1820-90) was Minister of Public Instruction from 1867-73, and in 1869 came into conflict with the Roman Catholic church attitudes with regard to who should control education. Chauveau was also Prime Minister of Quebec from 1867-73, and just prior to his election in 1867 he visited Britain and Europe to investigate educational systems.<sup>1</sup> He was impressed most by the British method particularly the South Kensington system of industrial art education and the emphasis placed upon drawing in an overall education.

Il signalait, dans le même rapport, les efforts qui se font en Europe, principalement en Angleterre, pour l'enseignement du dessin linéaire et architectural, l'établissement d'institutions du genre du Ken-

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<sup>1</sup>From November 1866 to June 1867, Chauveau visited Ireland, Scotland, England, France, Belgium and Germany.

sington Museum, la création d'écoles d'adultes du soir, où le dessin, la géométrie, l'architecture sont enseignés.<sup>1</sup>

Industrial art schools, according to Chauveau, were useful in order to mould young minds and develop skills, particularly those of the lower social order of society. Industrial art schools, as they existed in Britain and Ontario, were to function as a deterrent against crime and juvenile delinquency, and would ideally instill a sense of moral and social responsibility to those in attendance.

Enfin, on passa des lois pour l'établissement d'écoles de réformes et d'écoles d'industrie destinées, les premières aux jeunes délinquants, et les autres à l'éducation des enfants exposés au mal, où dont les parents font partie de ce que l'on est convenu d'appeler en Europe les classes dangereuses de la société.<sup>2</sup>

Chauveau's views on education were shared by his fellow Conservative party members, Gédéon Ouimet (1823-1905), who was Prime Minister of Quebec for a brief period from 27 February, 1873 - 22 September, 1874, also replaced Chauveau as Minister of Public Instruction for the same period; and Charles-Eugene-Boucher de Boucherville (1822-1915), who succeeded Ouimet as Prime Minister of Quebec and Minister of Public Instruction on 22 September, 1874. Boucher de Boucherville reached an amical compromise with Church officials regarding educational control, and on the 25th of December, 1875, abolished the position of Minister of Public Instruction in favour of a less powerful Superintend-

<sup>1</sup>Pierre-Joseph-Olivier Chauveau, L'Instruction publique au Canada: précis historique et statistique (Québec: Imprimerie Augustin Coté et cie, 1876), p. 103.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 110.

ent of Public Instruction, who was advised by a twenty-one member Council composed of fourteen Roman Catholic and seven Protestant clergymen. Boucher de Boucherville remained Prime Minister of Quebec until March 8, 1878, however, he relinquished the position of Superintendent of Public Instruction to former Conservative Prime Minister and ex-Minister of Public Instruction Gédéon Ouimet on January 28, 1876. Ouimet held the portfolio for nearly twenty years, and was an important figure not only because of his longevity in a difficult cabinet post, but also because he was able to placate the Church officials and maintain state interest in education. For a period of nearly thirty years, from 1867 to 1896, the Quebec provincial legislature was controlled by the Conservatives.<sup>1</sup> During the same period, the Canadian Federal parliament was dominated by the Conservatives.<sup>2</sup>

The clergy persisted in regarding the bleu of Conservatism as their favourite colour. 'Le ciel est bleu, l'enfer est rouge' was still enunciated from Québec pulpits at election time, and the Liberals, beneath the weight of this great prejudice, continued to labour at a disadvantage.<sup>3</sup>

When the Conservatives abolished the position of Minister of Public Instruction in favour of a less powerful Superintendent, advised by a Council of Protestant and

<sup>1</sup>The Quebec Conservatives were in power with the exception of 8 March 1878 - 31 October 1879, and from 29 January 1887 - 21 December 1891.

<sup>2</sup>The Federal Conservatives were in power with the exception of 7 November 1873 - 17 October 1878.

<sup>3</sup>George F.G. Stanley, "The 1870's," in The Canadians 1867-1967, eds. J. M. S. Careless and R. Craig Brown (Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada Ltd., 1967), p. 79.

Roman Catholic officials, they increased the Church's participation in Quebec education. Bishop Lafleche and the ultramontanes wanted total Church control of education, and received some support from the provincial Conservative party, however, they were opposed by Archbishop Taschereau, moderate members of the clergy and official approval from Rome. The Church would maintain control of education until their power was challenged by the provincial Liberals, who were elected in 1897 in Quebec and who proposed to re-instate the position of Minister of Education.<sup>1</sup>

The Board (1857-72) and its successor, the Council of Arts and Manufactures (1872-1929) were an extension of the power and policies of first the Minister and then the Superintendent of Public Instruction.

The drawing instruction offered by the Board during the early years (1857-75) conformed to the British mechanics' institutes curriculum of Edinburgh, Glasgow and London.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 52. "Wilfrid Laurier . . . began laying a new basis for liberalism in Quebec by asserting that it [Liberal party] was not associated with the anti-Catholic, anti-religious European form so much opposed by the Church, but really derived from British roots that had long been linked with religious and Christian causes." Sir Wilfrid Laurier (1841-1919) was elected Prime Minister of Canada on 11 July 1896, so by 1897 the Liberal party was in power federally and provincially.

<sup>2</sup>Pierre Leduc, "Notes sur les origines et la première phase de développement de mouvement des mechanics' Institutions en Grande-Bretagne," Recherches sociographiques, Vol. 16, no. 2, 1975, pp. 249-260; A. Humboldt Sexton, The First Technical College (London: Chapman and Hall, 1894), pp. 69-70; James Muir, John Anderson: Pioneer of Technical Education and the College he founded (Glasgow: John Smith and son, 1950), pp. 126-127; David Burns, Mechanics' Institutions: their Objects and Tendency (Glasgow: Thomas and Murray, 1837); Ruby Heap, "Un chapitre dans l'histoire de l'éducation des adultes au Québec: les écoles du soir 1889-1892," R.H.A.F., Vol. 34, no. 4, mars 1981, pp. 597-625; Ruby Heap, "L'église, l'Etat et l'Education au Québec, 1875-1898" (unpublished M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1978); T. Miles Gordon, The Mechanics' Institute of Montreal 1840-



Attendance in the drawing courses was small. To encourage drawing, the Board ". . . was prepared to grant a sum of money to each [mechanics' institute] in aid of classes to be established in connection with these several Institutes. . . ." <sup>1</sup>

It was envisioned that an organized system of drawing instruction was essential not only to elevate the taste of the community but also to create a high standard in both industrial and fine art. For both to survive there would have to be co-operation between artists, societies of artists, fledgling art institutes, the general public, and the local industries. Fine and industrial art were traditionally separated by class distinction. If the new art institutions were to endure it would be necessary for them to become interdependent.

With respect to Art Associations your Subcommittee believe it necessary that a declaration clause should be invited to the effect, that an Art Association, within the meaning of the Art, shall be an Association having for the sole, or one of its Chief objects, the promotion of the Fine Art or Industrial Art and Sciences. . . . <sup>2</sup>

The use of the phrase 'Industrial Art and Sciences . . .' emphasized the Council's awareness of the importance

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1940 (Montréal: 1940); W. H. G. Armytage, "Some sources for the History of Technical Education in England," British Journal of Educational Studies, Vol. VI, no. 1 (Nov., 1957), pp. 64-73; Thomas Kelly, "The Origins of Mechanics' Institutes," British Journal of Educational Studies, Vol. 1 (Nov., 1952 - May 1953), pp. 17-27.

<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 3 Nov., 1858, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 18 Jan., 1859, pp. 16 ff.



of the Department of Art and Science, South Kensington as the role model for success in industrial art.

In June 1860, the A.A.M. and the Board held a joint exhibition<sup>1</sup> of artists' works, because the number of fine artists was few. Promotion of art was minimal.

The Board rented temporary accommodation from the Montreal Mechanics' Institute to conduct its drawing courses.<sup>2</sup> A brief description from the Board's Livre des minutes of February 1865 gives an idea of the attendance and facilities.

They [inspectors] were well satisfied with the manner in which the classes [night] are conducted, the teachers evidently being able and having an interest in their work, the attendance averages about thirty in the English classes and about twenty-six in the Drawing classes.

Mr. Hutchison [instructor] suggests that it is highly desirable of the Sub-committee of the Board of Arts and Manufactures that the Institute provide a modelling room for the use of pupils in this [Drawing] Department.<sup>3</sup>

In February 1866, the A.A.M. approached the Board to enquire about purchasing a building site for its proposed school of art and design, as well as an exhibition gallery.

A communication from B. Chamberlin, Secretary of the Art Association was read desiring to know whether the Board of Arts and Manufactures would sell to that Association, a site for a building for a gallery of arts and school of design. . . .<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 12 June 1860, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 28 Mar., 1861, p. 79.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 4 Feb., 1865, p. 101.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 6 Feb., 1866, p. 110.

The A.A.M. appointed a School of Design Committee in March 1864.

A School of Design Committee was appointed consisting of the Vice-President and Treasurer ex-officio and Messrs. Chamberlin, Wilson and Gordon.<sup>1</sup>

From 1860 to 1872,<sup>2</sup> the A.A.M. held its first seven annual exhibitions either in the Mechanics' Hall or the Mercantile Library, an attestation to its inability to secure a permanent building and also to reinforce the traditional association of the mechanics' institutes with the promotion of drawing instruction.

In 1866, the A.A.M. and the Board vied for control of the Montreal Crystal Palace Exhibition Hall, as a possible site for the proposed school of art and design. The Crystal Palace was built to house the Provincial Exhibitions (agriculture, industrial products and arts) and was constructed in 1860 to commemorate the Prince of Wales's visit to Montreal.

Messrs. Frothingham, Drummond and Matthews were requested to meet the committee of the Mercantile Library Association on Thursday next with reference to accommodation for the proposed School of Design, and also to confer with the Board of Arts [and Manufactures] with reference to fitting up the Crystal Palace for the same purpose.<sup>3</sup>

At the same time, the privately funded A.A.M. approached the Board for financial aid.

<sup>1</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, Council Meetings Book I (1860-95), 19 Mar., 1864, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, Typescript, Inventaire chronologique et analytique des archives du musée des Beaux-Arts de Montréal. Tome I: Série des Expositions, 1860-1976.

<sup>3</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, Council Meetings Book I (1860-95), 13 Apr., 1866, p. 50. See also Giles Hawkins, op. cit.

The Vice-President submitted a proposal from the council of the art association offering to provide the sum of \$250 during the present summer for the purchase of materials and organization of a school of design and five hundred dollars per annum for three years from 1st of October next for salaries and expenses of such school if so much should be needed over and above tuition fees and requesting that a similar amount [sic] be raised by this Board.<sup>1</sup>

Whether the offer was ever considered is unknown because the Board's decision was delayed continuously causing dissension between the A.A.M. and the Board.

A memorandum respecting the cost of putting up the rooms as an art gallery and a school of design in the East Transept of the Exposition [Crystal Palace] building was submitted and left over.<sup>2</sup>

Four months later, in June 1866, the Board appointed a Committee to study the question.

The President, Secretary, and Mr. Murray were appointed a committee to confer with a committee of the Art Association on the subject of the proposed joint school of design and report to the next meeting of the Committee.<sup>3</sup>

The A.A.M. was forced to look elsewhere for accommodation for its exhibitions and sporadically given art classes.

Mr. Redpath reported that the third flat of the Mercantile Library building was at the service of the association for a week rent free; and that during the evening of the *Conversazione* the remainder of the building so far as the Art Association might require it would be given rent free; that

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<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 6 Feb., 1866, p. 110.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 20 Feb., 1866, pp. 111-12. It was delayed again on 3 March 1866.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 1 June 1866, pp. 113-14. It was discussed on 27 July but deferred due to the political situation - the Fenian raid.

the rooms would be warmed without cost to the Art Association but that gas and all other expenses must be arranged and paid for by said Association.<sup>1</sup>

In April 1867, the provincial government 'Select Committee on Industrial Education,' headed by the Minister of Public Instruction, P-J-O Chauveau and composed of members of the Board investigated where drawing instruction was available in Montreal. According to their report only the mechanics' institute and the recently founded Institut des artisans canadiens offered drawing instruction at the elementary level. Enrolment was small and both the teachers and instruction were evaluated as inadequate.

In the former [mechanics' institute] there are three classes conducted by three teachers, in which the following branches are taught: English class: reading, writing, arithmetic, mathematics, bookkeeping and algebra. Meeting five nights each week from the 22nd of October to the 15th of March. Number of pupils on the roll 107, average attendance 40; Architectural drawing: practical geometry, orders of architecture, linear perspective. Enrolled 13, average 8; Mechanical Drawing: drawing of machinery. Enrolled 13, average 6.<sup>2</sup>

By April 1868, the mechanics' institute had dropped mechanical drawing from its curriculum, leaving only architectural drawing, however, attendance increased considerably to "37 enrolled; 25 average. . . ."<sup>3</sup> The Institut des artisans canadiens, at the time of investigation by the Committee, had been in operation for only five months.

<sup>1</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, Council Meetings Book I (1860-95), 19 Jan., 1867, pp. 52-53.

<sup>2</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 2 Apr., 1867, p. 122.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 7 Apr., 1867, p. 129.

It was under the direction of one principal and five teachers. Linear drawing was offered twice per week and eleven pupils were enrolled.<sup>1</sup>

In June 1868, the A.A.M. still had not received a decision on their proposal from the Board, but the reason given this time was the absence of the A.A.M. delegation from the Board's meeting.

The application from the Fine Arts Association [A.A.M.] for aid to establish a school of design was laid over until the next meeting in consequence of the absence of delegates from the Art Association.<sup>2</sup>

In March 1869, the Board decided to establish its own school to promote industrial art. The power struggle between the two groups for the Crystal Palace exhibition building divided them not only on theoretical and ideological grounds but also on the philosophy of art education.

The proposed curriculum of the Board's school of art and design conformed to the mechanics' institute courses, although in a revised and expanded form.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 2 Apr., 1867, p. 122.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 6 June, 1868, p. 131.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 6 Mar., 1869, pp. 135-137.

Without any drawing instruction of either artistic or industrial value in Montreal and Quebec City, the President's Report of March 1869 proposed that the Board establish a 'school of art and design' and outlined a curriculum.

The President reported that the special committee appointed at the last meeting, had prepared a scheme for fitting up a portion of the Exhibition building [Montreal's Crystal Palace] for classrooms, and organizing a school of art. . . .

Respectfully reports that the establishment of schools of art and design by the Board is the utmost importance for the mechanics and manufacturing interests of this Province. . . .

That this Board now proposes to establish a school specialy [sic] designed for furnishing a technical education to the artisans of this Province, . . .

Studies

- 1) Ornamental drawing, design and modeling for application to Manufactures
- 2) Architectural drawing and design
- 3) Architectural construction
- 4) Practical geometry
- 5) Mechanical drawing
- 6) Chemistry and Physics as applied to Arts and Manufactures
- 7) Painting in oil and watercolours to be added if found necessary.<sup>1</sup>

By May<sup>2</sup> the Board attempted to secure accommodation for the industrial art and drawing courses and eventually in June<sup>3</sup> came to an agreement to rent rooms in the Molson Bank building. Advertisements for staff were placed in both Montreal French and English language newspapers that announced a tentative opening date of October 1869 for the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 1 May 1869, p. 138.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 19 June 1869, p. 139.

school of art and design.<sup>1</sup> In July<sup>2</sup> a number of individuals applied for the available positions, and the Board appointed Napoléon Bourassa (1827-1916),<sup>3</sup> Alexander Cowper Hutchison (1838-1922)<sup>4</sup> and Smith as teachers.

In answer to the advertisement several applications have been received for the situation of teachers for the first three branches, but no applications have been received for the Mechanical drawing.

Your Committee recommends:

First: That Nap. Bourassa and Smith be appointed as teachers for the ornamental drawing and A. C. Hutchison with an assistant to be appointed hereafter for the architectural drawing and Practical Geometry.

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 6 July 1869, p. 140.

<sup>3</sup>Napoléon Bourassa was one of the great art educators, artists and writers of the second half of the 19th century in Quebec. Bourassa, it seems, was incapable of working with others as indicated from his brief attempt at teaching in the Board's schools, A.A.M. consultant on art education and R.C.A. Vice-Presidency. For remarks on Bourassa's character by John W. H. Watts (1850-1917) see M.M.F.A., Watts MSS., Vol. 1, p. 43. "Bourassa was taken into the R.C.A., at the start of the R.C.A., because he was a Frenchman and given the V.P. [Vice-Presidency] in the hope that the French might be consiliated [sic] and perhaps. . . , but as expected the two races will never mingle as long as there is a priest of the R.C. church left, as there was no French Canadian artist at the time of formation of the R.C.A., . . . Lord Lorne at the opening in Montreal spoke in French and English but it made no difference. Until the proceedings of R.C.A. are given in French they, the French, will not belong to it. Bourassa soon resigned and left the R.C.A. altogether." See also A.N.Q.M. M135/1, Livre des minutes, 2 Nov. 1880, p. 493. Napoléon Bourassa resigned his position on the Executive Council of the Council of Arts and Manufactures.

<sup>4</sup>J. R. Harper, E.P.&E., op. cit., p. 168. A. C. Hutchison was an architect and draughtsman, who was elected R.C.A. in 1882. A.N.Q.M. M135/1, Livre des minutes, 4 Feb., 1865, p. 101. A. C. Hutchison was no doubt the instructor, from 1865, who taught at the mechanics' institute.



Second: \$3.00 be paid to Bourassa and Hutchison per evening and \$2.00 to Smith.

Third: free for members of Institute or affiliation. \$2.00 per season for others.

Fourth: That the pupils shall furnish their own instruments, drawing paper and other materials.

Fifth: advertise school opening.<sup>1</sup>

Although circumstances were still limited, the Board was satisfied with its initial attempts to increase the number of drawing courses offered by the mechanics' institute<sup>2</sup> which resulted in higher enrolment and attendance.

In the Freehand class there are 76 pupils, the Architectural 48, Practical Geometry 64, Mechanical Drawing 33, Linear Perspective 21. A class for modelling has also been commenced this week, which gives promise of being very valuable as a means of developing the latent talent of many of our young men.<sup>3</sup>

The teaching models, for the Board's Montreal art school, were acquired directly from South Kensington art educational authorities.

Your Committee made a selection of copies, models and examples from the catalogues prepared by the Committee of Council on Education in London, England, and have ordered them from the agent for the supplies of casts, copies, etc., . . .<sup>4</sup> . . . The beautiful casts obtained from the South Kensington museum form excellent examples from which to copy. . . . It is only fifteen or sixteen years since the organization [sic] of a similar institution in England where the absolute necessity for it had been developed.

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<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 6 July 1869, p. 140.

<sup>2</sup>The Montreal Mechanics' Institute had offered two drawing courses, mechanic and architectural. The Board art school offered five drawing courses: Freehand, Architectural, Practical Geometry, Mechanical, and Linear Perspective.

<sup>3</sup>Journal of Education (Quebec), Vol. 13 (1869), Dec., p. 214.

<sup>4</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 6 July 1869, p. 140.

The movement was encouraged and fostered by the Imperial Government, and now it has its ramifications in almost every manufacturing town in the Kingdom, and gives material assistance to similar institutions throughout the Empire, by supplying models, copies, etc., at reduced prices.<sup>1</sup>

In 1870, as evidenced by enrolment and attendance statistics, the Board had stimulated an interest in drawing.

. . . Elementary freehand drawing, 73 scholars; architectural drawing, 47; practical geometry, 55; linear perspective, 23; mechanical drawing, 24; modelling, 6; making in all 238 scholars, with an average attendance of 200.<sup>2</sup>

Napoléon Bourassa praised the Board art schools for their success, putting the theoretical into practice, in the dissemination of drawing instruction in Quebec. He cautiously added that the vast majority of those taking advantage of the free drawing classes were English-speaking Quebecers, however, he was happy to report that three of the four French-speaking Quebecers, out of a total

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<sup>1</sup>Journal of Education (Quebec), Vol. 13 (1869), Dec., p. 214. Harry Butterworth, op. cit., p. 313. Butterworth has pointed out that by 1864 chromo-lithographs were distributed to South Kensington art schools. ". . . the sale of chromo-lithographic reproductions to schools and loans to Museums independent of Schools, were first mooted in that year." According to A. S. Levine, by 1871/72, reproductions and photography of Art Objects in the South Kensington Museum accounted for about 18% of the total budget. A. S. Levine, op. cit., pp. 308-309. "The superiority of photography to any other method, even lithography, also became apparent. It was cheaper and more accurate and did not involve the sort of shipping problems entailed by casts. . . . Out of a total of £24,747 spent, £3,000 went for 'Reproductions of Works of Art' and £1,194 for 'Photographing Art Objects,' i.e.: about eighteen per cent of the whole." Subsequent purchases were made in November 1873 and noted in May 1874. See A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 17 Nov., 1873, pp. 160-62; see also ibid., 12 May 1874, pp. 170-71.

<sup>2</sup>"Board of Arts and Manufactures, Montreal," Journal of Education (Quebec), Vol. 14 (1870), Jan., p. 13.

enrolment of one hundred and fifty, received honourable mention and accolades for their work.

La Chambre des arts et manufactures grâce à l'action du gouvernement qu'elle à la faculté d'appliquer a fondé il y a deux ans une école de dessin qui fonctionne avec un succès réel . . . . Poursances des modèles absolument nécessaire et d'un local adapté à ses besoins cette école a pu recevoir durant la dernier hiver plus de 150 élèves: ces élèves distribués en différents sections étudient le dessin linéaire appliqué à la mécanique, à l'architecture et à la perspective; le dessin pittoresque appliqué à la figure, à l'ornement et au paysage. Quatre élèves canadiens-français seulement ont fréquenté ces classes; trois d'entre eux ont obtenu la premier prix, l'une de ces récompenses était la médaille d'honneur du cours.<sup>1</sup>

In 1872/73, the Board was renamed the Council of Arts and Manufactures. In 1873/74, various committees were established to investigate British, European and American education, in order to find a more comprehensive and uniform system of drawing instruction for the Council art schools. In November 1873, a committee member and former president (1851-55) of Montreal Mechanics' Institute, Henry Bulmer, visited London in an attempt to secure South Kensington-trained teachers for the Council art schools. Two British instructors showed initial interest.

Mr. H. Bulmer submitted his report . . . during his stay in London he put himself in communication with the authorities of South

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<sup>1</sup>N.A., Fonds Napoléon Bourassa, MG29.D80, no. 1267, Vol. 1, pp. 16-17. Although the Bourassa document is not dated I can date his statement to April 1870 and can identify the three students as Louis Allard and Alphonse Dubé in architectural drawing, and Alfred Grenier in mechanical drawing. For a list of prizewinners, see "School of Art and Design, Montreal," Journal of Education (Quebec), Vol. 14 (1870), Apr., p. 60.

Kensington Museum and was shown the buildings and classrooms and appliances for the use of the pupils in the various branches of the Science and Art teaching. This School has for its object the training of teachers who are sent to take charge of Art Schools throughout the Country. Mr. Bulmer took this opportunity to ascertain on what terms such a person could be induced to come to this Country. Mr. Bulmer submitted two letters from persons who are desirous of making such engagements, also reports and papers sent to him by the authorities of that institution, showing the extent to which the schools are spread over Great Britain, . . .

In view of the valuable results which have been achieved by Great Britain, France, and the United States and other Countries in the cultivation of Art, as necessary to all communities engaged in Manufacturing enterprises, it is deemed a matter of the highest importance that this Council should adopt such measures as may be found available for the cultivation of Art, by the employment of one or more persons trained in Great Britain or other foreign schools, whose services may be availed of in the instruction of School teachers and also of such other pupils as it may be found convenient and desirable to instruct and also by the employment of all necessary means and appliances which<sup>1</sup> such foreign schools shall or may afford.

In May 1874, the Council reiterated its desire to acquire teachers from South Kensington:

The Report of the Committee appointed at the last meeting to enquire into the different systems of technical education in Art and design, with the view of enabling the Council to adopt a uniform system of instruction in the different Schools under the direction of the Council and to make

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<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 4 Nov., 1873, pp. 152-53. Henry Bulmer revisited "the Art Department Classes at South Kensington" again in 1885 with the purpose of securing teachers and models. "A number of documents and pamphlets were also forwarded by Mr. Bulmer relating to the work of the Art Department at South Kensington." A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 5 Nov., 1885, p 698.

enquiries as to the employment of a first class professor from the South Kensington Museum or elsewhere was read by the Secretary.<sup>1</sup>

Later the same year, in August, Mr. Saunders of South Kensington inquired about a teaching position, however, the Council considered his salary demands too high, and subsequent correspondence was terminated.

Correspondence with Mr. Saunders of the South Kensington Museum, in relation to his taking charge of the Art Schools under the direction of the Council, . . .<sup>2</sup> a letter was also read from Mr. Saunders of South Kensington stating that the salary required [sic] by him would be £250 exclusive of travelling expenses.<sup>3</sup>

In November 1875, the Council decided to send a delegation to Philadelphia, Boston and New York to evaluate American art education.

Mr. Stevenson suggested the idea of sending a deputation to Boston to inspect the Schools established there under the direction of Mr. Smith of the British Museum . . . . That a deputation consisting of the President, Messrs. L. G. Boivin, Rev. Abbé Audet and the Secretary be approved to proceed to Boston and New York for the purposes of acquiring information regarding the Art Schools established in those cities, and that they be empowered to purchase such models or Drawings as they may deem suitable for the Schools in this Province, . . .<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 12 May 1874, pp. 170-71.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 18 Aug., 1874, p. 176.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 3 Nov., 1874, p. 187.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 9 Nov., 1875, p. 227. S. C. Stevenson (1848-1898) was both Secretary to the Council of Arts and Manufactures of the Province of Quebec and director of Schools from 1872-1898. His father A. A. Stevenson retired as President of the Council in 1882 (A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 9 May 1882, p. 546). S. C. Stevenson's death was noted by the Council on 10 Feb., 1898 and his successor as secretary was S. Sylvestre, the former secretary of the Department of Agriculture (A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 10 Feb., 1898, pp. 1081-1082). S. C. Stevenson's

It is clear from the report<sup>1</sup> of the committee appointed to visit art and industrial schools in the United States that the Walter Smith system of drawing used in Massachusetts, and modelled upon the South Kensington system, had made the greatest impression. Smith had strong allies and admirers on the Council. In their report, he had been referred to as a genius, and these comments were reiterated by another Council member, the Rev. O. Audet.

Rev. Mr. Audet made a few remarks giving some interesting information and statistics, he eulogized Prof. Smith's system of teaching drawing and strongly advocated its adoption in this Province.<sup>2</sup>

The report also stated that its delegation appreciated the personal attention it received from Walter Smith and another Bostonian, J. S. Clark.

. . . the Council takes advantage of this its first meeting after their return from the United States to render its most sincere thanks to Prof. Walter Smith and Mr. J. S. Clark of Boston, who spent much of their valuable time in showing them[sic] the working of their school system; . . .<sup>3</sup>

In late May 1876,<sup>4</sup> S. C. Stevenson was chosen to represent the Council and travelled to the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition.

The first opportunity for the Walter Smith system to be given national and international exposure was at the widow was awarded one year's salary as compensation for his twenty-five years in service of the Council. She received \$800 (A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 10 May, 1898, p. 1110).

<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 16 Feb., 1876, pp. 235-38. See Appendix 2a.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. The term 'art culture' in the Council's report was used originally by Henry Cole.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 30 May, 1876, p. 259.



1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition. Also it was the first chance for the United States to promote and exhibit its industrial arts. The response of the public and critics to the exhibited works was favourable and it showed that the United States could compete against their European counterparts. The exhibit was a tribute and credit to both the imported British system and to Walter Smith. Drawings from twenty-four towns in Massachusetts were exhibited and their impact on drawing instruction was not only immediate but also long term, as innumerable cities in the United States instituted drawing courses modelled upon those of the successful system of Walter Smith.

Upon Stevenson's return the Council executive committee members passed a resolution to adopt the Smith system of drawing instruction for Quebec's art schools under the jurisdiction of the Council.

Moved by Mr. Lyman seconded by Mr. J. Boivin - the system of Art Instruction introduced by Prof. Walter Smith in the State of Massachusetts, be adopted for the Schools under the control of the Council.<sup>1</sup>

D) Art Association of Montreal (1860-83)

From the 1862 London exhibition to the end of the 19th century, Britain held a *highly respected* position in the world of design, craftsmanship, and arts and crafts. Other countries in the industrialized world scrambled to catch up in terms of development, technology, and mechanization, to compete successfully in world markets.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 14 Nov., 1876, p. 275.



It seemed logical therefore, that art institutions in Quebec administered and controlled by English-speaking Canadians would choose to follow the example and high standard of excellence set by Britain, which were attributed to the drawing instruction received by artists and artisans from the central art educational authority, the South Kensington system.

The Art Association of Montreal, one of the oldest institutions of its kind in North America, held "its first meeting of the Council of the 'Art Association of Montreal' at the house of Christopher Dunkin [1812-81],<sup>1</sup> Esq.," on February 18, 1860. At this first meeting of the A.A.M. an anonymous individual suggested the newly founded association should consult with "South Kensington," specifically Henry Cole, regarding possible ideas and financial support. The association's secretary, Thomas D. King, wrote to Henry Cole for advice.

The establishment of an annual exhib. of works of Art.

The promotion of sound judgment in art by means of Lectures, conversazione, etc.

The establishment of a reading room and library devoted to publications on the subject of Art.

The establishment of a Gallery of Sculpture, including casts, etc.

The formation of a permanent Gallery of paintings.

The foundation of a School of Art & Design.

I am requested to make application to you to know whether any assistance can be granted by the Department of Science and Art to

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<sup>1</sup>Christopher Dunkin was a Quebec Conservative party member of the National Assembly for the counties of Drummond and Arthabaska in the 1857 election; became provincial secretary under Chauveau and replaced Ouimet as provincial treasurer; was a member of the Council of Public Instruction from 1859. See Pierre Corbeil, "Christopher Dunkin," D.C.B., Vol. XI, pp. 314-317.

this Colonial Institution, of the same nature as that extended by them to the Provincial schools of Art at home. The council will be further obliged by your giving them any useful information to guide them in practically conducting the Association to its contemplated end.<sup>1</sup>

There is no indication in the M.M.F.A. Archives of a response from Henry Cole or any other South Kensington official to this inquiry from the A.A.M.<sup>2</sup>

In May 1860, a local Montreal newspaper called for the establishment of both an art museum and a school of art and design. The interdependence of the art museum and the school of art and design was a particular feature of the South Kensington system.

. . . it is time that in Canada we had our Museums of Art and Industry connected with the schools of Science and Art. . . . Here will be gathered in time - we hope not a long one - a large collection of Agricultural and Industrial Products and Models of Inventions, a Library of Reference and a School of Design, perchance also (let us hope it will be so), A School of Mines as well. It ought in fact to become a great Working Man's College, a School of Science and Gallery of Art.<sup>3</sup>

The anonymous author of this article indicated an awareness of four contemporary art institutions. Firstly,

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<sup>1</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, Council Meetings Book I (1860-95), 8 Feb., 1860, pp. 4-5.

<sup>2</sup>V & A Museum Archives, Précis of the Minutes of the Science and Art Department, Arranged in Chronological Order, from 16th Feb. 1852 to 1st July 1863 (London: Printed by George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1864), p. 276. The entry for 8 March 1860 was "Montreal Art Association, application for aid from, declined, but catalogues, & c sent." Henry Cole wrote in his multivolumed diary that help had been requested from the United States (8 Oct. 1870) and Japan (20 June 1872), however, Montreal or Canadian requests for aid have not been noted. See V & A Museum Archives, Cole MS. Diary; see also H. Butterworth, op. cit., p. 276.

<sup>3</sup>"The Provincial Exhibition Building and Museum of Canadian Industry and Art," Montreal Gazette, 21 May 1860, pp. 2-3.

' . . . the schools of Science and Art' are associated with the South Kensington system; Secondly, ' . . . a large collection of Agricultural and Industrial Products and Models of Inventions' are inspired by a knowledge of the work of Dr. Egerton Ryerson establishing the Educational Museum, Toronto, in 1857 with its variant collection of art, industrial and agricultural implements; Thirdly, ' . . . a School of Design. . .' is a specific reference to the South Kensington's predecessor, the 'Schools of Art and Design' coordinated by William Dyce (1806-1864); Fourthly, ' . . . Working Man's College. . . ' denotes the conscious connection with Ruskin's 'Working Man's College.'

In 1867, the year of Canadian confederation, Francis Fulford (1803-1868), the Anglican Bishop of Montreal and member of both the A.A.M. board of directors and Council of Public Instruction, publically urged that a school of art and design be established, a sentiment that would be reiterated twelve years later in 1879, by the Marquis of Lorne,<sup>1</sup> newly appointed Governor-General, at the dedication ceremony of the A.A.M. building.

. . . We need, in Montreal, a school of arts and design. The day has gone by which drawing was considered a mere accomplishment or in which the aim of the teacher and the pupil was secured by crude imitations of two or three pieces of work set by the master, and touched up by his own hand. Drawing has advanced to a study, and is now an acknowledged branch of higher education.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>W. Colgate, Canadian Art: Its Origin and Development (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1943), pp. 26-27. See also J.R. Harper, P in C, op. cit., pp. 183-84.

<sup>2</sup>Montreal Witness, 7 Feb., 1867. See M.M.F.A. Archives, Council Meetings Book I (1860-95), 7 Oct., 1868, p. 74. Death of Fulford recorded. Fennings Taylor, The last three bishops, appointed by the crown, for the Anglican church of Canada (Montreal: J.

In the early 1860's establishing a school of art and design was perceived by educators, politicians and writers as the A.A.M.'s most important function. Although drawing and art courses were offered infrequently from 1860, it wasn't until 1883 that the A.A.M. organised a curriculum that could be described as a school of fine art. *One contemporary* author <sup>1</sup> who has written about the A.A.M. has disregarded the role of the art school and its drawing instruction.

Fulford's ideas conformed to the progressive utilitarian philosophy of art and drawing instruction proposed by Sir Henry Cole and the South Kensington system, which stressed industrial over fine art. Fulford acknowledged the importance of drawing in a general education, which until recently had been available only to the privileged and wealthy classes. He was also critical of fine art instruction that emphasized the imitation and copying of well-known paintings. However, it would be sixteen years later, in 1883, that the A.A.M. would develop a fine art curriculum in which Fulford's suggestions would be realized. The early years of the A.A.M. were difficult, without a permanent building to have exhibitions, an art gallery, library, or accommodation for art classes.

Lovell, 1869), p. preface iii. "The Year 1850 will be accounted a noteworthy era in the history of the Province of Canada; for in that year the Royal Supremacy in matters ecclesiastical was asserted for the last time, when Her Majesty, in the exercise of Her prerogative, was pleased to nominate and appoint the Right Reverend Francis Fulford, D.D., to be the first Bishop of the newly created Diocese of Montreal."

<sup>1</sup>Abbé Pierre Leduc, "Les origines et le développement de l'Art Association de Montréal (1860-1912)" (unpublished M.A. thesis, université de Montréal, 1963).

Art unions were formed to create a market for works of fine art, inspire interest amongst the general population for an appreciation of art, elevate the standard and level of taste and public awareness, aid, promote and popularize art and artists, as well as provide funds for the artist and artistic community. Art unions established in Canada were modelled upon British prototypes in Glasgow and London.<sup>1</sup> Prior to their organisation in Canada, Canadians subscribed, in significant numbers, to British art unions.<sup>2</sup> In February 1864, four years after the founding of the A.A.M., Francis Fulford was quoted in a local newspaper regarding the establishment of an art union by the A.A.M.

Well, I believe that the last exhibition gave very great satisfaction in itself at the time; and since then we have obtained from the Legislature additional powers, enabling us to combine, with the other objects of the Association, an Art Union, with prizes to be distributed amongst the subscribers on the principle of the Art Unions in England and Scotland.<sup>3</sup>

There was disagreement<sup>4</sup> among A.A.M. board members concerning the art union, as some believed it would finan-

<sup>1</sup>R. Smith, 'The Art Union movement in England c. 1835-1866' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Birmingham University, 1981).

<sup>2</sup>See list of Canadian subscribers to British Art Unions in Report by the Committee of Management of the Royal Association for the Promotion of the Fine Arts in Scotland, 1848-49, pp. 8, 27, 38-39. See also 15th Annual General Meeting of the Royal Association for the Promotion of Fine Arts in Scotland, 1849-50, pp. 24, 34-35, 39-40.

<sup>3</sup>'Art Association,' Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette, 28 Feb., 1865, p. 2. See also Leduc, op. cit., pp. 27-28.

<sup>4</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, Council Meetings Book I (1860-95), 5 Mar., 1864, p. 26.

cially weaken the A.A.M. and the limited fine art market, however, in November 1864 it was decided to proceed with plans for an art union.

The Art Association of Montreal having obtained the . . . powers in the last session of Parliament, are now about to put into active operation that portion of their general plan for the advancement of Art in this Province, viz-vi-Art Union, according to the general practice and rules of the British Art Unions.<sup>1</sup>

To encourage subscriptions to the A.A.M., a subscriber would receive a season entrance ticket to all exhibitions, 'a share in the ballot' for works of art, and two of six photos of Canadian scenes exhibited.<sup>2</sup>

Over the years the A.A.M. art union,<sup>3</sup> like its Ontario<sup>4</sup> and British<sup>5</sup> counterparts, was generally unprofitable and *unsuccessful* with regard to the encouragement and promotion of fine art. In 1899,<sup>6</sup> the art union in Montreal was

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 26 Nov., 1864, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 26 Jan., 1867, p. 54; A.A.M. Annual Report 1883, p. 8; A.A.M. Annual Report 1884, p. 8. M.M.F.A. Archives, Scrapbook 02-052-02, see also 'The Exhibition at the Art Association,' Montreal Gazette, 23 Dec., 1889, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup>The Dominion Annual Register and Review 1879, p. 302. By 1883 it was reported that the art union organised by the O.S.A. was not fulfilling 'satisfactorily the objects which it was intended to promote.' See also The Dominion Annual Register and Review 1883, p. 238. Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1886-87, p. 233; ibid., 1887-88, p. 196; ibid., 1891-92, p. 261; ibid., 1895-96, p. 340.

<sup>5</sup>Harry Butterworth, op. cit., p. 66. "The Unions had had very little effect on 'the elevation of public taste,' an improvement which he claimed exclusively for the Department, said Cole, and their 'encouragement of inferior paintings' was Redgrave's chief objection to their existence."

<sup>6</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, Council Meetings Book II (1895-1925), 30 Mar., 1899, p. 30.



discredited because legal action was taken against individuals within the organisation motivated primarily by profit.

In addition to art unions which promoted and encouraged fine art in the early years of the A.A.M., from 1864 annual exhibitions were held in either the Mercantile Library or Mechanics' Institute. An admission fee was charged and the public had an opportunity to win or purchase works of art of European and Canadian subjects by both living and deceased artists. The A.A.M. also used the Mercantile Library for fine art lessons.<sup>1</sup>

Pour l'instant, on pouvait du moins se rejouir de l'ouverture de l'école de dessin à la Mercantile Library; une trentaine d'élèves avaient déjà commencé, en avril, à suivre des cours de dessin à main levée, sous la direction de M. John Bell-Smith, président de la Society of Canadian Artists.<sup>2</sup>

The issue of a permanent site was resolved when Benaiah Gibb benevolently donated land at Phillip's Square for building an art gallery, advanced eight thousand dollars towards its construction, and gave a promissory note that upon his death his collection would be bequeathed to the A.A.M.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Leduc, op. cit., pp. 21-22. The A.A.M. held its first exhibition on 10 May 1861 in Montreal's Crystal Palace constructed in 1860 for the Prince of Wales's visit to Montreal. The A.A.M. held a joint exhibition with the Society of Canadian Artists in 1870. See Leduc, op. cit., pp. 36-37.

<sup>2</sup>Leduc, op. cit., p. 33. See also P. Redpath, "Lettre adressée au Conseil des Arts et Métiers" (copie), Archives du musée, Vol. 1, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup>Leduc, op. cit., pp. 36-38.



On May 26, 1879, at the opening of the new A.A.M. building, the recently appointed (1878) Governor-General of Canada, the Marquis of Lorne, in the presence of his wife Princess Louise, daughter of Queen Victoria, both artists and patrons of Canadian art and artists during their tenure in Canada, expressed the hopes of founding a Canadian Academy of Arts modelled upon the Royal Academy of Arts, London, England.

To pass to our present prospects: I think we have good promise; not only of having an excellent local exhibition, but that we may, in course of time, look forward to the day when there may be a general art union in the country, and when I or some more fortunate successor may be called upon to open the first exhibition of a Royal Canadian Academy to be held each year in one of the capitals of several of our Provinces; an academy which may, like that of the 'Old Country,' be able to insist that each of its members or associates should on their election paint for it a diploma picture; an academy which shall be strong and wealthy enough to offer as a prize to the most successful students of the year money sufficient to enable them to pass more time in those European capitals where the masterpieces of ancient art can be seen and studied. Even now in principal centres of the population you have shown that it is perfectly possible to have a beautiful and instructive exhibition; for besides the pictures bequeathed to any city, it may always be attainable that an exhibition of pictures be had on loan, and that these be shown beside the productions, both in oil and watercolour, of the artists of the year. It may be said that in a country whose population is yet incommensurate with its extent, people are too busy to toy with art, but without alluding to the influence of art on the mind, in regard to its elevating and refining power it would surely be folly to ignore the value of beauty and design in manufactures; and in other countries blessed with fewer resources than ours, and in time, which comparatively certainly were barbarous, the work of artists have not only gained for them a livelihood, but have pleased and occupied

some of the busiest men of the time, the artists finding in such men the encouragement and support that is necessary.<sup>1</sup>

Harper<sup>2</sup> perceived the interest of the Governor-General in cultural and artistic affairs to be superficial, however, examination of the Marquis of Lorne's statements concerning the promotion and encouragement of art prove otherwise. His remarks in his inaugural address at the founding of the Canadian Academy of Arts on March 6, 1880, show an awareness and knowledge of the importance of industrial art, an indirect reference to South Kensington.

. . . and if some do not come up to the standard we may set ourselves, what is this but an additional argument for the creation of some body which shall act as an educator in this matter? Now gentlemen, what are the objects of your present effort? A glance at the constitution of the Society will show your objects are declared to be the encouragement of industrial art by the promotion of excellence of design, the support of schools of art throughout the country, and the formation of a national<sup>3</sup> gallery of art at the seat of Government.

He continued with a statement about the great industrial and manufacturing potential of Canada, referring to the duality of its founding peoples, a sentiment that would be reiterated by Walter Smith in 1882.

English manufacture, as you know, has become famous for its durability, French manufacture for its beauty and workmanship; and here we have a people sprung from both races, we should be able to combine these

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<sup>1</sup>William Colgate, op. cit., pp. 26-27.

<sup>2</sup>Harper, P in C, op. cit., p. 183. "The new Governor-General, ambitious and with literary tastes, was determined to transform Canada's intellectual life, although his imagination went no further than a feeling that he should recreate little replicas of British cultural organizations in the new Dominion."

<sup>3</sup>W. Colgate, op. cit., p. 32.

excellences, so that the Canadian manufacture may hold a high place in the markets of the world.<sup>1</sup>

S. C. Stevenson expressed the hope that the Council's students would be afforded the opportunity to view the A.A.M. annual and loan exhibitions, as well as their permanent collection.

. . . while its elevating influences will be felt among the wealthier Classes and those who can visit it frequently the opportunity will, I trust be frequently afforded to our artisan classes to pass an afternoon or an hour or two therein.<sup>2</sup>

With the opening of the A.A.M. building, a number of cultural societies such as the Numismatic Society,<sup>3</sup> the Decorative Art Society,<sup>4</sup> the Montreal Sketching Club,<sup>5</sup> and the Natural History Society<sup>6</sup> inquired about renting the A.A.M. facilities.

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 30-31.

<sup>2</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, A.R. of Director of Schools, 1879-80, p. 439.

<sup>3</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, Council Meetings Book I (1860-95), p. 152. The Numismatic Society exhibition was proposed but never allowed by the A.A.M. Council.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 9 May 1879, p. 166. "The Decorative Art Society wished to have a door from the shop (A.A.M. building) leased by them into the Library and Reading Room." Ibid., 29 Sept. 1879, p. 180. The Ladies' Decorative Art Society asked for the use of the Art Gallery, but were refused because the only exhibitions at that time were reserved for the A.A.M. However, it should be noted that in 1890 the Decorative Art Society was holding annual exhibitions of its work. See also A.A.M. Annual Report, 1890, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, Council Meetings Book I (1860-95), 19 Dec., 1879, p. 190. The Montreal Sketching Club requested the use of the A.A.M. galleries to hold an exhibition by its members and in an unprecedented burst of generosity they were given permission to use the Council room for three days each month, dating from May 1880. See M.M.F.A. Archives, Council Meetings Book I (1860-95), 20 Jan., 1880, p. 196.

<sup>6</sup>The Natural History Society donated statues and models to the A.A.M. in 1881.

Also in 1879/80 the Minister of Revenue<sup>1</sup> imposed a twenty - thirty per cent tariff on imported art works, in an attempt to stimulate the public to purchase paintings by Canadian artists.

In 1880, the A.A.M. announced plans to offer advanced art courses "should sufficient number present themselves for enrollment."<sup>2</sup> The A.A.M. also hoped that their new building be declared an educational institution, in order to claim an exemption from municipal, provincial, and federal taxation.

Under these circumstances, the objects of the Association being strictly Educational, and as it derives no assistance from either Government or the City Corporation, your petitioners now pray that the Art Gallery Building, proper, be exempted from Assessment.<sup>3</sup>

With an exhibition space, a library, and rooms to conduct art lessons, the A.A.M. had achieved three of the objectives stated in its 1860 declaration. Art classes, attendance and a staff of three were cited in the A.A.M. 1881 annual report.

The art classes, a prospectus of which was published in last year's Report, completed their first session in the month of May last. The total number of students in attendance was forty-two, of which fourteen were under Mr. Raphael, seventeen under Mr. Edson, and eleven under Mr. Van Luppen. The present session began in October last,

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<sup>1</sup>Leduc, op. cit., p. 48. See also "Rapport de la réunion annuelle," Montréal, 15 Jan., 1880, Archives du musée, Vol. 1, p. 74.

<sup>2</sup>A.A.M. Annual Report 1880, p. 18. See also Leduc, op. cit., p. 52.

<sup>3</sup>Leduc, op. cit., p. 50, Appendix 7, p. 134.

with a smaller number of students, under two of the above-named instructors.<sup>1</sup>

Allan Edson taught Composition and Landscape, William Raphael - Figure Painting and Drawing, and François Van Luppen - Modelling and Sculpture.

The following year, in 1882, two difficulties arose that were common not only to the A.A.M. but all 19th century public and private art schools. Firstly, finding conscientious and competent teachers was a problem, and secondly, the art students, because of their lack of knowledge about art and artists wanted to begin immediately copying paintings or reproductions by renowned artists, rather than commencing with elementary and advanced drawing and painting lessons.

One solution was to pay teachers a salary, rather than be dependent upon enrolment fees.

There was some difficulty with conscientious art teachers, a position of independence of the more fees paid by pupils arising out of the anxiety of pupils to be able to produce pictures before they had been thoroughly grounded, and a teacher who did not gratify this wish was very apt not to be popular. The object of the Association should be to establish an art school in the acceptance of the term, and this could only be done, as he had said, by paying teachers fixed salaries, and making them independent of the fees or caprices of the pupils.<sup>2</sup>

An anonymous reviewer of the A.A.M. annual student exhibition expressed his disappointment with the amateur

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<sup>1</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, Scrapbook 01-086-1b, see also Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette, 23 Jan., 1882. A.A.M. Annual Report 1881, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup>A.A.M. Annual Report 1882, p. 23.

works produced. His criticism was constructive, in that he suggested the problems of instruction could be resolved if a uniform system, under the guidance of 'one good teacher,' was employed.

Two facts are prominent among those which strike the visitor to the exhibition of the works of amateur artists, which opened last week in the Gallery of the Art Association; the one, that proper teaching is an immediate necessity; the other, that there is much talent waiting to be taught. It is a hopeful sign that their functions are not merely those of custodians of a collection of pictures, and that this subject of Art Education has already engaged their attention. But a proper Art School is not one in which seekers after a royal and easy road to the execution of what they are pleased to call pictures can find hints for the shirking of difficulties and instruction in the branches which they choose to select; on the contrary, it is one in which all pupils advance from stage to stage as their teachers see that they have mastered the successive difficulties they meet until, after hard and earnest work, they attain whatever degree of technical skill their talents and industry permit. . . .

We trust that during the coming months the Council will be able to secure a teacher, so that work may begin in the early autumn. The school must begin modestly, for the salary of even one good teacher and the incidental expenses would be a considerable sum, but if the selection of the teacher be happy, we are certain the results will be so good that no difficulty will be found in enlarging the scope of instruction as occasion requires.<sup>1</sup>

He continued by expressing the hope that a Canadian who had studied at South Kensington might be hired.

. . . There must be artists who have been trained abroad, but we would like to see a Canadian chosen to fill the position. Practically this would scarcely limit the choice, for among our Academicians are several who

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<sup>1</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, Scrapbook 01-091-02, see also "Art Education in Montreal," Montreal Gazette, 31 Jan., 1883, p. 4.



have been educated in the South Kensington School. To an Englishman or foreigner, living in Canada would seem a drawback; to a Canadian it would seem an attraction; so that for the small emoluments the Association can offer at first, it is more likely to secure the best teacher in a Canadian to whom the development<sup>1</sup> of native art would appeal as a labor of love.

In 1882, an interval of twenty-two years since the A.A.M. Council originally had contacted the South Kensington educational authorities, the A.A.M. requested advice on establishing an art school and obtaining the services of one of their teachers.

Although the Art Classes in connection with our Institution have not yet been resumed, their re-organization is still under the consideration of your Council. It is not unlikely that communication will be shortly opened with the view of obtaining one or more specially trained teachers, and to establish our classes upon a basis similar to that of the Schools of Design in Great Britain. . . .<sup>2</sup>

In early 1883, Mr. Popham,<sup>3</sup> who was in England on business and vacation, was authorized by the A.A.M. to contact South Kensington on their behalf. As a result of these enquiries Canadian-born Robert Harris (1849-1919) was mentioned as a potential candidate to direct the A.A.M. art classes. He was already known to A.A.M. members, as his painting, A Man of No Account, had been donated in 1881 to its permanent collection by J. S. McLachlin.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>A.A.M. Annual Report 1881-82, p. 10. See "The Art Association," Montreal Gazette, 15 Jan., 1883, p. 2, and M.M.F.A. Archives, Scrapbook 01-091-1b, and see also The Dominion Annual Register and Review, 1882, p. 306.

<sup>3</sup>A.A.M. Annual Report 1881-82, p. 20. See also M.M.F.A. Archives, Council Meetings Book I (1860-95), 3 Jan., 1883.

<sup>4</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, Council Meetings Book I (1860-95), 1 June 1881.



Mr. Popham communicated the result of his enquiries while in England in the matter of securing a competent [sic] Teacher for the Art Classes, . . .

Some conversation was then held on the advisability of obtaining the services of Mr. Harris as Teacher and the matter was referred to the Education and Instruction Committee to report upon to the Council as soon as possible.<sup>1</sup>

On August 7, 1883,<sup>2</sup> the A.A.M. Council recommended Harris for the position of director of their art school at an annual salary of one thousand dollars. His appointment was confirmed on September 5, 1883.<sup>3</sup>

With the opening of the A.A.M. building in May 1879, the two remaining objectives,<sup>4</sup> from the original 1860 statement could be fulfilled, firstly, 'the establishment of a Gallery of Sculpture, including casts. . . ' and secondly, 'the formation of a permanent Gallery of paintings.' In this regard, the A.A.M. was following the example of most institutions of the 19th century in acquiring classical casts, statuary and copies of famous paintings, drawings and engravings.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 2 May 1883. Harris was born in Wales (although J. R. Harper, E.P.&E., op. cit., p. 148 and E. de R. McMann, op. cit., p. 173, differ on his birthplace) and emigrated to Charlottetown with his parents in 1856. He studied art initially in 1873/74 in Boston under Walter Smith system instructors, Rimmer and Dewing, then in 1877 at the Slade, London, under Alphonse Legros (1837-1911), and then with Léon Bonnat in 1878. He returned to Canada to teach at the Ontario school of art, Toronto, in 1880/81, then spent from 1881-83 in London, England.

<sup>2</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, Council Meetings Book I (1860-95), 7 Aug., 1883.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 5 Sept., 1883.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 8 Feb., 1860, pp. 4-5.

The donations came from private and public sources. In 1881, the Natural History Society of Montreal presented two copies of classical Greek statues, the Discus Thrower and Antinous.

The Secretary reported the receipt of casts of the Statue of Antinous and the Discus-Thrower presented to the Association,<sup>1</sup> by the Natural History Society of Montreal.

In 1882, the Institut canadien donated to the A.A.M. five life size casts (four of classical sculpture, and one Candelabrum) which were placed in the classrooms.<sup>2</sup>

By the 'Institut Canadien':- Five large and magnificent Casts, originally sent out to their Society from Paris by Prince Napoléon [Louis Philippe] as a gift, and for the encouragement of the Fine Arts in Canada. They are the Apollo Belvedere, Laocoon, Venus of Milo (or Melos), Diana (an alto relievo), a large Candelabrum.<sup>3</sup>

During the early years of A.A.M. art lesson instructors not only used their own teaching models, but also donated their own art works<sup>4</sup> to the small A.A.M. permanent

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 1 June 1881.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 23 Nov., 1882.

<sup>3</sup>A.A.M. Annual Report 1882, p. 6. See also in the same report, p. 20. "The report acknowledges the receipt of several donations of art works; most noticeable among them is the one by the Institut Canadien of five valuable casts of the largest size from the antique. . . ." See M.M.F.A. Archives, Council Meetings Book I (1860-95), 6 Apr., 1881. "A letter from R. D. McCord in reference to the possibility of the Association acquiring the Engravings and Plaster Casts belonging to the Institut Canadien was read." See also, M.M.F.A. Archives, Council Meetings Book I (1860-95), 2 Nov., 1882. "The Art Gallery Committee reported the presentation to the Association by the Institut Canadien of five plaster casts from the antique. The Apollo Belvedere, Venus of Milos, Laocoon, Diana (alto relief) and a Candelabra[sic]."

<sup>4</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, Council Meetings Book I (1860-95), 28 May, 1878, p. 124. François Van Luppen donated his sculptured marble bust entitled 'Young Canada.'

collection. Prior to 1883 the permanent collection numbered only thirty, however, after the Gibb bequest,<sup>1</sup> it increased to one hundred and six.

## PART II: Industrial Art Priorities: Council Art Schools (1876-91)

### A) Walter Smith's Influence

Walter Smith (1836-86), a graduate and later an instructor in the South Kensington system, was for twelve years (1859-71) the headmaster of the Leeds School of Art.<sup>2</sup>

Before Smith emigrated to America in 1871, he had been commissioned in November 1863 by the Assistant Secretary of the Science and Art Department to visit Paris, and review an exhibition of the works of pupils in the French Schools of Design.<sup>3</sup> His report was a strong reaffirmation of the

<sup>1</sup>A.A.M. Annual Report 1883, pp. 25-27. The Gibb Bequest is listed from no. 1 to 76 (1-72 are paintings and nos. 72-76 are bronzes). Prior to the Gibb Bequest the A.A.M. permanent collection is listed from no. 77-106 (17 paintings, nos. 77-93, and thirteen pieces of statuary, nos. 94-106). "In addition to the seventy-two oil-paintings and four bronzes of the Gibb bequest enumerated below, there are twelve oil-paintings and four bronzes valued at the sum of \$4,180, which, in accord with the terms of the late Mr. Gibb's will, will be delivered over to the Association at a future date."

<sup>2</sup>W. Smith, Technical Education and Industrial Drawing in Public Schools. Reports and Notes of Addresses delivered at Montreal and Quebec by Prof. Walter Smith (Montreal: Gazette Printing Company, 1883), p. 3.

<sup>3</sup>W. Smith, Report on the Works of Pupils in the French Schools of Design recently exhibited in the Palais de l'Industrie, Champs-Élysées, Paris, with A Comparison of the French and English Systems of Art Education, and Suggestions for the Improvement and Modification of the latter (London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co., 1864), 55 pages. See also, V & A Museum Archives, Précis of the Board Minutes of the Science and Art Department from 8th July 1863 to 23rd December 1869 (London: Printed by George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1872), p. 148, "W. Smith to visit Paris." S. 79. 3 Nov., 1863. R.L.

principles of the South Kensington system and its method of drawing instruction over the techniques employed in the French system.

. . . the comparison thus made must be entirely in favour of the English work and the English system . . .<sup>1</sup> if the advanced works alone were exhibited the general display [French] was indeed a pitiable one. . . .<sup>2</sup> A comparison, then, of the English and French systems of art education is<sup>3</sup> overwhelmingly in favour of the former. . . . I should consider it nothing less than calamitous if any serious modification of our English system were made, with a desire of assimilating it to the French, . . .<sup>4</sup> Such a display as that which was made in the Palais de l'Industrie must make the French keenly alive to the radically false principles on which a large number of their children are taught, as it has already, I believe, excited an opinion that a great reform is needed in the subject of drawing. . . .<sup>5</sup> Had the works been judged by the standard of Art Schools in England, the verdict must have been more wholly in condemnation of the Exhibition than it is. . . .<sup>6</sup>

Smith's report was not completely uncritical of the South Kensington system. He, as Director of the Leeds School of Art, saw a need for reform regarding the allocation of funds to provincial art schools. According to Smith, increased funds for the provincial art schools were necessary.<sup>7</sup> Smith also suggested the system be de-central-

<sup>1</sup>W. Smith, Report on the Works of Pupils in the French Schools of Design. . . , op. cit., p. 45.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 46.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 47.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 48.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. iv-vi.

ized to allow the provincial schools greater accessibility to the South Kensington Museum collections. To accomplish this, he proposed that travelling exhibitions<sup>1</sup> be circulated to the industrial centres that had branch schools, such as Edinburgh, Dublin, Bristol, Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, and Sheffield.

At age twenty-eight, Smith had already formed his ideas on the purpose and advantages of drawing instruction in relation to the overall education of the individual and its importance to society. He expressed these utilitarian views repeatedly throughout his lifetime.

By the action of Schools of Art on the masses, taste and feeling are being communicated to the working classes, and by the publication of art periodicals, and the reproduction of pictures, by means of engraving, by the holding of annual exhibitions of pictures and sculpture, by the operation of art unions, and by the revival of Gothic art, . . . a refined knowledge of art in its highest walks, is rapidly becoming a characteristic of the upper and middle classes.<sup>2</sup>

Smith placed significance on 'Gothic art', that conformed with the revival of interest and ideas promoted in France by Viollet-le-Duc, in England by *Augustus Welby Pugin* (1812-52), John Ruskin (1812-1900), and later William Morris (1834-96), and in Quebec, abbé Chabert and Napoléon Bourassa. All contributed in varying degrees to focus attention upon Gothic form and motifs, however, in Canada from the mid-1880's writers, artists and educators recommended most fre-

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 49.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 54.

quently Owen Jones's (1809-74) Grammar of Ornament (1856),<sup>1</sup> and, after 1900, the works of Walter Crane<sup>2</sup> to students, art teachers and designers.

In 1865 Smith's name appeared in the Board Minutes of the Science and Art Department, South Kensington, London. He was accused of causing problems.

Memorandum and affidavit, signed by Walter Smith and others, relative to awarding of prizes, considered. Re-examination of drawings and further correspondence on subjects, refused. Mr. Smith's imputations characterised as 'improper and offensive.'<sup>3</sup>

In October 1871, he emigrated to America and was appointed Director of Drawing for the city of Boston as well as Principal of the Normal School and State Supervisor of

<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1895-96, p. 238. "During the session the directors added to the library of the school [Kingston art school] a splendid copy of Owen Jones's 'Grammar of Ornament', a work most useful to all the students of design and which was much appreciated by the students in that subject." Walter Smith quoted extensively Owen Jones in Technical Education and Industrial Drawing in Public Schools, op. cit., pp. 98-99. Egerton Ryerson used Owen Jones's The Statuary of the Crystal Palace, Sydenham (1854) to select copies of antique statuary for his Educational Museum, Toronto. Smith also acknowledged the importance of William Dyce's elementary textbook of Freehand Drawing. See W. Smith, Report on the Works of Pupils in the French Schools of Design. . . , op. cit., p. 42.

<sup>2</sup>O.C.A. Archives, Ontario College of Art Prospectus 1913-14, syllabus, pp. 19-20. The O.C.A. recommended the following texts for art teachers. "The Training of the Memory in Art. . . , Lecoq; Elements of Drawing. . . , Ruskin; Lectures on Painting. . . , Clausen; Pattern Designing. . . , Crane; Bases of Design. . . , Crane; Line and Form. . . , Crane; Modelling. . . , Lanteri; Decorative Illustrations of To-day. . . , Pennell; Discourses. . . , Reynolds; How to study pictures. . . , Caffin."

<sup>3</sup>Précis of the Board Minutes of the Science and Art Department from 8th July 1863 to 23rd December 1869 (London: Printed by George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoods, 1872), p. 148, V. 43, 15 June 1865. H.A.B.



Art for Massachusetts, positions he maintained for nearly eleven years (1871-82).<sup>1</sup>

Stuart MacDonald<sup>2</sup> stated that Smith was almost solely responsible for introducing the South Kensington system to, first Massachusetts, and then by the mid-1870's, the rest of the United States. Smith not only initiated the South Kensington ideas and utilitarian concepts in the United States and Canada,<sup>3</sup> but also in South America, directly affecting and shaping, from 1882-1901, the Brazilian<sup>4</sup> government's policy on art education. His influence was widespread. In a recent publication, it was incorrectly stated that Smith's influence on Quebec technical and industrial education was ephemeral.

En 1877, la méthode de Walter Smith est à l'honneur. Le Conseil consacre alors une bonne part de son budget à la publication de

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<sup>1</sup>R. D. Palmer, "A History of the Concept of Imitation in American Art Education" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Pennsylvania State University, 1978), p. 68.

<sup>2</sup>Stuart MacDonald, op. cit., p. 167.

<sup>3</sup>Frank Graeme Chalmers, "South Kensington and the colonies: David Blair of New Zealand and Canada," Studies in Art Education, Vol. 26 (1985), pp. 69-74. See also Frank Graeme Chalmers, "South Kensington and the Colonies II: The Influence of Walter Smith in Canada." Paper presented at the History of Art Education Conference, The Pennsylvania State University, Nov. 1985, pp. 108-112.

<sup>4</sup>Anna Mae Tavares Bastos Barbosa, "American Influence on Brazilian Art Education: Analysis of Two Moments (Walter Smith and John Dewey)," (unpublished Ed.D., Boston University, 1979). See A. M. T. B. Barbosa, "Walter Smith's Influence in Brazil and the Efforts by Brazilian Liberals to Overcome the Concept of Art as an Elitist Activity," Journal of Art and Design Education, Vol. 3, no. 2, 1984, pp. 233-46. See also Roberta A. Sheehan, "Boston Museum School, A Centennial History: 1876-1976," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Boston College Graduate School, 1983).



son ouvrage dans les deux langues, mais l'année suivante la méthode tombe en disgrâce.<sup>1</sup>

In the last quarter of the 19th century the utilitarian philosophy of art and progressive ideas about universal education, proposed by Walter Smith and based upon the South Kensington system, were suited to the priorities of the Quebec government and its emerging industrial society. Smith's ideas challenged the status quo and the values of the Roman Catholic ultramontanist philosophy. Quebec Roman Catholic church officials opposed the secularisation of education.

The Smith system of drawing instruction was adopted by the Council art schools (post-secondary) from 1876-91, and both the Protestant (1877-91) and the Roman Catholic public schools (1877-87). Due to the impressive showing of the Smith system and examples of his students' drawings at the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial exhibition a Quebec contingent decided, after a first-hand viewing of the exhibits and a meeting with Walter Smith, to institute his system of instruction in schools under their control. The Council chose the Smith system because of its economic feasibility and efficiency, as well as its success in Massachusetts, like its British counterpart South Kensington, at *attempting to not* only the standard and quality of workmanship, but also the level of taste and potential economic benefits to the public.

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<sup>1</sup>Jean-Pierre Charland, L'enseignement spécialisé au Québec 1867 à 1982 (Québec: Institut québécoise de recherche sur la culture, 1982), p. 65.

In Quebec, Walter Smith's influence on art education, particularly drawing instruction, was both extensive and profound in its dissemination to all levels of education (primary, secondary, and post-secondary). Although his system was limited to the 1876-91 period, his ideas, philosophy, and writings shaped the utilitarian character and direction that art education took in Canada well into the 20th century.

. . . the schools of the Council of the system, therein recommended that of Professor Walter Smith. Mr. Smith had his training in England, and was for some years art master at [sic] South Kensington, and the State of Massachusetts considered itself fortunate in securing his services as director of art education. His plan of teaching was adopted, not only in Massachusetts, but through the rest of New England, as well as the Middle, Southern and Western States. In the winter of 1882 he delivered a series of lectures in this city under the auspices of the Council of Arts and Manufactures, and his presence in Canada was taken advantage of for the inauguration of industrial art classes in Ontario and the Maritime Provinces. Subsequently his system obtained a footing in Manitoba and still later in British Columbia.<sup>1</sup>

In 1876, when the Council art schools adopted the Walter Smith system of drawing instruction, for the first time in Quebec educational history a uniform system for teaching drawing was used in post-secondary art schools. In February 1877, Gédéon Ouimet,<sup>2</sup> Superintendent of Public Instruction, was so impressed by the Smith system and drawings by the Council art school students that legislation

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<sup>1</sup>"Industrial Art in the Province of Quebec," The Dominion Illustrated, Vol. IV, no. 97 (10 May, 1890), pp. 290-291.

<sup>2</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 8 Feb., 1877, p. 288.

was introduced to make drawing a compulsory subject in primary and secondary schools under both the Protestant and Catholic school commissions.

Oscar Dunn (1845-85),<sup>1</sup> bibliophile, and publisher of the Journal of Public Instruction (Quebec), was selected to publish and translate into French Walter Smith's Manual of Industrial Drawing and Teacher's Manual for use in the Council art schools.<sup>2</sup>

In August 1877, Gédéon Ouimet was urged by the Council to institute the Smith system into the public schools ". . . at least three lessons in Drawing of twenty minutes each per week."<sup>3</sup> At the same time the Roman Catholic Committee accepted the Smith system in schools under their control.<sup>4</sup>

In November 1877, a drawing examination was introduced into the public schools in order to enable the government to award a proficiency certificate.<sup>5</sup> The Council noted that Smith's books had been distributed widely throughout the province to over four hundred municipalities and to all schools under their jurisdiction.<sup>6</sup>

The Council initially had rejected awarding prizes because of the 'inequality in age and capacity of the pupils,' however, to extend the influence of the Smith system and

<sup>1</sup>Guy Provost, "Oscar Dunn, sa vie, son oeuvre" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, université Laval, 1973). See also Guy Provost, "Oscar Dunn," D.C.B., Vol. XI, pp. 317-19.

<sup>2</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 8 Feb., 1877, p. 290. See also ibid., 8 Aug., 1877, p. 315.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 8 Aug., 1877, p. 315.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 316.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 6 Nov., 1877, p. 335.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 337-38; see ibid., 14 May, 1878, p. 376; see also ibid., 21 Aug., 1878, pp. 384ff.

popularize drawing in Quebec, Smith's drawing manuals were distributed to students for drawing proficiency.<sup>1</sup>

In May 1878, John Spencer Clark (1835-1920), with whom some of the Council had met earlier in Boston, was invited to Montreal to lecture on industrial drawing in public schools in Massachusetts.<sup>2</sup> After the successful lecture by Clark, a Council member suggested "a competent and experienced teacher from Boston or New York give a course of lectures in relation to the most approved method of teaching [drawing]."<sup>3</sup>

Walter Smith was the unanimous choice, and in March 1882, submitted to the Council a list of possible lecture topics.<sup>4</sup> Smith came to Montreal and Quebec City in late April, early May 1882, at a time when he and his system were losing favour in Massachusetts,<sup>5</sup> to give a series of

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 5 Feb., 1878, pp. 341ff.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 14 May 1878, p. 364. In the early 1890's John S. Clark collaborated with Walter Smith's American publisher Louis Prang & co., to produce a number of drawing instruction manuals for use in public schools. See N.U.C. Pre-1956 Imprints, Vol. 469, pp. 227-30.

<sup>3</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, Director of Schools A.R., 1880-81, p. 378.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 15 Mar., 1882, p. 542.

<sup>5</sup>After some adverse publicity with his publishers, L. Prang & co., and a personal dispute with Dr. Alonzo A. Miner, chairman of the Board of visitors, appointed by the Board of Education, Smith was dismissed from his position of Director of Drawing on 26 April, 1881. See, H. Green, "Walter Smith: the forgotten man," Art Education, Vol. 19 (1966), pp. 8-9. Shortly thereafter, in August 1881, Smith wrote the South Kensington educational authorities to inquire about the position of Principal of the National Art Training School, however, his application was rejected. See Précis of the Board Minutes of the Science and Art Department, Arranged in Chronological Order, from 1 January, 1881 - 31st December, 1883 (London: Printed by George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1884), p. 446, Vol. XVIII, p. 71, 30 August, 1881, F.R.S. The following year, on 6 July 1882, the Board of Education dismissed Smith from his positions of

free lectures to the students and teachers of the Council art schools and the general public.

Four lectures were delivered in Montreal, two to Normal School students and teachers, and two to the general public; the subjects of the latter being 'Household Taste' and 'Technical Education—its place in a public school system.' In Quebec three lectures were given, one to Normal School students and Teachers in the Normal School, and two to the general public in the Victoria Hall on the same subjects as above. In Montreal the lectures were given in the Mechanics' Hall.<sup>1</sup>

His lectures "were well attended and enthusiastically received."<sup>2</sup> Resumés of his public lectures were printed in Montreal English-language newspapers, however, the Council also published the entire texts of his five subjects because "though the records of these speeches are imperfect, they yet embody the leading ideas which inspired them, and the reports which were published have been revised in type by the speaker for his pamphlet."<sup>3</sup>

The published pamphlet contained five papers: Industrial Drawing (6 pages);<sup>4</sup> Technical Education—its position State Director of Art Education and Principal of the Normal school. He became briefly the Principal of the Conservatory School of Fine Arts, a department of the New England Conservatory of Music. See H. Green, op. cit., p. 9.

<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 9 May 1882, p. 550.

<sup>2</sup>W. Smith, Technical Education. . . , op. cit., p. 3.

<sup>3</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 9 May 1882, p. 546. See also, W. Smith, Technical Education. . . , op. cit., p. 3.

<sup>4</sup>The lectures were published in Jan., 1883 in a single edition, Technical Education and Industrial Drawing in Public Schools. Reports and Notes of Addresses delivered at Montreal and Quebec by Prof. Walter Smith (Montreal: Gazette Printing Company, 1883), 99 pp. See also "Industrial Education. Lecture by Prof. Smith of Boston." Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette, 24 Apr., 1882, p. 3.

in a public school system (15 pages);<sup>1</sup> Drawing, and Teaching Drawing (8 pages); Household Taste and Principles of Industrial Design (21 pages); and Notes for Teachers (47 pages). The latter paper, Notes for Teachers, was a detailed outline of "a graded programme of Drawing for Public Schools, during twelve years of School life."

In general, the ideas in these texts were those developed from his South Kensington training and subsequent years teaching within that system. The choice of subjects was inspired from works that he had published previously in the United States.

In his lecture, Industrial Drawing, he stressed how important it was to distinguish between ". . . the professional education required by the artist as a preparation for the practice of Fine Art,"<sup>2</sup> and that of industrial art and design. He emphasized how each was to have the same basic elementary training opportunities to enable their talents and skills to develop.

So teaching of drawing was intended to be the foundation of art in all people, to cultivate the taste of all, and to be the beginning<sup>3</sup> of the development of great faculties in a few.

Conforming to the utilitarian philosophy, Smith defined genius as ". . . the development of great faculties in the few," which could only be achieved by 'hard work.'

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<sup>1</sup>"Technical Education. Its position in a public system of education. Lecture by Professor Walter Smith." Montreal Gazette, 26 Apr., 1882, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup>W. Smith, Technical Education. . . , op. cit., p. 5.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 6.



He placed the designer in higher regard and *of more value* than (fine) artists in an industrialized society. He was critical of schools of fine art, with their upper and middle class attitudes that associated art with accomplishment.

Drawing had been taught in private classes in years gone by, rather as an amusement to occupy idle hours, or for the purpose of producing pretty pictures, by those who had nothing better to do. About such drawing there was no particular character; it did neither harm nor good, it had no definite tendency, educational or artistic, because those who began in the middle of a subject at once producing poor little pictures, never arrived at the end of a subject producing great pictures, or expressing matured thought with great skill.<sup>1</sup>

Although perceived by students as uninteresting, mechanical copying and imitation of neoclassical models and forms of historic ornament were important. ". . . less interesting . . . because it is more disciplinary and pursued with a more definite tendency to usefulness. . . ." <sup>2</sup>

He differentiated between the two quintessential elements of drawing -

. . . the first is called scientific and the second artistic. . . . exactness and accuracy which comes from science but the variety and beauty which come from the cultivation of the taste and the exercise of the freehand in expressing what the sensitive eye observes.<sup>3</sup>

According to Smith both were necessary to produce an original design, which was the purpose of such a rigorous training. "Every aid, mechanical or artistic . . . [should]

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 7-8.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 8-9.



be employed to produce a design. . . ." <sup>1</sup>

In other lectures he reiterated his main philosophy of drawing, that was ideally a combination of the scientific (mechanical) and the artistic (freehand).

Good industrial art includes the scientific as well as the artistic element; science securing the necessity of true and permanent workmanship, art contributing the quality of attractiveness and beauty. The study of practical art by drawing should therefore comprehend the exactness of science by the use of instruments, as in geometrical drawing and designing, and the acquisition of knowledge of the beautiful, and manual skill in expression, by freehand drawing of the historical masterpieces of art and choice natural [sic] forms. <sup>2</sup>

With the artist trained and experienced in mechanical (scientific) copying, he would be liberated to pursue his freehand (artistic) interests without undue concern about exactitude.

In free hand drawing, the hand should be trained to do without the ruler in drawing straight lines, and the compasses in striking circles; but after the hand has done its best by the guidance of the eye, its work should always be tested by mechanical tests. . . . A good draughtsman does not want a ruler; it is inconvenient to him: but that is because his eye is trained enough to rely upon in all freehand work. <sup>3</sup>

Smith believed drawing must be raised beyond mechanical copying to the intellectual level associated with fine art. "Drawing is the record of what the senses perceive and can express." <sup>4</sup> One of his statements was reminiscent

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 58.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 79.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 28.

of Coleridge's interpretation of a painting.

But philosophic teaching requires that we should go from the thing to the thought, create the true thought by observation and analysis of the actual thing. For the idea must always precede the work, the conceptions be ahead of the execution, be the avant courier of the deed.<sup>1</sup>

To Smith harmony was the balance of science and art, an idea derived originally from Plato, and popularized along with concepts of universal free education in the 19th century.

Art and education were no longer the private domain of the privileged class, but accessible to all.

Art was once the privilege and luxury of the few, just as power was their prerogative and learning their monopoly; and except in public places and buildings, it may yet be the case that Fine Art and its masterpieces may be beyond the reach of the many, as a personal possession. . . . So also the greatest modern movement for the elevation of the majority and the increase of the wealth of all, is that which is now encircling the whole world in its action, the effort to add to the general education of the people, the opportunities for education in art and science.<sup>2</sup>

Smith envisioned that the racial characteristics of Quebec's two founding peoples, the English and French, would benefit the province for artistic (French) and scientific (English) purposes.

The fusion, too, of the French and English races in it is inevitable at no very distant day, whatever hindrances there may have been in the past or may exist now and in the future to the commingling of two such races . . .

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 30. "Painting is the intermediate somewhat between a thought and a thing."

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 53.

may welcome the day when the French and English elements in this Dominion of Canada may become, by amalgamation, the strongest, the most cultured, the most independent nation in the world, just, generous, and righteous. . . .<sup>1</sup>

In a rather enlightened statement reminiscent of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-78), Smith stated his personal yet anima mundi ideas for a just society that included ". . . liberty, equal rights, pure air, education, commercial integrity and good government."<sup>2</sup>

Shortly after his Quebec lecture tour, in 1883, Smith returned to England and became Art Director of the Art Department of the Technical College, Bradford,<sup>3</sup> a position he held until his premature death in 1886.

#### B) How Successful Was the Smith System?

In the annual reports of the Council of art schools the Smith system of drawing instruction was highly praised.

. . . the success of it serves to demonstrate this fact and to stimulate our people to give to this important subject of Drawing the attention and encouragement of which it is deserving. . . .

The Hon. G. [sic] Ouimet, Superintendent of Education, made a close examination and expressed himself as being fully satisfied with the work done so far and spoke strongly of the importance of making the teaching of Drawing compulsory in all the Schools in the Province.

Looking back on the feeble productions of our Schools three and four years ago we see the evidence of careful training and close application to work, and the fact is also patent that among our pupils many possess a

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 25.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 54.

<sup>3</sup>H. Green, op. cit., p. 9.

taste and aptitude which only requires the instruction and encouragement given in our Schools to be properly developed. . . .<sup>1</sup>

. . . The system of Drawing taught by Prof. Walter Smith has been introduced in our schools and, while after only one year's experience we can hardly venture a decided opinion as to its success, we have seen enough to convince us that it is the right system, and that, so soon as it is introduced in to the public Schools it will work most satisfactorily in our evening Schools.<sup>2</sup>

In 1878, the second year in which the Smith system was used in the Council art schools, difficulties were cited. As with any system derived from an external source, in order to be successful, it must be modified or adapted to meet the needs of that particular community. Two specific problems were recorded continuously in the annual reports of the Council during the years in which the Smith system was used (1876-91) and after it was replaced by the E. M. Templé system in 1891. Firstly, it was difficult to find qualified teachers.<sup>3</sup> When competent instructors were hired, many would not follow the elementary stages of the course. This problem was not unique. In Britain and in Massachusetts, resistance of teachers to the South Kensington and Walter Smith<sup>4</sup> systems had been reported.

<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 8 Feb., 1877, p. 288.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 8 May, 1877, p. 302. See also ibid., 14 May, 1878, pp. 375-78. A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, Director of Schools A.R., 1880-81, p. 485. See also, ibid., 10 May, 1881, p. 514.

<sup>3</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, Superintendent of Schools A.R., 14 May, 1878, p. 378. "One of the chief hindrances is the difficulty we experience in securing thoroughly competent teachers. . . ."

<sup>4</sup>H. Green, op. cit., p. 6. "Many of the teachers were antagonistic. Some regretted the time taken for drawing from other subjects; many resented the extra exertion to which they were compelled in order to learn this new skill . . . attendance at Smith's classes for regular teachers was voluntary, many did not attend. Those who did attend complained of the severity of the examinations."

". . . [some] have, either from prejudice or disinclination, not taken hold of it willingly."<sup>1</sup>

A year prior to Smith's Montreal and Quebec City lectures, the Council secretary suggested the solution to the problem of unqualified, incompetent, or inefficient instructors was to have everyone enrol in a specific course designed for training art teachers. Ontario and South Kensington developed such a course, however, Quebec did not.

. . . the interests of Industrial Education would be greatly advanced if a law were passed compelling teachers to qualify themselves to teach Drawing, according to the Smith system, in all the Schools and Educational Institutions receiving support from the Government throughout the Province.<sup>2</sup>

The Council perceived that the South Kensington system was successful because of its specially trained art teachers.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, Director of Schools A.R., 1878-79, 25 May 1879, pp. 431, 439. See ibid., 1880-81, p. 485. ". . . And, again, a training is required by the teachers before they are able to teach a system entirely different from what they have previously been accustomed to.

While a few of our teachers have studied hard to master the system and have taught it with fair success, the great majority of them have shown a disinclination or want of aptitude, for making a study of it from the beginning and teaching it step by step. . . ." See also DS (1879-80), Vol. 14, no. 2, p. 344.

<sup>2</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, Director of Schools A.R., 1880-81, 10 May 1881, p. 505. Ibid., 13 May, 1884, p. 645. "In many instances the lack of success may be traced to the inefficiency of teachers. Some of these have not been trained to teaching and are unable, however willing and zealous they may be, to give instruction in such a way as to interest the pupils."

<sup>3</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1. Livre des minutes, President's Report, 25 Nov., 1886, pp. 733-35. "A notable feature in connection with these Schools is that they are all provided with teachers who have been specially trained for the work; this is a great advantage."

Shortly after Walter Smith's lectures in May 1882,<sup>1</sup> the Council asked the provincial government for additional funds to enable them to have Smith give a series of lectures, during the summer vacation, to the Council art school teachers. The government refused because it felt it was too costly.<sup>2</sup> Complaints about unqualified and inefficient teachers continued even after the Smith system had been replaced in 1891.<sup>3</sup>

The second problem involved the students in the Council art schools who were undisciplined and unwilling to begin the drawing course at its elementary level.<sup>4</sup> The public schools reported greater success with their pupils, while the evening class students at the Council art schools

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<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 9 May 1882, p. 547. "That the attention of the Government be called to the desirability of securing the services of Prof. Walter Smith, of Boston, for the purpose of giving a course of lectures on Industrial Drawing to teachers during the approaching vacation. . . ."

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 8 Aug., 1882, p. 565. "A letter was read from the Hon. G. [sic] Ouimet, Supt. of Education, enclosing a copy of a letter from the Hon. the Provincial Secretary intimating that the Government could not incur the expense of bringing on Prof. Walter Smith to give instruction in Drawing to teachers during the vacation."

<sup>3</sup>DS (1894-95), Vol. 29, no. 2, p. 348. "This exhibition [1894 Annual Exhibition of student works] served to emphasize the great need to which I have alluded in former reports of trained and skilled teachers. It is now full time that the Council should insist on certain qualifications on the part of those appointed as teachers, and on a certain uniformity in the system employed." See also DS (1896-97), Vol. 31, no. 3, p. 268. "In previous reports, I have made allusion to the difficulties under which we labour in securing the services of trained and qualified teachers. The difficulty has prevented the adoption of a uniform system of instruction."

<sup>4</sup>A.N.Q.M., 06M, ZQ22/1, C.A.M.P.Q. 32P1-9. Apr., 1891, Report of T. Robinson, instructor of the Junior Freehand Class, Montreal art school. "The younger portion of the Class had too much of the idea that they were in the elementary day School, and needed constant watchfulness to keep them at their work."



complained that the courses should be better suited to fit their individual professional needs.

Judging of the system from its working thus far, it is certainly good, but it will produce better results in and is more applicable to day Schools than our evening classes.

And for this reason, the class of persons who attend our Schools desire instruction principally in Instrumental drawing, building construction, ship draughting, freehand and cast drawing; they are anxious to get instruction which they can put into practice in their daily avocations and are thus unwilling to go through all the necessary elementary steps. . . .

. . . With the younger pupils we have less difficulty and they follow the system, as the books from the various Schools attest, with fair success. . . .<sup>1</sup>

As early as 1880, industries were employing graduates from the Council art schools and using some of their designs.<sup>2</sup>

In 1886, the President and Secretary of the Council art schools travelled to London to attend the Indian and Colonial Exhibition and organize their display of two hundred and forty examples of selected student works. This afforded them the opportunity to examine other industrialized countries' educational exhibits. The Council art school delegation stated that its students work compared

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<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, Superintendent's A.R., 14 May 1878, pp. 375-78. See also ibid., Director of Schools A.R., 1880-81, p. 485. The pupils in the day schools were closer in age, whereas those who attended the Council art schools ranged in age between 12-45. See DS (1895-96), Vol. 30, no. 3, p. 349.

<sup>2</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, Director of Schools A.R., 1879-80, 11 May 1880, p. 479. "I have much pleasure in being able to state that some of our pupils have been so successful in making designs as to have had them adopted by local manufacturers, . . ." See p. 143, footnotes 1 and 3 for an extensive list of former students employed in Quebec industry.



well in terms of quality and some perhaps even surpassed the British exhibits.<sup>1</sup>

The Council's art educational exhibition made a favourable impression on British art educators, however, it must be realized that the type of instruction, techniques used and exhibits were all inspired by South Kensington. The Council was its Quebec colonial equivalent.

Allow me to say that when visiting the Indian and Colonial Exhibition, few things therein interested me more than the Schools of Art work as represented there.

I consider them, as a whole, good and confess some degree of surprise as well as great satisfaction that your Schools of Art are not at all to my mind inferior to many of our best Schools of Art in England. The range of work seems to cover a greater range than we ourselves do, but our limited accommodation [sic] has to some extent kept us back.<sup>2</sup>

From time to time the Council's annual reports contained information about the success of its graduates in industry and fine art, and positive comments of former pupils acknowledging the value of their Council art school training.

A number of pupils who have passed through the Classes of this Council are now continuing their studies in Paris and other places. From time to time letters are received which show that a warm interest is still felt in the

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<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, President's Report, 25 Nov., 1886, pp. 733-35. "Some of the work done in our Schools compares not unfavourably with what I have seen in many Schools in England. In some of our Special Classes, such as the Lithography Class in the Montreal School, the quality of work is quite as fine as any that I have seen in the English Schools."

<sup>2</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 10 Feb., 1887, pp. 738-39. Letter from William Fry, Secretary of the Salt Schools, Shipley, Yorkshire, England.

institution which gave them the first start in the career which they are following.<sup>1</sup>

The extensive influence and the economic feasibility of the Council's art schools were emphasized in the statistics presented in the periodical Canadian Architect and Builder of 1895. The number of students attending the Council art schools was as staggering as those enrolled in the South Kensington system in its heyday.

I have made a summary of the attendance books of our various schools, and I find that from 1872 to 1894, twenty-three thousand five hundred and seventy-five pupils have attended our schools. These classes are in Montreal, Quebec, Three Rivers, Sorel, Levis, St. Hyacinthe, St. Romuald, Sherbrooke, Huntingdon, St. Jerome, Granby, Chicoutimi, Farnham, Sillery, and for some years at Iberville. The Government of this Province has expended \$185,200 in twenty-two years for the maintenance of these schools, say about \$7.85 per pupil, making 35½c. per head per annum.<sup>2</sup>

The 1893-94 annual report of the Council art schools listed an impressive number of five hundred and fifty 'successful' former students.

This report contains the names and occupations of 550 of our former pupils, who all fill important positions, either on their own account or as foremen in industrial establishments. Several of them are now in Paris or Rome continuing their studies. However, the number of those who owe their success to the instruction they have received in our schools is much larger. . . .<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 13 May 1890, p. 851. For an extensive list of graduates see DS (1893-94), Vol. 28, no. 2, pp. 482-91; and DS (1910-11), Vol. 45, no. 6, pp. 178-194. See also A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 8 May 1888, p. 789.

<sup>2</sup>Canadian Architect and Builder, Vol. 8 (1895), no. 5 (May), pp. 70-71.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. See DS (1893-94), Vol. 28, no. 2, pp. 477-99. See also DS (1910-11), Vol. 45, no. 6, pp. 178-94 for an additional list of former students.

During the first three sessions in which the Smith system was used in Quebec primary and secondary Protestant and Roman Catholic public schools, the number of students receiving drawing instruction more than quadrupled.<sup>1</sup>

C) E. M. Templé

From the outset the Council annual reports unanimously expressed their satisfaction with the Smith system, however, each report specified two problems. Firstly, the lack of efficient teachers and their unwillingness to adhere strictly to the system, and secondly, the lack of discipline and interest amongst the pupils. There was resistance to those functioning within the Smith system, therefore it was not surprising that two attempts were made to replace it. The first occasion occurred during the initial session 1877/78 when the St-Henri public school used a method of drawing instruction based upon that of the Christian Brothers' Schools of Paris. According to Frère Alphraates it had received acclaim at the Universal Exposition, Paris, 1867, the International Exposition, Amsterdam, 1869, and the Universal Exhibition, Vienna, 1873.<sup>2</sup>

This attempt to introduce another system of drawing instruction into the public schools failed.

However, in 1887, ten years later, another attempt was made when E. M. Templé applied to the Council to have his

<sup>1</sup>DS (1878-79), Vol. 13, no. 5, p. vi. 8,351 in 1876/77; 20,914 in 1877/78; and 35,429 in 1878/79.

<sup>2</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1. Livre des minutes, 7 May, 1878, p. 383.

own system used in both public and Council art schools.<sup>1</sup> The Roman Catholic Committee of the Council of Public Instruction had adopted the Templé system in February 1887,<sup>2</sup> replacing the Smith system which had been used in their schools since May 1877.<sup>3</sup> One reason for the change of drawing systems in the French Roman Catholic public schools was the difficulty in obtaining French translations of Walter Smith's drawing manuals since the death of Oscar Dunn in 1885.

The Protestant public schools and the Council art schools continued to use the Smith system because "it has produced good results and that with its aid ordinary teachers, without having made a special study of drawings, have been able to teach it successfully to their pupils. . . ."4

The Council stated that the Smith system would be replaced only if another system could be proven superior.

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<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 'Report of the Committee on the National System of Drawing,' p. 760.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 10 Feb., 1887, pp. 738-39.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 8 Aug., 1887, p. 316.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 'Report of the Committee on the National System of Drawing,' pp. 760-62.

In June 1887, the Council dismissed E. M. Templé's application to have his system instituted in the Council's art schools.<sup>1</sup> In August of the same year he inquired about a possible teaching post in the Council art schools, but was refused.<sup>2</sup> He was persistent, even after two failures and corresponded continuously with the Council over the following years.

In February 1888, he announced that the Council of Public Instruction of Manitoba<sup>3</sup> recently had adopted his system, and then, six months later he wrote the Council to inform them that he had completed the second part of his 'National System of Drawing.'<sup>4</sup>

Less than two years later, in May 1890, Templé formally approached the Council to reconsider his system for their schools.

A letter was submitted from Mr. E. M. Templé stating that he had completed the four courses forming the 'National System of Drawing' and asking the Council to approve of the same and to transmit this approval to the Council of Public Instruction.<sup>5</sup>

Again, the Council rejected his request and stated that Rolland and co., were republishing the Smith system

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 14 June 1887, pp. 746ff.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 5 Aug., 1887, pp. 769, 776.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 16 Feb., 1888, p. 776. This is contrary to the evidence presented in "Industrial Art in the Province of Quebec," The Dominion Illustrated, Vol. IV, no. 97 (10 May, 1890), p. 291.

<sup>4</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 11 Aug., 1888, pp. 789ff.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 13 May 1890, p. 841.

drawing manuals.<sup>1</sup>

Three months later, in August 1890, E. M. Templé persuaded some of the French-speaking members of the Council to have his system reassessed.<sup>2</sup> The pressure to adopt the Templé system was increased and recommendations<sup>3</sup> from the Catholic Committee of Public Instruction, C. A. Léfèvre, Professor of the Normal School (Montreal), President Chepellière of the assemblée Montcalm of the conseil central des métiers et du travail, and Frère Stephen, Director of the Christian Brothers of Quebec, finally convinced the Council to use the Templé system in their schools and the Protestant public schools.<sup>4</sup>

In March 1891, the Protestant Committee of the Council of Public Instruction contacted the Council of Arts and Manufactures to protest the implementation of the E. M. Templé system.

That this Council regrets that it is unable to comply with the request of the Deputation of the Protestant committee of the Council of Public Instruction, to the effect - That the 'Dominion Freehand Drawing Course' be recognized as an Alternative Course in the Protestant Schools of the Province for the reason that the Law requires as far as possible that a uniform system of Drawing should be followed and furthermore for the reason, that it is not contended that the 'Templé' system cannot be made use of.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 844.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 5 Aug., 1890, p. 869.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 29 Aug., 1890, pp. 872-74.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 12 May 1891, p. 884.

However, in August 1891, the Council complied with the findings of its committee's and the Council of Public Instruction's recommendation to replace the Walter Smith system with that of E. M. Templé.

A letter was read from the Rev. E. I. Rexford, Secretary of the Protestant Committee of the Council of Public Instruction enclosing a resolution of the Council of Arts and Manufactures, adopting the System of Drawing of Mr. Templé to the exclusion of any other system.<sup>1</sup>

In conclusion, the final adoption of the Templé system of drawing instruction was based upon linguistic and religious bias. The English-speaking and Protestant members of the Council of Public Instruction and Council of Arts and Manufactures supported the Walter Smith system while the French-speaking and Roman Catholic members backed E. M. Templé. The difficulty of the Council to procure additional drawing manuals by Smith seemed a poor excuse for replacing the Smith system. An examination of the Templé system manual indicated it was essentially the same as that of Smith's.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 18 Aug., 1891, p. 913.

<sup>2</sup>Compare Walter Smith's Manuel de dessin industriel à l'usage des maîtres d'écoles primaires d'après la méthode de Walter Smith, trans. Oscar Dunn (Montréal: Duvernay frères & Dansereau, 1877) with that of E. M. Templé, Manuel de la nouvelle méthode nationale de dessin: cours préparatoire: guide du maître, . . . (Montréal: E. M. Templé, 1891); E. M. Templé, Méthode nationale de dessin: deuxième cours: cours primaire: dessin géométrique et à main levée: guide du maître (Montréal: E. Boudet, 1887). See also E. M. Templé, National method of drawing: approved by the Council of Arts and Manufactures and Council of Public Instruction of the Province of Quebec: preparatory course: teacher's manual, trans. S. C. Stevenson (Montréal: E. M. Templé, 1891).



#### D) Council Art Schools Development

The number of Council art schools fluctuated from 1873/74 - 1913/14 (see Appendix 2 b ), with the largest number (fifteen) recorded in 1881/82. Twenty-six schools operated sporadically within this forty year period, however, only seven (see Appendix 2 b ) endured from 1873/74 to the end of this study - 1913/14 (Montreal central art school, Quebec, Sorel, Levis central art school, Three-Rivers, Sherbrooke, and St. Hyacinthe). The central art schools in Montreal and Quebec continued uninterrupted while Sorel, Levis, Sherbrooke, Three-Rivers and St. Hyacinthe were all closed for brief periods (1873/74 - 1913/14). The two reasons for the termination of classes were poor attendance and the inability to find efficient instructors. Five schools of the twenty-six were located in the city of Montreal (central school, St. Henri, Lachine, Hochelaga and Ste. Cunégonde). The latter two were closed for the 1882/83 session because of poor attendance "and the easy access from both places to the central school the Council considered that it would be more advantageous to strengthen the Montreal school and maintain one strong, vigorous school in the city."<sup>1</sup> Three schools were located at Levis (central school, St. Romuald and Charny) and two in Quebec City (central school and Diamond Harbour).

Drawing instruction, industrial and fine art classes at the Council art schools were held in the evenings to *accommodate* the working classes, although several school children

<sup>1</sup>DS (1882-83), Vol. 17, no. 2, p. 93.

(the youngest student recorded was twelve years of age) and women attended. Whereas the A.A.M.'s seasonal tuition was expensive (\$25.00 per term or \$40.00 per annum), the Council charged a nominal course registration fee of one dollar which was returned to the student at the end of the year if over two-thirds of the classes were attended.

A new feature has been introduced in some of our schools with the object of securing more regularity in the attendance, . . . The object of this step was not to keep away from our classes those who only come because the classes were free and did not seriously apply themselves to work. At the close of the season the fee was returned to those who had attended two-thirds of the classes, thus not entailing any outlay on the part of the pupils.<sup>1</sup>

This rule was introduced in 1879/80 as a result of the high absenteeism in the Council's art schools (see Appendix 2 c). The problem of high enrolment and low attendance was endemic to 19th century Canadian education, and free drawing instruction at the Council art schools was merely a microcosm of the difficulties of the public school system.

The application procedure at the Council art schools was straightforward. A potential student had to present himself with a letter of recommendation during the registration period.

Applications for admission are received by the Professors at the classrooms and are presented by the candidates in person, accompanied by a letter of recommendation from their employers.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>DS (1879-80), Vol. 14, no. 2, p. 341.

<sup>2</sup>Canadian Architect and Builder, Vol. 7 (1894), no. 11 (Nov.), pp. 142-43.

In 1878, the Director of schools annual report stated the art schools purpose was to give free drawing instruction to the working classes.

And for this reason, the class of persons who attend our Schools desire instruction principally in Instrumental drawing, building construction, ship draughting, freehand and cast drawing.<sup>1</sup>

In 1883/84, the Modelling class at the Montreal art school was composed of "chiefly carvers, metal-workers, & c. . . ." <sup>2</sup>

Four years later in 1887/88, F.S. Cleverley, instructor of the Junior Freehand drawing course at the Montreal art school reported the majority of his class consisted of artisans.

The pupils are about in the proportion of one-third attending school and two-thirds having daily employment as Engineers, Architects, Apprentices, Carpenters, Engine fitters, Mechanical Draughtsmen, &c., &c.<sup>3</sup>

#### E) Council Policy

The Council of Arts and Manufactures emphasized industrial over fine art education (evening classes instead of day, men rather than women); attempted to standardize the curriculum and promote drawing instruction by adopting

<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, Director of Schools A.R., 14 May 1878, p. 376.

<sup>2</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 13 May 1884, Director of Schools A.R., p. 640. See also DS (1883-84), Vol. 18, no. 2, p. 407.

<sup>3</sup>DS (1887-88), Vol. 22, p. 202. For an extensive list of former students in trade, industry, and fine art employment see DS (1893-94), Vol. 28, no. 2, pp. 482-91, and DS (1910-11), Vol. 45, no. 6, pp. 178-89.

the Walter Smith system (1876-91); encouraged local industry to employ the Council's graduates; and established a central art school in Montreal with branches throughout the province of Quebec.

In 1878, the Council, similar to its British and Ontario counterparts, supplied the same type and size of paper to enable the pupil's drawings to be examined by the Council's inspectors.

In order that a better opportunity might be afforded for comparing the work from the different localities and that the copies might be uniform, all the Schools were furnished with paper of the same quality and size.<sup>1</sup>

The distribution of prizes for drawing excellence had been overlooked for two reasons. Firstly, due to the different ages and backgrounds of the pupils, and secondly, because of the association of awards with middle class schools of fine art. An exception was made during the 1880/81 session in James L. Weston's (1815-96) Freehand drawing class at the Montreal art school.

The giving of prizes in the schools has not been encouraged, owing chiefly to the inequality in age and capacity of the pupils; in only one case has an exception been made viz.: in Mr. Weston's Class, in the Montreal School, where three prizes were offered for competition in an original design with the oak leaf as a basis.<sup>2</sup>

In 1881/82, with the growth of the system and increased number of provincial art schools, the Council required that

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<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 14 May 1878, Director of Schools A.R., p. 377.

<sup>2</sup>DS (1880-81), Vol. 15, no. 2, p. 470. From 1878-91, Walter Smith's manuals were given to students more to promote drawing than for proficiency in drawing.

a municipality satisfy four conditions before an art school could be established.

1st. That the need for a free evening drawing school exists, and that the popular feeling calls for it and gives promise of hearty support;

2nd. That the place should contain a certain number of inhabitants, say at least 3,000; and that it should be a place where manufacturing industries are established;

3rd. That the services of an efficient resident teacher of drawing should be available;

4th. That the locality asking for the establishment of a school should agree to provide and fit up comfortable rooms for the purpose and providing the heat, light, &c., required.<sup>1</sup>

#### F) Teaching Models

All of the teaching models, with the exception of Walter Smith's drawing manuals, during the period 1876-91, were acquired from Britain or South Kensington.

A letter was read from L. D. King offering to sell to the Council some autotypes and prints from the British Museum<sup>2</sup> for the ornamentation of the School Rooms.

The vast majority of models were lithographs, prints and engravings that were constantly wearing out and were frequently replaced.

For the coming season an additional supply of models will be required particularly in the freehand class, as many of those at present in use have become worn or destroyed; those from England, such as are used in the South Kensington school are what we require. For the mechanical classes also wooden models should be provided, as these would prove of great use to the pupils and give them a more

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<sup>1</sup>DS (1881-82), Vol. 16, no. 2, pp. 62-63.

<sup>2</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 6 Oct., 1877, p. 324.

practical knowledge of the subject in hand than can be obtained from the flat copy.<sup>1</sup>

In August 1880, the Secretary of the Council was instructed to apply to South Kensington for financial assistance, and to inquire if the Council was eligible for donations of models, casts, and other teaching aids.

The Secretary was instructed to write to the Secretary of the South Kensington Museum for the purpose of ascertaining if free grants, in the way of drawing copies etc., were issued to Schools of Art and Design.<sup>2</sup>

A negative reply from South Kensington to the Council's request was recorded in November 1880.

A letter was read from the Science and Art Department of the South Kensington Museum, stating that only Schools and Classes established in the United Kingdom<sup>3</sup> are entitled to aid from that Institution.

In 1886, the year of the Indian and Colonial Exhibition, the Council President was delegated to purchase models from the South Kensington Museum, during his trip to London in that year.

And that with a view of improving the operations of our Schools, the Secretary be requested to obtain information regarding the most recent systems of technical education and practical schools; and to secure, if possible, with the co-operation of other friends of the country at the time in England, models from the South Kensington Museum which might be of great value to our Schools; and that the sum of \$500.00 be voted<sup>4</sup> to him [the President] for the above purposes.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 14 May 1878, pp. 377-78. See also DS (1877-78), Vol. 12, Appendix no. 1, p. 185.

<sup>2</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 10 Aug., 1880, p. 491.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 2 Nov., 1880, p. 493.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 9 Feb., 1886, p. 705.

Perhaps the visit of the Council President to London in 1886 and his subsequent purchase of models from South Kensington, resulted in the Science and Art Department sending the Council a gift of teaching aids.

The Secretary submitted a letter from Col. Donnelly, Sec'y of the Science and Art Department, South Kensington. The letter stated that in reply to the request made the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education had sanctioned the presentation to this Council of an unframed set of stages of instruction; and also stating that specimens of modelled work could also be supplied if the Council were willing to incur the expense of packing and carriage.<sup>1</sup>

In August 1887, South Kensington forwarded a number of their students' work.

The Secretary submitted a list of students works which had been sent from the Science and Art Department, South Kensington, to the Council.<sup>2</sup>

Six months later in February 1888, the Council was again the recipient of another gift from South Kensington, this time seven plaster casts.

A letter was read from Mr. A. J. R. Trendell stating that seven Plaster casts had been sent to the Council from the Schools under the control of the Science and Art Department, South Kensington.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 10 May 1887, p. 764. See also H. Butterworth, op. cit., pp. 177-78. "Donnelly thus became 'Secretary and permanent head of the Sciences and Art Department, responsible for its general efficiency,' and continued to hold the post of Director of Science, until 1893. . . ."

<sup>2</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 5 Aug., 1887, p. 768. See also, ibid., Secretary of Schools A.R. 1887-88, p. 787.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 16 Feb., 1888, p. 776.



In 1891, Sir Donald A. Smith<sup>1</sup> (later Lord Strathcona) and Senator George Drummond,<sup>2</sup> two politically influential and wealthy Montrealers, both art collectors and members of the A.A.M., offered to permit the senior students of the Council art schools to view their large, private art collections.

#### G) Curriculum

. . . Dr. Gordon and Professor Lawton, in their Curriculum Change in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, refer to curriculum change as the 'result of complex patterns of interaction between influential individuals and general processes of social, political and economic change.'<sup>3</sup>

From 1876-91, the Council's art school curriculum developed beyond the limited mechanics' institute drawing courses. With the adoption of the Walter Smith system of drawing instruction in 1876 all the Council's art schools used Smith's drawing manuals which emphasized drawing from

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 21 Mar., 1891, p. 881. "The Secretary stated that Sir Donald A. Smith had thrown open his private gallery of paintings to the pupils of the Senior Classes in the Montreal School. . . ."

<sup>2</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, Director of Schools A.R., 1890-91, 12 May 1891, p. 900. "It is gratifying to note the increased interest that is taken in the schools by some of our most prominent citizens. This consideration has been shown in a practical manner by the fact that Sir Donald A. Smith and The Hon. Senator Drummond have kindly opened their Galleries of Paintings to the senior pupils. The kindness of these gentlemen has been thoroughly appreciated by the pupils who have had the privilege of inspecting the magnificent examples of Art which these galleries contain."

<sup>3</sup>G. H. Bantock, Dilemmas of Curriculum (New York: Wiley, 1980), pp. 227-28. See also P. Gordon and D. Lawton, Curriculum Change in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1978), p. 2.

the flat, outline drawing, blackboard drawing, oral instructions by the teacher, and classroom demonstrations.

The Council's Montreal art school had the largest selection of subjects. The branch schools offered core courses in Freehand, Mechanical and Architectural drawing. In Montreal, in addition to Freehand (senior and junior—sometimes referred to as advanced and elementary), Mechanical (renamed object drawing from 1880/81 - 82/83), Architectural drawing and Modelling were the core courses. The Director of Schools' Annual Report of 1879/80 stated a Watercolour course was offered, however, it was not listed in the annual statistical information accompanying each report.

A class has been formed in connection with the Montreal School of some of the more advanced pupils, for instruction in watercolour painting; a very strong desire was expressed by the pupils for the establishment of this Class and twenty-seven have already signified their intention of following it.<sup>1</sup>

In October 1876, a request was made to establish a 'Ladies Art School,' however, the Council considered such a class, or school, unfeasible.<sup>2</sup> During the 1877/78 session a second attempt was made to found an art class for women. On this occasion the Council stated that it was not only uneconomical but also not a priority.

During the year an application was received asking for the establishment of Art Classes for ladies in the City of Montreal, and the Council, after considering the subject came

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<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, Director of Schools A.R., 1879-80, p. 488.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 26 Oct., 1876, p. 272. See also *ibid.*, 14 Nov., 1876, pp. 273-74. For information about the Female School of Art, London, England, see Anthea Callen, *supra*, pp. 27, 30, 33, 35-36.

to the conclusion that it would not be prudent at the present time to establish such Classes; these may, and no doubt, will come in time but it is of more importance now that the object of our Schools should be to elevate and improve the standard of our Industrial Classes, than to impart instruction which might be considered merely artistic.<sup>1</sup>

However, the following year in 1878/79, the Council announced that an afternoon Freehand drawing class for women would be offered during the 1879/80 session.

The opening of the Ladies' Afternoon Art Class marks a new era in our work; the giving of lectures on Art subjects to our pupils is also a forward step. . . .

. . . I feel convinced that it is the nucleus of a Ladies' Art School similar to those which are now in such successful operation in the Cities of New York, Boston and Philadelphia . . . the object of our Schools is to give Industrial Education to the artisan Classes rather than to Ladies.<sup>2</sup>

The enrolment<sup>3</sup> in the 'Ladies' Class' far exceeded their expectations, so much so, it was suggested that the fees be increased from one to five dollars. This change resulted in a severe drop in enrolment.<sup>4</sup>

In 1881/82, Freehand drawing classes for women were opened at Granby and Huntingdon.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 8 May 1877, p. 303.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 13 May 1879, pp. 428, 431. The 'Ladies' Class' lasted three successive years (1879/80, 1880/81, and 1881/82). Harrington Bird was identified as the instructor for this class in a later report. See ibid., 25 Oct., 1894, p. 1030.

<sup>3</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 11 May 1880, p. 482. "In the Ladies' Class the number who sought to enter was so large that shortly after the opening additional names had to be refused." Enrolled 60, average attendance 34.

<sup>4</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 11 May 1880, p. 518. 1880/81 - enrolled 15, average attendance 11; 1881/82 - enrolled 15, average attendance 9.

<sup>5</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 9 May 1882, p. 563.

The establishment of day classes for industrial art courses was considered in 1884, however, it was concluded that the enrolment would be too low and therefore impractical.<sup>1</sup>

Anatomy was added to the curriculum for two years (1884/85, and 1885/86) under the direction of Louis-Philippe Hébert (1850-1917). This course was discontinued when he left for further study in Paris in 1887, although he returned to teach at the Council's Montreal art school in 1896. The description of the methodology and approach to anatomy by Hébert was certainly not the avant-garde instruction that Thomas Eakins pioneered at the Pennsylvania Academy, Philadelphia, in the late 1870's and the early 1880's. Eakins' approach was more practical and scientific because of his medical studies, whereas the Anatomy course given by Hébert was purely theoretical, using diagrams, skeletal models and textbook instruction.

The Class was placed under the able direction of Mr. L. P. Hébert, who was eminently fitted for the position, and who from experience knew how to make it valuable to the pupils. Lectures were given and demonstrated with the aid of diagrams, and the names of the various bones were studied from a skeleton.<sup>2</sup>

From 1876 to 1886 the curriculum remained the same, with only a few additions. Of the five fine art offerings during this period (Anatomy, Watercolour, Ladies' Drawing Class, Figure & Ornament - 1877/78) only Lithography, introduced in 1882/83, lasted until 1913/14. With the exception

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 28 Feb., 1884, p. 626.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., Director of Schools A.R., 1884-85, p. 678.

of a Carving course offered in 1882/83, practical classes never developed beyond classroom theory. Carving was subdivided into Woodcarving (1883/84, 1884/85, 1885/86) and Woodengraving (1883/84, 1884/85).

In 1887, the Council passed a resolution that in order to receive its annual grant each art school must offer a minimum of one practical course. This rule forced the expansion of the curriculum to include various practical classes. Modelling had been a course of its own (from 1873/74 - 85/86), but was combined with Woodcarving (from 1882/83 - 85/86) in 1887/88. Other practical courses added in 1887/88 were Patternmakers (1887/88 - 90/91, then became Boot & Shoe patternmakers from 1892/93 - 1913/14); Building Construction and Stair Building (1887/88 - 1901/02) was re-introduced as Carpentry & Stair Building from 1906/07 - 13/14); between 1902/03 - 05/06, it was renamed Joiner work; Decorative Painting was given from 1887/88 - 93/94, then due to falling attendance and Edouard Meloche's departure for advanced fine art studies in Paris, the class was discontinued until it was reintroduced in 1898/99 - 1901/02, and was subsequently renamed Making & Painting Signs, between 1902/03 - 13/14; Plumbing was offered from 1899/1900, and then from 1900/01 - 13/14 as Plumbing & Steamfitting; Scagliola & Plaster was taught for one year, 1887/88.

The practical courses introduced initially to the Council's Montreal art school curriculum in 1887/88 reflect the growth and demand of particular industries at that time. Woodcarving, Building and Stair Construction, Scagliola and

Plaster, and Carpentry (Joinery), all support the statistics of the demand for wood and finished wood products<sup>1</sup> and construction from the 1850's onward. Wood products ranked third in 1900 with a revenue of \$10.3 million.<sup>2</sup> Pattern Making was first offered in 1887/88, however, from 1892/93 was exclusively linked to the Boot and Shoe industry.

La demande . . . de cuire dans les années  
1860. . . .<sup>3</sup>

Statistics for 1900 show in order of importance the Shoe Industry was first with a revenue of \$14 million.<sup>4</sup>

"La demande . . . de fer dans les années 1870, . . ."<sup>5</sup>  
no doubt was attributable to the development of Plumbing and Steam Fitting courses.

J. H. Rouleau, who taught at the Sorel art school from 1883/84 - 1900/01, introduced a five-year course of 'Linear Drawing' to his pupils, which combined drawing instruction with the Council's practical subjects.

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<sup>1</sup>Jean Hamelin et Yves Roby, "L'évolution économique et sociale du Québec, 1851-1896," pp. 13-25 in Idéologies au Canada Français 1850-1900 eds. Fernand Dumont, Jean-Paul Montminy, Jean Hamelin. (Québec: Les presses de l'université Laval, 1971. Collection Histoire et sociologie de la culture, no. 1), p. 14.

<sup>2</sup>Jean Hamelin et Jean-Paul Montminy, "Québec 1896-1929: une deuxième phase d'industrialisation," pp. 15-28 in Idéologies au Canada Français, 1900-1929 eds. Fernand Dumont, Jean Hamelin, Fernand Harvey, et Jean-Paul Montminy. (Québec: Les presses de l'université Laval, 1974. Collection Histoire et sociologie de la culture, no. 5), p. 27.

<sup>3</sup>Jean Hamelin et Yves Roby, op. cit., p. 20.

<sup>4</sup>Jean Hamelin et Jean-Paul Montminy, op. cit., p. 28.

<sup>5</sup>Jean Hamelin et Yves Roby, op. cit., p. 20.

It is based on the principles of Geometry and Architecture, and is very thorough. The method consists of eight distinct parts, making a five years' course as follows, viz.:-

1st Year - 1. Geometrical Drawing; treating of lines, angles, circumferences &c. 2. Exercises in Architectural Drawing, including Carpentry and Joinery.

2nd Year - 1. Proportion, penetration of solids, &c. 2. Shading, coloring and tinting.

3rd Year - The five orders of Architecture.

4th Year - Stair Building.

5th Year - Perspective.<sup>1</sup>

#### H) Drawing Instruction

Drawings produced under the Walter Smith system during the 1876-91 period were characteristic of the South Kensington system in both style and execution, as well as subject matter. Walter Smith's manuals and copying cards were used in the Council art schools. Blackboard drawing, oral instruction and classroom demonstrations were quintessential features of the South Kensington system. Outline drawings and drawing from the flat were the preferred method of execution, however, drawing of three-dimensional objects was not uncommon in both the Mechanical and advanced Free-hand drawing classes.

In 1877, two hundred and forty drawings were selected from nine Council art schools to be exhibited at the Paris Universal Exposition. The drawings described were from a wide variety of subjects.

In all about 240 specimens were selected from the schools of Montreal, Quebec, Sherbrooke, Sorel, Hochelaga, Huntingdon, St. Hyacinthe, New Liverpool, and Levis. These

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<sup>1</sup>DS (1887-88), Vol. 22, p. 212. He was an instructor at the Hull art school from 1901/02 - 04/05.



were arranged in cartoons according to their classes, mechanical, freehand, architectural, etc., and they were also separated so as to show the work of pupils in the first, second and third years. . . .<sup>1</sup>

Drawings exhibited: freehand comprised Heads, figures, features, ornaments, landscapes, also some very beautiful flower pieces, some of these in colours being very creditable.

Specimens were shown of outline Drawing; Drawing from the shaded ornament and from the cast; also specimens of crayon, chalk and charcoal work. . . .

Seven small Drawing Books containing the progressive work of pupils were also shown.

Among the Architectural were specimens of the various styles of Architecture; plans of houses, with details of some coloured and uncoloured pillars, perspective of. . . .<sup>2</sup>

The mechanical drawing consists of spur-gears, bevels, &c., and the general details of machinery; also views of pumps, engines and various pieces of machinery, with end views of some drawn from the pupils own measurements.

The freehand comprises figures, landscapes and drawings from the object, among the architectural are the five orders of architecture, also many neat plans of buildings with the details such as framing, &c.<sup>3</sup>

Although the limitations of drawing from the flat were acknowledged by the Council, the vast majority of their students' drawings conformed to this method.

. . . most of our drawings were from the flat copy, instead of from the models.<sup>4</sup>

However, the 1878/79 report emphasized that the Council had purchased three-dimensional objects for the Mechanical

<sup>1</sup>DS (1877-78), Vol. 12, Appendix no. 1, p. 185.

<sup>2</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 8 Feb., 1877, pp. 286-87.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 14 May 1878, p. 379. See also DS (1877-78), Vol. 12, Appendix no. 1, p. 185.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 25 May 1879, Director of Schools A.R., p. 435.

drawing classes.<sup>1</sup> Blackboard drawings also were used in the Mechanical courses to facilitate instruction.

Working drawings made by the pupils from hand sketches furnished by the teacher and as two or more views had to be made from the sketch furnished. . . , a sound course of instruction has been given in the Smith system with frequent blackboard exercises.<sup>2</sup>

During the 1878/79 session, the Council art school in Quebec offered a Freehand drawing course from the object, taught by Quebec-born, Italian-and Belgian-trained, Eugène Hamel (1845-1932). It was abandoned the following year.

In the Quebec school, which has always been well conducted, a step in advance has been made by the establishment of a class for drawing from the object.<sup>3</sup>

Object drawing, as a class, was included in the curriculum of the Montreal art school for three successive sessions (1880/81, 1881/82, and 1882/83),<sup>4</sup> in addition to part of the instruction in the Mechanical drawing course.<sup>5</sup>

Ibid., p. 437. ". . . copies for Mechanical drawing and wooden models of Geometrical form; i.e.: for object drawing."

<sup>2</sup>DS (1879-80), Vol. 14, no. 2, pp. 342-43. See also DS (1880-81), Vol. 15, no. 2, p. 467. ". . . with the younger pupils it has been used with advantage, and a taste for design has been developed by means of oral and blackboard exercises."

<sup>3</sup>DS (1879-80), Vol. 14, no. 2, pp. 343, 347. Freehand from the object - 79 enrolled, 20 average attendance.

<sup>4</sup>See Appendix 2 d. Enrolment and attendance for object drawing was small. 1880/81 - 15/8; 1881/82 - 36/17; 27/15. See A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 27 Oct., 1880, p. 472. ". . . Mr. Whittle should be engaged for one night per week to take charge of a class in drawing from the object."

<sup>5</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 9 May 1882, Director of Schools A.R., pp. 478-79. ". . . thus in addition to drawing from the wooden model and plaster cast, drawings of machinery in different views have been made, . . . drawings were also made on stones for lithographic purposes, and designs for Japaning have been made on tin in the Class Room."

In 1882/83, the Sherbrooke art school used wooden models in its Mechanical drawing class. The drawings produced were thought to be superior to all other Council art schools, attributable to the instructor, Mr. E. Booth, who had been trained at South Kensington.

. . . Mr. Booth being from South Kensington . . . combining practical knowledge with experience in teaching. . . . The drawings produced are not excelled by those of any other school; most of these are from wooden models, including projection and shading or from rough sketches made on the blackboard by the teacher.<sup>1</sup>

One of the most detailed Council annual reports was submitted in 1883/84. Industrial or Freehand drawing at the Montreal art school followed the Smith system.

Industrial drawing was taught after the 'Smith system' and in order to better regulate the class the pupils were divided into two sections. In section no. 1 the course consisted of card copies of straight lines in the form of squares, crosses, &c., curved lines and circles and combination of curved and straight lines, geometric forms of simple objects, such as vases, spirals, &c.; forms of simple conventional leaves, flowers, &c., with instruction from the teacher on the designing of conventionalized ornament.

The pupils who were more advanced were placed in section 2 and drew elementary examples of ancient style of ornament, including the *acanthus* [sic] leaf, wave-scroll, anthenium, lotus flower, borders, &c., explanations being given by the teacher on the general use of these examples. Simple outline drawings from the cast, and drawing from objects, such as cubes, cones, cylinders, prisms, and drawing in outline

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<sup>1</sup>DS (1882-83), Vol. 17, no. 2, p. 97. See also A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 8 May 1883, p. 597.

various parts of the human figure. The element of perspective, and preparatory instruction in shading with charcoal.<sup>1</sup>

A. Boisseau, the teacher of the Advanced Freehand drawing class, stated that his pupils had 'talent,' however, none had developed enough to draw either from the cast or from life.

The Advanced Freehand Class consisted of those more advanced in age and as they were required to possess a certain proficiency, the number was limited, and the teacher was enabled to devote more time to each pupil. The system of instruction was very good, no measurements were allowed and particular attention was given to the harmony of proportion and the relation of shade and light. Many of the drawings made in this class indicate considerable talent, and it is hoped next year arrangements may be made to draw from the large casts and from life.<sup>2</sup>

Instruction in James Dyer's Mechanical class consisted of drawing from the flat, wooden models and hand sketches

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<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 13 May 1884, Director of Schools A.R., pp. 638-39. See DS (1883-84), Vol. 18, no. 2, p. 405. J. H. Bowe and L. Ledieu were the teachers of the Junior Freehand course which had an enrolment of 175. See Appendix 2 d. See also A.N.Q.M., 06M, ZQ22/1, 32P9, Montreal School Junior Freehand Report 1884 - J.H. Bowe. "This class being a junior one I follow the simplest course possible commencing with straight lines and gradually to ornamental subjects in outline only." For examples of books, teaching manuals, three-dimensional objects, and models recommended by and available from the South Kensington educational authorities see Catalogue of Examples, Models, Diagrams, Books, Prizes, &c., issued under the authority of the Science and Art Department, South Kensington, for use in Elementary and Technical Schools, Training Colleges, Art and Science Classes, and Schools of Art (London: Chapman & Hall, Limited, 1888), pp. 1-56.

<sup>2</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 13 May 1884, Director of Schools A.R., p. 639. See also DS (1883-84), Vol. 18, no. 2, pp. 405-06, 419. Advanced Freehand - 25/13.

of the teacher.

Drawings were made from the flat copy, from wooden models and from hand sketches made by the teacher. A new feature has been introduced this year which makes the class more practical than ever before; I refer to drawings from rough hand sketches made by the pupils themselves, of pieces of work in course of construction in the shops in which they are employed. From these sketches, drawings drawn accurately to scale were made in the school under the direction of the teacher.<sup>1</sup>

The Wood Carving class executed their work from both the flat and three-dimensional objects.

. . . beginners commenced with simple pieces of work, and after some practice they proceeded to more difficult pieces, using the plaster casts chiefly for models; some became so proficient, however, that they used flat copies as models.<sup>2</sup>

During the 1883/84 session the Levis, Granby and Sorel art schools followed the Smith system.

The instruction was very thorough, and the Freehand class consisted mainly of Blackboard instruction and lessons in Geometrical principles<sup>3</sup> and design from Walter Smith's book. . . .<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid. Mechanical class enrolment/attendance - 61/28.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 640. Ibid., p. 407. L. P. Hébert started the session, however, he was replaced by a senior student of the class, A. Laperle. Wood Carving class - 16/7.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 645. Ibid., pp. 411, 414, 416-17.

The following term 1884/85, the Council art schools at St. Jérôme,<sup>1</sup> Three Rivers,<sup>2</sup> and Iberville<sup>3</sup> reported that they conformed to the Smith system of instruction.

New Liverpool art school authorities announced that their industrial art priorities had supplanted the fine art outlook of previous sessions.

While there is no particular feature of note I am glad to state that the work done is of a more practical character than formerly; less time being taken up with the making of pictures and more attention being given to the principles of geometrical drawing and work of a practical character.<sup>4</sup>

In 1885/86 Sillery, Three Rivers, Iberville and Sherbrooke emphasized the importance of Smith's blackboard exercises.

Oral examinations are given together with blackboard instructions, and the pupils are not allowed to do mere blackboard work or begin to draw what they do not clearly understand. . . . Instruction was given on the blackboard to those who had not drawn before,

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<sup>1</sup>DS (1884-85), Vol. 19, no. 1, p. 165. "The pupils are mostly very young, . . . The younger pupils were kept at elementary work chiefly and at practice in designing from Professor Walter Smith's first and second series of cards, . . ."

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 164. See also A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 12 May 1885, Director of Schools A.R., p. 682. "As it was deemed advisable that the pupils should be thoroughly instructed in the principles of drawing, no division in classes was made . . . were all instructed together by means of blackboard exercises and Professor Walter Smith's drawing books."

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 167. See also ibid., p. 685. "As most of the pupils had no previous instruction in drawing, blackboard instruction in the elementary principles was first given, after which the pupils worked from Prof. Walter Smith's cards and then proceeded to the elementary drawing books."

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 162-63. See also ibid., p. 681.



and the pupils were required to draw from dictation. . . . blackboard exercises were given, and the instruction has been most thorough and systematic in every detail. . . . It was not thought advisable this year to subdivide the classes, and consequently elementary instruction, by means of the blackboard and orally, was given to the whole class at once. . . .<sup>1</sup>

In 1886, John T. Gardham, who was the teacher of the Mechanical drawing class at the Montreal art school from 1884/85 - 1913/14, reported that his pupils worked from both sketches and wooden models.

This year like last I have followed the plan of working to scale from figured sketches or from the wooden models, as soon as the pupil was able to handle the tools neatly in copywork. This method does not show so well for exhibition as copywork, because the sketches are all details of the simplest kind, . . .<sup>2</sup>

In 1887/88, F. S. Cleverley, who was South Kensington-trained and taught the Junior Freehand drawing course at the Montreal art school for two sessions (1887/88 - 88/89), described his method of instruction.

The instruction imparted by me is wholly confined to Freehand Drawing from object models, and is consequently graded from mere straight lines to elaborate floral and other ornamental designs. . . .

The object of my instruction is to impart a knowledge of the drawing of straight and curved lines, their proportion to each other and to the whole. . . .

The method of instruction I pursue is that sanctioned and approved by the South Kensington School of Arts. Junior pupils, having no idea of drawing, are first given two points on their drawing paper, between which points

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<sup>1</sup>DS (1885-86), Vol. 19, no. 1, pp. 65, 66, 69, 71.

<sup>2</sup>A.N.Q.M., 06M, ZQ22/1, 32P9 Montreal school, Report of the Mechanical Drawing Class - John T. Gardham, 27 Apr., 1886.



they are taught to make a straight line. This appears so simple an operation that invariably the pupils look with scorn on such a small matter, but on attempting the solution of the problem he has to admit that 'There is something to it.'

My first consideration is always to get the pupil interested in his work. For that purpose, as soon as he can draw a straight line, I give him a series of straight lines to do, which, by the addition of a few others running in a contrary direction, such an object as a gate, a box with a lid closed, box with lid open, a book, and an indefinite number of articles can be outlined.

From straight to curved lines is a short step, and I have found it always advisable to give, as I said in regard to straight lines, some outlined object, such as a teacup in saucer, knife, bottle, jug, &c., &c., to work upon.

By this method the pupil naturally trains his eye to form and proportion, and after the eye grasps which is required the hand soon follows.

The neatness of the drawing I always insist upon and in outline freehand the work after being sketched lightly I order to be cleaned with rubber, all dirty marks and shady lines taken out, and the drawing marked over with a fairly hard pencil to make a fine clear permanent line.<sup>1</sup>

In 1887/88, C. Knudson's Geometry and Mechanical drawing classes at the Sherbrooke art school drew from the object, as did Miss Niles's Freehand drawing pupils.

The instruction was very thorough, all the members being instructed at one time orally and by means of the blackboard, each pupil being required to make a set of geometrical drawings from the instructions given by the teacher. In the Mechanical Drawing Class the same thoroughness was to be seen, scarcely any flat copies were used, and the pupils were required to draw from the object. . . . In the Freehand Class the results have also been very satisfactory, . . . After a preliminary instruc-

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<sup>1</sup>DS (1887-88), Vol. 22, pp. 201-02.

tion by the teacher the pupils were required to draw from objects, such as spheres, cubes, squares, &c. . . .<sup>1</sup>

In contrast, students in the Freehand course of Frère Guy at the St. Jérôme school copied flat examples.

In the Freehand Class the work was of much the same character as in the previous year, chiefly drawing from simple flat copies, . . .<sup>2</sup>

Compared with the emphasis placed on industrial art at Sherbrooke and St. Jérôme, the Levis school<sup>3</sup> produced fine art oriented drawings to the disappointment of its officials.

In 1887, the Council Secretary, S. C. Stevenson, sent former Governor-General, the Marquis of Lorne and Princess Louise, a representative collection of student works from the Council art schools; however, these drawings have not been located.

I am much obliged to you for your letter and enclosure. I am glad to see that under the guidance of the Council of Arts and Manufactures of the province of Quebec, you have now so successful a development of your projects. It was under your body that we hatched the National Art society, and Montreal must always be a chief centre to give impetus to the program of art in the Dominion—a progress very essential to the good of the country from a purely commercial point of view. . . .<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 209-10.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 211.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 207. "In the Freehand Class, a considerable amount of work has been done, but little, I regret to say of an industrial character. Most of the drawings were copies of heads, landscapes and figures."

<sup>4</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 30 Apr., 1887, p. 749.

In 1890, the Council art schools were the subject of a laudatory article in the popular press which emphasized the fine results achieved by their students. Their success was attributed to the use of the Walter Smith system of drawing instruction.

Freehand Drawing. - This has been taught by M. Quentin, by Mr. Brégent, and more recently by Mr. J. C. Pinhey, A.R.C.A. It is the subject on which the Council has lavished most attention, for it was the essential topic of Mr. Walter Smith's course of lectures. The pupil who has acquired a fair use of the pencil has mastered the rudiments of many arts, possesses a key, so to speak, which gives him admission, if he perseveres, into all Art's manifold mysteries and métiers-. . . .<sup>1</sup>

The anonymous author of this article associated the 'mysteries' of art with artistic or fine art and 'métiers' with industrial or scientific art. This duality of the function of drawing was fundamental to the Smith and South Kensington system of instruction.

Accompanying this article was a selection of Council student art works from the Decorative Painting class - grotesques and arabesques (fig. 1); pencil sketches of casts of classical ornament and statuary, such as busts, hands, feet, as well as animal heads (the lion and the horse), were executed in the Advanced Freehand drawing course (fig. 2); the Modelling and Sculpture class (fig. 3) depicted religious images in low relief sculpture, in addition to busts of classical statuary, and animal heads in plaster of Paris; and the Wood Carving course (fig. 4)

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<sup>1</sup>"Industrial Art in the Province of Quebec." Dominion Illustrated, Vol. IV, no. 97 (10 May 1890), p. 295.

was represented by historical ornament, griffins, and flowers in low relief. The lily in bas-relief, in the upper right and lower centre of the Wood Carving exhibit, was a popular motif copied from William Dyce's Drawing Book (1842) which was continuously used by the Schools of Art and Design<sup>1</sup> and their successor, the South Kensington art schools (fig. 5).

#### J) Staff

##### Introduction (1874/75 - 1913/14)

From 1874/75 - 1913/14, two hundred and twenty-two<sup>2</sup> instructors taught drawing and fine art in the twenty-six<sup>3</sup> Council art schools (see Appendix 2 b ). Montreal had the largest number of staff members—seventy-two, followed by Quebec City with twenty-six, Sherbrooke - twenty-one, Three Rivers - nineteen, St. Hyacinthe - eighteen, and Levis - eleven.

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<sup>1</sup>G. Sutton, op. cit., p. 56.

<sup>2</sup>The Documents of the session provide the most information about the staff, however, between 1875/76 - 82/83 (eight sessions) instructors were not listed. From 1883/84 - 1913/14 teachers were identified with the exception of three sessions (1886/87, 88/89, 1905/06). 1. Montreal - 72; 2. Quebec - 26; 3. Sorel - 6; 4. Three Rivers - 19; 5. Levis - 11; 6. St. Romuald - 2; 7. Charny - 3; 8. Sherbrooke - 21; 9. New Liverpool - 4; 10. St. Hyacinthe - 18; 11. St. Henri - N.L.; 12. Hochelaga - N.L.; 13. St. Cunégonde - N.L.; 14. Huntingdon - 3; 15. Granby - 3; 16. Silvery - 1; 17. Diamond Harbour - N.L.; 18. St. John's - 9; 19. St. Jérôme - 8; 20. Fraserville - 3; 21. Iberville - 4; 22. Farnham - 5; 23. Chicoutimi - 3; 24. Hull - 1; 25. Valleyfield - 9; 26. Lachine - 5.

<sup>3</sup>Four schools, St. Henri 1877/78, Hochelaga 1877/78 - 81/82, St. Cunégonde 1879/80 - 81/82, and Diamond Harbour 1881/82, which had a brief existence prior to 1883/84, did not record their staff.

On two occasions, in 1893/94<sup>1</sup> and in 1910/11,<sup>2</sup> an extensive list of former pupils accompanied the Council of Arts and Manufactures annual reports. From these two sources, forty former students can be identified as Council art school instructors. Six other individuals can be added to these from supplementary information (infrequent references in the Council's annual reports). Therefore, from these documents, it can be stated that forty-six men (see Appendix 2 e) both studied, then taught at the Council art schools. Eleven took their advanced art studies in Paris before they returned to teach at the Council art schools, and of these, six were both Council- and Paris-trained.

During their teaching careers, four teachers gave drawing lessons at more than one school.<sup>3</sup>

Only three women (one prior to 1891, two after 1891) were hired and all taught Freehand drawing at Sherbrooke.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>DS (1893-94), Vol. 28, no. 2, pp. 482-91.

<sup>2</sup>DS (1910-11), Vol. 45, no. 6, pp. 178-89. 378 former pupils were listed.

<sup>3</sup>Three (J. H. Rouleau, J. E. Larochelle, and Joseph Scherrer) of the four changed schools because the art schools they were originally affiliated with closed. J. H. Rouleau, Sorel 1883/84 - 1900/01; Hull 1901/02 -04/05. J. E. Larochelle, Levis 1892/93 - 1908/09; Charny 1909/10. Joseph Scherrer, Levis 1894/95 - 1904/05; Quebec 1906/07 - 08/09. A. H. Larochelle, Levis 1883/84 - 1907/08; St. Jérôme 1883/84 - 85/86.

<sup>4</sup>During the 1876-91 period, Miss Niles taught for only one session 1887/88. See DS (1887-88), Vol. 22, p. 209. Between 1891-1914, Miss H. Shirreffs was the instructor for two sessions 1891/92 and 1894/95; and Mrs. G. Berry gave lessons for three sessions from 1895/96 - 97/98. See DS (1894-95), Vol. 29, no. 3, p. 358.

Twenty-four priests<sup>1</sup> were instructors at four art schools (Iberville prior to 1892/93, and between 1891-1914, at Three Rivers, St. Hyacinthe and Granby). Two teachers (A. Massy, Ernest Cleff)<sup>2</sup> were listed as staff members in abbé Chabert's 1874/75 prospectus of his Institution nationale. . . .

#### Staff (1876-91)

During the 1876-91 period, when the Smith system was used in all the Council art schools, four instructors<sup>3</sup> were hired from South Kensington. Three (J. T. Gardham, F. S. Cleverley, and T. Robinson) taught at the Montreal art school, and one (E. Booth) at Sherbrooke.

<sup>1</sup>Iberville: 1884/85 - 92/93, staff total 4/3 priests; Three Rivers: 1901/02 - 12/13, 19/8; St. Hyacinthe: 1900/01 - 06/07, 18/11; Granby: 1892/93 - 94/95, 3/2.

<sup>2</sup>Joseph Chabert, Programme de l'Institution nationale . . . , op. cit.

<sup>3</sup>Mr. Booth taught at Sherbrooke during the 1874/75 session and is mentioned in the 1882/83 report so it can be assumed he was the Freehand drawing instructor from 1874/75 - 82/83. "Mr. Booth being from South Kensington and combining practical knowledge with experience in teaching. . . ," DS (1882-83), Vol. 17, no. 2, pp. 97, 105. See also A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, Director of Schools A.R., 1882/83, p. 597. In 1889/90, T. Robinson (1889/90 - 91/92) replaced F. S. Cleverley (1887/88 - 88/89) as the instructor of the Junior Freehand class. DS (1887-88), Vol. 22, pp. 202-03. "The method of instruction I pursue is that sanctioned and approved by the South Kensington School of Arts. . . . This is my opinion, based on a number of years experience as a teacher in England and in the Dominion." See also A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 13 May 1890, p. 853. "In the Junior Freehand Class, Mr. F. S. Cleverley was obligated to send in his resignation as his business frequently called him from the city. He was replaced by Mr. T. Robinson who had formerly been a teacher in the Science and Art Department in England, . . ." J. T. Gardham taught Mechanical drawing from 1884/85 - 1913/14. See A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, Secretary of schools A.R., 1884-85, 12 May 1885, p. 673.



In 1880, Princess Louise, wife of the Governor-General of Canada, the Marquis of Lorne, suggested that the Council art schools appoint one or more reputable artists from England.

Mr. Dawson stated that Mr. Russell Stevenson had requested him to state that H.R.H., the Princess Louise was desirous that an effort should be made to secure the aid of one or more artists of high standing in England with a view to advance the cause of Art Education in Canada.<sup>1</sup>

Lorne continued to take an interest in the Council art schools, a tradition started by his predecessor, Lord Dufferin, who had visited the Montreal art school in 1877.<sup>2</sup>

Shortly after the Council's participation in the Indian and Colonial Exhibition in 1886, Hugh Hutton Stannus (1840-1908), who taught Modelling at the Royal Academy (1881-1900), was a lecturer at both the University College and the Royal College of Art, London, contacted the Council about "offering to give a course of twenty lectures on subjects relating to Technical Design and Industrial Arts."<sup>3</sup>

However, his application was refused.

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<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 11 May 1880, p. 460.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 8 May 1877, p. 308. "It cannot but be gratifying to the Council to know that His Excellency the Governor General [Lord Dufferin] takes a deep interest in the welfare of our Schools; he recently visited the Montreal School and after examining the drawings expressed himself as highly pleased with the specimens exhibited and the satisfactory evidences of progress on the part of the pupils."

<sup>3</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 5 Aug., 1887, pp. 769, 776. See DS (1886-87), Vol. 21, no. 1, p. 248. See also Frank P. Brown, South Kensington and Its Art Training (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1912), p. 19. In 1882, "H. H. Stannus was engaged on the staff as teacher of design. . . ."



From this period. 1876-91, only John Charles Pinhey (1860-1912), who was hired to teach Advanced Freehand drawing for three sessions, 1889/90 - 91/92, had studied in Paris.<sup>1</sup>

The majority of drawing instructors were graduates of Council art schools and, therefore, of the Smith system. "Many of the best teachers in the Montreal classes are former pupils of the schools."<sup>2</sup>

The Fraserville school hired a former Montreal pupil in 1883/84. "Mr. J. B. Lavigne, a former pupil of the Montreal School, was appointed teacher, and the school opened under favorable auspices."<sup>3</sup>

In 1885/86, Farnham opened a school of art and one instructor was a former graduate of the Council's Quebec school, while the other had taught previously in Montreal. "Mr. L'Hérault was a former teacher in the Montreal School, and Mr. Bilodeau is an old pupil of the Quebec School."<sup>4</sup>

With the resignation of Henri Julien as teacher of the Lithography class in 1887/88, he was replaced by a former pupil of that class. "His [Julien's] place was filled by the appointment of Mr. J. A. P. Labelle, a former pupil of the Class since its organization."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>J. R. Harper, E.P.&E., op. cit., p. 251. Pinhey studied at the Ontario School of Art, Toronto, in 1880, prior to five years in Paris at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and Académie Julian. L. P. Hébert had visited Paris in 1879, however, nothing is known about his activities. He returned to Paris in 1887.

<sup>2</sup>DS (1887-88), Vol. 22, pp. 218-19.

<sup>3</sup>DS (1883-84), Vol. 18, no. 2, p. 412.

<sup>4</sup>DS (1885-86), Vol. 20, no. 1, p. 70.

<sup>5</sup>DS (1887-88), Vol. 22, p. 204.

In 1887, Louis-Philippe Hébert left for Paris and his replacement as teacher of the Modelling class at the Montreal school was a former student of that class, J. O. Gratton.

The Secretary reported that Mr. L. P. Hébert, teacher of the Modelling Class had sailed for Europe, for the purpose of carrying out certain works for the Government.

It was agreed that he should be replaced as teacher of the Modelling Class by Mr. O. Gratton, a former pupil of this Class, at the rate of \$2.50 per lesson.<sup>1</sup>

After teaching the Modelling course briefly in 1887/88, Gratton reapplied for the position again after a few years interval.

A letter was read from Mr. J. O. Gratton making application for the position of teacher in the Modelling and Woodcarving Class, rendered vacant by the departure of Mr. A. Vincent for Rome.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 28 Feb., 1887, p. 496. See also DS (1893-94), Vol. 28, no. 2, p. 482.

<sup>2</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 9 Oct., 1894, p. 581. See also DS (1894-95), Vol. 29, no. 3, p. 352.

## PART III: Toward Fine Art

## Section I: Council Art Schools (1891-1914)

A) Council Policy

From the mid-1890's, under the direction of Edmond Dyonnet, the Montreal art school gradually conformed to the growing trend to give fine art equal importance to that of industrial art and design. The awarding of prizes<sup>1</sup> from 1893/94 accompanied this change in attitude.

To show their appreciation of the importance and value of the work done by these evening classes, the proprietors of La Presse [newspaper] generously donated the sum of \$50 to be distributed in prizes among the pupils of the Freehand classes.<sup>2</sup>

Prior to 1893/94, industry in Quebec, as had been the case in Britain, was slow to recognise the long term benefits of training its own designers, because it was uneconomical due to the availability of British and American patents and designs.

The market is certainly limited but it has to be supplied by the importation of designs from the United States and England upon which a duty has to be paid. The manufacturers of wall-paper pay a high price for their imported designs, and the same is probably true of other manufactures such as carpet, oil-cloth,

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<sup>1</sup>DS (1893-94), Vol. 28, no. 2, p. 493. "It was determined this year to employ the amount of pupils' fees forfeited as prizes, . . ."

<sup>2</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 15 Feb., 1894, p. 968. See DS (1892-93), Vol. 27, no. 2, p. 252. See also Canadian Architect and Builder, Vol. 7 (1894), no. 11 (Nov.), pp. 142-43.

print, pottery, bookdesigning and other works in which original designs are necessary.<sup>1</sup>

Also until 1893, the Council had refrained from giving prizes because of its association with fine art and the age differences of its pupils. Monetary rewards were given as an incentive for competition amongst the students. Contributions from benevolent individuals, companies and the un-returned fees (from those who had not attended the required number of classes) made up the prize money.<sup>2</sup>

By 1899/1900, an extensive list<sup>3</sup> of pecuniary gifts and trophies were awarded to students who produced exceptional drawings.

In addition to the awarding of prizes in the various classes, proficiency certificates were given to pupils who had studied freehand drawing for a period of four or more years, and to students of other classes for more than three years.

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<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 25 Oct., 1894, p. 1025.

<sup>2</sup>DS (1895-96), Vol. 30, no. 3, p. 351. "The rule in the Montreal school, requiring each pupil to pay an entrance fee of one dollar, works well and assures a class of students who are anxious to learn. As the entrance fee is returned to all who are not absent more than four times during the season the rule is no hardship. The amount forfeited is distributed in prizes in the different classes." See also DS (1900-01), Vol. 35, no. 3, p. 404.

<sup>3</sup>DS (1899-1900), Vol. 34, no. 3, p. 341. A total of twenty-eight individuals and organisations contributed. See also A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 10 Feb., 1898, p. 1084. A cup was donated by Simpson, Hall, Miller & co., for the Lithography class competition. See also DS (1906-07), Vol. 41, no. 7, p. 49. "Le conseil doit ses plus sincères remerciements à M. Clarence F. Smith, vice-président de The James McCready Company Ltd., à M. A. Corbeil et à l'Association des Maîtres-Plombiers de Montréal, qui ont généreusement offert des prix pour les classes de plomberie et de confection de patrons de chaussures." Prizes were donated to some practical classes by local industry.

It was further agreed that certificates be presented to pupils who have followed the course of instruction given in the Freehand Drawing Class for a period of four years or more and to those who have attended the other classes for three years or more.<sup>1</sup>

Poor attendance continued to plague the Council art schools. The Montreal art school always recorded the highest enrolment, with two exceptions (Quebec in 1879/80 and Levis in 1891/92).

In the last quarter of the 19th century, Montreal became an important commercial centre. The demographic shift in population (from rural agrarian to urban industrial) and the large number of European immigrants greatly increased the city's population.

Heavy immigration from Europe and the Quebec countryside, and the annexation of former suburbs to the city, caused the population of Montreal to double between 1870 and 1911 from 107,225 in 1870 to 232,752 in 1911.<sup>2</sup>

From the mid-1880's the Council had wanted to reduce the number of rural schools. From the 1886/87 session to 1900/01 the schools decreased from twelve to seven<sup>3</sup> (see Appendix 2 b ).

Montreal had the most drawing and practical courses, the largest staff, greatest budget and facilities and annually recorded the highest enrolment and attendance

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<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/2, Livre des minutes, 7 Apr., 1899, p. 688.

<sup>2</sup>Canadian Collector, Mar.,/Apr., 1978, p. 77.

<sup>3</sup>The number of schools increased from seven in 1900/01 to twelve in 1913/14. The greatest number of schools for the period 1891-1914 was reached in 1909/10 - thirteen.

statistics. For example, in 1906/07 Montreal reported an enrolment of 1493 contrasted with only 224 in Quebec. The main reason for the dramatic increase in enrolment was due to Montreal's extensive number of practical classes. For example, in 1899/1900 Montreal's enrolment rose about one-third (1898/99 - 463, 1899/1900 - 727), because of a large increase in the Dress Cutting class (1898/99 - 72, 1899/1900 - 127) and the introduction of a new course - Solfeggio (154).

In 1893/94, the Quebec art school was criticised for having too many instructors and classes for such a small attendance.<sup>1</sup> The situation was altered slightly in 1894/95 by the resignation of Eugène Hamel (1845-1932) and the following session 1895/96 with the reduction of staff from eight to five and classes from nine to five. However, in 1894/95, in an attempt to stimulate regular attendance, the Council instituted a rule that refund of the one dollar registration fee would be forfeited if the pupil missed four classes during the session.<sup>2</sup> In the same year, another regulation was introduced to make the administration of the Council's art schools more efficient and economical. A class would not be formed unless a minimum of ten students attended. The Decorative Painting and Lithog-

<sup>1</sup>DS (1893-94), Vol. 28, no. 2, p. 495.

<sup>2</sup>DS (1894-95), Vol. 29, no. 3, pp. 349-50. As a direct result of this regulation the Boot and Shoe Pattern, as well as Freehand drawing classes were closed in Quebec City; in Granby, Ornamental and Linear drawing; in St. Hyacinthe, Freehand drawing. See DS (1895-96), Vol. 30, no. 3, p. 351. See also, DS (1900-01), Vol. 35, no. 3, p. 404.

raphy classes at the Montreal art school were closed temporarily because of this rule.

The rule adopted by the Council, providing that no class should be kept in operation unless an average attendance of at least ten (10) pupils be maintained, has had the effect of closing the following classes in the Montreal School, viz: Decorative Painting Class, Lithography.<sup>1</sup>

Changes in the minimum class attendance requirements were made in 1908/09<sup>2</sup> and 1909/10.<sup>3</sup> In 1908/09, the Council reduced the number to eight, however, in 1909/10 the rules were addressed specifically to the individual schools: Montreal - fifteen, Quebec - twelve, and the other rural schools - ten.

According to the Council, the reasons for the closure of classes and some of its schools were either because of poor attendance or incompetent teachers.

This has left out unnecessary classes and brought about the closing of schools in locali-

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<sup>1</sup>DS (1895-96), Vol. 30, no. 3, pp. 338-39. The Architectural class at the Sherbrooke art school was closed during the 1896/97 session because it did not meet the minimum attendance requirement. See DS (1896-97), Vol. 31, no. 3, pp. 268, 274.

<sup>2</sup>DS (1908-09), Vol. 43, no. 6, p. 159. "Another rule was enacted to the effect that no class be kept in operation, unless an average attendance of at least eight (8) pupils be maintained." *Ibid.*, p. 162. "Owing to the average attendance being below the standard fixed by the Council, the Painting class, evening section, and the Architectural drawing course, were closed on the 11th February 1909 [St. Hyacinthe School]."

<sup>3</sup>DS (1909-10), Vol. 44, no. 6, p. 162. "At the meeting of the Council held in Quebec on the 31st August, 1909, it was decided that no class should be kept in operation unless an average attendance of at least fifteen (15) pupils in Montreal, twelve (12) in Quebec, and ten (10) pupils in the schools established in other localities be maintained."



ties where they are not altogether appreciated or where competent teachers are not available.<sup>1</sup>

## B) Curriculum

The curriculum of the Council Arts and Manufactures of Quebec was an extension of the Education Department under the control of the provincial government. During this period (1876-91) the Council Policy remained committed to promoting and developing industrial art education. However, with the replacement of the Walter Smith system with the equally unpopular E. M. Templé system in 1891, middle class ideas and attitudes about fine art began to infiltrate the Council art schools.

In October 1894, the Montreal Women's Club requested that the Council provide a special class for women artists.

The Montreal Women's Club desires to draw the attention of your honorable Board to the fact that no provision has been made for the teaching of women in the Classes of the School of Art and Design . . . our young women are forced to find abroad that training which this school could give them in their own city, . . .<sup>2</sup>

The Council reacted defensively against the implication of prejudice against women.

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<sup>1</sup>DS (1912-13), Vol. 47, no. 6, p. 147. See DS (1896-97), Vol. 31, no. 3, p. 268. See also DS (1895-96), Vol. 30, no. 3, p. 338. Huntingdon was closed "owing to the lack of an efficient teacher and poor attendance."

<sup>2</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 25 October 1894, p. 998.

In reference to the opening of the Classes of the School of Art and Design to women, the Committee from the Montreal Women's Club beg to report to the following points: The School of Art and Design being a Government Institution, is, thereby, bound not to discriminate against any class of the community.<sup>1</sup>

Statistics were cited to substantiate the increase in the number of women involved in art and industry, from only seven in 1854, to over four thousand in 1894.<sup>2</sup> The Council's official reply to the Montreal Women's Club, stated that, in the late 1870's and early 1880's, a special class for women artists had been established at the Montreal art school, however, it was discontinued. The Council pointed out that Levis, Sherbrooke and Huntingdon offered special drawing classes for women, however, at the time, it was unfeasible to open a women's class at the Montreal art school. The Council suggested the A.A.M. would suit the immediate needs of women. The lack of accommodation was the reason given by the Council not to integrate women into their art classes. They were strongly opposed to the idea of co-education as men and women were still instructed separately.

At the present time our Classes are open to women in some of the Schools, notably in Levis, Sherbrooke, and Huntingdon. In some instances the results have been satisfactory. About ten years ago, a class exclusively for women was opened in Montreal under the direction of Mr. Harrington Bird, an able and experienced teacher. The results were unsatisfactory and the Class was closed. . . .

. . . Our present accommodation would scarcely permit us to have special classes for men and women, while I consider it

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 1025.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

undesirable and impracticable that the sexes should be instructed together. Could not the instruction that these teachers require be secured in the Classes of the Art Association of Montreal.<sup>1</sup>

The main reason, if not apparent immediately, was presented in the President's letter at a later date. The idea of an emerging women's workforce in industrial art and design was perceived as a threat to a male dominated field, as well as the values and very fabric of 19th century Quebec society. The idea of women teaching or working as part of the labour force went against the idea of motherhood, hearth and home, and conflicted with the ultramontanistism of Quebec's Roman Catholic church.

A serious danger arises from the fact that women show an aversion to house and home duties and wish to work in factories. The greatest safeguard of a nation is to protect the home, and the happiest homes are those in which women excel in the domestic virtues.<sup>2</sup>

In 1895, in an attempt to appease women and find a solution to the growing demand for workers by the Quebec textile industry, the Council established a Dress Cutting and Sewing evening class for women at the Montreal art school, which was inspired by British precedent.

The President made a special study in regard to classes for women, a question of growing importance which deserves to be carefully studied with a view to an extension of the work of the Council in that direction.

The importance of the question is far reaching, and while the Council should be

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 1030-31.

<sup>2</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 10 June 1895, p. 1032.

careful not to establish classes for the training of women to take positions occupied by men, . . . In many parts of England classes in domestic economy subjects are in successful operation . . . by means of classes in Cooking, Millinery and Needlework. For the present, some of the other schools might start a Dress-Cutting Class, but in doing so the main object should be to teach domestic dress-making, such as would be specifically useful in the homes of the middle classes.<sup>1</sup>

In 1901/02, the class was divided into day and evening sessions under the revised name of Dress Cutting and Dress Making. Millinery was added to the aforementioned subject in 1906/07. Although there was a demand for textiles in the 1880's,<sup>2</sup> by 1929, the women's clothing industry ranked seventh in order of importance with a revenue of 30.6 million dollars.<sup>3</sup>

In 1899/1900, the question of offering several classes during the day at a select number of schools was reopened.

The question of establishing day classes should be seriously considered. . . . I am of the opinion that a trial in one or two of the schools should be made next year, . . . I have reason to believe that freehand drawing and modelling classes would be well attended. In Montreal, over 75 applications have been received asking the opening of a freehand class in day time.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>DS (1895-96), Vol. 30, no. 3, p. 340. By 1904/05, ten women were employed to teach 'Dress Cutting and Sewing' at the Montreal art school. See DS (1904-05), Vol. 39, no. 3, pp. 138-39. See also "A New Departure," Montreal Gazette, 12 Feb., 1896, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup>Jean Hamelin and Yves Roby, op. cit., p. 22.

<sup>3</sup>Jean Hamelin and Jean-Paul Montminy, op. cit., p. 28.

<sup>4</sup>DS (1899-1900), Vol. 34, no. 3, p. 338.

In 1906/07, Quebec City's Decorative Painting day class<sup>1</sup> had higher enrolment and attendance than the evening session. In the same year, St. Hyacinthe offered a day course in Freehand drawing<sup>2</sup> which had a higher attendance than the evening class. In 1908/09 Quebec City opened a Painting day class<sup>3</sup> which was well attended and St. Hyacinthe had successful Painting and Freehand drawing classes<sup>4</sup> in both the day and evening. This shift of emphasis to offer Freehand and other fine art classes conformed to the gradual trend to accommodate art students and women rather than the working class or industrial designers exclusively. It also reflected the philosophic change from the utilitarian concepts of drawing and art education to those of a middle class attitude.

In 1899/1900, Solfeggio was introduced at the Montreal art school and secured a large enrolment (see Appendix 2d). This voice training course was another facet of a 'ladies' and gentleman's' general education.

In 1901/02, life drawing was offered to advanced Freehand drawing students at the Montreal art school. The introduction of life drawing further eroded the industrial art orientation of the Council art schools.

The drawing from life was added to the course of freehand drawing and to the satis-

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<sup>1</sup>DS (1906-07), Vol. 40, no. 7, p. 52. Day - 44/21; Evening - 14/9.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 53. Day - 23/10; Evening - 8/7.

<sup>3</sup>DS (1908-09), Vol. 42, no. 7, p. 59. Day - 36/23; Evening - 13/8.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 58. Day Painting - 41/25; Evening Painting 32/19; Day Freehand - 11/5; Night Freehand 42/13.

faction to state that the pupils found sufficiently advanced to be able to complete their course in the school.<sup>1</sup>

Photography<sup>2</sup> was suggested as a course at the Montreal art school in 1911, however, the class was never formed.

In 1912/13, the Three Rivers art school instituted a sui generis four-year program comprising Freehand, Linear, Architectural, and Mechanical drawing.<sup>3</sup> This was not unique, as twenty-five years earlier in 1887/88, Sorel had set a precedent with a similar program to suit its own local needs and those of its students.<sup>4</sup>

Practical courses such as, Plumbing and Steamfitting, Pattern Making (Boot and Shoe), Dress Cutting and Sewing, Stairbuilding and Building Construction, Carpentry, and Making and Painting Signs continued to be offered.

From the 1880's Electricity had been available.<sup>5</sup> Electrical courses were introduced in Quebec City from 1902/03 - 06/07; in Levis from 1903/04 - 05/06, and in Montreal from 1908/09. By 1929, electricity was generating 46.3 million dollars—fifth in terms of revenue, and electrical related industries were twelfth overall with 27.2

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<sup>1</sup>DS (1901-02), Vol. 36, no. 3, p. 305. Modelling from life was introduced in 1904/05. See DS (1904-05), Vol. 39, no. 3, p. 139.

<sup>2</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 11 Sept., 1911, p. 897. "A letter from Mr. L. H. Paradis, requesting the establishment of a course in Photography was then read."

<sup>3</sup>DS (1912-13), Vol. 47, no. 6, p. 153.

<sup>4</sup>DS (1887-88), Vol. 22, p. 212.

<sup>5</sup>Jean Hamelin and Jean-Paul Montminy, op. cit., p. 20.

million.<sup>1</sup> Between 1871-1901 revenue from Quebec manufactures more than doubled, and between 1901-11 it redoubled.<sup>2</sup>

The demographic shift in population from rural to urban centres,<sup>3</sup> particularly Montreal,<sup>4</sup> the centre of trade and commerce, was significant. In 1900, 44.9 per cent of manufactured goods were produced in Montreal, and by 1929, 63.1 per cent.<sup>5</sup> These statistics confirm the important contribution the Council art schools made in their attempt to develop not only greater skilled labour and productivity from the working classes but also to educate the fine artist and artisan in drawing instruction for the betterment of a modern Quebec society.

#### C) Edmond Dyonnet

Edmond Dyonnet (1859-1954)<sup>6</sup> taught and supervised the Junior (Elementary) and Senior (Advanced) Freehand drawing classes at the Montreal art school from 1892/93 - 1922. In

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 28.

<sup>2</sup>Jean Hamelin and Yves Roby, op. cit., p. 14. 1871 - \$77,205,182; 1901 - \$158,300,000 ; 1911- \$350,902,000. See also Jean Hamelin and Jean-Paul Montminy, op. cit., p. 27.

<sup>3</sup>Jean Hamelin and Yves Roby, op. cit., p. 14. The percentage of rural population was 80.0 in 1851, 77.2 in 1871, 60.3 in 1901, and 51.8 in 1911. See also Jean Hamelin and Jean-Paul Montminy, op. cit., p. 27.

<sup>4</sup>Jean Hamelin and Yves Roby, op. cit., p. 14. Montreal's population increased from 57,715 in 1851, 107,225 in 1871, 267,730 in 1901, and 467,956 in 1911.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>6</sup>J.R. Harper, E.P. & E., op. cit., p. 100.



addition, he was 'professor of drawing' at the Ecole Polytechnic (1907-23), was on staff at both the A.A.M. and McGill University (1920-36), and was secretary of the R.C.A. (1910-48). Shortly after his family's emigration to Canada from France in 1875, he returned to Europe for four years to study art principally in Italy 'working at Reale Accademie Albertina, Turin, with Gelardi and Gattaldi, in Naples with Marinelli, and in Rome.' He also visited Florence and Paris before he returned to Montreal in 1890. As Harper commented Dyonnet was the 'leading champion of [the] academic tradition.'<sup>1</sup>

He was primarily a portraitist in the traditional style who favoured a strong sense of line over that of colour. This attitude is best expressed in his derogatory remarks directed at the art of the Impressionists, Cubists, and Futurists.

No French-Canadian painter fortunately has dreamed of following in their folly those despisers of art (Impressionists) who have undertaken the mission of denying beauty and proscribing truth. Cubists and Futurists may go by. Our country is too young not to be attracted by novelty, but it has enough native good sense not to allow itself to be made a fool of, or to take the grin of a monkey for the smile of a woman.<sup>2</sup>

He expressed scepticism about painting from the living model without extensive preliminary drawing experience.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>J. R. Harper, P in C., op. cit., p. 236. See also Arts and Letters Club of Toronto, The Yearbook of Canadian Art, 1913 (London and Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., n.d., [1914]), p. 227.

. . . Let those who have no mastery of drawing try to paint from the living model and they will soon discover that it is the most difficult task in the world.<sup>1</sup>

Although Dyonnet was highly critical of the teaching method of drawing instruction in the Council art schools his classical training, ideas, philosophy and statements on instruction conformed to an academic, conservative outlook. He believed that the E. M. Templé system, which was in use when he was appointed in 1892/93, had little value for the fine artist or artisan.

The student was made to buy books with easy drawings on the left hand page and the same drawing reproduced in dotted outline on the right. When the victim had gone over ten or twelve of these dotted outlines in pencil, this stupid procedure constituted a course in ornament, landscape or figure. But he had actually learnt nothing whatsoever . . . with such a method it was surprising that there was even one student, and that the whole collection of these books should be burnt forthwith.<sup>2</sup>

Dyonnet's ideas about drawing instruction were far removed from the utilitarian philosophy of art education promoted in Quebec during the 1860's, '70's, '80's and conformed to the middle class concepts of fine art education.

Dyonnet outlined some of the difficulties he encountered when he took charge of the Freehand drawing classes.

One of the pupils piped up and said: 'Sir, I know how to draw, I have taken lessons from Mr. G for two years and he told me that he

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<sup>1</sup>Edmond Dyonnet, Memoirs of a Canadian Artist, trans. by Frank L. Wright (Montreal: 1951), p. 11.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 32-33.

had nothing more to teach me.' I asked him to show me the work he had done and he produced a horrible canvas 30 inches wide on which he had enlarged Meissonier's 'La Rixe.' Nothing worse could be imagined. I said to the boy: 'I am going to make a bargain with you. You are going to do what I shall tell you to do, and if at the end of six weeks you feel that you are not learning anything, then you have my permission to leave the school and say that I am a blockhead and do not know what I am talking about.' This perhaps sounded very promising to the boy who agreed to the arrangement. I started him on a cube and explained that a drawing is the representation of an object having three dimensions, this being obtained by means of something called perspective. I demonstrated to him that the parallel lines of the cube actually appeared convergent and just at a point called vanishing-point situated at the height of the eye. It was his first real lesson in drawing and I followed his efforts with interest.<sup>1</sup>

He intimated that he was solely responsible for the replacement of lithographic models with three-dimensional objects for use in the Freehand drawing classes. In other words, he stated he reformed the method of instruction by introducing objects for the students to copy rather than drawing from the flat.

My first request was for a carpenter, and from him I ordered some cubes, cones and spheres. These were to be the basis of my teaching and I destroyed all the lithographed models and obstructions. I wanted my pupils to draw from the object itself starting from the simplest and thus training the eye as well as the hand. It was not without misgivings that I spoke to the students on my first night and explained what I intended to do. I was quite aware that they would find nothing attractive in the prospect of drawing cones, cubes and pyramids and so forth but I promised them more interesting things later on when they understood the first principles.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

However, Dyonnet's statement was untrue. Object drawing had been offered in the Mechanical drawing courses of the Council, as early as 1877/78, and was also available to advanced students of the Freehand drawing classes. An examination of the purchases and acquisitions of teaching devices, as well as a review of both the curriculum and the instructors' annual reports, prove *Dyonnet's statement false.*

Many British, American and Canadian artists were impatient with and complained about the number of years spent at the elementary levels of drawing instruction before they were permitted to draw and then paint from the living model. Dyonnet believed there were no short cuts. He reiterated the advice he had given one of his pupils, Henri Zotique Fabien (1878-1936).<sup>1</sup>

One evening after about a month of it, I stopped behind his chair and said: 'You are getting on nicely.' Whereupon he looked at me and confessed: 'Sir, I know now that I don't know anything.' I encouraged him by the assurance that he would now make quick progress and as a matter of fact at the end of his fourth year, I was able to tell him that he was ready to commence drawing from

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<sup>1</sup>Henri Z. Fabien attended 'life classes at the A.A.M. during the 1897/98 session. See N.A., R.C.A., Minute Books 1880-1906, MG 28 I 126, Vol. 17, p. 115. He was enrolled in the Council's Montreal art school and shared second prize honours in the Junior Freehand class during 1893/94. See DS (1893-94), Vol. 28, no. 2, p. 493. During the 1894/95 session Fabien received an honourable mention in the Advanced Freehand Drawing class. See DS (1894-95), Vol. 29, no. 3, p. 352. In 1896/97 he received second prize amongst the 4th year pupils. See DS (1896-97), Vol. 31, no. 3, p. 271. See also DS (1910-11), Vol. 45, no. 6, p. 178. By 1900 Fabien was taking advanced art study in Paris. See A.A.M. A.R. 1900, p. 4. ". . . Z. Fabien, the winner of a previous Art Association scholarship, is attending Gérôme's Studio in the 'Ecole des Beaux-Arts.'"

the living model, although that would mean that he would have to leave me and go to Mr. Brymner at the Art Association.<sup>1</sup>

#### D) Staff

The staff changes in the mid-1890's were caused not only by the hiring policy of the Council, but also because of the influence of Edmond Dyonnet. The Council annually evaluated its teachers and classes. Even instructors, such as Dyonnet, who had taught for a number of years, had to formally re-apply to have their positions renewed.<sup>2</sup> In the late 1880's members of staff questioned the Council's policy of a fixed rate per lesson that did not take into consideration their seniority or experience.<sup>3</sup> This lack of job security continued to be unresolved in the 1890's and is perhaps one of the reasons why staff members changed frequently.

The gradual replacement of instructors, the majority of whom were Council- and South Kensington-trained, with graduates of both the Council art schools and Paris ateliers reflected the evolution of the Council, which promoted and

<sup>1</sup>Edmond Dyonnet, op. cit., p. 34. 'Life classes' were initiated at the Montreal art school of the Council during the 1901/02 session.

<sup>2</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/2. Livre des minutes, 20 Sept., 1898, p. 652. "In reply to advertisements calling for teachers for the School for the next winter course, applications were read from the following:- E. Dyonnet. Teacher, Free-hand Drawing . . . Mr. E. Dyonnet was elected Teacher for the Freehand Drawing Class - Advanced Course - the rate of salary \$3.50 per lesson, . . ."

<sup>3</sup>DS (1887-88), Vol. 22, p. 200. "A teacher who is just beginning, and who has not been specially prepared for the work, should not receive the same remuneration as one who has been teaching for years. A graded system of payment would act as a stimulus to teachers."

provided primarily industrial art education, to accommodate those wishing fine art instruction.

Six years after his appointment as instructor of both the Elementary and Advanced Freehand drawing classes, Dyonnet approached the Council to name him firstly, director,<sup>1</sup> and secondly, inspector<sup>2</sup> of the provincial art schools.

His applications for the two positions were rejected, however, his recommendations to hire specific individuals for teaching jobs in the Council art schools continued to be accepted.

By the mid-1890's, a number of Council art school graduates who had studied under the Smith system (1876-91) were returning from advanced fine art studies in Paris. Earlier, in 1887/88, the Council expressed its intention to employ some of the former Council students after completion of their advanced art education in Paris. In other words, the Council art schools were functioning as a preliminary stage for fine art as well as training those for industry.

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<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 10 May 1898, p. 1109. "A letter was read from Mr. E. Dyonnet asking that he be appointed Director of the Schools under the control of the Council. . . ."

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 9 Aug., 1898, p. 1126. "The application of Mr. E. Dyonnet as Inspector of the Schools under the control of the Council was discussed and it was agreed that the appointment of such an officer was not necessary at present and the application was not entertained."



Twelve of our pupils have gone to Paris to complete their studies and when they return we may be able to secure some of them.<sup>1</sup>

In 1894/95, the Levis art school hired Joseph Scherrer (1860-1936), a former pupil of both the Montreal art school and the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris, to teach Modelling.<sup>2</sup>

The following session, in 1895/96, James L. Graham (1873-1965), another former Council<sup>3</sup> art school and A.A.M.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 8 May 1888, p. 789. See also DS (1887-88), Vol. 22, pp. 218-19. In the late 1880's abbé Olivier Maurault (1886-1968) commissioned five young Montreal artists: Ludger Larose (1868-1915), Joseph C. Franchère (1866-1921), Joseph St. Charles (1868-1956), Henri Beau (1863-1914), and Charles Gill (1871-1918), all of whom studied at the Council art schools, to decorate the chapelle Notre-Dame-du-Sacré-Coeur, located in Montreal's Notre-Dame church. Their paintings were installed in 1895 and were the culmination of further art education in Paris, recommended by Maurault. Franchère, St. Charles and Gill returned to teach at the Montreal art school.

<sup>2</sup>DS (1894-95), Vol. 29, no. 3, p. 355. "A Modelling Class [Levis School] was opened under the direction of Mr. Joseph Scherrer, a former pupil of the Montreal School." Scherrer taught both Senior Freehand drawing and Modelling at Levis from 1895/96 - 1904/05, then he was instructor of the Painting class at Quebec from 1906/07 - 08/09. He was listed as a former pupil of the Montreal art school. See DS (1893-94), Vol. 28, no. 2, p. 486.

<sup>3</sup>DS (1895-96), Vol. 30, no. 3, p. 344. "There has been a very noticeable increase in the freehand drawing classes, and owing to the increased attendance, an additional teacher was required, and Mr. J. L. Graham, a former pupil, was named to fill the position." Graham's name appeared on a list of former pupils of the Modelling and Woodcarving classes at the Montreal art school. See DS (1893-94), Vol. 28, no. 2, p. 486. See also DS (1910-11), Vol. 45, no. 6, p. 178. He was also enrolled in the Freehand drawing class.

<sup>4</sup>A.A.M. Annual Report 1891, p. 5. Graham won the 1st section competition. See M.M.F.A., Scrapbook 03-144-01. See also "The Scholarships Awarded," Montreal Gazette, 19 May 1891, p. 3. "The scholarship in the life class was awarded to Mr. J. L. Graham. . . . Graham won first prize for his painting [no. 7] 'Toiling homeward.'" See A.A.M. Annual Report 1892, p. 4. "The first prize, awarded to James L. Graham's picture 'Toiling homeward' was well



student was chosen an assistant in the Junior Freehand class at the Montreal art school. Graham stayed only one session, before he enrolled at the Slade<sup>1</sup> in the autumn of 1896 to study under Fred Brown and Henry Tonks.

Also in 1895/96, Louis-Philippe Hébert (1850-1917), who had just returned from France, resumed teaching the Modelling class at the Montreal art school.<sup>2</sup>

It was during the mid-1890's that a number of former Council art school pupils such as J. H. Egan<sup>3</sup> and G. A. Monette<sup>4</sup> were hired because of the increased enrolment in the Junior Freehand and Architectural drawing classes at deserved as it had good qualities of colour and composition and was not merely a study, but was well conceived and carried out as a picture."

<sup>1</sup>A.A.M. Annual Report 1896, p. 4. "Mr. James L. Graham, a student of the Association, whose promising work has been frequently exhibited on our walls, has been sent to London for more advanced instruction through the generosity of a few friends who confidently expect that he will materially benefit by this opportunity." See M.M.F.A. Scrapbook 04-096-09. See also "Art," Montreal Daily Star, 18 Dec., 1897, p. 17. "Mr. James L. Graham, A.R.C.A., is continuing his studies in Scotland, having passed through the Slade School, London, last winter."

<sup>2</sup>DS (1895-96), Vol. 30, no. 3, p. 349. "During the past session, the school was fortunate enough to secure the services of Mr. L. P. Hébert, RCA., who again took charge of the Modelling Class with marked success. Mr. Hébert's sojourn in France during the past few years enabled him to become familiar with the most approved methods of teaching in the schools of Europe." Hébert was the instructor of the Modelling class from 1883/84 - 85/86 and again from 1895/96 - 97/98.

<sup>3</sup>DS (1894-95), Vol. 29, no. 3, p. 352. "Owing to the increased amount of work in connection with the freehand junior class, Mr. J. H. Egan was named assistant teacher."

<sup>4</sup>DS (1896-97), Vol. 31, no. 3, p. 269. "There has been a very noticeable increase in the architectural drawing class; owing to the large attendance, an additional teacher was required, and Mr. G. A. Monette, a former pupil, was named to fill the position."

the Montreal art school.

In 1896/97, another former student, D. P. MacMillan (1873-1908), who was Council-<sup>1</sup> A.A.M.-, <sup>2</sup> and Paris-trained<sup>3</sup> was hired for only one session, to teach the Junior Free-hand drawing class at the Montreal art school.

In September 1898, Joseph St. Charles (1868-1956), Council- and Paris-trained, was appointed assistant teacher of the Junior Freehand drawing class at the Montreal art school, a position he maintained from

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<sup>1</sup>DS (1897-98), Vol. 32, no. 3, p. 277. "Mr. S. Robertson was also named Assistant-teacher in the Free-hand Drawing Class, to replace Mr. D. P[sic]. MacMillan, who had left the City." See also A.N.Q.M., 06M, ZQ22/1, CAMPQ 32P9. D. P. MacMillan attended the Modelling and Wood Carving class of A. Vincent at the Montreal art school in January and February 1890. "D. MacMillan - age 17, address - 809 Dorchester, profession - artist."

<sup>2</sup>A.A.M. Annual Report 1891, p. 5. D. P. MacMillan received honourable mention in the annual exhibition. He won the 1st section scholarship in 1892. A.A.M. Annual Report 1892, p. 5. See M.M.F.A. Scrapbook 04-003-12, 13. See also, "Barnsley takes the \$200. Close of the Contest and Exhibition at the Art Gallery," Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette, 16 May, 1892, p. 8. "A Successful Artist. Mr. MacMillan Secures the Two-Years' Scholarship," Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette, 19 May, 1892, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup>A.A.M. Annual Report 1890, p. 4. See "The Art Association," Montreal Gazette, 31 Jan., 1891, p. 7. See also M.M.F.A. Scrapbook 03-134-20A. ". . . Mr. D. P. MacMillan, has entered the 'Académie Julian,' where, the second week after his arrival, his drawing from life was chosen as one of the best done that week in the school."

1898/99 - 1913/14.<sup>1</sup>

The following year, in 1899, Joseph Charles Franchère (1866-1921),<sup>2</sup> Council- and Paris-trained, and Alexandre Carli (1861-1937),<sup>3</sup> Council-trained, joined the staff of the Montreal art school.

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<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/2, Livre des minutes, 20 Sept., 1898, p. 652. "Mr. E. Dyonnet was elected Teacher for the Freehand Drawing Class - Advanced Course - the rate of salary \$3.50 per lesson, and Mr. Jos. St. Charles assistant teacher in the Freehand Drwg. Jr." See DS (1893-94), Vol. 28, no. 2, p. 483. St. Charles was listed as a graduate of the Decorative Painting class at the Montreal art school, however, examination of class lists showed he also studied Anatomy and Modelling under L. P. Hébert. See A.N.Q.M., 06M, ZQ22/1, 32P9.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Course</u>	<u>Teacher</u>
Nov. & Dec. 1886	Anatomy	L. P. Hébert
" " "	Decorative	Ed. Meloche
" " "	Modelling	L. P. Hébert
Mar., 1887	Decorative	Ed. Meloche

<sup>2</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/2, Livre des minutes, 13 Dec., 1899, p. 707. See DS (1899-1900), Vol. 34, no. 3, p. 340. "Mr. J. C. Franchère, has been appointed teacher of the Decorative Painting Class, in place of Mr. F. E. Meloche at the rate of \$3.00 per lesson and Mr. Alex Carli, teacher of the Modelling Class, at the rate of \$2.50 per lesson." See DS (1893-94), Vol. 28, no. 2, p. 483. Franchère was listed as a graduate of the Decorative Painting class at the Montreal art school, however, examination of class lists showed he also studied Anatomy and Modelling under L. P. Hébert. See also A.N.Q.M., 06M, ZQ22/1, 32P9.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Course</u>	<u>Teacher</u>
Jan., Feb., Mar., Apr., 1886	Modelling	L. P. Hébert
Mar., Apr., "	Anatomy	L. P. Hébert
Nov., Dec., "	Decorative	Ed. Meloche

From this evidence, Joseph St. Charles and J. C. Franchère were classmates in Ed. Meloche's Decorative Painting course in Nov., and Dec., 1886. Franchère taught Decorative Painting from 1899/1900, then Decorative Painting and Freehand from 1900/01 - 01/02, and Freehand drawing from 1902/03 - 13/14.

<sup>3</sup>DS (1910-11), Vol. 45, no. 6, p. 182. Carli taught Modelling from 1899/1900 - 12/13.

Jobson Paradis (1871-1926), who was Paris-trained, was added to the staff of the Montreal art school in 1902/03 to teach Freehand drawing.<sup>1</sup>

Edmond Lemoine (1877-1922), a former Quebec City Council pupil<sup>2</sup> taught Freehand drawing at the Quebec City art school from 1903/04 - 06/07, and then from 1908/09 - 13/14.

In 1907, Alfred Laliberté (1878-1953), a former Council<sup>3</sup> pupil, returned from advanced art studies in

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<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/2, Livre des minutes, 7 Sept., 1905, p. 827. Paradis studied at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris, in 1892, under Gérôme. See J. R. Harper, E.P.&E., op. cit., p. 243. Paradis taught Freehand drawing from 1902/03 - 09/10, then from 1910/11 - 12/13 Freehand drawing and Painting. The Painting class did not use a live model but painted from "still life." See DS (1910-11), Vol. 45, no. 2, pp. 311, 313. DS (1911-12), Vol. 46, no. 2, pp. 277, 278. DS (1912-13), Vol. 47, no. 2, pp. 280, 281.

<sup>2</sup>A.N.Q.M., 06M, ZQ22/1, 32P10, 1906. See DS (1896-97), Vol. 31, no. 3, p. 282. Lemoine was listed in the Freehand drawing class of the Quebec City art school. See also DS (1910-11), Vol. 45, no. 6, p. 185.

<sup>3</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/2, Livre des minutes, 3 Nov., 1902, p. 793. "The departure of Mr. A. Laliberté, pupil of the modelling class, for Europe to continue his studies was then reported. A letter received from him thanking the members for the interest taken in his studies, . . ." Laliberté studied at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris, from autumn 1902 until 1907 under Gabriel Jules Thomas and Antoine Injalbert. See Colin S. MacDonald, op. cit., Vol. 3, pp. 713-15. In 1904 he "was awarded the first honourable mention for a piece of sculpture [Les Jeunes Chassant] at the Grand Salon de Paris." A.N.Q.M., M135/2, Livre des minutes, 7 Sept., 1905, p. 825. See also DS (1910-11), Vol. 45, no. 6, pp. 179, 182. Laliberté was listed as a pupil in both the Modelling and Freehand drawing class at the Montreal art school. DS (1898-99), Vol. 33, no. 3, p. 158. A. Laliberté received honourable mention among 1<sup>st</sup> year pupils in the Freehand drawing class at the Montreal art school.

Paris to be the Modelling class instructor at the Montreal art school.<sup>1</sup>

During the 1913/14 session, another former Council graduate,<sup>2</sup> Elzear Soucy (1876-1970), was hired to teach Modelling at the Montreal art school. The same year, Charles Gill (1871-1918), who was Council-,<sup>3</sup> A.A.M.-,<sup>4</sup> and Paris-trained, was added to the staff of the Montreal art school to teach Junior Freehand drawing and painting.<sup>5</sup>

### E) Models

From the mid-1890's, through the efforts of Edmond Dyonnet, Louis-Philippe Hébert and later, Alfred Laliberté,

<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/2, Livre des minutes, 10 Sept., 1907, p. 855. He taught the Modelling class at the Montreal art school from 1907/08 - 09/10, and from 1911/12 - 13/14. He re-visited Paris in 1910.

<sup>2</sup>DS (1896-97), Vol. 31, no. 3, p. 281. Soucy studied for four years in the Modelling class of the Montreal art school (c. 1893/94 - 96/97). See DS (1893-94), Vol. 28, no. 2, p. 485. Soucy was listed as attending the Modelling and Wood Carving class. See also DS (1910-11), Vol. 45, no. 6, pp. 179, 182. Soucy was listed in both the Freehand and Modelling classes.

<sup>3</sup>DS (1893-94), Vol. 28, no. 2, p. 486. Gill was listed as attending the Modelling and Wood Carving class. See A.N.Q.M., 06M, ZQ22/1, 32P9, 29 Mar., 1890. John C. Pinhey's class report.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Course</u>	<u>Teacher</u>
Jan., Feb., Mar., 1890	Modelling & Sculpture	Arthur Vincent
— Feb., — 1890	Drawing from the Cast	John C. Pinhey

<sup>4</sup>A.A.M. Annual Report 1890, p. 4. See M.M.F.A., Scrapbook 03-134-20A. See also "The Art Association," Montreal Gazette, 31 Jan., 1891, p. 7. "In September last, two pupils of the Life Class went to Paris to continue their studies:- one Mr. Charles Gill, has creditably passed the 'Beaux-Arts' Examinations, and is now a pupil of Mr. Gérôme."

<sup>5</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/2, Livre des minutes, 14 Sept., 1914, p. 919. See ibid., 14 Sept., 1915, p. 928.

models for drawing instruction were purchased in Paris rather than London or Boston, re-affirming the shift in emphasis and philosophy of the Council art schools from industrial to fine art.

Shortly after the abandonment of the Walter Smith system, during the 1892/93 session, F.E. Meloche, who taught Decorative Painting classes at the Montreal art school from 1887/88 - 93/94, 95/96, and 98/99, sold some plaster models to the Council.<sup>1</sup> However, after these acquisitions, the majority of subsequent additions to the Council's model collection were bought from Paris suppliers.

In 1894/95, Edmond Dyonnet suggested that models of various styles of classical and antique sculpture and ornament be acquired for the Council art schools. As he was going to Paris at the end of the session, he volunteered to select and purchase them.

Il nous faudrait pour cela toute une série de modèles des différents styles:— Grec, Romain, Mauresque, Renaissance, Louis XIV, &c., que nous ne pouvons nous procurer ici mais qu'il serait facile d'avoir à Paris. Je compte y faire un voyage cet été, et je profiterais de cette bonne occasion pour faire ce choix et m'y ferais aider par ceux-là mêmes qui sont à Paris chargés de cet enseignement. Le cours comprendrait des conférences pour lesquelles je réunirais là bas, les matériaux nécessaires, si le Conseil veut bien me dédommager de la perte de mon temps. Je crois que notre Ecole ne

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<sup>1</sup>DS (1892-93), Vol. 27, no. 2, p. 248. "A number of plaster models, as well as a number of valuable works on Decorative Painting, were purchased from F. E. Meloche, during the year for use in the classes for Decorative Painting." See also A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 8 Nov., 1892, p. 941 and 23 Feb., 1893, p. 943.



peut que chercher à donner une instruction pratique et doit laisser à d'autres institutions le soin de faire de l'art pur.<sup>1</sup>

In 1895, the Council acknowledged Dyonnet's help in securing Parisian-made casts for use in the Advanced classes.

. . . in order to meet the requirements of the more advanced classes, to provide a number of new models. Mr. E. Dyonnet, teacher of the Freehand Class of the Montreal School, kindly offered to select such as would be required, while on a trip to Europe last year. Through this gentleman's experience a careful selection was made, and the casts have already proved of much value in our work. The collection, which consisted of 83 pieces, was purchased from the house of S. Luchesi & Blanchard, and from L'Union Centrale des Arts Decoratifs, Paris, and cost \$297.80.<sup>2</sup>

Even with the purchase of additional models the collection of teaching devices was still in short supply and inadequate.

Most of the other drawings exhibited were drawn from plaster casts executed by the pupils of the Modeling class of the school.<sup>3</sup>

In 1896, Dyonnet recommended that the Montreal atelier of Thomas Carli (1838-1906) supply casts to the Council art schools.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, n.d., p. 1039.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 14 Nov., 1895, p. 1054.

<sup>3</sup>Canadian Architect and Builder, Vol. 8 (1895), no. 5 (May), pp. 70-71.

<sup>4</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/2, Livre des minutes, 24 June 1896, p. 617. For information about the Carli family of sculptors see John R. Porter and Léopold Désy, "Les statuaires et modeleurs Carli et Petrucci" in L'annonciation dans la sculpture au Québec (Québec: Les presses de l'université Laval, 1979), pp. 127-37. Alex Carli (1861-1937) taught Modelling at the Montreal art school from 1899/1900 - 12/13 (see Appendix 2 b).



In 1898, Louis-Philippe Hébert, who was vice-president of the Council art schools, visited Quebec, Levis, Sherbrooke, and Three Rivers to assess their individual and collective needs. He stated the models used in those schools were old and in need of replacement.

J'ai trouvé les écoles de Québec et Lévis tenues sur un bon pied, avec un matériel assez considérable mais un peu vieilli. Beaucoup de planches à dessin sont salies, effacées presque hors d'usage; il y a grand trillage à faire. Les modèles de plâtre sont insuffisants, beaucoup sont avariés, salis ou sans caractère. Il faudra fournir à ces deux écoles des académies complètes des pieds, des mains des morceaux d'études et des ornements de genre pour la classe de dessin à main levée . . . [Sherbrooke] le professeur est obligé tout le temps de faire des démonstrations sur le tableau noir. Ils ont une série de blocs en bois. Il faudra des modèles avec les nouvelles applications mécaniques, une série élémentaire de l'art de bâtir, quelques bustes et ornement de plâtres pour donner de l'intérêt à la classe. Le professeur en charge, Mr. Robert Wyatt, semble très dévoué à ses élèves. . . . Même pauvreté de modèles qu'à Trois-Rivières, ils n'ont que quelques planches de dessin de machines, de figures géométriques et douze planches d'élévation, de maisons, quelques petits paysages quelques tracés de nez et d'oreilles, etc.<sup>1</sup>

He suggested that one thousand dollars<sup>2</sup> be allotted for the purchase of models and offered to arrange for their selection and transport during his forthcoming European trip.

As the schools were not fully equipped with models for the various subjects taught,

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<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, "Rapport du Vice-Président sur la visite des diverses écoles, 2 novembre 1898," 8 Nov., 1898, pp. 1130-32.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 10 May 1898, p. 1112.

the Council authorized Mr. Philippe Hébert, the Vice-President, to purchase those required while in Europe. . . .<sup>1</sup> . . . The report of Mr. F. E. Meloche, on the models purchased in Europe by Mr. Hébert was read. . . .<sup>2</sup> Monrocq Frères, Paris, France were to supply architectural and other drawing models to the Council on the recommendation of L. P. Hébert for a cost of \$186.76.<sup>3</sup>

During the 1901/02 session, drawing from life was introduced into the curriculum with the result that a number of 'living models' were paid for their services.<sup>4</sup>

Shortly before returning to Montreal in the autumn of 1907, Alfred Laliberté (1878-1953), a former Council art student, who had been studying at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris, purchased models for the Freehand, Modelling and Decorative painting classes of the Council.

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<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/2, Livre des minutes, 27 Mar., 1899, p. 672. See also DS (1898-99), Vol. 33, no. 3, p. 154.

<sup>2</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 6 Sept., 1899, p. 1156.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 8 Feb., 1900, p. 1164.

<sup>4</sup>DS (1901-02), Vol. 36, no. 3, p. 305. The majority of men and women who posed for the 'life class' in the Freehand drawing (1901/02 - 1913/14) and Modelling (1904/05, 1907/08 - 11/12, 1913/14) courses were of Italian origin.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Freehand Drwg.</u>	<u>M/F</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Modelling</u>	<u>M/F</u>
1901/02	133		8/0			
1902/03	138		5/0			
1903/04	139		4/3			
1904/05	139		10/0	139		3/0
1905/06	N.L.					
1906/07	145		10/0	-		-
1907/08	154		10/2	153		2/0
1908/09	172		6/5	172		3/0
1909/10	213		8/4	214		2/0
1910/11	312		7/3	313		6/0
1911/12	278		7/4	278		2/0
1912/13	281		2/6	-		-
1913/14	283		5/7	284		2/0

. . . Mr. Alfred Laliberté, a former pupil of the Council, has been charged to make the purchase of plaster models in Paris, for the Freehand drawing, decorative painting, and modelling classes.<sup>1</sup>

However, with these latest acquisitions the Council's collection was still evaluated as deficient.

As some schools had poor collections of models, chiefly for the freehand drawing classes, it was deemed advisable to have plaster models cast and this was done at the beginning of the season. Models were afterwards, distributed to the schools where most needed.<sup>2</sup>

#### F) Drawing Instruction

In 1892/93 the appointment of Edmond Dyonnet to teach and supervise both the Junior and Senior Freehand drawing classes at the Montreal art school was significant because for the first time in the Council's history (from 1872/73) the same instructor taught both courses.

In the Junior Freehand Mr. E. Dyonnet was also named teacher, with Mr. A. Rapin, as assistant, in the place of Mr. Robertson and Mr. E. Brégent, the former teachers. This change was made with a view of placing the junior class in closer relationship with the senior, it being felt that the pupils would profit by a more uniform system of instruction; the results obtained thus far show the wisdom of this arrangement.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/2, Livre des minutes, 11 June 1907, p. 64. Laliberté was appointed instructor of the Modelling class at the Montreal art school from 1907/08 - 09/10, 11/12 - 13/14,

<sup>2</sup>DS (1908-09), Vol. 43, no. 6, p. 159. See also A.N.Q.M., M135/2, Livre des minutes, 4 Sept., 1908, p. 75.

<sup>3</sup>DS (1892-93), Vol. 27, no. 2, p. 251.

The same year, the Council reaffirmed its commitment to encourage drawing from the object rather than from the flat.

It has been the aim of the Council during the recent years to discourage drawing from flat copies and to encourage, as far as possible, drawing from the object; this is the only sure way to obtain practical and satisfactory results and to teach the pupils how to represent an object as it really is. For this purpose a large number of wooden models were prepared in Montreal and distributed among the different schools.<sup>1</sup>

During the 1892/93 session, the Council acknowledged the fine drawings produced in the Advanced Freehand class at the Quebec school under the direction of Eugène Hamel. The excellent work was attributed partially to the method of instruction—drawing from the object.

An advanced Freehand Class for drawing from the cast and object was formed during the Winter, and was placed under Mr. Hamel. Some excellent work was done,<sup>2</sup> but small attendance was disappointing.

Also in 1892/93, the Council published a brochure which described specifically how the Junior and Senior Freehand classes were taught. Both levels of instruction conformed to the South Kensington and Walter Smith systems.

In the Junior Class those pupils are required to enter who are commencing drawing, or who have made but little advancement in the same.

The instruction commences with elementary principles and the pupils first work from card copies in straight lines and the combination of straight lines in the form of crosses, squares, etc., then curved lines and circles and the combination of curved

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 248.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 252.

and straight lines, simple geometric forms and geometric definitions, then going on to simple conventional designs and freehand exercises. . . .

This Class [Senior] is intended for pupils more advanced in knowledge than those attending the former. This course is also more comprehensive and includes Applied Design and Drawing from cast of Human Figures or Ornament. Those who would fit themselves for landscape painting will do well to attend this class, drawing being the most essential thing whether for figure or landscape.<sup>1</sup>

The Council's brochure for the following session in 1893/94, indicated that the Senior Freehand course description was identical to the previous year, however, the Junior Freehand class drew directly from the object in outline and shaded variation rather than card copying and exclusively from the flat.

Through the elementary course which prepares to the best drawing, the student is initiated to the study of form by means of geometrical figures. This method adopted and followed in all the Schools of Europe reduces and presents the greatest difficulties in their most simple forms.

The students learn to work by degrees and simultaneously the external form afforded by the outlines, produced coming directly from the object, the clare-obscure produced by light and the value of tones.<sup>2</sup>

The progressive change in the Junior Freehand can be explained in three ways. Firstly, the Council had promoted object drawing in preference to drawing from the flat for a few years prior to 1892/93; secondly, the direct influence of Edmond Dyonnet's ideas; and thirdly, the

<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/2, Livre des minutes, p. 550. See page 5 of the brochure entitled Council of Arts and Manufactures. Rules and Regulations of the Evening Drawing and Industrial Classes. 1892/93.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 556. Brochure of 1893/94.

higher proficiency in drawing skills exhibited by pupils entering the Council art schools because the provincial government incorporated drawing as a compulsory subject in the public day schools in 1877. These three factors contributed to the evolution of the Junior Freehand class from the most elementary principles of instruction to a higher level and standard.

The 1894 Annual Student Exhibition of the Council art schools for the first time awarded prizes to the pupils in all courses.<sup>1</sup> This innovation was associated traditionally with academies of fine art, and appealed to the general public's preconception of the role and function of an art school. Coincidentally, for the first time the press published an extensive article on the exhibition, Council's history, staff, and curriculum, including a description of the drawing instruction.

This department is under the charge of Professor E. Dyonnet, A.R.C.A., and is divided into two classes—the elementary and advanced class. The elementary class is for those who have but a vague idea of drawing, and is intended as preparatory to the advanced class. The pupils begin by drawing differently shaped geometrical blocks, commencing with the most simple, and progressing to more complicated shapes. This method of drawing from solids from the very first has been generally adopted in all the best drawing schools of Europe. It shows the pupil in a more intelligible way than any other method, the first difficulties of outline, perspective, light and shade and tone, and as the pupils' intelligence is appealed to, there is comparatively

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<sup>1</sup>DS (1893-94), Vol. 28, no. 2, pp. 493-94. Prizes were awarded to pupils of the Junior and Advanced Freehand, Architectural, Decorative Painting, Modelling, Wood Carving, Boot and Shoe Pattern Making, and Stair and Building Construction classes.



little difficulty in showing him how these difficulties are to be overcome. After one season spent in the elementary class, the pupil who has made sufficient progress is promoted to the advanced class. He soon finds out that the principles he has learned in the first year are continually applied in the second. His eyes and hand now gain sufficient accuracy and precision to enable him to draw parts of the figure from plaster casts. The simplest pieces are given at first, but as difficulties are overcome, more complicated ones are tried, until the full length antique figure is reached, after which he soon will be prepared to draw directly from the living model.<sup>1</sup>

Most of the drawings produced by the students during each session were returned to them; however, some of the best works were kept by the Council.<sup>2</sup> Few have survived. One rare and exceptionally fine example (fig. 6) of the highly finished pencil drawings by Council art school pupils was executed by Ozias Leduc (1864-1955), who attended the St. Hyacinthe art school in 1894.<sup>3</sup>

In 1894/95, Joseph Scherrer (1860-1936), teacher of the Modelling class at Levis, and a graduate of both the Council art schools and the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris, requested that he be permitted to pursue the method of Freehand instruction, that is, drawing from the object,

<sup>1</sup>Canadian Architect and Builder, Vol. 7 (1894), no. 11 (Nov.), p. 143.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 142-43. "At the close of the session pupils must take charge of their drawing boards, instruments etc., and all drawings or other works executed in the school are retained during the session; at the close the Council may retain such works as it considers desirable, the remainder being returned to the pupils."

<sup>3</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 25 Oct., 1894, p. 981. See DS (1893-94), Vol. 28, no. 2, p. 490. "Azarie Leduc . . . Painter." Leduc was baptised Azarie Leduc. See also J. R. Ostiguy, op. cit., p. 194.



which Edmond Dyonnet followed at the Montreal art school.

A ce sujet, Monsieur le Secrétaire, je ne puis m'empêcher de vous faire remarquer que l'enseignement du dessin n'est pas compris tel qu'il devrait l'être. On apprend à l'élève à copier une gravure quelconque, plus à main levée. Mais on n'apprend pas à l'élève à dessiner. J'ai beaucoup admiré, Monsieur le Secrétaire, la manière de la Classe de Dessin de Montréal par Monsieur Dyonnet. C'est la seule et vraie manière d'apprendre quelque chose à l'élève. J'en parle avec connaissance, ayant fréquenté l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts à Paris où on donne comme modèle à l'élève que la nature même et seule. Je désirerais beaucoup voir inaugurer ici à Lévis, cette manière de dessin créée par Monsieur Dyonnet de l'Ecole de Montréal.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. S. Robertson, who, for only one session in 1897/98, was an assistant in the Junior Freehand drawing class at the Montreal art school, favourably impressed the critic of the 1895 annual student exhibition with figure sketches. However, as the reviewer wrote, most of the drawings from the Advanced Freehand course were executed from casts. The Council did not introduce officially a 'life class' until the 1901/02 session.

In the Advanced Freehand Drawing class Mr. S. Robertson was without comparison the leader, all his drawings being made studies of figures drawn in a sketchy way, and exhibiting a considerable knowledge

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<sup>1</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, p. 1041. See DS (1894-95), Vol. 29, no. 3, p. 355. "A Modelling Class [Levis] was opened under the direction of Mr. Joseph Scherrer, a former pupil of the Montreal School." Scherrer's name appeared on a list of former pupils of the Modelling and Wood Carving class. See DS (1893-94), Vol. 28, no. 2, p. 486. Scherrer taught at the Levis art school from 1894/95 - 1904/05 (see Appendix 2 b). In 1894/95 he was only the instructor of the Modelling and Wood Carving class, however, from 1895/96 - 1904/05, in addition to the aforementioned class he also taught Senior Freehand drawing.

of anatomy. Most of the other drawings exhibited were drawn from plaster casts executed by the pupils of the Modeling [sic] class of the school.<sup>1</sup>

By 1898 the Advanced Freehand class had progressed to a higher level and standard with students drawing from casts of large antique statuary in subsequent preparation for life study.

The Freehand Drawing class is divided into junior and senior sections, the former meeting on Mondays and Thursdays under the direction of Messrs. Joseph St. Charles and J. H. Egan. In this preparatory class the pupil begins by drawing differently shaped blocks, and progresses to more complicated forms. The method of drawing from solids is one which has been recognized by the leading European schools, as best adapted for the instruction of beginners.

The advanced Freehand Drawing class, which is under the direction of Mr. E. Dyonnet, A.R.C.A., meets every Wednesday and Friday. After one year spent in the junior class, students graduate into the advanced class, and are put to drawing parts of the human figure from plaster casts. As progress is made more difficult subjects are presented, until the full length antique figure is reached, after which the student is prepared to draw directly from the living model.<sup>2</sup>

In 1900/01, according to the Council's annual report, the Modelling class of the Montreal art school worked from models or three-dimensional objects for the first time.

[Modelling Class] - The inauguration of working from models was a great feature in this class and I am pleased to say that the

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<sup>1</sup>Canadian Architect and Builder, Vol. 8 (1895), no. 5 (May), pp. 70-71.

<sup>2</sup>Canadian Architect and Builder, Vol. 11 (1898), no. 11 (Nov.), p. 186. Accompanying this article were specimens of student works in the Freehand drawing (fig. 7) and Modelling (fig. 8) classes, as well as an interior view of both classrooms (fig. 9).

pupils who had the advantage of working in this section made good progress. It is intended to follow this method in the future for the advanced pupils.<sup>1</sup>

The following year, in 1901/02, drawing from the 'living model' was incorporated into the Council curriculum at the Montreal art school.

The drawing from life was added to the course of freehand drawing . . . is a satisfaction to state that the pupils found sufficiently advanced have been able to complete their course in the school.<sup>2</sup>

Seven years later in 1908/09, drawing from the flat was replaced by object drawing in all courses, with the exception of the first few months of instruction in the Elementary or Junior Freehand class.

It was proposed by Mr. Samuel Casavant seconded by Mr. H. W. Raphael and adopted:

That, in the future, the only method of Freehand Drawing to be taught in the schools under the control of the Council of Arts and Manufactures be the one adopted in the schools of Europe and other countries which consist of drawing from the object, and the teaching of drawing from pictures or lithographed copies be not permitted after the first year pupils have attended the classes for a period of two months.<sup>3</sup>

Shortly after the turn of the century, the Council art schools were acknowledged publicly for their effort

<sup>1</sup>DS (1900-01), Vol. 35, no. 3, p. 403.

<sup>2</sup>DS (1901-02), Vol. 36, no. 3, p. 305.

<sup>3</sup>A.N.Q.M., M135/2, Livre des minutes, 4 Sept., 1908, p. 75. See also DS (1908-09), Vol. 43, no. 6, p. 159. "With a view to having uniformity in the teaching of free-hand drawing the Council, at its last meeting, carefully studied this question, and the innovation was made this year in all the schools where this branch of instruction is taught. We consider this change to uniformity, is a most desired one, and the method, now in force, is the one adopted in the principal schools of Europe and other countries which consists of Drawing from the object only."

and contribution to afford all levels of society, particularly the working class, free drawing instruction to better the individual in their place of work, and raise the level and standard of both industrial and fine art.

The work done by this institution in giving free education to the working classes as well as to those having a certain talent for Fine Art is fully appreciated and reflects credit on the action of the Government of this province.<sup>1</sup>

These sentiments were reiterated just prior to the first World War.

In conclusion, the Council of Arts and Manufactures is certainly doing grand work by giving to the working classes, as well as those having aptitude for fine art, the great opportunity of receiving theoretical and practical education.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>DS (1903-04), Vol. 38, no. 3, p. 245.

<sup>2</sup>DS (1912-13), Vol. 47, no. 6, p. 157.

## Section II: Art Association of Montreal (1883-1914)

A) Robert Harris and Drawing Instruction (1883/84-85/86)

Robert Harris (1849-1919) was appointed A.A.M. director on 5 September 1883.<sup>1</sup> He taught drawing for three sessions (1883/84-85/86) before he resigned in the autumn of 1886. The fees were forty dollars for the year, or twenty-five per term.

The engagement of Mr. Robert Harris as teacher of the Classes at a salary of \$1000 was recommended, and that the class be held for a term of 7 months, in two sessions, the first session to commence the 1st October and close the 20th December/83 and the second to open on the 10th January and end 1 May/84, the fees to be \$40 for each pupil for the full term or \$25 for one session of the term. . . .<sup>2</sup>

Harris was in attendance two days per week, Tuesday and Thursday mornings, from 9:30 - 12:30.<sup>3</sup> Attendance during the early years was rarely recorded (see Appendix 2f), however, statements in the A.A.M. annual reports and Council Meetings' book reported that there were enough pupils enrolled to make it worth-while continuing drawing instruction.

Although Harris' ideas of art education did not conform to the utilitarian philosophy of the South Kensington or Walter Smith systems, he believed that drawing was important in training eye to hand co-ordination. It was

<sup>1</sup> M.M.F.A. Archives, Council Meetings, Book I (1860-95), 5 Sept., 1883.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 7 Aug., 1883.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 3 Oct., 1883.

his opinion that the A.A.M. drawing classes were intended for advanced art students, who had completed elementary training elsewhere.

In its technique it resembles that of the continental studies. In these it is assumed that the pupils are sincerely desirous of doing good work, that they have already passed through the preliminary stages of their education, and the function of the teacher is not to see that they are diligent or to secure immediate results, but to direct their efforts towards the most helpful studies and exercises, . . . for the foundation of successful painting or sculpture is not the manipulation of the brush or chisel, but the training of the eye to see with perfect accuracy, and afterwards the command of the hand to produce exactly the stroke or touch sought for.<sup>1</sup>

Harris stated that study of the living model would commence only when the pupil had grasped the basics of drawing.

When the thoroughness of the drawing of any reasonable number of the Students warrants the attempt, a class will be formed to draw from the living model.

The study of colour also will be commenced so soon as any member of the class is in a position to be really benefitted thereby.<sup>2</sup>

During his first year as director, one of the problems he encountered amongst his students was their diverse art educational backgrounds which made it difficult to teach the class ensemble.

On the opening of the School in last October the degrees of the advancement of the pupils were very different. Some had

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<sup>1</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, Scrapbook 01-096-02. See also "The Art School," Montreal Gazette, 22 Sept., 1883, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup>A.A.M. Annual Report 1883, p. 31.

studied, many had to begin absolutely at the beginning. For all however it was evident that the requisite discipline was that of sound work in drawing. . . .<sup>1</sup>

As a solution to this problem, he suggested that the drawing class be divided into elementary and advanced, and that an assistant be hired.

As to the programme for the next session in view of the present state of the school I would suggest as follows - It may safely be assumed that many of the same pupils will resume their studies. It will thus become necessary to have classes to work from life and also painting classes. A class for beginners should be added. In the conduct of the latter no doubt among the pupils someone capable and willing to assist might be found. These necessary divisions of the school into classes would no doubt be accompanied by an increase in the number of pupils.<sup>2</sup>

However, it was not until 1898 that an elementary drawing class was formed.

Another problem was the attitude of his pupils, most of whom were women from middle and upper class families, who perceived fine art as complementary to a young ladies' classical education.

The students, who number twenty-six, chiefly ladies, after a severe course of drawing are now allowed by Mr. Harris to paint. Some of them were at first disgusted with his system. They wanted, like too many in other places where the principles of art are not understood, to dabble in colors before they had learned to draw.

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<sup>1</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, Council Meetings, Book I (1860-95), 4 June 1884.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 3 June 1884.



They now, however, in their second term see the advantages of beginning well.<sup>1</sup>

He condemned 'short-cut' techniques, as misleading the students, who by not pursuing preliminary drawing instruction, would only produce inferior art works — imitations of nature.

They will feel that it should be their aim above all to learn to observe truly. They will not suppose that they attend the School to acquire some trick easily to be communicated without much effort on their part. There will be the healthy feeling that the school is a place for serious [sic] work which requires thought if it is to be of any use, that it is not a place to pass an hour in futile multiplication of chromos.<sup>2</sup>

His students' lack of seriousness, their resistance to hard work in elementary drawing and their desire to reproduce or imitate works of art acknowledged as masterpieces caused Harris to consider resigning. However, he was persuaded to stay on for two more sessions.

In the matter of making arrangements for the continuance of the Class during the coming Fall and Winter, your Committee have not succeeded in getting a decided answer from Mr. Harris as to his continuing to teach the Class, but he promises to do so by the 1st August. His reasons for this delay is the probability of his going abroad to reside, should he decided [sic] to remain in Montreal he would take charge of the class.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, Scrapbook 01-121-2a, see also "High Art in Montreal," Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette, 23 Feb., 1886, p. 3. Harris' successor, William Brymner, encountered the same difficulties with his students. A.A.M. Annual Report 1895, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, Council Meetings, Book I (1860-95), 3 June 1884.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 4 June 1884.

In June 1884, two hundred and fifty drawings from casts by A.A.M. pupils were exhibited.

. . . the result of the labours of pupils was shown at the close of the term in an Exhibition of 250 Drawings from Casts, in which a very gratifying progress on the part of the pupils was manifest. . . the degrees of advancement of the pupils were very different. Some had studied, many had to begin absolutely at the beginning. For all however it was evident that the requisite discipline was that of sound hard work in drawing.

To learn to discriminate between what is really seen and what is expected to be seen to decide what is the actual visual impression received and what the imported reminiscence, to be able impartially and candidly to compare one's own work with nature must certainly form the basis of the true elementary education in Art.

The drawings of the students during the last winter have therefore been almost entirely from casts with the occasional essays in original composition from subjects given out for that purpose.<sup>1</sup>

On three occasions, during the time when Robert Harris was director of the A.A.M. art school, individuals associated with the A.A.M. attempted unsuccessfully to solicit financial assistance and teaching models from

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid. See Appendix 2 f. 25 were enrolled in the first term (Oct.-Dec., 1883) and 34 in the second term (Jan.-May 1884). "The work done in the School during the past winter has accordingly been limited to drawing. To study of those essential qualities of proportion, contour and values, which are the first and most important facts of appearance as revealing the character of objects."

South Kensington.<sup>1</sup> However, through the generosity of artist Marmaduke Matthews (1837-1913), a former A.A.M. instructor, a number of small casts, easels and other

<sup>1</sup>A.A.M. Annual Report 1883, p. 6. See M.M.F.A. Archives, Scrapbook 01-102-16, see also "Art Association of Montreal," Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette, 21 Dec., 1883, p. 3. "Mr. Hall, a member of our Council, is at present in Europe, and the Association gave him a letter of introduction, upon presenting which he has been very well received by several influential persons in England, among them Mr. Wallis at South Kensington Museum, and it is possible that something may result in favor of our Association, or its art school, from the relations thus commenced." George Wallis (1811-91) was headmaster of the art school at Spitalfields, 1843; Manchester, 1844-46; Birmingham 1852-57; and Keeper of the Art Collection of the South Kensington Museum from 1860-91. See Thieme-Becker, Vol. XXXV, p. 101. M.M.F.A. Archives Council Meetings, Book I (1860-95), 7 May 1884. "A letter from Mr. Hall, enclosing one from Sir Philip Cunliffe-Owen, on the matter of obtaining loans of works of Art from the Kensington Authorities, was read. After some conversation on the subject, a correspondence was authorized with Mr. Deschamp of London England to ascertain what he might do in the way of sending out pictures for exhibition and sale, and the President of the Association, was requested to see Mr. Deschamp and make further inquiries during his visit to England, this coming summer." See also E. Bonython, op. cit., p. 45. "[Sir Francis Philip] Cunliffe-Owen [1828-1894] succeeded Cole as Director of the South Kensington Museum on Cole's retirement in 1873. He was the younger brother of Colonel Henry Owen, RE who became a friend of Cole's during the preparations for the Great Exhibition, . . . Through his brother he joined the team working on the British section of the Paris Exhibition of 1855, and remained with Cole in his department, rising to be Assistant Director of the Museum by 1860." See also A. S. Levine, op. cit., p. 259; H. Butterworth, op. cit., pp. 303, 494. "On Owen's retirement, the office was separated into two sections, and J. H. Middleton, Slade Professor and Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, took over responsibility of the Art Collection. Middleton died in 1896, and was succeeded by C. Purden Clarke, who served until the turn of the century." M.M.F.A. Archives, Council Meetings, Book I (1860-95), 6 Jan., 1886. "In consequence of an intimation from the Secretary [S. C. Stevenson] of the Council of Arts and Manufactures of his willingness to solicit the Directorate of the South Kensington Museum of London, for a donation of Casts and Drawings for the use of the Association Art Class."

teaching devices were loaned indefinitely to the A.A.M.<sup>1</sup>

In the autumn of 1884, Harris' second year, a few 'returning' students were permitted to begin studies of the 'living model.'

At the beginning of the winter term in October last many of the same students re-entered the school. This made it possible to begin drawing from the living model with advantage, while the work of drawing from casts went on as before, as a preliminary course. . . .

During the next term some of the new pupils will begin painting from objects and even from the living model.<sup>2</sup>

During his time as A.A.M. director, Harris delivered four lectures,<sup>3</sup> three of which were on Italian Renaissance painters. The lectures were not part of the curriculum, however, they were open to the public, presumably to promote an interest in fine art and the A.A.M. drawing classes.

The 1885 annual A.A.M. student exhibition comprised three hundred drawings, mostly from the cast.

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<sup>1</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, Council Meetings, Book I (1860-95), 5 Sept., 1883 and 3 June 1884. See also A.A.M. Annual Report, 1887, pp. 5-6.

<sup>2</sup>A.A.M. Annual Report 1884, "Report on the Art Classes," 17 Dec., 1884, unpagued.

<sup>3</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, Scrapbooks 01-102-02, 01-104-01. "Early Florentine Art"; 01-116-02, see "Three Painters of Florence," Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette, 17 Dec., 1884, p. 5; see 01-116-03, "Three Painters of Florence," Montreal Gazette, 17 Dec., 1884, p. 2, see 01-116-04; then at a later date, probably the same lecture, retitled "Some Early Florentine Artists - Fra Angelico, Botticelli and Andrea della Sarto," see 04-103-05, 04-103-06, 04-103-08+, 04-104-02. The fourth lecture, "The foundation of judgement in art," was given in 1885. See Scrapbook 01-118-01, see also "Judgement in Art," Montreal Gazette, 2 Dec., 1885, p. 2.

It was composed of a large number of drawings in crayon and charcoal from the cast and from the draped model, with some studies in oil-color from the cast, the model, and still-life. The quality of the drawings, it may fairly be claimed, showed that most of the students really had a serious aim in their work. . . .

An interesting exhibition of some of the work done by the students of the Art Classes, during the session 1884 and 1885, was opened May 16th and remained open for one week. It consisted of crayon and charcoal drawings and studies in oil, numbering 300 in all.<sup>1</sup>

In 1886 the 'quick sketch' was introduced into the A.A.M. drawing class in the absence of the 'living model.'

Younger students often fail to see how drawing from plaster casts can possibly lead to sketching from nature. For these beginners, as well as for the benefit of more advanced students, an extra class has lately been begun on Wednesday afternoons, lasting one hour and a half. At this class one pupil poses while the others make quick sketches either in pencil or water-colour. One of the objects of this class is to give practical illustration of the principles taught in drawing from the cast, and this will probably add interest to the more laborious part of the training.<sup>2</sup>

In the same year, it was proposed that a watercolour<sup>3</sup> and an evening drawing class be offered, however, neither were established because of low enrolment.

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<sup>1</sup>A.A.M. Annual Report 1885, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup>A.A.M. Annual Report 1886, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 5. See also Leduc, op. cit., p. 57. "It is in contemplation to hold a night-class, should a sufficient number of students offer themselves; and a class in watercolour under Mr. O. Jacobi, R.C.A., is also under consideration." Perhaps another reason why a watercolour class was not established at the A.A.M., was the choice of Otto Jacobi (1812-1901) as instructor. For a humorous description of Jacobi's teaching methods see N. MacTavish, op. cit., p. 12.

Also, in 1886, the A.A.M. received one hundred dollars<sup>1</sup> from the R.C.A. to encourage and promote drawing from life.

B) William Brymner and Drawing Instruction  
(1886-1914)

William Brymner (1855-1925) was born at Greenock, Scotland on December 14, 1855, and shortly thereafter in 1857, emigrated with his parents to Melbourne, Eastern Townships, Quebec.<sup>2</sup> After studying architecture in Ottawa, he went to London briefly, and then Paris in 1878. His father, Douglas Brymner, was Canada's first Dominion Archivist, and through his father's influence he was employed to help organise the Canadian display at the Paris Exhibition.<sup>3</sup>

After the close of the Paris Exposition, he remained in Paris, where he enrolled in three drawing classes (a

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 5. "The Council beg again to acknowledge the receipt from the Royal Canadian Academy of one hundred dollars, towards the expenses of the life-class of 1885-86, being a share of the public money placed annually at its disposal for that purpose. The Academy having recently opened a life-class of its own, under the supervision of the resident Academicians, this grant will not be available during the current year."

<sup>2</sup> J. R. Harper, PinC, op. cit., p. 407. See also J. R. Harper, E.P.&E., op. cit., p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> J. Braide, William Brymner 1855-1925: A Retrospective (Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, Queen's University, 1979), p. 19. "Thomas Keefer, the Canadian Commissioner of the Paris Exposition, . . . agreed to give him six to eight weeks of work at \$70 a month, from seven in the morning to six in the evening with Sundays free. . . . Brymner designed exhibition cases, drew floor plans, and was in contact with Nadar concerning photographs."



public school evening course, lessons from M. Suisse, and M. Pinat). His description of the Parisian public school evening drawing class was reminiscent of the difficulties (unwilling pupils) encountered by their British and Canadian counterparts.

Yesterday morning Mr. Potter, of whom I spoke in my last, took me to see and introduced me to an American Artist of the name of Blommer who is trying to make a living here and finding it very difficult. We wanted to find out from him about private drawing schools where a lot of young men get together and pay for a master and models or else some artists or other gets the models and charges for their use and his services. I heard of one at 25[francs] a month and another at about 10 [francs] a month. We concluded that the latter must be the place. It is kept by a man of the name of Suisse on the Quay near Notre Dame Cathedral. . . . I think this is or will be better than the public school I was going to in the evenings because those who are attending this are men seriously in earnest about what they are doing while the other is made up principally of boys sent by their fathers and mothers to learn to draw and take no serious interest in what they are about. Others are older and go to draw for their amusement but never intending to take painting up seriously as a profession. Besides the public school is only for 6 hours a week while the other is every day.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to classroom and private drawing instruction, Brymner purchased a modest collection of casts of

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<sup>1</sup>McCord Museum Archives, William Brymner Correspondence, Folder 1, letter from W. B. to his mother, 10 July, 1878. See also ibid., letter from W. B. to his parents, 16 July, 1878. ". . . in the meantime saw the advertisement of another man not quite so far advanced and who appeared to me would suit better for the first month or two, his terms are 15f or \$3 a month two hours a day four times a week. I began with this man Pinat by name yesterday morning and have had two lessons from him. The days are Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday of each week. I am drawing from casts and think he will do."



antique statuary to continue self-practice in his Paris lodgings.<sup>1</sup> In mid-July he made sketching excursions to Brétigny and Plessis-Pâte.<sup>2</sup> All this was in preparation for his application to the Académie Julian. His selection of the Académie Julian was based on a recommendation by an American artist named Curtis, whom Brymner had met.<sup>3</sup>

In mid-October he was accepted into the Académie Julian and began drawing from the cast. He arranged his daily routine to enable him to continue his study with M. Pinat in the mornings and Julian's in the afternoon. His schedule conformed to that of most fine art students.

I began yesterday in the studio of Mr. Julian and I think I will get on very well there. I will be at Mr. Pinat's in the morning until the end of the month. I go to Julian's at one and get out at five. I haven't begun from the living model but am still at casts, the more difficult ones. . . .

I didn't tell you that a great many go to the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in the morning

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., Folder 2, letter from W. B. to his parents, 26 Sept., 1878.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., Folder 1, letter from W. B. to his mother, 24 July, 1878. He made further sketching trips from mid-late Sept., 1878. See ibid., Folder 2, 17 Sept., 1878 - outside Paris and ibid., Folder 2, 23 Sept., 1878 - Rheims.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., Folder 1, letter from W. B. to his parents, 16 July, 1878. ". . . so I went to an address given me by a young American who has been travelling about this part of the world for the last couple of years. I met him by accident on the top of a street car, I don't even know his name (Curtis). . . . He asked me if I was studying art here I told him I was supposed to be doing so but had not yet begun. He said he was doing likewise and gave me the address of 'Les Ateliers de Julian' which he said was a good life school. His prices are, everyday from 9am to noon 25f a month or from 1pm till 5 - 30f a month or both 50f a month. There are a great many young men here and you begin by drawing from casts and then 'du model vivant' or if far enough on you begin with the living model. I thought the morning would suit me and it is not very dear \$5 a month."

and to Julian's or other private schools in the afternoon. I will do this should I succeed in passing in January.<sup>1</sup>

Brymner expressed his admiration and respect for his two instructors, Jules Lefebvre (1836-1911) and Gustave Clarence Rodolphe Boulanger (1824-88), particularly with regard to their abilities as draughtsmen.

By being at Julian's I am the Elève of Jules Lefebvre and Boulanger, two of the best artists in France as far as accurate drawing and colour goes.<sup>2</sup>

Also, he stated his preference for the paintings of William Adolphe Bouguereau (1825-1905) and Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier (1815-91) because their works were "so finely and minutely painted."<sup>3</sup> Brymner's interest in 'accurate' drawing was no doubt due in part to his initial choice of profession—architect, however, one author has associated his thoroughness and fondness for detail to his 'Scottish' origin.

In all his teaching and painting he had the Scottish fondness for thoroughness, and he treated with disdain everything that gave evidence of sham, cant, or insincerity.<sup>4</sup>

Although Brymner attained the status of R.C.A., had a long and successful artistic career, one of the criticisms about his paintings was a noticeable difficulty in

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., Folder 2, letter from W. B. to his parents, 16 Oct., 1878.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., Folder 2, letter from W. B. to his father, 4 Nov., 1878.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., Folder 1, letter from W. B. to his parents, 31 July, 1878.

<sup>4</sup>N. MacTavish, op. cit., p. 55.

drawing. One of his oldest friends, John W. H. Watts, attributed his technical problems to his Paris training.

Still teaching - Has not advanced during the last ten years . . . note the poor compositions - works outside - lacks colour sense and arrangement. . . .<sup>1</sup> Teaching seems fatal to Art progress. . . . Brymner is not improving. Exhibit 1903 important as to size and number and price but poor in art quality. . . . Brymner is the outcome of Paris training and lacks individuality and imagination.<sup>2</sup>

According to Braide, he returned to Canada to become an instructor at the Ottawa art school for the 1880/81 session.<sup>3</sup> During the interval between 1880/81 and his appointment as A.A.M. director in 1886, he illustrated a novel, travelled to Western Canada to sketch and paint Rocky Mountain scenery, made three visits to France (Fontainbleau - May 1881 and again in January 1885, and in 1883 to Pontaubert and Burgundy) and one trip to England (Runswick Bay, Yorkshire in 1883/84).<sup>4</sup>

In the autumn of 1886, Brymner replaced Robert Harris as A.A.M. director, a position he maintained for thirty-five years, until 1921, when he resigned because of ill health. It was rather ironical that seven years earlier in 1879, Brymner had expressed his reluctance to become an art master.

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<sup>1</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, Watts MSS., Vol. 3, Feb., 1902, p. 244.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., Feb., 1904, p. 244.

<sup>3</sup>J. Braide, op. cit., p. 24.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 10-11. He resumed his studies during the summer of 1889 at the Académie Julian. See ibid., p. 36.

I may remark that I hope from the bottom of my heart never to become the master of any art school. My aims at the present moment are very much higher. I would like to go back and make duffers consider that it was a great condescension on my part to give them advice now and then. . . .<sup>1</sup>

Art teachers or drawing masters traditionally had not been highly regarded by members of society,<sup>2</sup> however, with the importance placed upon drawing in the curriculum of a general education and for industrial purposes, in the last quarter of the 19th century, the status of drawing instructors had become elevated.

Brymner, as did his predecessor Harris, emphasized the importance of drawing as the foundation of art.

The same system of teaching is still pursued as in former years, . . . Drawing has been insisted on as of the first importance, for without it as a foundation no real progress can be made in either painting, watercolour or modelling.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 23. Letter from W. B. to his father, 30 Sept., 1879. Brymner refused the position of instructor at the Kingston art school c. 1883/84. See J. Braide, op. cit., pp. 28, 68. Letter from W. B. to his father 7 Sept., 1884. Brymner was appointed Senior Freehand drawing teacher at the Council art school, Montreal, in 1889/90, however resigned. See also A.N.Q.M., M135/1, Livre des minutes, 13 May 1890, p. 853. "In the Senior Freehand Class, owing to the resignation of Mr. René Quentin, Mr. W. Brymner was appointed teacher but as this gentleman resided outside the city, [he] was obliged to resign. . . ."

<sup>2</sup>Wilkie Collins, The Woman in White (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 18. "Are you a man of rank and title yourself? Far from it. I am only a drawing master." See also M. Allthorpe-Guyton, op. cit., p. 15.

<sup>3</sup>A.A.M. Annual Report 1886, p. 5.

As A.A.M. director, he encountered the same problems, as Harris had, regarding his students' resistance to rigorous preliminary drawing studies.

The most important is that there are so few who wish really to begin at the beginning and go through the drudgery of learning to draw. Many who make inquiries decide not to come when they find that they will not be allowed to begin where they like and paint copies of pictures of flowers, or do something else of an equally unprofitable kind for beginners. . . . A smattering of drawing and a little copying of paintings, with an idea that art is being studied, is of very little use; for such so-called study only leads to a misconception of what real work is, and a contempt for the master-<sup>1</sup> pieces of art which are not understood.

Brymner's philosophy of art and ideas on drawing instruction were expressed most clearly in an undated typescript copy of handwritten lecture notes deposited in the M.M.F.A. archives.<sup>2</sup>

The manuscript indicated that he was familiar with John Duffield Harding's (1798-1863) drawing manuals, Thomas Couture's (1815-79) Entretiens d'Ateliers (1868), John Ruskin's (1819-1900) Elements of Drawing, Horace Lecoq de Boisbaudran's (1801-97) L'Education de la mémoire pittoresque et la formation de l'artiste, and Ernest Chesneau's (1819-90) The Education of the Artist (1886).

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<sup>1</sup>A.A.M. Annual Report 1895, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, William Brymner typescript (16 pp.). This document can be dated to 26 March, 1895. See "Views of Art Teaching," Montreal Gazette, 27 Mar., 1895, p. 2.

Brymner condemned both Harding and Couture for "trying to teach other people short cuts."<sup>1</sup>

He stressed hard work at the elementary level, which would enable the student to freely interpret nature and the living model. He believed that copying works of artists or other imitations of nature was essentially wrong, as it would not only stifle a pupil's creativity but also not allow him to resolve his own technical

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<sup>1</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, William Brymner typescript, pp. 5-6. See also Albert Boime, Thomas Couture and the Eclectic Vision (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980). "Harding, who published books on drawing some fifty years ago in England, is responsible for a great deal of the kind of teaching I refer to. Some of Harding's own drawings - as for examples of his lithographic drawing of trees - are excellent. His fault consisted not in doing bad work himself, but in trying to teach other people short cuts to arrive at the point he had himself reached through the study of nature; in giving them receipts for the presentation of nature instead of showing them how to study, and how to find out about her for themselves. . . ."

Harding has had many imitations in this amiable desire to save other people trouble. They show pupils how a great part of the training, they themselves have gone through may be skipped and how results may be arrived at without much work. They forget that the searching they have been obliged to do has been their training.

The most eminent painter guilty of this mistake is perhaps Thomas Couture. In the preface to his book 'Entretiens d'Ateliers' says he rebelled in boyhood against all Academic training. The sight of nature guided him better than words which seemed useless to him. He goes on to say, 'This independence has cost me dear. I have often mistaken the way sometimes entirely lost myself; but there have come to me from these failures great results, great light.' Brymner's harsh criticism of Harding is unjustified, as an examination of the accompanying texts to Harding's manuals reveal. See J. D. Harding, Elementary Art or, the Use of the Chalk and Lead Pencil advocated and explained (4th ed.; London: Day and son, n.d.), pp. 2-4. "There are many who regard it as of easy attainment; and if they discover in themselves an aptitude for imitation, at once decide on becoming either professional artists, or amateurs, concluding though most erroneously, that they are in possession of an intuitive talent which will enable them to attain in 'Six Easy Lessons,' a thorough mastery over Art. . . . Art, if properly viewed, should be esteemed an indispensable part of a liberal education, . . ."



problems.

On the same principle that Harding's and the other like methods are bad; it is bad to begin by copying the great masters' ways of working. If you begin by doing what is called clever handling, using large brushes, putting on qualities of paint you can only be imitating the workmanship of men who have evolved their own style by the long and hard study of nature. Their brilliant execution is natural to them whilst yours if not found on nature (and it cannot be found on nature as you are only beginning your studies) will probably only imitate the chosen masters' most glaring mannerisms and other faults.<sup>1</sup>

In Brymner's opinion, perfection in the various art historical periods was achieved by the following artists: ". . . the Venetians - colour; Rembrandt - light; Raphael - grace of line; Michel Angelo - energy of form; and the Greeks - beauty of form."<sup>2</sup> His views were shared by his contemporaries. He alluded to the danger of copying or imitating the works of the great masters because a superficial understanding of their art would lead to a misrepresentation and the inevitable inability of the artist to transcribe the emotional content and interpret nature in his own works.

Each perfectly expressed in his own way his emotions. You cannot go on where they have left off and complete the work of their minds. Their work is already complete. In this sense there can hardly be said to be progress in art from age to age. There is a change of aim. Art is not mechanical process. . . . Indeed mechanical perfection in painting is one of the signs of decay for it shows that thought is lavished on the mechanical

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 11.



process at the expense of the idea. . . .  
 An art training should not teach you to imitate anyone, but should teach you how to study and help you to see with your own eyes.<sup>1</sup>

Brymner associated mechanical representation of perfection of form with decadence or decay in visual art, which was derived from the ideas of Ruskin.

An artist is moved in some way by nature and used the materials supplied by nature to express his emotions. Each experiences his own emotions and expresses them in a way peculiar to himself, as 'Art and Nature seen through a temperament. . . .' In a general way any method of instruction that teaches no habits of observation of nature and that sends you to nature at once or nearly at once for instruction is good and any method which gives you receipts for the representation of any given objects in nature is bad. The first part of Ruskin's 'Elements of Drawing' is good on this principle and most of what he says in that book is helpful.<sup>2</sup>

Brymner suggested a number of exercises which would strengthen an art student's skill. He believed modelling was an essential part of an artist's training to capture

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 11-12. "Any good picture is done while the Artist is under some influence. . . . The Artist must get as near nature as possible, be inspired by her at first hand and be allowed to express his emotions in the way he feels will best make them felt by others, although he is not following anyone's example." Brymner was aware of Ruskin before he had read Elements of Drawing. In 1878, he visited Ruskin's collection of Turner's drawings at the Fine Art Society Gallery, London, England. See M.M.F.A. Archives, Watts MSS., Vol. 3, unpagged, letter of W.B. to J. W. H. Watts, 18 Mar., 1878. "I went & saw Mr. Ruskin's Collection of Turner's drawings at the Fine Arts Society's Gallery 148 New Bond St. It took me nearly two hours to find the place on foot. There are 120 Water Colours and pencil sketches. The gem of the collection so to speak is a view of Rouen."

form.

When the pupil can, with comparative ease, make a figure in white plaster, stand well and solidly on its feet and can get it well into proportion it is time to begin study from the living model.<sup>1</sup>

According to Brymner, another important aspect of art education was memory drawing, although it is impossible to determine how extensively it was used in his A.A.M. drawing classes.

A memory drawing should be made often of the drawing from the cast or model during the day. It is excellent practice and although much neglected is indispensable. Without the drawing from memory the artist is powerless to put his first ideas of a picture on paper and this is the first step towards painting a picture.

My object is not to give you a treatise on drawing but I have said enough to make you understand what sort of hard work it is necessary to go through in order to arrive at Excellence.<sup>2</sup>

Brymner advocated study of the nude. He quoted verbatim French artist, critic, art educational reformer and instructor, Ernest Chesneau.

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<sup>1</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, William Brymner typescript, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 16. See also A.A.M. Annual Report 1895, p. 6. Memory drawing, based on the work of Horace Lecoq de Boisbaudran's L'éducation de la mémoire pittoresque et la formation de l'artiste, was an integral part of curriculum in art schools in the late 19th century. For a detailed description of Lecoq de Boisbaudran's teaching methods by his former pupil, August Rodin, see Rodin (New York: MOMA, 1963), pp. 160-62. See Theodore Reff, "Copyists in the Louvre, 1850-1870," Art Bulletin, Vol. 46, 1964, pp. 552-59. See also Horace Lecoq de Boisbaudran, L'éducation de la mémoire pittoresque et de la formation de l'artiste (Paris: L. D. Luard, ed., n.d. [1920]), p. 46.

The study of the nude is, of course, an indispensable exercise for every artist who is anxious to master the numberless combinations of form that nature offers to his consideration. The drawing of the figure necessitates faithful observation, a quick and accurate eye, facility of hand, delicacy of drawing and a sense of proportion.<sup>1</sup>

In the absence of the living model Brymner recommended 'quick sketches'<sup>2</sup> executed by pupils of their classmates.

Brymner's definition of 'genius' was practical, which linked him to Walter Smith and the utilitarian philosophy of art. Hard work was the key to developing skill in all artists, however, only a few would produce superior works.

There is no royal road to success in art. Genius even has to patiently begin at the beginning, and first learn to imitate nature in the most prosaic way. As the foundation of all the graphic and plastic arts is drawing, and as drawing treated with more contempt and neglect by the ordinary amateur than any other branch of artistic training, perhaps a few remarks on the subject may not be out of place.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, William Brymner typescript, p. 15. See also Ernest Chesneau, The Education of the Artist, trans. by Clara Bell (London: Cassell & Company Ltd., 1886), p. 122. "The perpetual slight changes of the models also add to the student's difficulties. But this difficulty is one of the great benefits of drawing from the living model." See M.M.F.A. Archives, William Brymner typescript, p. 14. Jules Breton (1827-1905) observed that most of his pupils had difficulty drawing figures, however, they were competent executing individual details. ". . . la plupart [sic] des élèves avaient le grand défaut d'exécuter dans leurs figures, très consciencieusement d'ailleurs des détails trop indépendants les uns des autres; des nez, des bouches. . . ." See A. Boime, . . . unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, op. cit., p. 72.

<sup>2</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, William Brymner typescript, p. 16. See A.A.M. Annual Report 1895, p. 6. Edmond Dyonnet used 'quick sketches' at the Council art schools. Edmond Dyonnet, op. cit., p. 37.

<sup>3</sup>"Views of Art Teaching," Montreal Gazette, 27 Mar., 1895, p. 2.

Brymner disagreed with the South Kensington system of drawing instruction, which stressed and required highly finished drawings at the elementary levels. He preferred the French system, in which the student was required to capture form and overall effet during the preliminary stages of development.

Let me explain in what way this system differed from those of the Academy and South Kensington. The idea of the latter is to require of the student at the very outset a highly finished copy of some antique figure. He is required, that is to say, to finish before he has learned to begin. He is encouraged in that vice of the beginner, which is to notice the little things and to be blind to the large things. The business of a real teacher of drawing may be summed up in the effort to make the beginner attend to the large fact first, the small next and the smallest last. The effect of the official idea is the exact contrary to this and keeps the beginner's eye glued to some tiny fact of superficial texture, while everything important remains unperceived.

It is to put the cart before the horse and spend all day polishing the harness in the hope of moving the load. Let the untechnical reader consider. Supposing one has to draw the figure of a man standing with outstretched arms; the main, the elementary fact is that the figure, the fact in which all its action depends is expressed by two lines crossing one another, the line of the body and that of the arms. Note the angle correctly, hit the characteristic swing of those two lines, and you have set up a scaffolding on which all the smaller facts can be correctly hung, the smaller contours of the single limbs, the still smaller contours of the several muscles, and so forth. But miss the elementary fact, and no smaller fact can be rightly stated<sup>1</sup> because of this mistake at the outset.

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<sup>1</sup>"Art Association of Montreal," Montreal Daily Star, 8 Dec., 1894, p. 6.

i) Curriculum and Staff

The primary purpose of the A.A.M. art school was to offer advanced drawing instruction, however the abilities, the varied art educational backgrounds and the attitudes of the students, most of whom were women from middle and upper socio-economic groups, made Brymner's task difficult.

In 1889, the A.A.M. art school was criticised for its high annual fees.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to drawing classes, a Water Colour course was given from 1889-91 by J. M. Barnsley (1861-1929)<sup>2</sup> and

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<sup>1</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, Scrapbook 03-114-08. See also Toronto Week, 29 Mar., 1889. "But the fees still remain much too high. Fifty dollars is too much for the average Canadian to pay for a short session of two terms, . . ." The fees remained at \$40 per annum or \$25 per term (2 terms) until the 1898/99 session when the pupil was given the option of paying \$40 per annum, \$25 per term, or \$10 per month. A.A.M. Annual Report 1898-99, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup>A.A.M. Annual Report 1889, p. 5. "The Water Colour Class began on the 2nd of September, with a very small attendance." See J. R. Harper, E.P.&E., op. cit., p. 17. Barnsley studied at the School of Fine Arts, St. Louis and later in Paris at the Académie Julian under De Villefroy, Louis Lelor, and Baron de Terran, c. 1882-87. For a review of Barnsley's Water Colour class exhibition of 1890 see M.M.F.A. Archives, Scrapbook 03-134-1. See also "The Drawing Class Organizes," Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette, 8 Nov., 1890, p. 8. "An art connoisseur [sic] would be pleased were he to take a look in at the Montreal Art Gallery just now. He would not look at the collection of water colors with a feeling that they were by any means perfect but it would greatly please him to find that there were so many ladies in this city who are capable of creating or, as in some cases, copying pictures that are a credit alike to pupil and teacher. There are probably 150 in all, many being in crude form and only there to show the ability of the painter and her master who must have the knowledge and also the gift to impart that knowledge to his pupil. On the other hand, there are many which are ready for the frame and which will doubtless grace the drawing rooms of the houses of our city. The collection is exclusively the work of the pupils of Mr. Barnsley's class, each of the pictures being from the hands of a lady."



subsequently from 1892-1901, by Charles Moss (1860-1929).<sup>1</sup>

With the death of Charles Moss in 1901, the Water Colour class was replaced by sketching en-plein-air in oils under the direction of Edmond Dyonnet. Dyonnet taught from 1901/02 - 10/11 and was succeeded by Maurice Cullen (1866-1934) in 1911/12.<sup>2</sup>

Between 1897-1906, additional courses, such as, Anatomy, Modelling, and Illustration, complementary to fine art, were introduced at the A.A.M. art school.

In 1896, George William Hill (1862-1934), a sculptor, offered a Modelling class, however, due to the small

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<sup>1</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, Scrapbook 04-142-14, see "Exhibition of Water Colors," Montreal Gazette, 16 Apr., 1901, p. 3. "An exhibition of 100 water color drawings finished and unfinished by the late Mr. Charles E. Moss, R.C.A., is now open in the new gallery of the Art Gallery, Phillips square. Mr. Moss was well known in Montreal, both as a painter and the teacher of autumn sketch class, and died after a short illness last winter. The exhibition is for the benefit of his widow and children." See also M.M.F.A. Archives, Watts MSS., Feb., 1902, pp. 262-63. "For five years a Student in Paris Ateliers under Bonnat, Cormon and Ferrier. Exhibitor at the Salon of 1881, 1882, 1883 and 1884 and Head Master of the Ottawa school of Art. . . . Moss died about a year ago . . . a sad affair (tumour in ear) poor fellow. . . ."

<sup>2</sup>A.A.M. Annual Report 1911-12, p. 7. Cullen attended the Council art school in Montreal during the 1886/87 session and is listed as a student in the R.C.A. 'life class,' Montreal, in 1898. A.N.Q.M., M 135/2, Livre des minutes, 16 Sept., 1913, p. 907. A.N.Q.M., 06M, ZQ 22/1, C.A.M.P.Q., 32P9.

<u>Date</u>						<u>Course</u>	<u>Teacher</u>	
Jan.,	Feb.,	Mar.,	Apr.,	Nov.,	Dec.,	1886	Modelling	Philippe Hébert
"	"	"	"	"	"	"	Woodcarving	P. Laporte
		"	"	"	"	"	Anatomy	Philippe Hébert
					Mar.,	1887	Modelling	J. O. Gratton

See also N.A., R.C.A. of Arts Papers, R.C.A. Minute Books 1880-1906, MG28 I 126, Vol. 17, 14 Dec., 1898, p. 115. Cullen studied at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris in 1889 under Gérôme and Jules-Eli Delaunay. See J. R. Harper, E.P.&E., op. cit., p. 80.

attendance it was discontinued.<sup>1</sup> Modelling was re-introduced ten years later in 1905/06 under the direction of Kenneth R. MacPherson (1861-1916) who was an amateur artist and lawyer by profession, however, it was also poorly attended and dropped from the curriculum the following year.<sup>2</sup>

In 1896/97, Brymner suggested that a separate class for elementary drawing be established as well as a design course.<sup>3</sup> Two years later, in 1898/99, an elementary drawing class was introduced particularly suited to and scheduled for school children. The class was taught by Alberta Cleland (1876-1960) and was held Tuesday and Thursday afternoons between 3:30- 5.<sup>4</sup>

Brymner's choice of Miss Alberta Cleland as his assistant was not particularly surprising firstly, most of the students were women and secondly, she had distinguished herself in the 1894 A.A.M. student exhibition by placing first in the antique drawing competition.<sup>5</sup> His selection, however, was out of character because of comments he had

<sup>1</sup>A.A.M. Annual Report 1896, pp. 4-5.

<sup>2</sup>A.A.M. Annual Report 1905-06, p. 7. See J. R. Harper, E.P.&E., op. cit., p. 211.

<sup>3</sup>A.A.M. Annual Report 1896-97, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup>A.A.M. Annual Report 1898-99, p. 5. The fees were \$4 per month. See M.M.F.A., Archives, Scrapbook 04-111-20, see also Montreal Witness, 6 Oct., 1898.

<sup>5</sup>A.A.M. Annual Report 1894, p. 4.



made about women and amateur artists.<sup>1</sup> Although she was the instructor of the Elementary or Junior drawing class, she continued her studies for another year in the Advanced drawing class where she won first prize for a drawing from life.<sup>2</sup>

Also during the 1898/99 session, Dr. R. Tait McKenzie (1867-1938), a physician and sculptor, offered an artistic Anatomy course.<sup>3</sup> The class was given for two years, then dropped because of poor enrolment.

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<sup>1</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, Watts MSS., Vol. 3, p. 244. Letter from W. B. to J. W. H. Watts, 22 Mar., 1889. "I have a list here, sent by the Sect. of the RCA [Edmond Dyonnet] of the men and women who are up for the votes as associates. As far as I can see they consist of duffers and the most amateur kind of amateurs. What in this world is the use of adding and adding useless members to the list of associates. If the whole thing is a farce it will be good to elect this lot but if the academy is not intended as a laughing stock to the rest of the community, we must make an effort to keep this crowd out. We must do everything in our power to keep out all these women and fellows who do trash of one kind and another."

<sup>2</sup>A.A.M. Annual Report 1900, p. 3. See M.M.F.A. Archives, Scrapbook, 04-132-09. See also "Art Scholarships Awarded," Montreal Daily Star, 14 May, 1900, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup>A.A.M. Annual Report 1898-99, p. 5. "The Anatomy Lectures by Dr. R. Tait McKenzie are a new feature and it is to be hoped a permanent one. . . . A course of ten lectures was given on Monday afternoon at 4.30 o'clock, commencing November 14th, 1898, and finishing February 6th, 1899. 28 pupils attended." Five dollars was charged for the course of lectures, while art students attending regular classes paid only three dollars. See Montreal Gazette, 28 June, 1899. See also M.M.F.A. Archives, Scrapbook 04-123-16b. Montreal Star, 29 Dec., 1900. M.M.F.A. Archives, Scrapbook 04-134-03. A.A.M. Annual Report 1900-01, p. 4. "It is to be regretted that the Anatomy lectures by Dr. R. Tait McKenzie could not be held last winter, owing to there not being a sufficient number of students wishing to take advantage of the Course." The idea of re-introducing anatomy lectures by Dr. R. Tait McKenzie into the curriculum was stated in 1903, however poor registration warranted against its inclusion." M.M.F.A. Archives, Council Meetings, Book II (1895-1925), 25 Jan., 1903. McKenzie's fee for a series of ten lectures on anatomy was \$100.

Brymner initiated a Painting class in 1900/01,<sup>1</sup> which was held from 2-4 on Wednesday and Friday afternoons.

In 1904/05 an Illustration class was given by William Molson Barnes (1882-1955) from 7:30 - 9:30, Tuesday and Friday evenings, however, it was poorly attended and abandoned the following year.<sup>2</sup>

While a number of art institutions included lectures to complement their fine art classes, they were not part of the A.A.M. curriculum. Brymner addressed the public and A.A.M. members on only five occasions between 1886-1921. He lectured on "Impressionism,"<sup>3</sup> "Paris ateliers and drawing instruction,"<sup>4</sup> "Modernisms in Art," "Greek and Early Christian Art - A Comparison," and "Venice."<sup>5</sup>

Even though he showed an awareness and appreciation of Impressionism, its technical achievement and 'new types of beauty,' according to Harper, the first visible traces of Impressionism appear in Brymner's painting The Vaughan

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<sup>1</sup>A.A.M. Annual Report 1900-01, p. 5. "Fees, \$6 per month; students attending regular classes, \$4.50."

<sup>2</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, Council Meetings, Book II (1895-1925), 14 Dec., 1903, pp. 77-78. See also A.A.M. Annual Report 1904-05, p. 7. "Fees, \$25 for the course; \$15 for a single term."

<sup>3</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, Scrapbook 02-094-03, see also "Lecture on Impressionism," Montreal Daily Star, 11 Mar., 1896, p. 7. Braide dated incorrectly this lecture to 1916. see J. Braide, op. cit., pp. 13, 41.

<sup>4</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, William Brymner typescript. This lecture can be dated to 26 Mar., 1895. See "Views of Art Teaching," Montreal Gazette, 27 Mar., 1895, p. 2.

<sup>5</sup>J. Braide, op. cit., pp. 49-50, 71. Braide dated the Venice lecture 1901.

Sisters c. 1910.<sup>1</sup>

In 1888, according to the A.A.M. annual report, there was a definite change in the attitude of the students.<sup>2</sup> This new 'serious spirit' resulted in the awarding of two scholarships, each granting free tuition for a period of two years.<sup>3</sup> One prize was offered for drawing from the antique, the other for life drawing. During the first three sessions no one was given the scholarship for life drawing due to a lack of proficiency, therefore the two prizes were presented to students for drawing from the cast. In 1891, the first scholarship was awarded for life drawing.<sup>4</sup>

In addition to the two annual awards, in 1905 free tuition was granted to one pupil in each of the Senior and Junior drawing classes,<sup>5</sup> and still later in 1913, the Women's Art Society contributed fifty dollars per annum toward a scholarship for a promising female student.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>J. R. Harper, P.in C., op. cit., p. 212. See also J. Braide, op. cit., p. 41.

<sup>2</sup>A.A.M. Annual Report 1888, p. 5. "It is pleasing to notice that a more serious spirit animates the school this year and that the importance of drawing is being more fully recognized as the only stepping stone to any real progress in art."

<sup>3</sup>A.A.M. Annual Report 1889, p. 6.

<sup>4</sup>A.M.M. Annual Report 1891, p. 4. "A change was made this year in the mode of competing for scholarships. In former years both the life and the antique classes, as part of the competition, made time drawings each from the casts. It was thought that it would be fairer to allow the life class to make drawings from the living model and the antique class from the cast, thus distinctly separating the two."

<sup>5</sup>A.A.M. Annual Report 1919, pp. 5-6.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

During Brymner's time as director, the A.A.M. art school continued to use the casts loaned to them by Marmaduke Matthews along with a few infrequent additions. Suggestions to purchase two casts of the Elgin Marbles were initiated in 1889,<sup>1</sup> in 1897,<sup>2</sup> and again in 1899,<sup>3</sup> before Brymner was given two hundred dollars in 1900<sup>4</sup> for their acquisition. Two years later in 1902, he was allotted an additional one hundred dollars to buy casts of the work of Donatello and Della Robbia.<sup>5</sup>

Brymner endorsed the French system of drawing instruction over that of South Kensington. The French strove for overall effet, whereas the English emphasized a high degree of finish and accuracy at the elementary level of instruction. Brymner's own style, in both drawing and painting, was academic, although he adopted an impressionistic style c. 1910 when he was influenced by a friend and colleague, Maurice Cullen. These facts combined with an examination of the drawings executed by his A.A.M. students, the majority of whom were women, indicated that attention to detail and precision in representational images was stressed rather than striving for effet.

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<sup>1</sup>A.A.M. Annual Report 1889, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup>A.A.M. Annual Report 1897, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, Council Meetings, Book II (1895-1925), 9 June 1899, p. 34.

<sup>4</sup>A.A.M. Annual Report 1900, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, Council Meetings, Book II (1895-1925), 28 Nov., 1902, p. 66.

A review of the 1887 annual student exhibition confirmed that the majority of works were pencil and crayon drawings from the cast rather than from the living model or oil sketches.

*That Mr. Brymner has not allowed his pupils to stretch their wings in too long flights amongst the paint tubes and palettes is amply testified to by the number of crayon drawings round the walls, drawings from the cast in the most part, though largely interspersed with those of the living model. The absolute importance of acquiring a facility with the charcoal or the pencil, before embarking on the higher walks of art, cannot too strongly be insisted upon, and the students are happy in possessing one who is apparently determined to make them perfect in the preliminaries before allowing an advance into the arena of colors.<sup>1</sup>*

The 1890 exhibition consisted mostly of landscapes, which although described as unfinished, showed 'carefulness of detail.'

There are about one hundred and twenty sketches in the exhibition. None of them are supposed to be finished, each representing only an afternoon's work. A good portion of them are landscape views of familiar portions of the mountain, and many of them show an artistic faithfulness that is encouraging. In some of them the coloring is rather crude, but this is not true of the majority.

There appears to have been but very little striving after effect, the painters contenting themselves with studies that

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<sup>1</sup>"The Art Association - A Good Exhibition by our Amateur Artists," Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette, 19 May, 1887, p. 6. See M.M.F.A. Archives, Scrapbook, 03-048-06, see also Montreal Gazette, 18 May 1887.

look apparently simple, but which, on examination, shows a carefulness of detail.<sup>1</sup>

On one occasion in 1895, the subjects chosen for the antique and life drawing scholarship competitions were specified.

The competition is decided by the best drawing done in a given time and without supervision, at the end of the session, together with the general progress shown by the session's work. The head of Michel Angelo's Brutus was given this year as a time drawing in the Antique class. The life class drew from a semi-nude figure of a man.<sup>2</sup>

Drawing from the living model was part of the A.A.M. curriculum, however, it was restricted to a minority of pupils who were competent draughtsmen.<sup>3</sup>

From 1886, A.A.M. art school rooms were made available to the R.C.A. life class. From 1887, an average of fourteen, mostly professional artists, drew from the nude model under the direction of Robert Harris.<sup>4</sup> The most

<sup>1</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, Scrapbook 03-132-24, see also "Well Worth a Visit," Montreal Gazette, 8 Nov., 1890, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, Scrapbook 04-052-06, see also "Art Class Scholarships," Montreal Gazette, 21 May, 1895, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup>M.M.F.A. Archives, Scrapbook 04-017-5, 04-029-5a. See "Art Association of Montreal," Montreal Daily Star, 18 Oct., 1893, p. 2. See also "Art Association Annual," Montreal Gazette, 15 Feb., 1894, p. 5. The 'living model' was available initially three, six (1898/99) and then, seven (1905) days per week. It was only in 1905 that a nude model posed. See A.A.M. Annual Report 1905, p. 6. "A nude model posed five mornings and a draped model two afternoons a week."

<sup>4</sup>N.A., R.C.A., of Arts papers, R.C.A. Minute Books 1880-1906, MG 28 I 126, Vol. 17, 20 Apr., 1887, p. 56. See ibid., 15 Nov., 1889, p. 68. See also, ibid., 6 Mar., 1891, p. 76.



detailed account of the R.C.A. life class was written by Harris in 1898. He stated the model posed two evenings per week from the autumn to the spring and twenty-two men attended. Of the twenty-two, eighteen were from art-related fields (3 R.C.A. or A.R.C.A., 5 illustrators, 6 art students, 1 artist, 3 artisans).

The rooms were taken from the Art Association as heretofore. Classes were held on two evenings in each week from Autumn to Spring, the Nude Model posing each evening. As a [rule] the same pose was maintained for a sufficient number of evenings to admit to a thorough study being made.

The Classes as before were duly advertized in the Papers, and any new applicant required to submit work, demonstrating their having sufficient ability and education to profit by attending. The names of those who worked were as follows:

Wm. Brymner RCA., R. Harris PRCA., E. Dyonnet ARCA., N[sic] Cullan [sic] Artist; Messrs. Gould, Gentleman; Racey, Illustrator; Brodeur, Illustrator; McKenzie, Art Student; Montgomery, Art Student, Bisson, Art Student; Henshall, Bank of Montreal; Wells, Art Student; McPherson, Lawyer; Mandeville, Decorator; Fleming, Cigar maker; Gibs, Woodcarver; Fabien, Art Student; Charon, Illustrator; Soward, Illustrator; Caron, Stained Glass; Robertson, Art Student; Matthews, Illustrator.<sup>1</sup>

### Conclusion

In 1912, at the inauguration of the new A.A.M. building (present site), A.A.M. Vice-President, H.V. Meredith, addressing dignitaries, including H.R.H. Duke of Connaught, stated that the function of the A.A.M. was to promote art by annual exhibitions, a library, a gallery of art, and a

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 14 Dec., 1898, p. 115.



school of art and design.<sup>1</sup> All four conditions were the objectives of the South Kensington system. Although the A.A.M. was fine art oriented, its goals in 1860 were the same as those in 1912, however, the conditions under which the school was administered had changed to reflect middle class ideas of art education rather than the utilitarian priorities and outlook of an emerging industrial Quebec society in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

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<sup>1</sup>A.A.M. Annual Report 1911-12, p. 16.

## CHAPTER 3: ONTARIO

### Introduction

Similar to Quebec, Ontario developed initially a provincial system of mechanics' institutes to teach drawing instruction, based upon the British prototypes.<sup>1</sup> At first, these were successful in satisfying the small and limited needs of those wishing to pursue technical and *drawing* education, however, as attendance increased a higher quality education and better instructors were demanded. Mechanics' institutes became inadequate. Egerton Ryerson (1803-1882) was almost solely responsible for upgrading the quality of education and making it accessible to a great number of students from all social and economic levels in Ontario. Ryerson established the Educational Museum, which opened to the public in 1857. The museum housed a collection of art works (copies of acknowledged masterpieces of sculpture, paintings, engravings, etc., and specimens of natural science) which Ryerson had purchased on a trip to Britain and Europe in 1855-56. Ryerson had recommended that a school of design be founded to complement the educational nature of the art museum, however, an art school was not founded until 1876 by the Ontario Society of Artists. During the interval from 1857 to 1876, a number of commis-

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sions inquired into the types of educational systems employed in Britain, Europe and the United States to deter-

<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1885, p. 205. The Act of Incorporation for Ontario Mechanics' Institutes was in 1851, however, Mechanics' Institutes were founded in 1835 in Toronto and Kingston, in 1842 in London, and 1849 in Hamilton.

mine which was the most successful and suited to the immediate and long term needs of Ontario's industrial and artistic *community* . The various commissions all recommended Britain's South Kensington system and stressed the economic benefits to the society that adopted such a system. Art and technical education was now universally associated with economic prosperity for all levels of society, as interpreted by mid- to late 19th-century educationalists.

The adoption of a similar system for Ontario, firstly, satisfied 19th-century art theorists and educators, that drawing was a necessary and essential part of overall education that sharpened the perceptions (eye to hand) and disciplined the student and, secondly, convinced them of the important need to train artists and technical people to fill positions in an emerging industrial Canada. The concern by educators for loss of quality as well as poor design and form in machine made and produced commodities was globally shared by the British, Americans and Canadians. Inferior finished products would result in loss of world markets.

In 1876, the Ontario Society of Artists, sent a delegation to the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition to inquire into the types of art educational systems employed by industrialized countries. Artists Lucius O'Brien (1832-1900) and George Agnew Reid (1860-1947) were aware of the success of the South Kensington system in Britain and were impressed by the state of Massachusetts' exhibition, and

results obtained by the system of drawing instruction instituted by Walter Smith (1836-1886).

The Walter Smith system of drawing instruction was used in primary and secondary schools from 1882-1886, and then was replaced by the Canadian Drawing course, designed by Canadian art educators. However, it was identical with and shared the same philosophy of art and drawing instruction as both South Kensington and Walter Smith.

Prior to the Ontario Education Department assuming control (1882/3) of the independent post-secondary art schools in Toronto (1876), London (1878), and Ottawa (1879), it was surprising to find that examination of their curriculum (Toronto and London) conformed to the South Kensington system, however, the exact curriculum of Ottawa is unavailable due to lack of documentation. The teaching staff of each independent Ontario art school along with its directors and committee were responsible for implementing the curriculum. In this regard, the independent art schools accepted without government intervention the curriculum employed and sanctioned by the South Kensington system prior to the Education Department's control. In reality, the Education Department only increased the number of art schools, set standard examinations for the awarding of certificates, and created a larger bureaucracy. The emphasis was still on industrial and technical education, with fine art as extra subjects, and drawing instruction was the core of all aspects of education.

As a result of this emphasis on industrial and technical education, the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts (founded in 1880 as the Canadian Academy, then incorporated as "Royal" in 1882) encouraged and promoted the teaching of life studies (drawing and/or painting from life) by giving a grant to the Ontario provincial art schools. At the same time, members of the Ontario Society of Artists and Royal Canadian Academy in Toronto organized a sketching club, for the purpose of life study, named the Toronto Art Students League (1886-1904).

Not only did the Ontario Society of Artists implement a system of art education based upon that of its British prototype, South Kensington, but also it made direct and indirect contact with South Kensington. Firstly, numerous teachers from the South Kensington art schools or teachers (Canadian-born or British) trained in that system were employed in the Ontario art education system at all levels (Primary, Advanced, Mechanical, Technical, Secondary, Post-secondary); loan exhibitions of selected South Kensington students work were circulated; the system was administered from a central authority; the curriculum was set by the educational authority; the art schools were allotted grants and subsidized for successful graduates and enrolment; successful students were awarded certificates of merit and medals for their art work; an annual exhibition of student work was held; an art union was established to encourage fine art; and the various Governors-General allowed their names and position to be associated with particular art

societies. More importantly the two essential differences between the Ontario and Quebec version of the South Kensington system, were firstly, that Ontario established a specific art teachers' certificate training course, whereas Quebec never instituted such a program; and secondly, the art museum at Toronto was perceived as an important apparatus for the dissemination of art and drawing instruction for pupils of the Ontario Provincial art schools, which conformed to the precedent and function of the South Kensington Museum in relation to the art schools under the jurisdiction of the South Kensington system.

The Royal Canadian Academy of Arts life classes were offered in various cities, primarily Montreal, Toronto and Ottawa, to afford fine arts pupils the opportunity for more advanced drawing and painting studies. The Toronto Art Students' League (1886-1904) was founded for the same reasons. Both, however, were less attractive alternatives than study abroad to advanced fine arts students.

In 1894, a few Toronto artists attempted to establish an art school called the Galbraith Academy (the name was derived from a wealthy patron who financed briefly the art school) which was structured and inspired by the Académie Julian, Paris. The Academy, however, failed to last more than one year, as it was unable to stimulate the interest of the small number of Ontario fine arts students. The Bohemian nature and environs artistique could not be re-created in Toronto to attract potential students, as most Canadians of this period (1876-1914) travelled abroad to Britain, France, Holland, and the United States to

receive instruction at a higher level (life studies).

This academic, conventional, and traditional approach to drawing instruction in the Ontario provincial art schools was reinforced by the staff members, who were South Kensington trained or graduates of the Ontario art school or both. An examination of the two most influential and longstanding instructors at the art school in Toronto (1876-1891: Ontario school of art; 1891-1912: Central Ontario School of Art and Design; and from 1912 until the present day called the Ontario College of Art), George Agnew Reid (1860-1947) from 1890, and William Cruikshank (1848-1922) from 1883, confirms this strong affinity in teaching methodology and philosophy of art, to the South Kensington system.

In conclusion, an investigation of these criteria supports the hypothesis that the influence of the South Kensington system was both extensive and profound in Ontario not only between 1876 and 1914 (chronologically later at the lower levels of instruction—Primary and Secondary schools), but also the influence pervaded all levels of art instruction (Primary, Secondary, and Post-Secondary art education). It affected the art, art institutions and artists wherever it was employed.

## PART I

### A) Egerton Ryerson and the Educational Museum, Toronto

Prior to the establishment of post-secondary art schools in Toronto (1876), London (1878), and Ottawa (1879), drawing instruction was offered as an extra course for an additional fee in primary and secondary public day schools, like its Quebec, British and American counterparts. More advanced, although still elementary, drawing instruction



was available at provincial mechanics' institutes and private art lessons were given by transient amateur British, French, or American artists, who settled in a particular location because of its potential prosperity.

One author *has stated* incorrectly that with ". . . Canadian education during the nineteenth century . . . teaching of drawing was largely left to chance, dependent on the attitude of the individual teachers."<sup>1</sup>

In fact, the system of education and drawing instruction was well-established by the mid-1840's.<sup>2</sup>

Adolphus Egerton Ryerson (1803-1882), a Methodist minister, who had accepted the position of superintendent of schools in Upper Canada at the request of Governor Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe in early 1843, assumed his post in September 1844. Ryerson gave the already established system its particular shape and character.

When Ryerson first took office in 1844 there were already more than 2,500 elementary schools in Canada West [Ontario]: financed by a combination of government grants, property taxation, and tuition fees; run by locally elected boards of education; and supervised and coordinated, though in a somewhat ineffective way, by an established central Education Office. Ryerson, in other words, did not create a school system; he inherited one.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>C. E. Phillips, The Development of Education in Canada (Toronto: W. J. Gage, 1957). See also, Richard Carline, Draw They Must: A History of Teaching and Examining of Art (London: Edward Arnold Publishers Ltd., 1968), pp. 125-126.

<sup>2</sup>J. George Hodgins, The Establishment of Schools and Colleges in Ontario, 1792-1910, 3 vols. (Toronto: Printed and Published by L. K. Cameron, 1910), Vol. 1, p. 111.

<sup>3</sup>R. D. Gidney, "Adolphus Egerton Ryerson," D.C.B., Vol. XI, pp. 783-795. See also David Onn, "Egerton Ryerson's Philosophy of Education: Something Borrowed or Something New," Ontario History, Vol. LXI, no. 1, Mar., 1969, pp. 77-85.

He visited America, Britain and Europe in 1844/45,<sup>1</sup> 1850/51, 1855/56,<sup>2</sup> and 1866/67 with the intention of studying comparative systems of education, purchasing educational aids for classroom instruction, and

. . . with a view to further improvements in our Schools [Ontario] and School System, as also to select and make further arrangements for procuring Library Books and Apparatus for the Schools.<sup>3</sup>

Gaitskell stated: "Art education, in one form or another has been offered in the state-supported schools in Ontario almost since the school system was organised."<sup>4</sup> This must be qualified, for, although drawing was included in the school curriculum it took the form of map-making. Egerton Ryerson purchased a number of classroom aids that included maps and geographical devices.<sup>5</sup> The map-making instruction, as a variation of drawing offered in early Canadian schools, conformed to their English and Scottish prototypes.

Initially in 1845 Ryerson had been impressed greatly with the Irish system of education.

<sup>1</sup>R. D. Gidney, "Adolphus Egerton Ryerson," op. cit., p. 788. "Ryerson himself left Canada West in October 1844 for his first tour of educational establishments in Britain and the Continent, and did not return until December 1845."

<sup>2</sup>Ryerson's 1855/56 trip lasted from July 1855 to April 15, 1856.

<sup>3</sup>J. George Hodgins, Historical and Other Papers and Documents Illustrative of the Education System of Ontario, 6 vols. (Toronto: L. K. Cameron, 1911), Vol. 2, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup>G. D. Gaitskell, Art Education in the Province of Ontario (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1948), see Introduction [1].

<sup>5</sup>J. George Hodgins, Historical and Other Papers. . ., op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 8. "I have purchased to-day a series of ten of the Casts of Maps in Relief that we have heretofore had. There is now one of North America, Italy and Prussia, besides those formerly published."

I have visited, Dublin, Glasgow and Edinburgh, where I had an opportunity of inspecting by far the best Normal and Model Schools, which I have anywhere seen, either in England or the United States of America . . . the Irish National Board in Dublin, which has, I think, the pre-eminence over all similar establishments in the British Dominions.<sup>1</sup>

As cited by Hodgins, Ryerson was aware of the reports of Dr. Lyon Playfair (1818-1898),<sup>2</sup> extolling the progressive system of art related to industry in Scotland, and the success of that system founded upon superior primary instruction.

. . . in Scotland, where the superior Primary Instruction of the Artisans removes one of the obstacles of their acquiring Scientific Instruction, the Watt Institution of Edinburgh, and the Andersonian University of Glasgow, have rendered good service, . . .<sup>3</sup>

Education at all levels had been a traditional strength of Scottish society and culture, and by the mid-19th century Scotland could boast leadership amongst the industrialized nations in university and post-secondary school education.

. . . there are more University Students in proportion to the population in Scotland

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<sup>1</sup>J. George Hodgins, The Establishment of Schools . . ., op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 126.

<sup>2</sup>John William Adamson, English Education 1789-1902 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930), p. 292. Professor Lyon Playfair assisted in organising the two London Exhibitions (1851 and 1862) and was a juror in 1867 at the Paris show. He was convinced that England had not made as much progress as the continental countries. See his 1853 pamphlet, Industrial education on the continent. An opponent of the Department of Science and Art methods and control over drawing instruction, he stated in a lecture at Edinburgh in 1870 that, "Instruction in manipulative skill [drawing] is not education at all; and such as it is, belongs to the workshop, not to the school," p. 398.

<sup>3</sup>J. George Hodgins, Historical and Other Papers . . ., op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 197.

than there are in any other part of the world; there is one University Student for every 866 of the Scotch population, while there is only one University Student for every 5,445 of the population in England, and one University Student to every<sup>1</sup> 2,894 of the population in Ireland. . . .

The purpose of his 1855/1856 sojourn (July 1855–April 1856) was to examine the Paris Universal Exhibition "where no doubt a number of educational objects of interest would be exhibited."<sup>2</sup> Ryerson had been impressed greatly by the 1851 London Great Exhibition and especially by the school apparatus shown by the Germans.

The Universal Exhibition at Paris will be favourable to my objects, as I dare say there will be in that Exhibition, as there was in the World's Exhibition at London, 1851, every description of School Apparatus, especially from Germany. Some of my best selections and purchases of School Apparatus in 1851, were the result of visiting that Exhibition in London.<sup>3</sup>

In a letter from London, England, dated July 31, 1855, Ryerson emphasized that the present trip went beyond the mere study and investigation of other systems of education.

I purpose [sic] to visit Paris, Brussels, the Hague, Hanover, Berlin, Dresden, Vienna, Rome, Naples, Turin and Switzerland . . . placed at my disposal by the Legislature of Canada, . . . and to select . . . works of Art and other objects of interest for the Departmental Museum.<sup>4</sup>

One of his goals was to select copies of acknowledged, well-known and recognized masterpieces, a representative

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

body of works by the major celebrated schools and periods in the history of art.

Ryerson had attempted to found an educational museum with instruction in drawing in Toronto as early as 1849.

Dr. Egerton Ryerson had attempted to start an art school in Toronto during 1849, but could find no competent teachers and the scheme was abandoned. Not until 1876 was one finally instituted under the auspices of the Ontario Society of Artists.<sup>1</sup>

However, the earliest mention in Ontario of a proposed museum connected with 'Fine Art' was recorded in 1833 when Charles Fothergill, a member of the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada, suggested that a 'Lyceum of Natural History and the Fine Arts' be established in the town of York (later Toronto).<sup>2</sup> Sixteen years later, in 1849,<sup>3</sup> as the superintendent of education for Upper Canada, Ryerson attempted to enlist support for a museum and school of art and design, but the plan was delayed until 1857, due to the lack of financial aid and his inability to find a suitable drawing instructor.

Ryerson's trip lasted from early September 1855, returning to Toronto on April 15, 1856. He had visited seven cities: London, Paris, Antwerp, Frankfort, Munich, Florence,

<sup>1</sup>J. R. Harper, E.P. & E., op. cit., p. 186.

<sup>2</sup>Fern Bayer, The Ontario Collection (Markham, Ont.: Published for the Ontario Heritage Foundation by Fitzberry and Whiteside, 1984), p. 13.

<sup>3</sup>F. H. Armstrong, "The Rebuilding of Toronto after the great fire of 1847," Ontario Historical Society, Vol. 53 (1961), pp. 233-249. Perhaps the 1847 fire caused civic authorities to have priorities other than building a museum.

and Rome.

Early in his sojourn from Paris he wrote:

I found a great many things in the Exhibition from France and from different parts of Germany, - chiefly from Prussia, - connected with the Science and Art of Teaching, admirably adapted to our purpose. I have purchased specimens of the greater part of them, - to the amount of two hundred (£200).<sup>1</sup>

While in Paris, he received advice and encouragement from three Canadians, Joseph Curran Morrison,<sup>2</sup> John Ross,<sup>3</sup> and (Sir) Francis Hincks,<sup>4</sup> who

. . . are strongly in favour of my commencing a Collection of the Fine Arts, - consisting of copies of the best Models in

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<sup>1</sup>J. George Hodgins, Historical and Other Papers . . ., op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup>The three men Ryerson met in Paris were allied closely as political supporters of the Reform party in Canada, and in business circumstances. See , "John Curran Morrison (1816-1885)," D.C.B., Vol. XI, pp. 617-619. ". . . he [Morrison] shared with [Sir] Francis Hincks an interest in establishing a public school system" (p. 617). Morrison, a lawyer and later a politician, was on the Board of Railway Commissioners.

<sup>3</sup>Paul Cornell, "John Ross (1818-71)," D.C.B., Vol. X, pp. 631-633. "In September 1855 he [Ross] wrote of Francis Hincks: 'He and I have been like brothers for so many years that I find it hard to part from him.' Because of his work for the Grand Trunk Railway Company his associations also extended to the financial interests of London, England" (p. 632). "Hincks appointed Ross one of the six (6) government directors of the projected Grand Trunk Railway on 22 Nov., 1852, and dispatched him immediately to London" (p. 632). See also R.S. Longley, Sir Francis Hincks; a study of Canadian politics, railways, and finance in the nineteenth century (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1943).

<sup>4</sup>William G. Ormsby, "Sir Francis Hincks (1807-85)," D.C.B., Vol. XI, pp. 406-416. "Not intending to remain in politics Hincks resigned his seat on 16 Nov., 1855. He planned a visit to England and Ireland and, upon his return, to accept the offer of the presidency of the Grand Trunk Railway. However, in the spring of 1856, while still in Great Britain, Hincks accepted appointment as governor of Barbados and the Windward Islands. . ." (p. 414).



Statuary, both ancient and modern, and copies of the most celebrated Paintings, - including about two typical examples of each School of Painting, - to be obtained chiefly in Rome and Florence.<sup>1</sup>

Ryerson sought out the well-connected, both socially and politically, to aid him in the selection of fine arts objects for his proposed Educational Museum. In London, advice was offered by Lady Grey.

. . . who is an excellent judge of Paintings and Lady Duncan (and her Daughters (Scotch Ladies)) who reside in Rome, or Florence, every Winter. Lady Duncan gave me the names of the best Artists in Florence and Rome, and would be happy to aid me should I go to Rome, . . .<sup>2</sup>

Almost four months later, in January 1856 Ryerson had the help of "Lady Head"<sup>3</sup> in Florence and in Rome "Lady Grey" and Lord Grey's brother, Reverend Henry Grey.

I feel very thankful thus to have the company and counsels of English Ladies and

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<sup>1</sup>J. George Hodgins, Historical and Other Papers. . ., op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 6. Letter from Paris, 20 Sept., 1855.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. Letter from London, 28 Sept., 1855.

<sup>3</sup>Lady Head was the wife of Sir Edmund Walker Head (1805-1868), Governor-in-chief of Canada from 1854-1861. Sir E.W. Head "was the author of a translation of K"ugler's Handbook of painting of the German, Dutch, Spanish and French Schools (London: 1848)." See W. Stewart Wallace, The Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography (Toronto: The Macmillan Company Press, 1963), pp. 308-309. Ryerson used Head's translation to select paintings in Antwerp. See J. George Hodgins, Historical and Other Papers. . ., op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 9. Letter from Antwerp, 12 Dec., 1855. It is rather ironical that Sir E. W. Head "spoke slightly" of the Ryerson collection of paintings in 1857, as Ryerson had consulted Lady Head and Sir E.W. Head's book before purchasing paintings for the Educational Museum. See F. Henry Johnson, "The Fate of Canada's First Art Museum," Queen's Quarterly, Vol. LXXVIII (Summer 1971), p. 243. Letter from J.G. Hodgins to E. Ryerson, 21 Sept., 1857.



Gentlemen of taste, who have spent years  
in Italy and who are thoroughly acquainted  
with Rome, - its Arts, Customs, etcetera,  
. . . .<sup>1</sup>

Besides attempting to elicit the cultured opinions of those of higher social status he read copiously and visited the artists' atelier to educate himself about the visual arts. From Paris he wrote:

I have obtained a great deal of information, and have had my own ideas much quickened and enlarged on these subjects, on visiting the 'Ateliers,' and hearing observations and explanations of Sculptors and Artists, and witnessing their modes of operation. . . . I think I shall not purchase the Engravings until I return from Germany and Italy; for I may be able to purchase some of them there to better advantage, . . . You will, perhaps, be surprised when I say that I have procured and read a large part of Five Volumes on these subjects besides looking over Addresses, Pamphlets, Catalogues, etcetera, in order to qualify myself the better to judge and to act in the most judicious manner.<sup>2</sup>

Ryerson purchased most of his collection of statues in Paris, because they were less expensive and there was a greater selection.

His letter of November 29, 1855, described the collection of busts and statuary that he acquired in Paris and then he stated how they should be arranged and displayed to their best advantage in the proposed Educational Museum, Toronto.

Of the Moulder to the Beaux-Arts alone,  
I have purchased two hundred and forty-two

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<sup>1</sup>J. George Hodgins, Historical and Other Papers. . . ., op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 10. Letter from Rome, 30 Jan., 1856.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 7. Letter from Paris, 26 Oct., 1855.

Antique Busts, twenty-six Busts Renaissance, eleven modern Busts, sixteen Masques Antique, being of the natural size, and exhibiting the face and breast of various characters, of whom no Busts exist. Thirty-eight Masques renaissance et moderne; thirteen Masques moulins sur nature, of moderns, such as Newton, Cromwell, Napoleon, etcetera. Eight Statues Antique; twelve Statues Gothiques, of the Twelve Apostles, - the whole amounting, including frames, which cost Forty pounds (£40) sterling, to about Three thousand five hundred francs, or One hundred and forty pounds (£140) sterling. Of another I have bought to the amount of Nine hundred francs, or Thirty-six pounds (£36) - including about forty Statues and Statuettes, besides Hands, Feet, etcetera, intended for use in teaching Drawing. Of another I have bought to the same amount many beautiful Statuettes and two hundred and ninety-nine Busts (at the rate of a franc and a half each), . . . The Statuary is better for historical and literary purposes than are the Busts but will have to be placed on Brackets, around the Rooms, one above the other. The historical ones should, of course, be arranged chronologically, - the Greek and Roman separately, - and the Mythological in a Collection by themselves.

. . .

Ryerson described, in letters from Antwerp, that copies of paintings by the great masters, Matsys, Rubens, Van Dyke, etc., were in demand constantly, and that copying was, in itself, a profitable industry.<sup>2</sup>

The following week he purchased one hundred and forty-two paintings, from the Flemish, Dutch, Italian, French and German art schools, that were referred to in volume one of Sir Edmund Head's translation of Kùgler's book.

During the last week, I have examined  
some thousand Paintings, and purchased one

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 8. Letter from Paris, 29 Nov., 1855. See also his letters of 26 Oct., 1 Nov., and 14 Nov., 1855.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 8-9. Letter from Antwerp, 5 Dec., 1855.

hundred and forty-two (142), including Copies (and some Originals) of nearly every Painter of note of the Flemish and Dutch Schools of Painting, and many of the Italian, French and German Schools, embracing 'Sacred and Profane,' (i.e., Historical) subjects, Landscapes, Marine Scenes, Animals, Costumes, High life, Peasant life, Employments, Amusements, Characters, Episodes, etcetera, - copies of most of the Masters and Paintings referred to in the latter part of the First Volume of Sir Edmund Head's edition of Kugler's 'History of the German, Flemish, Dutch and French Schools of Painting,' - a work that I have found of invaluable service to me in addition to the local Catalogues of Museums.<sup>1</sup>

After Antwerp, Ryerson proceeded to Frankfort-on-the-Main, where he bought forty more paintings, had some cleaned and others framed.

In all I purchased no less than one hundred and eighty-two (182) Paintings, large and small, - embracing four typical samples of the Italian Schools, two Murillo's of the Spanish School, several of the French and German Schools, and nearly a complete selection of the Flemish and Dutch Schools, from the Van Eycks down to the present time. The expense of the whole was about One thousand pounds (£1,000) sterling. I have had all of these pictures that required it cleaned and varnished, and new Frames made for all that were without Frames, and old Frames that needed it repaired and re-gilded.<sup>2</sup>

The following excerpt from a Ryerson letter emphasized three important points: firstly, he was optimistic that the quality of the paintings would be the catalyst for soliciting continued and new financial support from Parliamentary members, governmental agencies and men of political, social and economic status and power in the community. Secondly, the paintings were selected by him with the purpose of

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 9. Letter from Antwerp, 12 Dec., 1855.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. Letter from Frankfort-on-the-Main, 18 Dec., 1855.

appealing to all social and intellectual levels of society. He inferred that the extensive collection from all periods of Western European countries would accomplish this aim; whereas a collection concentrating on the "Italian School" (Renaissance) he interpreted could only be appreciated by the upper classes and dilettanti. Thirdly, he was confident that his choice of copies was of the highest quality, as both "men of taste and integrity" and "artists" had commented favourably on their quality.

I was anxious that specimens of the Schools of Paintings which I had bought should reach Toronto by the opening of Parliament. . . . I think they will make a strong and favourable impression. I think that the Paintings which I have already purchased are calculated to make a much stronger impression on the great majority of all classes in Canada than would copies of the Italian Masters. The Pictures by Paul Veronese, Raphael, and Guido Reni, that I purchased in Antwerp, are far superior, as Pictures, to any that I have seen to-day in the Frankfort Museum, and much better than any I have seen in Paris. I am sure that all will admire them when they see them, as well as the copies of Murillo; while the copies which I got of the Flemish, Dutch and German masters are the best I have seen anywhere. But many that I have bought are affirmed to be Originals, so declared by Artists, and men of taste and integrity in Antwerp. But I bought them at the price of copies, - early copies, - and so represent them. . . . I may add that I have purchased Engravings and Lithographs of some of the chef d'oeuvres of the Flemish and Dutch Schools, - in all some hundreds.<sup>1</sup>

Fewer purchases were made in Munich because of the high prices for copies of "celebrated" paintings.

. . . I shall, therefore, only buy here, in Munich, what cannot be got elsewhere, -

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

Statuettes of German poets, Artists and Emperors, illustrating the Customs and Armour of past ages, and such Engravings and Copies of Paintings as can be best obtained in Munich.<sup>1</sup>

In Bologna, Ryerson purchased copies of paintings by Francia, Carraci, and Domenichino, as well as a number of engravings.

At Bologna I got Pictures by Francia, Carraci and Domenichino, whose chef d'oeuvres are found only at Bologna, and copies of whose Works are essential to any exhibition of Italian Art. I also obtained Engravings of the best Paintings that are at the Academy of the Bologna School.<sup>2</sup>

In a letter of 18 February, 1856, Ryerson stated that he would buy paintings in Florence rather than Rome because of their superior quality and lower costs.

The Collections of Pictures, with the exception of a few chef d'oeuvres, are incomparably superior in Florence to those in Rome, and the copies are better and cheaper. I buy no copies in Rome except those which are necessary to my purpose.<sup>3</sup>

In the same letter, he expressed his own opinions on the Italian pictures, which conformed to the English attitudes, taste, and preference for religious, historical and the concepts of the grand style discussed by Sir Joshua Reynolds and subsequent writers.

The copies of the Italian Paintings will much exceed the others in interest, as well as, I think, for the most part, in beauty, although they are less varied in subjects, less domestic in treatment, and less con-

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 9-10. Letter from Munich, 23 Dec., 1855.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 10. Letter from Florence, 17 Jan., 1856.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 11. Letter from Rome, 18 Feb., 1856.

nected with Common Life, yet more classical, more historical, more elevated in style and character.<sup>1</sup>

In his final letter from Florence he hoped that the entire collection of two hundred and fifty copies of paintings by "Great Masters" would contribute to the art education of different social classes in Canada.

My Italian Collection is a splendid one, embracing a good copy of one, or more, of the celebrated Paintings of each of the Great Masters. The Pictures are, in general, much larger than those I got in the North, and contain subjects of more popular interest, and such as will impress and delight the popular mind, and yet gratify the most refined taste. The Italian Collection will consist of about sixty pictures, so that the whole Collection will amount to about two hundred and fifty Paintings, besides Engravings and Models, as well as Statuary.<sup>2</sup>

In a later report, Ryerson summarized the contents of the collection he had selected personally for the Educational Museum.

The copies of paintings which I have procured present specimens of the works of

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 11. Letter from Florence 27 Feb., 1856. Egerton Ryerson purchased only two paintings from Canadian artist Antoine-Sébastien Falardeau (1822-1889), who resided in Florence for most of his life, was patronized heavily and was renowned as a superb copyist of religious paintings of the "Great Masters." Fern Bayer, op. cit. However, the nephew of Egerton Ryerson, Dr. George Ansel Sterling Ryerson (1854-1925) commissioned a considerable number from Falardeau. Raymond Vezina, "Antoine-Sébastien Falardeau (1822-1889)," D.C.B., Vol. XI, pp. 309-310. "He [Falardeau] did a collection in 1857 for Dr. George Ansel Sterling Ryerson of Toronto, and completed portraits and original works commissioned during his two stays and by visitors to Italy." W. Stewart Wallace, op. cit., p. 661. H. R. Casgrain, A. S. Falardeau et A. E. Aubry (Montréal: Beauchemin, 1912); Georges Bellerive, Artistes, peintres canadiens-français; les anciens (Québec: Librairie Garneau, 1925); Emile Falardeau, Un maître de la peinture: Antoine-Sébastien Falardeau (Montréal: A. Levesque, 1936).



the most celebrated Masters of the various Italian Schools, as also of the Flemish, Dutch and German. The collection of Engravings is much more extensive; but they are not yet framed, or prepared for exhibition. The collection of Sculpture includes casts of some of the most celebrated Statues, ancient and modern, and Busts of the most illustrious of the ancient Greeks and Romans also of Sovereigns, Statesmen, Philosophers, Scholars, Philanthropists, and Heroes of Great Britain and other Countries. Likewise a collection of Architectural Casts, illustrating the different styles of Architecture, and some of the characteristic ornaments of ancient Gothic and modern Architecture.<sup>1</sup>

The extent of his purchases can be ascertained by examining the itemized list presented by J. George Hodgins.<sup>2</sup>

Ryerson modelled his proposed Educational Museum, its structure and organization, collection and contents, ranging from Natural History and Science to examples of art objects, both sculpture and painting, on the South Kensington Museum. Like South Kensington, he also proposed to establish schools of art controlled by a central authority, with special emphasis and attention on drawing.

In establishing this Educational Museum, Doctor Ryerson followed the example of what was being done by the Imperial Government as part of the System of Popular Education in England, - regarding the indirect, as scarcely secondary to the direct, means of training the minds and forming the taste and character of the people.<sup>3</sup>

A. S. Levine *has stated* that the idea of the universal museum from which the South Kensington Museum was inspired

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<sup>1</sup>J. George Hodgins, Historical and Other Papers. . . , op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 12-16. See also Fern Bayer, op. cit., pp. 26-37.

<sup>3</sup>J. George Hodgins, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 12.



came originally from Diderot's Encyclopedie (1765) and Francis Bacon's (1561-1626) New Atlantis (1627).<sup>1</sup> From its inception in 1853, the Museum at South Kensington had a variety of names: The Museum of Manufactures; the Museum of Industrial Art; The Industrial Museum; however, from 1853 to 1857 it was called principally The Museum of Ornamental Art, then between 1857-1899 the South Kensington Museum and, subsequently from 1899, the Victoria and Albert Museum.<sup>2</sup>

Although the South Kensington Museum was not the first museum of applied art,<sup>3</sup> its influence was extensive and profound during the second half of the 19th century, inspiring many imitators,<sup>4</sup> including Ryerson's Educational Museum, Toronto.

The South Kensington Museum had many imitators . . . museums of applied and industrial art were founded in Vienna (1864-1867), Karlsruhe (1865), Berlin (1867), Cologne (1868), and Hamburg (1869), while the Metropolitan Museum of New York (1870) frankly modelled itself on the South Kensington Museum.<sup>5</sup>

Additions to the collection were made during subsequent years, and in 1867,

<sup>1</sup>A. S. Levine, op. cit., p. 28.

<sup>2</sup>Harry Butterworth, op. cit., p. 297. See also A. S. Levine, op. cit., p. 24.

<sup>3</sup>A. S. Levine, op. cit., p. 295. "It [South Kensington Museum] was not even the first museum of applied art; the Hôtel de Cluny in Paris had opened in 1844."

<sup>4</sup>Harry Butterworth, op. cit., p. 299. Phillip Cunliffe-Owen claimed that thirty-seven foreign museums had been modelled upon the South Kensington Museum.

<sup>5</sup>A. S. Levine, op. cit., p. 346.

. . . [J. George Hodgins] was deputized by Doctor Ryerson to proceed to London and Paris, and, in London, to make large purchases for the Museum of copies of the Egyptian and Assyrian Sculpture similar to those in the British Museum.<sup>1</sup>

Later acquisitions were purchased directly from the British or the South Kensington Museums, London.

To the Officers of the British and South Kensington Museums, I [J. George Hodgins] was indebted for many kind attentions and valuable suggestions. . . .<sup>2</sup> The articles for our Museum upon which we have paid duty are chiefly copies of objects of Art exhibited in the Government Museum at South Kensington, London, or at the British Museum. . . .<sup>3</sup>

Hodgins, like Ryerson, had been impressed with the British system of education and its re-organization since the 1851 Great Exhibition, and attributed progress in British life to the South Kensington system.

One cannot but see that the memorable Exhibition of 1851 has been the great forerunner and germ of all the progress which has of late years been made in this direction in the various Cities and large Towns of the United Kingdom.<sup>4</sup>

In Hodgins opinion the South Kensington Museum was the premier teaching institution in Britain.

The South Kensington Museum, . . . is unrivalled in the beauty and extent of its

<sup>1</sup>J. George Hodgins, Historical and Other Papers. . ., op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 16. An itemized list of the 1867 additions to the collection are found on pp. 16-19. See also, Catalogue of Plaster Casts, Paintings, Engravings, and other Reproductions of Works of Art in the Museum of the Education Department (Toronto: Printed by C. Blakett Robinson, 4 Jordan Street, 1884).

<sup>2</sup>J. George Hodgins, Historical and Other Papers. . ., op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 18.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 19-20.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 18.

internal fittings and arrangements, no less than in the extent and value of its collection of Objects of Art, and of industrial and practical value, as well as of articles of vertu of great historical interest.<sup>1</sup>

He saw the value of such a system for Ontario, especially with regard to the accessibility of the art objects in rural areas and a well-coordinated group of schools of art dependent upon a central institution and authority.

The travelling collection of Objects of Art which it [South Kensington Museum] sends to the local Exhibition of these Schools of Art is most varied and interesting.<sup>2</sup>

One purpose of establishing the Educational Museum was: ". . . to improve the Public Taste, and to afford a more refined description of enjoyment to the mass of people. . . ." <sup>3</sup>

Secondly, it afforded those in the society who didn't have the opportunity to travel a chance to view copies of famous and acknowledged masterpieces of art.

. . . 'people of taste going to Italy constantly bring home beautiful modern copies of beautiful originals,' it is desirable, even in England, that those, who have not the opportunity, or means, of travelling abroad, should be enabled to see, in the form of an accurate copy, some of the celebrated works of Raphael, Rubens, and other great Masters of Painting, an object no less desirable in Canada than in England. What I have proposed and attempted is merely an appendage to the Department of Public Instruction, and a part of a projected Provincial School of Art and Design, as is carried out successfully on a more extensive scale in England. . . .<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

Ryerson's ideas about the accessibility of the Educational Museum conformed to those of Henry Cole: ". . . the museum is not a show, but an instrument for the diffusion of culture."<sup>1</sup>

The South Kensington Museum was used to its educational potential in the 1890's, when one quarter of its collection was on display throughout the provinces.<sup>2</sup> After Cole's retirement in 1873, his ideas, the South Kensington system and Museum were perpetuated by his successors. Upon Ryerson's retirement in 1876, his ideas, inspired from South Kensington and Cole, were continued by his assistant J. George Hodgins (1821-1912) and his successor Adam Crooks (1827-85). Crooks,<sup>3</sup> Ontario's first Minister of Education, reiterated Ryerson's earlier statements almost verbatim in his 1875 Annual Report to the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>A. S. Levine, op. cit., p. 334.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 306.

<sup>3</sup>Robert M. Stamp, "Adam Crooks (1827-85)," D.C.B., XI, pp. 220-223. "Crooks was sworn in as Ontario's first minister of education on 19 Feb., 1876, although he continued as provincial treasurer until March 1877. . . . Egerton Ryerson's retirement provided Mowat with an opportunity to replace an appointed superintendent with a minister of education directly responsible to the legislature. . . . Most important to Ryerson was Crooks' decision to make long-time deputy superintendent John George Hodgins the new deputy minister" (p. 222). See also "Letters by Adam Crooks" published in Correspondence arising out of the pastoral letter of the Right Reverend Francis Fulford. . . . (Toronto: 1862).

<sup>4</sup>J. George Hodgins, Historical and Other Papers. . . ., op. cit., Vol. 2, pp. 22-23.

B) Critical Reaction to the Educational Museum, Toronto,  
and Its Collection

From its inception, in 1857, the museum received a mixed response from the popular press, although educational theorists, from Britain and the United States praised it.

Government officials remained uncommitted to Ryerson's collection of art housed in the Educational Museum, Toronto, due no doubt to the well publicized controversy about his receiving personal interest on government money allotted for the museum expenditures. J. George Hodgins reported in September 1857 that "Col. Tache, Mr. Cartier and Mr. Morrison were here to look at the Museum. They seemed much pleased though Col. Tache said very little. I tried to interest them all I could in the matter. Morrison said the Gov. Gen. [Sir Edmund Head] had spoken slightly of the pictures."<sup>1</sup>

The Grumbler reported:

Nothing could exceed the urbanity with which we were received by Dr. Ryerson (the Founder and Filler of the Gallery). . . . Many of the paintings here stored are good copies of celebrated works. . . . But then again, the Doctor has some how got into his hands, some of the most unhappy failures, pompous turgidities, and profane comicali-

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<sup>1</sup>F. Henry Johnson, "The Fate of Canada's First Art Museum," Queen's Quarterly, Vol. LXXVIII (Summer 1971), p. 243. Letter from J. G. Hodgins to A. E. Ryerson, 21 Sept., 1857.

ties that ever kept the flies off the newly papered walls; so that we must fear that an ingenuous public might receive more harm than good from a general inspection. . . .<sup>1</sup>

A number of educational committees and individuals from the United States visited the museum, found it inspiring and attempted to reproduce it in America. In June 1868, the Journal of Education wrote that a Philadelphia group had concluded that it was unequalled in the United States.

Educational Museum - From the letter of a correspondent of the Nova Scotia Provincial Wesleyan, we give the following extract:  
 'While in Toronto we paid a visit to the Normal School, at the head of which stands our beloved Dr. Ryerson, who, though now advanced in years, takes a lively interest in all that affects the welfare of his beloved Canada. The institution has undergone many improvements since our last visit ten years ago; this is particularly the case in respect to the paintings and statuary. Hundreds of people visit the institution daily. We were informed, that recently the Corporation of the City of Philadelphia, U.S., paid it [the museum] a visit, and acknowledged that they had seen nothing equal to its respect . . . in the United States.'<sup>2</sup>

John Eaton, upon his appointment in 1870 as the United States Commissioner of Education, visited the museum and proclaimed it "the best educational museum in America."<sup>3</sup>  
 A few years later in 1875, Kentucky's Superintendent of Public Instruction expressed his satisfaction with the museum in Toronto.

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<sup>1</sup>Fern Bayer, op. cit., p. 24.

<sup>2</sup>Journal of Education, June 1868, p. 16. See also, F. Henry Johnson, "The Fate of Canada's first Art Museum," op. cit., p. 243.

<sup>3</sup>F. Henry Johnson, op. cit., p. 244.

The Educational Museum is a collection of the fauna and flora and minerals of Canada, a general cabinet, and an immense collection of philosophical and chemical apparatus, school furniture, maps, charts, diagrams, etc. In addition to this, there are splendid collections of copies of the great masters - Italian, Dutch and Flemish Schools - and plaster casts of the great statues (ancient and modern), and of the discoveries at Ninevah, in Egypt, etc., including the celebrated Rosetta Stone. Here also may be seen copies of the seals of all English sovereigns, from the time of William the Conqueror down, specimens of all coins, and modern and the armour worn by the mailed knights.<sup>1</sup>

The museum received accolades from the Montreal press for its fine collection and its accessibility to the public.

We have no free art museum like the Normal school at Toronto, where the rooms are devoted to copies of the finest works in sculpture and painting which the world has produced, to photographs, to mechanical contrivances, to school implements and games - a place where one may spend a week and not be satisfied. This building is always occupied by groups of visitors in twos and threes and half-dozens. Its results in cultivating the taste of the people who can tell. Such an educator is badly needed in Montreal.<sup>2</sup>

In his report of 1879, the superintendent of education for Ontario, Dr. S. P. May, stated that the Educational Museum, modelled upon South Kensington, had registered officially more than twenty thousand visitors to view its collection, and that it was held in high regard by foreign educators. Dr. May reiterated the museum's importance as

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<sup>1</sup>Journal of Education, Oct., 1875, p. 157. See also F. Henry Johnson, op. cit., p. 244.

<sup>2</sup>The Daily Witness (Montreal), 10 Sept., 1879; see also M.M.F.A. Archives, Scrapbook 01-070-03.



educational and its continuing role in the community to raise the level of taste amongst the public.

The Educational Museum is not a mere collection of curiosities, but a museum for imparting useful information. It is founded on a similar plan to that of the South Kensington Museum in London, and like it, its chief aim is the dissemination of a knowledge of the educational methods and appliances, as well as the relation of education to Arts and Manufactures. It has become of such general interest that numbers of our own people, who visit it, are gaining more correct and intelligent views of the objects of education, while many others from the United States, England, and elsewhere, see in it a visible representation of the principles of our system. More than 20,000 persons registered their names in the year 1879, but as the visitors were usually in parties of three or four, many of them omitted to sign their names. I may, therefore, safely say that more than 50,000 persons visited the Museum out of mere curiosity, yet a very large number studiously devoted themselves to an examination of the different objects, and must have gained much information and benefit from this study. The visitors generally highly appreciate the efforts so successfully made in establishing this Museum, at once popular and useful in its character, and so impressed have French and American educationists been with its value that both in Paris and at Washington museums have been formed on a similar plan. This Museum is not only of great benefit at present, but can be developed so as to become still more a means for promoting and advancing the general taste, and the appreciation of objects of artistic skill in design and execution. The Museum is freely open as a School of Art and Design to students, and a number are availing themselves of this opportunity in making copies and drawings of paintings, sculptures and architectural models.<sup>1</sup>

Although the museum collection was reaching a wide audience, the 1880/81 educational report recommended that

<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1879,  
p. 148.

the art objects would be more useful if used specifically as teaching apparatus and distributed to the various provincial art schools, conforming to the South Kensington system.

. . . the complete and valuable collection of the Educational Department in sculpture, paintings, architectural and other designs, engravings and models, have not been utilized as fully for practical art studies as they are capable of being made; and now that space has been afforded by the discontinuance of the Depository, and the removal of many objects more suitable to other Provincial institutions, . . .<sup>1</sup>

In 1886/87, William Mather, who had been appointed Royal Commissioner on technical education in the United States and Canada, visited the Ontario School of Art, Toronto, and was impressed favourably by its fulfilling the South Kensington purpose of firstly providing industrial and technical education, which was founded upon drawing instruction and, secondly, training art teachers, and thirdly, using the museum and art collection as educational models for the students.

The Ontario School of Art in Toronto is an institution supported by the Legislature of the Province, for the purpose of imparting special instruction, embracing subjects in science and art teaching suitable to mechanics, and bearing on their employment. There are evening classes adapted to working men. This excellent school is the commencement of an institution similar in object and appliances to our South Kensington Museum. Although in its infancy, the instruction given is evidently valued by the various trades of the city. Out of 121 students last year, one half were engaged in trades and manufactures; the remainder

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1880-81, p. 266.

studying as teachers. The instruction is confined to drawing in every branch, and designing.<sup>1</sup>

Many years later, after the founding of the Educational Museum, opinions expressed as to its contribution to the community and art education were divided. The Scottish Art Review editor and writer, James Mavor (1854-1925), was highly critical about its use and effect.

In cities like Toronto, for example, where there is as yet no adequate permanent collection of pictures. . . . The only permanent in Toronto is the collection, made some forty years ago, of inferior copies of works of Old Masters, in the galleries of the Education Department. A few of these might be selected for preservation and the rest might with great advantage be sold.<sup>2</sup>

However, artists' views differed from those of Mavor. Positive attitudes about the collection and its impact on the art education of young artists were expressed. William Cruikshank (1848-1922) wrote:

I am not by any means an immigrant having been first domiciled in Toronto after the close of the Crimean War, when I was eight years old, and my earliest impressions of a Museum were obtained at the Normal School. It contained some interesting Roman busts and was a large spacious place to wander and linger and catch cold and furnished lots of room for one's own thoughts.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1886-87, p. 211.

<sup>2</sup>James Mavor, Notes on the Appreciation of Art and on Art in Ontario with remarks on the Exhibition of the Ontario Society of Artists (Toronto: George N. Moreau, 1898), p. [1]. Mavor was professor of political economy at University of Toronto from 1892-1923. See also W. Stewart Wallace, op. cit., p. 505.

<sup>3</sup>A.G.O. Archives, Edgar J. Stone Donation, Letter from William Cruikshank to H. Walker, 6 June, 1909.

Homer Watson (1855-1936) stated:

I did not know enough to have Paris or Rome in mind; I felt Toronto which [I] had visited once two years before, had all I needed and my first look at a collection of pictures was when I visited the normal school to see the collection of old masters there.<sup>1</sup>

Artist Robert Ford Gagen (1847-1926) defended the museum's collection and its utilitarian and educational function.

[There is a]..fashion for those who set themselves up as Art connoisseurs to deride these copies, but it cannot be denied that to the untraveled, who had not seen any of the originals, they gave a better idea of an Old Master than any portrayal by description could do.<sup>2</sup>

George Agnew Reid (1860-1947) utilized the museum collection as teaching models and appreciated particularly ". . . an excellent collection of plaster casts from antique statues, etc."

A bill introduced in the Legislature in 1849 intended for the improvement of common schools in Upper Canada contained a clause providing for this Museum and School (of Art and Design). The Museum was established with a varied collection, an important part of which was a large number of copies of paintings by old masters and an excellent collection of plaster casts from antique statues, etc.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>J. Russell Harper, P in C, op. cit., p 202. See original source. Homer Watson letter to John M. Lyle, 15 Feb. 1933 (Collection of Mrs. H. C. Van Every). See also Dennis Reid, op. cit., p. 105 for an abbreviated version of this quote.

<sup>2</sup>Fern Bayer, op. cit., p. 25.

<sup>3</sup>G. A. Reid, "The Ontario College of Art: A Historical Note by the Principal Mr. G. A. Reid, R.C.A." The Ontario College of Art Students' Annual, Vol. 1, no. 1, p. 2 (n.d., c. 1912).

Ryerson's biographer, Nathaniel Burwash, presented a modified criticism of the Educational Museum in his 1901 book.

The art critics of today will perhaps smile at the copies of the old masters imported from France, Germany and Italy. But in those days they served their purpose and sowed the seeds of the aesthetic life which today is developing a true Canadian art.<sup>1</sup>

### PART II: The Independent Art Schools (1876-1882/3)

Civic officials recognized at an early date that industrial education and manual training were necessary in Ontario not only for the promotion of progressive ideas related to the establishment of local industry but also to prevent crime amongst the unemployed, youths, the working classes, and the poor.

If the Township Municipalities would devote this annual appropriation for the purposes of establishing Free Schools, it would be the means of greatly diffusing education amongst the poorer classes of our people, promoting temperance, and lessening crime.<sup>2</sup>

Twelve years later, in 1868, crime and vandalism in Toronto remained a persistent problem.

In 1868, a Public Meeting was held in Toronto, with a view to consider and deal practically with a class of Vagrant Children, which were becoming too numerous in the City. After a good deal of discussing, it was decided that the only successful way in which they could be dealt with was to send them to an Industrial School. . . ,

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<sup>1</sup>F. Henry Johnson, op. cit., p. 245.

<sup>2</sup>J. George Hodgins, Historical and Other Papers. . ., op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 323. Comments of H. J. Ruttan, Warden. Cobourg, 27 Nov., 1856.

in 1871, a comprehensive School Act having been passed by the Legislature, was made in it to enable School Boards in Cities and Towns to establish Industrial, Manual Labour Schools in these Municipalities.<sup>1</sup>

There was an awareness of the need to provide facilities for industrial, manual, technical training and instruction but a lack of funds, qualified teachers and space, and more importantly the public school curriculum would have to evolve beyond its classical roots.

Marx associated crime with 'propertyless' of industrialization, which describes the conditions in Toronto during the third quarter of the 19th century.

The propertyless are more inclined to become vagabonds and robbers and beggars than workers. The last becomes normal only in the developed mode of capital's production.<sup>2</sup>

Hobsbawn described the severe demographic shift in population in the last quarter of the 19th century, where a city, not unlike Toronto, would receive immigrants and former rural dwellers in search of employment in an urban industrial centre.

. . . as the first-generation immigrants, or what is even more catastrophic, it comes to them from outside, insidiously by the operation of economic forces which they do not understand and over which they have not controls, or brazenly by conquest, revolutions and fundamental changes of law whose consequences they may not understand. . . . They do not as yet grow with or into modern

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<sup>1</sup>J. George Hodgins, Historical and Other Papers. . . , op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 372.

<sup>2</sup>Karl Marx, Grundrisse (New York: Vintage Books, 1973), p. 736.



society; . . . . Their problem is how to adapt themselves to its life and struggles. . . .<sup>1</sup>

Two 19th-century Canadian poets, Duncan Campbell Scott (1862-1947) and Archibald Lampman (1861-1899), addressed the difficulties and concerns of the urban dwelling Canadians during the late 19th and early 20th centuries in regard to the emerging industrial society.<sup>2</sup>

Two major forces, Methodist and Utilitarian, co-existed in Ontario during the second half of the 19th century, which shaped the society and contributed to environmental factors favouring the adoption of the South Kensington system of drawing instruction for fine and industrial art.

There were two kinds of pressures and doctrines developing which tended to destroy traditional recreations and pastimes: the 'utilitarian' philosophy of the manufacturers, and the puritanical attitudes of the Methodists. Utilitarian philosophy, as interpreted by the manufacturers, stressed the value of work and discipline, and condemned as levities any activities which were not 'useful' in the narrow sense of 'productive.' At the same time, Methodist tracts and sermons condemned 'profane' songs and dancing, together with anything in the arts or literature which was non-religious in character. Thus traditional forms of amusement began to disappear partly as a

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<sup>1</sup>E. J. Hobsbawn, Primitive Rebels (New York: Horton, 1965), p. 9.

<sup>2</sup>Douglas Lochhead, ed., Poems of Archibald Lampman (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), see p. xxiii, introduction by Margaret Coulby. "The lushness of nature, which is essentially cruel, is pitted against the desolution of industrial society as shown in such [Lampman] poems as 'Avarice,' 'To a Modern Politician,' 'At the Railway Station,' and 'To a Millionaire.'" See also Lampman's poem 'The City at the End of Things' written on 3 June 1892.



result of the decrease in leisure time available and partly as a result of deliberate social and religious pressures.<sup>1</sup>

Neither Ryerson's successor Adam Crooks nor his assistant J. George Hodgins took the initiative to open an art school in Ontario. Although educators, politicians and industrialists acknowledged the importance of drawing as the foundation of a general education, it was the Ontario Society of Artists (1872), who founded the first provincial art school in Toronto in October 1876. Shortly after this, independent post-secondary art schools in Ontario were established in London (1878) and Ottawa (1879). Mechanics' institutes continued to offer drawing instruction, and from 1882-1886, the Walter Smith system of drawing was adopted officially in all provincial primary and secondary public schools.

In October 1882, the education department of Ontario came to an agreement with the Ontario Society of Artists to pay the debts of the Ontario School of Art, Toronto and took control of the institution. By 1885/86, the Western School of Art and Design, London and the Ottawa School of Art were under the jurisdiction of the education department. It is curious to find, prior to the government takeover (1876-1882/3), however, upon examination of the curriculum, the methods and techniques of drawing instruction, staff, models and apparatus used, in Toronto, London, and Ottawa the utilitarian philosophy of drawing and art education was already present. References to Britain's South Kensington

<sup>1</sup>M. Ossowska, Social Determinants of Moral Ideas (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971), p. 34.

system and the Massachusetts' version of it, the Walter Smith system, are recorded before and after the education department takeover. Upon taking control, the education department merely formalized by legislation the already existing curriculum which was modelled upon the utilitarian philosophy of South Kensington and Walter Smith, and added other provincial art schools.

Statistics about the socio-economic backgrounds of the pupils who attended the independent art schools in Toronto, London and Ottawa were recorded infrequently. From such information, *as there is*, it can be derived that the art schools offered both industrial and fine art drawing instruction which served the interests of middle and lower income groups. Classes scheduled in the morning and afternoon were fine art oriented and were attended by those of higher income levels and social status, mostly 'ladies and young persons' of school age, whereas the evening courses recorded enrolment by the working classes, artisans and craftsmen.

The evening classes were attended by mechanics and apprentices, and from the following trades and occupations: Architects, Bookbinders, Bricklayers, Carpenters, Cabinet-makers, Carriage-makers, Lithographers, Marble-cutters, Machinists, Pattern-makers, Printers, Photographers, Tinsmiths, and Wood-carvers.<sup>1</sup>

Like accommodation, qualified teachers, and financing, educational teaching apparatus and models were difficult to acquire. The Ontario School of Art, Toronto, had the ad-

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1882,  
p. 262.

vantage over the other Ontario provincial art schools, as their students had access to the vast collection of art works and natural science housed in the Educational Museum established by Egerton Ryerson and opened to the public in 1857. However, in 1881, education department officials expressed doubts as to the effective use of the museum's collection as a practical teaching model and felt it was not being utilized to its best advantage.

Hitherto the complete and valuable collection of the Education Department in sculpture, paintings, architectural and other designs, engravings and models, have not been utilized as fully for practical art studies as they are capable of being made.<sup>1</sup>

The London art school reported that by 1881, it had acquired over four hundred models for student instruction by using about half its annual provincial government grant.

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1883, p. 175. See also, Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1897-98, p. XXV. The 1897-98 annual report grouped the contents of the Educational Museum, Toronto, into 11 categories: 1) Prehistoric and Classical Archaeology, 2) Primitive Archaeology, 3) Antique Sculpture, 4) Modern Sculpture, 5) Medallions and Art Reproductions in Fictile Ivory, Electrotypes, Etc., 6) Curiosities, Antiques, etc., from Different Countries, 7) European Paintings, 8) Canadian Paintings [116 Oil and Water Colour Paintings], 9) Engravings and Etchings, 10) Chromo-Lithographs, and 11) Natural History.

The Chromo-Lithographs were published by the Arundel Society. "These pictures copied from the paintings of the ancient Italian and Flemish Painters, are published by the Arundel Society, so named from Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (in the reign of James I and Charles I), who has been called the father of vertu in England."

For a complete catalogue of the contents of the Educational Museum, Toronto, see Catalogue of Plaster Casts, Paintings, Engravings and other reproductions of works of art in the museum of the education department (Toronto: Printed by C. Blackett Robinson, 5 Jordan Street, 1884).

The rooms are well fitted up and contain over 400 drawing models, including plaster casts and various sections of machinery. About one-half of the Government grant (\$800) was expended in 1880 for drawing models and appliances. The total value of models and plant is estimated at \$1,300, which is nearly one-half of the Government grants received since its commencement.<sup>1</sup>

The exact number of models at the London art school was: '60 models or casts of the human figure, animals and ornamental designs in plaster.

12 models of antique pottery.

18 models of studies of flowers and plant forms.

4 studies of water colors.

24 studies of foliage and form in sepia.

90 studies of foliage and form in crayon.

160 studies (lithographed) for elementary lessons.

50 drawing boards.

18 easels and modelling tables, and other general school furniture.'<sup>2</sup>

Items that weren't purchased for the London art school, were loaned or donated.

There is also loaned to the School by the Teachers - 40 models in plaster and 125 studies and books. Also loaned by the public - 56 mechanical models and working parts of machinery, and various objects of Natural History from the Entomological Society. . . .<sup>3</sup>

In 1879, two members of the Ontario Society of Artists, L. R. O'Brien and James Avon Smith (1832-1918) visited Boston to gather information about

the Walter Smith system of art education in the

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1882, pp. 261-262.

<sup>2</sup>Report of the Board of Management of the Western Ontario School of Art since its organization on April 1879, unpagged, [1].

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., unpagged, [2].

state of Massachusetts.<sup>1</sup>

That all their enquiries led them to the conclusion that, although much is being done all over the United States in the way of practical Art Education, yet that the system adopted in Massachusetts is most generally followed, and is the most perfect and best adapted to our requirements.

In the State of Massachusetts there are free schools exclusively for instruction in Mechanical and Freehand Drawing, the support of which is by law made compulsory upon the municipalities. The State system authorized by law and supplied by State and municipal funds, is primarily intended to teach Art in its application to industry.

It is stated that the American workmen, however bright and intelligent, are not practically skilled, and that when really skilled workmen are required, they have to be imported from countries where the education is of a more practical kind.

It is claimed that the best foundation for practical education is such a system of Drawing as has been introduced into the schools of Massachusetts. There are now in the city of Boston alone 30,000 children receiving an Art education of the most practical kind, being taught Writing and Design, with a view to its application to industry.

The effect of such training upon the generation now growing up, must be enormous and competition on our part, of every branch of industry, with a population so trained, must be hopeless, unless our people are given equal advantages.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ontario Archives, Toronto. Ontario School of Art, MB. See 23 Jan., 1879 and Mar., 1879. Smith and O'Brien presented accounts of their visit to Boston to report on the system of art education in Massachusetts and Walter Smith. See also Museum of Fine Arts Archives, Boston, Director's Correspondence AAA, 4 Mar., 1879. Letter from L. R. O'Brien to Charles G. Loring, director of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts thanking him and requesting a copy of Walter Smith's pamphlet, Practical Education, be forwarded. A few months later O'Brien wrote an article, in an art periodical, that was influenced by Smith's utilitarian philosophy and methods of drawing instruction. See L. R. O'Brien, op. cit., pp. 584-91.

<sup>2</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1882, pp. 244-245.

Their conclusion was that the Walter Smith system was the best for Ontario's technical, industrial and fine art priorities.

. . . the system adopted in Massachusetts is most generally followed, and is the most perfect and best adapted to our requirements.<sup>1</sup>

In 1881, Walter Smith was cited by the Ontario education department officials for his contribution to the growth of drawing instruction in Massachusetts as a catalyst for economic prosperity. The Smith system of drawing was perceived as an extension of its British prototype, South Kensington.

[According to]...Mr. Walter Smith, formerly of South Kensington, and now State Director of Art Education in Massachusetts, the great need of the country is 'the creation of skilled mechanical and artistic labour, which shall in the future make the country independent of foreign importation of manufactures . . . making the elements of science and the elements of art integral parts of all education.'<sup>2</sup>

In 1883, officials of the Ontario School of Art, Toronto, stated that the Smith system of drawing instruction was the best suited to Canadian needs.<sup>3</sup>

During this period (1876-1882/3) South Kensington-trained teachers were highly regarded and virtually the only instructors considered for teaching positions at the independent art schools in Ontario.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>The Dominion Annual Register and Review 1880-81, p. 321.

<sup>3</sup>The Dominion Annual Register and Review 1883, p. 238.



In 1880, the Directors of the Ontario School of Art, Toronto, suggested that a South Kensington trained teacher be hired to instruct in drawing and manage the expanding provincial art schools.

The Report of the 22nd of April, 1880, shows that the views of the Directors were also in the same direction. They say: 'The school is growing too large, and the question of art education in the Province too important to be conveniently managed by a voluntary association of teachers, and that the time has come when it is desirable that the Council should have the assistance of a first-class trained teacher from South Kensington, whose services would be so valuable, also, in the oversight of the art education of the Province.'<sup>1</sup>

In 1882/83, the Ottawa art school reported it had secured "the services of teachers trained in the leading studios of Paris, and in the South Kensington School of Art."<sup>2</sup> In Ottawa, the teaching staff of three was described as having the headmaster (Charles Moss) with Paris experience, and his two assistants, one trained at the Edinburgh Art School and the Royal Academy, and the other a graduate of South Kensington.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1882-83, p. 265. See also Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1883-84, p. 175.

<sup>2</sup>The Dominion Annual Register and Review 1882, p. 307.

<sup>3</sup>The Dominion Annual Register and Review 1883, p. 240. See also, The Dominion Annual Register and Review 1884, p. 208. Although it is impossible to identify Moss' two assistants, William Cruikshank, who studied at the Royal Academy, London, and the Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh, may have been one of them. See J. R. Harper, E.P. & E., op. cit., p. 232. Charles Eugene Moss (1860 Pawnee City, Neb., U.S. - 1901, Ottawa) studied in St-Louis and then in Paris (1878) at the atelier Bonnat (see Appendix 3c & e).



Although material and documents concerning the first few years of the Ontario School of Art (founded October 1876),<sup>1</sup> Toronto, are rare, the teaching staff and curriculum can be discerned from available printed sources. One author<sup>2</sup> wrote recently that information was impossible to find for the school's early years, however, careful research and closer examination of papers proves otherwise. The staff, all British-born and -trained, and courses for the first session in October 1876 were described succinctly:

The Ontario School of Art was the first Art School in the Province, and was founded by the Ontario Society of Artists in 1876, with Government aid. The staff was com-

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<sup>1</sup>Marie L. Fleming and John R. Taylor, 100 Years Evolution of the Ontario College of Art (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1976), p. 11. The Ontario Society of Artists was under the jurisdiction of the Agricultural Department and only came under the control of the Department of Education in 1882. See Statutes of the Province of Ontario (1877), 40 Vict. Ch. 17, pp. 127-128. The Ontario government gave the Ontario Society of Artists the rights to establish an art school. "The Society now existing and known as the 'Ontario Society of Artists' may organize and form themselves into a society comprising not less than twenty-five members, and paying an annual subscription of not less than five dollars each to be known as 'The Ontario Society of Artists,' and shall have the power to adopt a constitution and make by-laws for the admission of members and for this guidance and proper management, and for the conduct and management of the Canadian Art Union and the promotion of any objects consistent with the study of Art and its practical bearing upon the interests of the Province of Ontario, and not inconsistent with the laws of the Province; and on filing a copy of such constitution and by-laws with the Commissioner of Agriculture and Arts, such Society shall become a body corporate under this Act." *O-S-A. artworks were shown at Ontario agricultural exhibitions prior to the formation of the Education department.*

<sup>2</sup>Eva Major-Marothy, "George Agnew Reid's Radical Choice: The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts and Thomas Eakins" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Carleton University, 1984), p. 18. "There is no detailed listing of teachers and subjects for the 1879-80 school term . . . but records do exist for the 1881 school term . . ."

posed of T. Mower Martin, R.C.A., principal, and teacher of drawing; Mrs. Schreiber, teacher of painting; J. T. Rolph, A.R.C.A., teacher of engraving; and Jas. Smith, R.C.A., teacher of architecture.<sup>1</sup>

Individual aspects of the course of instruction at the Ontario School of Art, Toronto, were inspired by the art schools in England, which were administered and run by the South Kensington system.

The course of tuition commences with careful instruction in accurate freehand outline drawing: as the pupils advance they are instructed in Light and Shade, Perspective, Figure Drawing, Artistic Anatomy, Ornamental Design and Colour. The course followed is in principle the same as that of the Art Schools of England. . . .<sup>2</sup>

The London art school followed the curriculum and method of instruction utilized by the South Kensington system.

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<sup>1</sup>O.C.A. Archives, Central Ontario School of Art and Design Prospectus, 1903-04, p. 4 (see Appendix 3c & e). See also J. R. Harper, E.P. & E., op. cit., p. 217. T. M. Martin (1838 Inner Temple, London, Eng. - 1934, Toronto) was principally self-taught, however, he studied watercolour painting with Humphries at the South Kensington Galleries, London and then emigrated to Canada in 1862. J. R. Harper, E. P. & E., op. cit., p. 270. Joseph Thomas Rolph (1831, London, Eng., - 1916) studied one year at the School of Art and Design, Somerset House, London under William Dyce, then moved to Toronto in 1857. J. R. Harper, E. P. & E., op. cit., p. 292. James Avon Smith (1832 Macduff, Banffshire, Scot., - 1918) studied architecture in Toronto after 1851. J. R. Harper, E.P. & E., op. cit., p. 281. Charlotte Schreiber (1834 Woodham, Eng. - 1922 Paignton, Devon, Eng.) attended Mr. Carey's School of Art and studied with J. R. Herbert in London before emigrating to Canada in 1875.

<sup>2</sup>O.C.A. Archives, Ontario School of Art Prospectus 1879, un-paged [1]. The analogy, however superficial, was presented in Marie L. Fleming and John R. Taylor, op. cit., p. 11. "The scheme of tuition followed that of the Department of Science and Art, South Kensington, London, which was noted for its emphasis on 'practical art,' its systematic course of training, and its centralized examination scheme for local schools, colleges and mechanics' institutes."

The course of Study is based upon the principle of the Art Schools in England as approved by the Directors of Art Education in South Kensington Govt School. . . .<sup>1</sup>

The staff at the Western Ontario School of Art, London, was predominantly British-born and trained.<sup>2</sup> The four members of staff remained for many years.

It is interesting and important to state that the courses and levels of instruction prior to the government control (1876-1882/3) resembled the South Kensington system, in both structure and content, particularly with regard to drawing from the flat and round copy in outline and shaded variation, as well as colour study in monochrome.<sup>3</sup> Comparison of the curriculum of the Ontario School of Art,

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Board of Management of the Western Ontario school of Art since its organization on April 1878, unpagged [2].

<sup>2</sup>J. R. Harper, op. cit., pp. 63, 84, 136. Charles Chapman (1827 Norfolk, Eng. - 1887) emigrated to Canada in 1855. John H. Griffiths (1826-1898) emigrated to London, Ontario c. 1851 from Staffordshire, England. S. Kelso Davidson (1848-1922) - birthplace unknown. John R. Peel (1830-1904) was born in England.

<sup>3</sup>Moncure Daniel Conway, Travels in South Kensington (London: Trübner & co., Ludgate Hill, 1882. Reprint Garland Press 1977), p. 107. The South Kensington art school curriculum for 1882 was listed as follows: "The instruction comprehends the following subjects: Free-hand, Architectural, and Mechanical Drawing; Practical Geometry and Perspective; Painting in Oil, Tempera, and Water-colours; Modelling, Moulding and Casting. The Classes for Drawing, Painting, and Modelling include Architectural and other Ornament, Flowers, Objects of still-life, etc., the Figure from the Antique and the Life, and the study of Anatomy as applicable to Art."

Toronto,<sup>1</sup> in 1879, with its 1880 counterpart at the Western Art League School, London,<sup>2</sup> shows that the curriculum was almost identical and had a remarkable affinity to the South Kensington course of study. Therefore, the Ontario Society of Artists and their members, who established the private art schools in Ontario, were influenced by the South Kensington system and more significantly when the provincial government took control of the art schools in 1882/3, it merely expanded the number of schools utilizing

<sup>1</sup>O.C.A. Archives, Ontario School of Art Prospectus 1879, unpagged [2].

- "1) Elementary Drawing from flat copy. Outline.
- 2) Ornament and Natural Objects from flat copy. Outline.  
Ornament and Natural Objects from flat copy. Shaded.
- 3) Ornament and Natural Objects from the round. Outline.  
Ornament and Natural Objects from the round. Shaded.
- 4) Figures and Animals from flat copy. Outline.  
Figures and Animals from flat copy. Shaded.
- 5) Figures and Animals from the round. Outline.  
Figures and Animals from the round. Shaded.
- 6) Ornamental Design.  
Perspective and Anatomy concurrent with the above.
- 7) Colour, commencing with Monochrome."

<sup>2</sup>N.G.C. Charles Hill file, Western Art League School. See also, Report of the Board of Agriculture of the Western Ontario School of Art from April 1878 and its Course of Instruction.

- "1) Elementary Drawing from the flat copy. Outline.
- 2) Ornament and Natural Objects from flat copy. Outline.  
Ornament and Natural Objects from flat copy. Shaded.
- 3) Ornament and Natural Objects from the round. Outline.  
Ornament and Natural Objects from the round. Shaded.
- 4) Figures and Animals from flat copy. Outline.  
Figures and Animals from flat copy. Shaded.
- 5) Figures and Animals from the round. Outline.  
Figures and Animals from the round. Shaded.
- 6) Mechanical and Architectural Drawing. Outline.  
Mechanical and Architectural Drawing. From Models.
- 7) Modelling in Clay.
- 8) Color, commencing with Monochrome."

the same instruction and system, and gradually placed more emphasis on industrial rather than fine art.

With the absence of any visual examples from the period 1876-1882/3, the type of drawings executed by pupils in the art schools can be discerned from the annual reports of the Minister of Education and the reviews accompanying the annual student exhibitions. The Western Ontario School of Art and Design, London, described the type of instruction its pupils received in 1881/82.

The course of tuition begins with careful instruction in Freehand or Mechanical Drawing, and as they advance they are instructed in Light and Shade, Drawing from Models, Perspective, Architecture, Ornamental Designs, Lettering (plain and ornamental), Moulding in Clay and Wax, Painting in Oil and Water Colours. A special class for Porcelain Painting was also conducted.<sup>1</sup>

A Porcelain and China Painting course was developed uniquely at the London art school, and received wide recognition, mainly due to the efforts of the Griffiths brothers, James (1814-1896) and John H. (1826-1898).<sup>2</sup>

Further information was contributed regarding the type of drawing instruction in the 1882/83 report, and clearly indicated a balanced program for both industrial and fine art.

The classes and subjects taught are Freehand, Architectural, Mechanical, and Geometrical Drawing, Modelling in Clay or Wax,

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1881-82, p. 262.

<sup>2</sup>Nancy Geddes Poole, The Art of London 1830-1980 (London: Blackpool Press, 1984), pp. 24, 27, 33, 36, 46, 49, 53, 57, 62, 106, 209.

Lettering, Designing, Model Drawing from parts of machinery or patterns, as required in the various trades of workers in wood or metals; also from plaster casts, etc. Painting from the figure, landscape, plant form and still life, from copy and from nature.<sup>1</sup>

### PART III:

#### Ontario Provincial Government Art Schools

(1882/83-1912)

The provincial government art schools, from 1882/83-1912, increased from the three initial independent art schools in Toronto (1876/77-1912), in London (1878/79-1900/01), and Ottawa (1879-1898/99) to include five additional locations in Kingston (1884/85-1902/03), Hamilton (1885/86-1909/10), Stratford (1886/87), Brockville (1886/87-1897/98), and St. Thomas (1889/90-1903/04). Over the thirty year period, Ontario government art schools were established in eight cities (see Appendix 3a). Between 1886/87 and 1890/91, Toronto, the central art school, opened two other branches: one in West-End (1886/87-1890/91) devoted exclusively to mechanical and industrial art education; and the other in Parkdale (1888/89-1889/90) fine art oriented.

#### A) Who Attended

The pupils ranged in age between fifteen and forty years,<sup>2</sup> from all socio-economic levels<sup>3</sup> of Ontario society.

<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1882-83, p. 260.

<sup>2</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1889-90, p. 315.

<sup>3</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1896-97, p. 157.



However, the majority were from middle and lower income groups,<sup>1</sup> similar to those who enrolled in Britain's South Kensington art schools and their American counterparts in the Walter Smith system, Massachusetts.

The most detailed annual report listing student occupations was that of 1899/1900. Each of the five surviving post-secondary provincial art schools provided information showing the diversity of their students' professions.

Hamilton.- Architects, artists, brass-workers, brushmakers, builders, contractors, cotton operatives, cabinetmakers, clerks, carpenters, carvers, draughtsmen, dressmakers, engineers, elevatormakers, embroiderers, gardeners, gasfitters, lithographers, milliners, machinists, moulders, painters, paperhangers, photographers, printers, school-boys, school-girls, students, stenographers, signpainters, tailors, teachers, woodturners, tinworkers, ticketwriters. . . . Kingston.- Blacksmiths, carpenters, cabinetmakers, clerks, druggists, farmers, millers, machinists. . . . London.- Artists, architects, carpenters, china decorators, draughtsmen, dressmakers, enamelers, electricians, granitcutters, housekeepers, insurance agents, lithographers, marble cutters, machinists, painters, patternmakers, plasterers, photographers, students, teachers. . . . St. Thomas.- Boilermakers, bookkeepers, clerks, carpenters, insurance agents, masons, . . . students and teachers. . . . Toronto.- Artists, architects, bookkeepers, clerks, cabinetmakers, designers, decorators, draughtsmen, engravers, electricians, expressmen, gliders, glass stainers, illustrators, lithographers, machinists, photographers, photo-gravures, patternmakers, stonecutters, students, writers, teachers, woodcarvers. . . .<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1886-87, p. 186. The Art schools Industrial and Mechanical drawing certificate program had the same goal as the Provincial Mechanics' Institutes: "The chief purpose for which Mechanics' Institutes are established is to impart technical instruction to the working classes."

<sup>2</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1899-1900, pp. 168-169.



Although the schools were established primarily for the benefit of working men, women enrolled in large numbers in the provincial art schools and captured the majority of certificates, medals and awards.

In reference to the excellence of the art work done by women and girls of this Province, I may mention that during the past thirteen years the Minister of Education has presented gold medals annually for the advanced course in drawing. Ten out of the thirteen medals were awarded to women. Out of the thirteen medals awarded for the primary course, ten were taken by women and girls. Out of fifteen silver medals for industrial drawing, presented by the Minister of Education, ten were taken by women. Out of twenty-eight silver medals presented by manufacturers, on special occasions, twenty were taken by women and girls in our schools. In painting from life, out of ten medals presented, seven were awarded to women.

Now, in regard to certificates since 1885 2,500 teachers' certificates have been awarded in the primary course. Over 1,800 were taken by women.

Since 1885 178 teachers' certificates have been awarded in the advanced course. One hundred and thirty-six have been taken by women.

Out of 1,330 certificates in the industrial art course 938 have been taken by women.<sup>1</sup>

#### B) Application Procedure and Fee Structure

Prior to 1882, the independent art schools charged a nominal fee for enrolment and there were no restrictions placed upon the individual. However, when the Education Department assumed responsibility for the art schools, the Ontario provincial government instituted an entrance examination for advanced classes in drawing instruction.

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1897-98, p. 159.

The entrance examination for advanced classes commenced under the direction of the Superintendent and the teachers, in the Public Hall, on the 10th October. . . .

As this was the first time that examinations had been held, and many students who had previously attended the school were unprepared for an examination, the Council decided to have a second examination, on the 20th November.<sup>1</sup>

The fees were higher for those attending day classes, than persons registered in evening courses. In 1882, the Ontario School of Art, Toronto, charged:

The fees paid by students were the same as those of former years namely, \$6 for the day classes (not including colour work), and \$3.50 for the evening classes. Oil and Water Colour Painting \$6 each, and Elementary Design \$2.<sup>2</sup>

It was undoubtedly to stimulate greater enrolment that in 1883/84, a reduction in fees was stipulated for Normal School students, teachers, and mechanics attending the evening course.

Day Classes.- Elementary and Advanced courses, \$6 per term of thirty-six lessons.

Evening Classes.- Specially for mechanics, etc., \$3 per term of thirty-six lessons. Normal School students \$1.50 per term of thirty-six lessons. . . .<sup>3</sup> Painting classes, \$6 per term of twelve lessons; modelling in clay, \$6 per term for Day Classes, and \$3 per term for Evening Classes.<sup>4</sup>

The fees were more modest at the Western Ontario School of Art and Design, London, no doubt due to its rural

<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1882, p. 247.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 259.

<sup>3</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1883-84, p. 178.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 184.

location, than the substantially higher fees in the urban-situated Ontario School of Art, Toronto.

The fees are \$2 for each term in all classes with the exception of the colour or painting classes, the fees for which are \$3 for each term.<sup>1</sup>

In 1885/86, a nominal fee of \$1 per month was adopted for those enrolled in the evening industrial art program and extra charges were made for fine art courses.

Its doors are open to all at a fee which is almost nominal: payment of \$1.00 a month entitling a student to instruction for 2 nights in all the branches of industrial art work taught.<sup>2</sup>

By 1908/09, the 'Central Ontario School of Art and Design,' Toronto, had increased fees for extra subjects. Day fees were double or triple that charged for their evening equivalent.

Day Classes	
Drawing and Painting from Life or Still Life ...	\$15.00
Drawing from the Antique ...	\$10.00
Primary and Mechanical Drawing and Industrial Design ...	\$10.00
Evening Classes	
Primary and Mechanical Drawing ...	\$ 3.00
Industrial Design ...	\$ 3.00
Drawing from the Antique ...	\$ 5.00
Drawing from Life . . .	\$ 6.00 <sup>3</sup>

C) Ontario Government Education Department Policy  
(1882/83 - 1912)

An awareness of the South Kensington system and the subsequent accomplishments of British manufacturing in the

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 187.

<sup>2</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1885-86, p. 144.

<sup>3</sup>O.C.A. Archives, Central Ontario School of Art and Design Prospectus 1908-09, unpagged [1].

second half of the 19th century contributed to the shaping of the Ontario government's education department policy and the direction, administration, curriculum, and staff of the post-secondary art schools from 1882/3-1912.

The Ontario education department, like its Quebec counterpart, realized the importance of drawing for art education and its application to industry. Upon taking control of the independent art schools, all aspects of the government administered and funded art schools conformed to the highly successful South Kensington schools. References to the South Kensington and Walter Smith systems continued in official Ontario educational reports after the provincial government takeover of the independent art schools. Improved social, moral and economic conditions were attributed to this systematized course of art and drawing instruction applied to industry.

In England the establishment of the Schools of Art and Design have regained for manufacturers that prestige which they found they had lost in 1851, and again obtained for them pre-eminence over other manufacturing nations in those products requiring skilled workmanship and design. In the United States, Schools of Art are educating workmen to perform skilled labour which was formerly done by workmen brought for that purpose from other countries, and in one State, Massachusetts, an act was passed which made it compulsory in all cities and towns which had a population of above ten thousand, to provide free instruction for adults in evening classes in the subject of industrial drawing.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1883,  
p. 173.

Brief historical sketches<sup>1</sup> of the "Science and Art Department, South Kensington" were printed continuously from 1883-99, in the Ontario educational annual reports, revealing its influence, the significant contribution to art education and the favourable impression it had made upon art educators.

The Governments of Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium and the United States, have on different occasions appointed Commissioners to ascertain the value of Art Education, and they have all decided in favor of drawing being taught to mechanics and<sub>2</sub> artisans, and even to young children. . . .<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1882-83, pp. 251-259. "Report on Art Schools recently visited in the United States." Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1883-84, pp. 232-234, an historical sketch of British Art Education; see also pp. 244-249. Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1885-86, pp. 111-112, for the British reaction to Ontario Art Education. Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1886-87, pp. 210ff., for a summary of Ontario Art Education. Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1887-88, pp. 156-160, for an historical account by Dr. S. P. May, Superintendent of Schools, of the art schools in Ontario. Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1898-99, pp. 183-188, for an historical summary of Ontario's Art Educational system. See also John Seath, Education for Industrial Purposes: A Report by John Seath, Superintendent of Education for Ontario (Toronto: L. K. Cameron, 1911). Besides recommendations for the future, this report examined extensively Technical, Industrial and Art Educational institutions at all levels of study in Britain, as well as shorter sections dealing with France, Switzerland, Germany, and the United States. The Schools visited in England were the Central School of Arts and Crafts, London, pp. 25-30; Preparatory Day Technical Schools for Boys, London; Shoreditch Technical Institute; Monotechnic School of Building, Brixton; Borough Polytechnic Institute; in Manchester, the Municipal School of Technology; Municipal Art School, p. 54; Evening Vocational Schools; in Liverpool, Central Municipal Technical School; City School of Art, p. 62. In Scotland, Edinburgh, the Heriot-Watt College, evening classes of the Edinburgh College of Art, p. 82; in Glasgow, the Glasgow School of Art, p. 90. See also G. A. Reid, "A report to the Council of the Ontario College of Art by the Principal G. A. Reid, R.C.A.," pp. 1-36, 1924. O.C.A. Archives. This report chronicled a four month trip by G. A. Reid to art schools in "the United States, England, Scotland, and on the Continent."

<sup>2</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1883-84, p. 232.

As the Science and Art Department, South Kensington, may be said to have revolutionized the system of industrialized art throughout the whole world, I have given a short historical sketch showing its formation, progress and management.<sup>1</sup>

The importance of drawing in a general education was recognized by both educationalists and manufacturers in Britain, Europe, the United States and Canada as industrialization developed, to raise the level of taste and standard of living.

The Technical courses embrace Drawing and natural science. The Drawing course includes primary and advanced drawing, and mechanical drawing. A knowledge of drawing is of practical value to every person. Educationists and manufacturers are agreed in the opinion that industrial drawing is the foundation of industrial education. . . .

A few years ago drawing was studied chiefly for amusement, or as an accomplishment, but now it stands in the foremost ranks of practical subjects, it cultivates the taste, strengthens the sense of sight, and makes us see objects truthfully, and it concerns the advancement of the poor as well as the rich. If our mechanics do not become designers we shall never become a great manufacturing nation.<sup>2</sup>

Although the utilitarian philosophy of drawing was the priority of the Ontario government, a later report commented that fine art appreciation was transforming some Ontario households.

Freehand drawing is also of great importance to designers. The result of this training is the production of artistic industrial designs which would be creditable to any of the European schools; the mechanical execution, too, is excellent; some of

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 244-249.

<sup>2</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1886-87, p. 186.



its true studies in designs look more like copper-plate impressions than ordinary pencil drawings. . . .

It is only a few years since you recommended the study of drawing as a means of intellectual discipline opening up the perceptive faculties of the pupil and enabling . . . to describe the universal language of forms. . . .

One of the results of this training is an improved aesthetic taste, a desire for the beautiful in nature and art. On my tours of inspection I find even in the poorer houses and country hotels the old-fashioned colored lithographs superseded by the reproduction of artistic paintings, photographs, etc.<sup>1</sup>

The Ontario Government Education Department, in emulation of the South Kensington and Smith systems, in its attempt to standardize art and drawing instruction, set out to establish four specific policies: Art Teacher Training Course; the art school at Toronto, with proper utilization of the Educational Museum and its collection of teaching models, was to assume importance as the provincial central school; Industrial art would be emphasized over that of Fine art, and industry would be encouraged to support the local art school and employ its graduates; and the curriculum was the core of government policy.

#### i) Art Teacher Training Course

Ontario, unlike Quebec, developed a specific certificate program for the training of regular teachers to impart

<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1890-91, p. 240. See also Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1897-98, p. XIX. "During the past fifteen years considerable attention has been paid to Art Education. We have endeavoured to develop a taste for industrial drawing as the basis of industrial education, now universally acknowledged an important factor in the national wealth and prosperity of every country in which it has been adopted."



drawing instruction to pupils at primary, secondary and post-secondary art and educational institutions throughout the province similar to the South Kensington and Walter Smith systems. Primary course certificates were first awarded in 1884, followed by Advanced and Mechanical certificates in 1885 (see Appendix 3b).

In addition to ordinary art teaching to its regular pupils, this school was also intended as a training-school for art teachers for other schools throughout the Province, as well as for the benefit of young mechanics and artisans, by evening instruction for a small fee in such drawing as would tend to increase their skill and capacity in ornamental and other designs and models for industrial purposes.<sup>1</sup>

The industrial art education priorities of the teacher training drawing course were reiterated in 1884.

The aim of the Ontario School of Art is to prepare teachers who may be required for teaching industrial drawing in Public and High Schools, Mechanics' Institutes and Industrial Art Schools; also to provide technical instruction and art culture for persons employed in the various trades, manufactures, etc., requiring artistic skill.<sup>2</sup>

In the same report, the Ontario educational authorities stated their awareness of the South Kensington system's art training school for teachers and its influence upon the French educational reforms in 1863.

It is not probable that such a successful examination is known in the history of Education elsewhere, for we find that even in Paris, when the examination of teachers

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1882, p. 165.

<sup>2</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1884, p. 242.

drawing took place, about twenty years ago, on the basis of the South Kensington Training School for teachers; at the first examination out of 171 applicants, only thirty passed in Geometry; and at the second examination only eleven out of ninety students passed in this subject.<sup>1</sup>

The subjects for examination were identical to those of the South Kensington system.

The subjects for examination are the same [as South Kensington] as those required by the Ontario School of Art for teaching Industrial Drawing Grade in Public Schools and Mechanics' Institutes, viz: 1. Freehand drawing, 2. Practical geometry, 3. Perspective, 4. Model drawing, 5. Blackboard drawing.<sup>2</sup>

ii) Central Art School , Toronto

In 1885, provincial government officials and education department personnel hoped that the Ontario School of Art, Toronto, would assume the same importance in Ontario as the South Kensington School of Art, London, was to Britain.

This important school [Ontario School of Art, Toronto], the management of which is in the hands of the Education Department of Ontario, and which it is proposed shall occupy a position for Canada similar to that filled in England by the great school of South Kensington, . . .<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1884, p. 235. Ontario Education officials felt quite smug because of the phenomenal success of art teachers who passed summer classes specializing in "Practical Geometry" based upon the South Kensington examination. ". . . 102 teachers presented themselves for examination in this subject [Practical Geometry] and every candidate passed; the lowest number of marks was 60%, and sixty of the students obtained the full number of 100 marks."

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 246.

<sup>3</sup>The Dominion Annual Register and Review 1885, p. 352.

By the late 1880's the Ontario School of Art, Toronto, was becoming the main teaching institution for post-secondary study. This had been the objective of the provincial government when it took complete control of the independent art schools in 1882/83. The annual report of the 1889/90 session stated that Manitoba provincial schools were utilizing the same instruction and their examinations had been standardized to enable their students to participate in the same certificate examinations as Ontario.

The advantages of the excellent method of examination are not confined to Ontario alone. The minister of Education has introduced the system that obtains in South Kensington, whereby art pupils residing at a distance - for example, Manitoba, Portage la Prairie, and many other places - have been enabled to participate in the results of the examinations during the past year. There is no charge made, and all who have a taste for drawing or painting can present their work for examination just as if they had attended one of the Art Schools here.<sup>1</sup>

The idea of establishing a major art school in Toronto was reiterated in 1890/91.

The prospectus of establishing a large and influential School of Art in Toronto, which shall bring students from all parts of our Province, are most encouraging. The curriculum adopted has been in accordance with the requirements of the Government, . . .<sup>2</sup>

In 1890/91, the name of the art school in Toronto, called the Ontario School of Art from its inception in 1876, was changed to the 'Central Ontario School of Art and

<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1889-90, p. 305.

<sup>2</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1890-91, p. 261.

Design.' This not only denoted the government policy and philosophy stressing technical and industrial art over that of 'Fine Art,' but also indicated that the provincial government wished to consolidate its authority whereby Toronto would assume the importance as the central school.

The organization now known as the 'Central Ontario School of Art and Design' was incorporated under section 2 of the Act respecting Art Schools, with a membership of 20 prominent citizens, on October 22nd, 1890. . . . The prospectus of establishing a large and influential School of Art in Toronto, which shall bring students from all parts of our Province, are most encouraging.

The curriculum adopted has been in accordance with the requirements of the Government, but it is a matter for regret that no students for the mechanical course presented themselves, the artizans who attended the classes being more desirous of acquiring a knowledge of freehand drawing and design.<sup>1</sup>

Objections were raised by a number of groups and individuals from rural areas in Ontario who were served by local branches of the provincial art schools. However, the government reduced gradually the number of schools from nine to only two by 1904/05.

When objections were raised to centralizing the art interest of the province in Toronto, and art schools were started in many of the cities and large towns, a charge was again made, for the school had dwindled very much during the agitation. . . . It [Toronto Art school] was this time established on a firmer financial basis, with excellent accommodation and good teachers, and has continued steadily to increase in numbers and improve in the work done.<sup>2</sup>

Seven years later in 1902/03, the two reasons, given by the Department of Education, for the decrease in the number

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>"Art Notes," Toronto Saturday Night, Vol. 8, no. 30, 15 June, 1895, p. 9.

of arts schools in Ontario were firstly, the higher number of students enrolled in drawing at lower levels and their greater proficiency, and secondly, better qualified teachers. However, a deliberate and determined government policy to reduce the number of schools was not mentioned.

The decrease of Art Schools may be chiefly attributed to the increased interest taken in Drawing, etc., in Public and High Schools, and Ladies' Colleges; qualified teachers are now employed in these Schools, and their pupils are more successful in passing the curriculum of studies in the minor branches than Art School pupils, who frequently are allowed to study so many different subjects that many fail in their examinations.<sup>1</sup>

For the art school in Toronto to become the provincial central school, rather than 'Central' in name only, it had to attract pupils from other parts of the province. The government policy to reduce the number of provincial branch schools helped to achieve this goal.

In 1893, it was reported that pupils attending the Central Ontario School of Art and Design, Toronto, were coming from as far away as Halifax, Nova Scotia.

It is a pleasing feature to be able to report that students continue to come from a distance to attend this school. One lady came from Halifax, Nova Scotia, and others

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1902-03, p. 128. These comments were reiterated in the following report, see also, Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1903-04, p. 225. "The decrease of Arts Schools may be attributed to the increased interest taken in drawing in Public and High Schools, Ladies' Colleges, etc., also to the progress of technical education in the Province. It is gratifying to state that qualified teachers are now employed in a large number of High and Public Schools, Ladies Colleges, etc., and their pupils are very successful in passing the curriculum of studies in the minor branches."

from towns nearer home. Nearly every student who entered did so with a specific object, either to qualify to teach or to use drawing, designing, modelling, etc., in some business enterprise.<sup>1</sup>

The 1900/01 annual report stated that the Central Ontario School of Art and Design, Toronto, was attracting a large number of students from outlying areas of the province.

Students from the following outside points attended this school,- Bowmanville, Bobcaygeon, Barrie, Bradford, Brampton, Clarksburg, Collingwood, Eglinton, Fenelon Falls, Guelph, Hastings, Little Britain, Marsville, Seagrove, Strathroy, Sutton West, Welland, West Lorne.<sup>2</sup>

By the turn of the century the Central Ontario School of Art and Design, Toronto, was not only bringing together students from all over Ontario but also other provinces.

The Hamilton School of Art (founded 1885/86) encountered difficulties in 1900/01 when it was renamed the Hamilton School of Art, Design and Technology to comply with the Ontario government policy which emphasized industrial and technical education over that of fine art. The decision to rename the school caused division amongst the staff and officials, however it was resolved to conform to education department wishes.

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario), 1892-93, p. 277. It is rather ironical that a student would attend the Central Ontario School of Art and Design, Toronto, because the Victoria School of Art and Design, Halifax, which had been founded in 1887, had acquired a fine reputation.

<sup>2</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1900-01, p. 147.



. . . opposing interests came into conflict as to the work that should be done in the School; some persons advocated that only Fine Arts proper, including Painting from Life, should be taught. The majority however decided that the principal instruction should consist of Industrial Design, technical drawing, modelling, etc., supplemented with instruction in Painting, etc. . . . A new Board of Directors was elected, and it has been in existence since 1886, that no constitution and by-laws had ever been submitted to the subscribers and members. The new Directors compiled a constitution and by-laws which were submitted to the subscribers. The constitution provides for fixed dates for meetings, and that the name be changed to the Hamilton School of Art, Design, and Technology.<sup>1</sup>

iii) Support of Local Industry Was Essential for the  
Promotion of Industrial Art Education

One of the major difficulties of both the South Kensington and Walter Smith systems was to obtain the co-operation and support of local manufacturers to encourage students enrolled in the technical and industrial art certificate courses in art schools. The Ontario government art schools encountered the same resistance as their British and American counterparts. It was easier and more economically feasible for manufacturers to pirate foreign designs and patterns for their commodities rather than invest in the education of local students.

In 1886/87, the Ontario School of Art, Toronto, expanded to include another branch in the west end of the city close to local manufacturers to accommodate specifically industrial and technical education. Co-

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1900-01, p. 146.



operation of local industry was essential for the survival of such a plan.

In accordance with the wishes of the Board of Directors, after consultation with yourself, I interviewed a number of the large manufacturers and other large employers of skilled labor in the west end of the city on the propriety of establishing in the West End an Art School for the advantage of their employes [sic]. . . . The classes were held through the kindness of the Public School Board in Niagara Street School Buildings, on Monday, Wednesday and Friday evenings from 7:30 to 9:30.<sup>1</sup>

Attempts were made to seek financial support from local manufacturers, however, few industries are cited in the annual reports for assisting and encouraging pupils in the art schools.

In 1886/87, the Canadian Manufacturers Association offered four silver medals for competition within the provincial art schools.

The Canadian Manufacturers' Association offered for competition amongst all Art Schools of the Province four silver medals, viz.: for a design for a medal, a design for a diploma, a design for a carved panel for a sideboard, a design for a summer cottage.<sup>2</sup>

In 1889/90 the Brockville art school received encouragement from local industry, and by 1893/94 private citizens and manufacturers offered a substantial list of prizes to students, however, the optimism was short-lived as in 1895/96 Brockville art school officials stated their personal

<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1886-87, p. 232. The West-End art school lasted five sessions, from 1886/87 to 1890/91. See Appendix 3a.

<sup>2</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1887-88, p. 228.

dissatisfaction with the lack of interest and support of local industry for graduates of its school.

It is gratifying to state that our Art School is now more appreciated by manufacturers and employers of labor than formerly, . . .<sup>1</sup>

At the next term of the Brockville Art School the directors will offer a large list of prizes and are confident that these will serve to still further spur on the great interest taken in this institution as prizes will be given to every grade of pupils. . . .<sup>2</sup>

*The report* shows that the session consisted of two terms attended by sixty-five students in the primary, advanced and mechanical courses, also a small number in the extra subjects including oil and water color, both from cast and from life; but being a manufacturing town the school has given more attention to the studies necessary and useful to mechanics than to those merely ornamental. . . . A few of our ex-students have found some occupation in Canada and the United States drawing and designing for the periodicals and private employers, but we can only regret that the manufacturers in our own vicinity do not deem it expedient to employ designers for the goods they manufacture, but borrow designs of foreign origin.<sup>3</sup>

In 1890/91, the Hamilton art school had a substantial increase in the technical class attendance: ". . . the technical class has doubled itself this year."<sup>4</sup> In the same year, the Principal, Mr. S. John Ireland, delivered

Eight lectures on the 'Technicalities of Design,' specifically required in the

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1889-90, p. 314.

<sup>2</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1893-94, p. 131.

<sup>3</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1895-96, p. 337.

<sup>4</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1890-91, p. 256.

manufacture of the City metal works, and lectures on 'Mathematical Instruments and how to use them,' 'Color in Art,' and 'Artistic Furnishing' . . . .<sup>1</sup>

In 1894/95, residents of Hamilton contributed money and a medal as prizes to their art school. "Citizens gave \$40 and a medal for local prizes, with beneficial results."<sup>2</sup>

The Hamilton art school survived until 1909/10 because of strong links with local manufactures; in addition, its curriculum, staff and Principal Mr. S. John Ireland, and its ability to attract students not only from Ontario but also other parts of Canada, specifically in this case, Winnipeg, strengthened the art school's position in the community.

Not only has instruction been given to all grades of Hamilton citizens, but students have attended from the surrounding districts, and one student came from Winnipeg to attend this school.<sup>3</sup>

In 1892/93, the Central Ontario School of Art and Design, Toronto, announced that the Toronto Carpet Manufacturing Company would contribute a monetary prize to stimulate competition for quality designs.

Reference was made in the report a year ago to the stimulating effect of the action of Mr. J. P. Murray [one of the Directors of the Toronto Art School], President of the Toronto Carpet Manufacturing Company, in offering a prize of \$25 for the best practical design of an in grain carpet. . . . The council is pleased to be able

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1894-95, p. 266.

<sup>3</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1897-98, p. 154.

to report that this prize, and an additional one of \$25 for the best emblematic design for a carpet, has been awarded to two students during the present session.<sup>1</sup>

Five years later, in 1897/98, fifty dollars was donated by an anonymous benefactor for excellence in fine art drawing courses.

A friend having donated \$50 for prizes to the students of this school, it was divided into two prizes - \$10 and \$5 - for painting from life; two prizes - \$10 and \$5 - for drawing from life; and three prizes - \$10, \$6, and \$4 - for the best specimen of designs suitable for industrial purposes.<sup>2</sup>

*As evidenced by the following examples graduates of the art schools were integrated into local or distant manufactures or industry; some taught drawing in the primary, secondary schools or at the provincial art schools; and others continued their advanced fine art studies in the United States, Britain, or France.*

In 1894/95, the Brockville art school stated several of its graduates had secured employment in Canada and the United States.

Since their last report several of their senior students, owing to their knowledge of drawing, have been employed in different Canadian cities, and others owing to the stagnation of trade have gone to the

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1892-93, p. 284. See also Toronto Saturday Night, 15 June, 1895. "As an incentive of good work, several manufacturing firms in the city (among them the Toronto Carpet Manufacturing Company) and more than one engraving and lithography company have offered prizes for the best designs in their respective lines, . . . The prizes offered in the competition of the various art schools of the province also act as a spur."

<sup>2</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1897-98, p. 155.

United States where they have obtained lucrative employment.<sup>1</sup>

In 1896/97, the London art school reported, with pleasure, that many of its graduates were employed successfully in various professions.

. . . it is good to state that the students from this school (established in 1877) have distinguished themselves in various trades and professions, including wood engravers, wood carvers, photographers, China painters, decorative artists, architects, etc., besides many who have become professional teachers.<sup>2</sup>

In 1901/02, the Hamilton art school announced that its successful graduates could be found employed in almost any city in North America.

Our students continue to get responsible positions, and it seems that there are few cities in Canada or the United States where some ex-pupil of this School cannot be found and who is doing well; . . .<sup>3</sup>

In 1903/04, the annual report recorded that some graduates of the provincial art schools and members of the Ontario Society of Artists had established a "school of Canadian Designers . . . in London, England, with the name of the 'Carlton.'"

A school of Canadian Designers has been founded by graduates and members of the Ontario Society of Artists in London, England, with the name of the 'Carlton.' It

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1894-95, p. 265.

<sup>2</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1896-97, pp. 157-158.

<sup>3</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1901-02, p. 131.

is very successful, and great and satisfactory results are anticipated.<sup>1</sup>

One of the benefits of industrial and technical art training was that graduates of the Ontario government art schools were employed by industry at higher wages.

Employers now take boys who have been trained in this school and pay them a salary almost at once, whereas previous to the establishment of this school such boys had to give their services for two years without remuneration.<sup>2</sup>

#### iv) Curriculum

The curriculum was the core of government policy, which was to promote and make industrial art its priority over fine art.

Curricular changes can be very revealing about the altered priorities assigned to various skills and intellectual disciplines and indicate, in some instances at least, profound reorientations in a society's existence.<sup>3</sup>

During the period 1882/3-1912, the curriculum changed only marginally with the addition of a few new subjects<sup>4</sup> in

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1903-04, p. 227.

<sup>2</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1889-90, p. 316.

<sup>3</sup>H. H. Bantock, op. cit., p. 140. See also P. Gordon and D. Lawton, op. cit., p. 1.

<sup>4</sup>See Appendix 3b . These subjects were termed "special or extra subjects" and were outside of the Primary, Advanced, Mechanical and Industrial courses. In 1886, the Ontario government stated that "extra subjects" would be offered only at a particular art school if the attendance was not less than twenty-five students enrolled in each of the Primary and Advanced courses. Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1886-87, p. 214.

the late 1880's and again in the late 1890's which reflected the growing demand for illustrators of popular literature, books, magazines, and periodicals, etc. The curriculum was almost identical to that of the independent art schools (from 1876-1882/3) in Toronto and London, however, the government legislated rules and regulations that conformed to those of the South Kensington system, which had to be followed by each school.

The government<sup>1</sup> organized the individual courses into three divisions or programs of study: Elementary, Advanced and Mechanical.<sup>2</sup> Over the thirty-year period, courses would be added, replaced or shifted from the divisions, but the main objectives and composition of the programs remained pedagogically the same. The transitional years of government takeover of the independent art schools (Toronto - 1882/3; London and Ottawa 1885/86 ) indicate the greatest number of individual course changes within each division, however, after 1885 (until 1912), although many extra subjects were introduced, the divisional composition of courses did not change.

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1883-84, p. 177. On 12 Oct., 1882 the by-laws and constitution of the Ontario School of Art stated the Council be composed of ten members. The President, Vice-President, seven O.S.A. members, and a representative of the Education department. When the Ontario School of Art was founded in October 1876 the council to manage it consisted of seven members: the Minister of Education or a representative of the Education department, the principal, and five O.S.A. members (President and Vice-President and a member representing painters, architects, and engravers). See Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1882-83, p. 244.

<sup>2</sup>Mechanical is interchangeable with Industrial.



The first program of study was presented for the 1882/83 session.

Elementary Course.- Freehand Outline, Model Drawing, Geometry, Perspective.  
 Advanced Course. - Freehand Shaded [Flat and Casts], Ornamental Design, Painting in Water Colours, Painting in Oil Colours.  
 Mechanical Course. - Practical Geometry (Plane and Solid),<sup>1</sup> Machine Drawing, Building Construction.<sup>1</sup>

Examinations and proficiency certificates were introduced during the 1882/83 session. Certificates were given for every subject successfully completed and for the three courses of study (Elementary, Advanced, Mechanical).<sup>2</sup>

The Elementary class pupils were examined in five subjects. To be permitted to study in the Advanced course

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1882-83, p. 245.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 249.

#### Rules for Examinations of Students

##### 1. Elementary

1. Freehand Drawing from flat examples.
2. Freehand Drawing from models.
3. Practical Geometry.
4. Linear Perspective.
5. Memory Drawing.

##### 2. Advanced

1. Shading from flat example.
2. Advanced Perspective.
3. Outline Drawing from the round.
4. Shading from the round.
5. Drawing flowers and objects of Natural History from flat example.
6. Blackboard Drawing.

##### 3. Technical

1. Mechanical and Machine Drawing.
2. Plane and Solid Geometry.
3. Ornamental Design. Shading from the flat and round.
4. Linear Perspective.
5. Plan Drawing. Building Construction.

a student had to pass Freehand drawing from flat examples and models (casts or from the round) and one of the following: Practical Geometry, Linear Perspective or Memory drawing.

Students who held certificates for all subjects in the Elementary course (5) and the Advanced course (6) would be entitled to a 'Teachers' Certificate' enabling him *or her to have the* opportunity to teach drawing in Ontario public, high school and mechanics' institutes.

Those who passed all subjects (5) in the Mechanical or Technical Course received a Technical Instruction Certificate.

In October 1883, 'Modelling in Clay' was introduced into the evening classes of the Ontario School of Art, Toronto, by Mr. Dunbar.<sup>1</sup>

The curriculum of the Western Ontario School of Art and Design, London, in 1883, consisted of thirteen subjects.

1. Freehand Drawing from flat examples - outline.
2. Freehand Drawing from models - outline.
3. Freehand Drawing from models - shaded.
4. Perspective.
5. Mechanical and Geometrical drawing from the flat.
6. Mechanical and Geometrical drawing from models.
7. Architectural drawing.
8. Lettering.
9. Modelling in clay or wax.
10. Ornamental design.
11. Painting in Monochrome from models.
12. Painting in oil and water colours.
13. Painting on China.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1883-84, p. 185.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 188.

In 1884, the Western School of Art and Design, London, and the Ottawa art school became affiliated, for examination purposes, with the Ontario School of Art, Toronto.<sup>1</sup> It was shortly after the close of the 25 April 1884 (4th) session of the Ontario School of Art, Toronto, that the O.S.A. resigned its connection with the art school, which subsequently came under the jurisdiction of the Minister of Education.<sup>2</sup> With three post-secondary art schools in London, Ottawa and Toronto, mechanics' institutes, a number of secondary schools and colleges, eligible for the drawing examinations,<sup>3</sup> and the potential creation of additional provincial post-secondary art schools, the government, besides awarding proficiency certificates to successful candidates, introduced a competition for one gold and two bronze medals.

1. A Gold Medal for the best study from the Antique [outline and shading] in chalk, and the best ornamental design applicable to decorations of Industrial Art.
2. A Bronze Medal for the highest number of marks on the five subjects in Grade B. [Open to all affiliates except Mechanics' Institutes.]

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1884, p. 236.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 239.

<sup>3</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1889-90, p. 302. "In 1884, in order to encourage the study of industrial drawing throughout the Province . . . established a new departmental rule allowing the pupils of any school or college, whether public or private, to compete for the medals and certificates annually awarded by the Education Department for success in drawing, painting, woodcarving, and modelling, etc."

3. A Bronze Medal for the highest number of marks on the five subjects in Grade B [open to Mechanics' Institutes].<sup>1</sup>

The specifics of the gold medal competition were described in 1885 and later annual reports.

Time Study. - Drawing from the Antique, full figure. The drawing shall not be less than two feet in height, on white paper, in chalk, either with or without the aid of stump, background shaded or plain. Work to be finished in 36 hours, regular school time, without assistance.

Original Design. - This is to be executed in pencil, on paper provided by the Department, size of drawing not less than six inches by four inches; time four hours. The designs recommended are those suitable for wallpaper, carpets, oil cloth, or such like purposes.<sup>2</sup>

In October 1884, the curriculum for the Elementary or Primary course was designated - Grade B, however, retained the same five individual subjects. The Advanced (five subjects) and Technical (six subjects) courses were combined and renamed to form Second or High - Grade A (ten subjects).<sup>3</sup> Wood Engraving and Wood Carving were intro-

<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1884, p. 236. In October 1883, the Department of Education had offered twelve scholarships, each for a period of three years free tuition, to high school students to encourage them to continue their post-secondary drawing education at the Ontario School of Art, Toronto. See, Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1883-84, p. 187.

<sup>2</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1885-86, p. 192. See also Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1886-87, p. 185.

<sup>3</sup>Five of the ten subjects have retained their original 1882/83 names; the remaining five have been re-named, and one combined. Linear and Advanced Perspective (1882/83) were combined under Advanced Perspective (1883/84); Mechanical and Machine Drawing has evolved to become named Machine Drawing; Plane and Solid Geometry - Descriptive Geometry and Topographical Drawing; Plan Drawing. Building Construction - Building Construction; Ornamental Design. Shading from the flat and round - Industrial Design; Blackboard drawing - Drawing from dictation.

duced in addition to the already existing special subjects of Painting in Oil and Watercolours and Modelling in Clay and Wax.

Elementary or Primary - Grade B

1. Freehand Drawing from flat examples.
2. Practical Geometry.
3. Linear Perspective.
4. Model Drawing [Freehand drawing from models].
5. Memory and Blackboard Drawing.

Second or High - Grade A

1. Shading from flat examples.
2. Outline Drawing from the round (cast or nature).
3. Shading from the round.
4. Drawing from flowers and objects of Natural History [flat examples].
5. Advanced Perspective.
6. Descriptive Geometry and Topographical Drawing.
7. Drawing from dictation.
8. Machine Drawing.
9. Building Construction.
10. Industrial Design.

Special Subjects

1. Painting in Oil and Water Colors.
2. Modelling in Clay and Wax.
3. Wood Engraving, including Pictorial Work.
4. Wood Carving. <sup>1</sup>

In October 1884, Canadian-born, South Kensington trained, A. Dickson Patterson's extra subject class, 'Painting in Oil and Water Colors,' at the Ontario School of Art, Toronto, was modelled upon the South Kensington System, and the method of instruction was described.

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1883-84, pp. 241-242. The nineteen subjects in the Ontario curriculum were listed for comparison with the twenty-three stages of drawing and art studies of the South Kensington system. Ibid., pp. 247-248. See also Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1885-86, p. 134.

The painting classes, under the direction of Mr. Dickson Patterson, are also very successful; over twenty students are in attendance. Several applicants had to be refused for want of room; some of them have entered their names and are awaiting any vacancies that may occur.

The success of these classes is probably attributable to the method of teaching introduced. Instead of the old method of copying from paintings, by which many students soon consider themselves to be artists without knowledge of the first principles of drawing. Mr. Patterson has at the commencement adopted the course pursued at South Kensington, and has made copying from the casts in monochrome the principal study. This means that the students, whilst continuing their exercises of drawing from the round, gain at the same time an acquaintance with the handling of oil colours, and learn to draw with the brush instead of crayon. They are trained to note the broad distinctions of light and shade in the cast, and also to note the least perceptible differences in colour, arising either from local discoloration, reflection from other objects in the room, or the color of the surrounding walls.

By this method the students gradually overcome the technical difficulties all beginners encounter at the outset, and are led to feel a reliance upon their own power of seeing correctly, and whatever it may be, whether in monochrome or full color.<sup>1</sup>

In 1886, the curriculum was reorganized into its original three divisions: Primary (5 subjects), Advanced (5 subjects).<sup>2</sup> and Mechanical<sup>3</sup> (5 subjects). The Elementary or Primary course remained the same. The Second or High - Grade A division, incorporated in 1883/84, consisting of 10

<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1884-85, p. 244.

<sup>2</sup>The Advanced course originally had 6 subjects; Blackboard Drawing was added to the Elementary Course in 1883/84 to become Memory and Blackboard Drawing.

<sup>3</sup>Mechanical was originally called Technical in 1882/83.

subjects was split into two divisions of 5 subjects: Advanced and Mechanical. Ornamental Design, which had in 1882/83 been a subject in the Technical (or Mechanical) course became a subject in the Advanced course, 1886. Advanced perspective, which had been a subject in the Advanced course in 1882/83, was moved into the Mechanical course division. Drawing from dictation<sup>1</sup> was dropped. The subject Descriptive Geometry and Topographical Drawing (1883/84) was changed to Projection and Descriptive Geometry (1886) in the Mechanical course.

#### Primary Art Course

1. Freehand Drawing from flat examples.
2. Practical Geometry.
3. Linear Perspective.
4. Model Drawing.
5. Memory or Blackboard Drawing.

#### Advanced Art Course

1. Shading from flat examples.
2. Outline Drawing from the round (cast or nature).
3. Shading from the round.
4. Drawing from flowers and objects of natural history.
5. Ornamental Design.

#### Mechanical Drawing Course

1. Projection and Descriptive Geometry.
2. Machine Drawing.
3. Building Construction.
4. Industrial Design.
5. Advanced Perspective.<sup>2</sup>

In 1886, the government legislated that each art school must have an average attendance of fifty pupils and that students must be fifteen years old to enrol in the provincial

<sup>1</sup>Drawing from dictation and Blackboard drawing were two important subjects in the Elementary course training in the Walter Smith system.

<sup>2</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1886-87, p. 184.



art schools.<sup>1</sup> The silver medal was awarded for the highest marks in the Mechanical course, replacing the Bronze medal of the previous session.<sup>2</sup> The bronze medal was now awarded only for the highest marks in the Primary drawing course. The gold medal regulations remained the same. Also, in 1886, the government stipulated that in order to offer extra subjects at each art school, a minimum attendance of twenty-five pupils must be maintained in both the Primary and Advanced courses.<sup>3</sup> Previously the government extra subjects had included Painting in Oil and Watercolours, Modelling in Clay and Wax, Wood Carving and Wood Engraving. Officially sanctioned by the government in 1886, China Painting, repoussé work, and drawing from life were added to the list of extra subjects.

From 1882/3 the art school in Toronto, until its incorporation on 22 Oct., 1890<sup>4</sup> as the Central Ontario School of Art and Design, had been known by a number of names in the annual reports of the Minister of Education

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p.213.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 185, 215.

<sup>3</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1886-87, p. 215. "Any Art School having established classes of not less than 25 pupils in each of the Primary and Advanced Courses, may make provision for teaching any or all of the following subjects: -

1) Drawing from Life. 2) Painting in Oil Colors.  
3) Painting in Water Colors. 4) Modelling in Clay and Wax. 5) Wood Carving. 6) Wood Engraving.  
7) China Painting. 8) Repoussé Work."

<sup>4</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1890-91, p. 261.

and popular press, such as Ontario School of Art, Ontario School of Art and Design, and the Toronto art school.

The non-standardization of its name is in itself a reflection of the continuous re-organization of subjects in the curriculum although basic composition of subjects and their priority of industrial over fine art remained unaltered.

In 1897/98 five special subjects were grouped together for the first time under a 4th division named Industrial art.<sup>1</sup> The Industrial art course was composed of Modelling in Clay, Wood Carving, Wood Engraving, Lithography and Painting on China. The five courses had been listed individually for proficiency certificates many years earlier. Wood Engraving was dropped from the course during the 1898/99 session, reducing the subjects to four.<sup>2</sup> Photogravure was added for the 1899/1900 session, increasing the subjects to five.<sup>3</sup>

During the 1895/96 session Ornamental Design was renamed Industrial Design in the Advanced course, and in the Mechanical course Architectural Design replaced Industrial

<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1897-98, p. 144. N.A., RCA of Arts papers, Minute Books 1880-1906, MG I 126, Vol. 17, 1897 Ontario Government Report, pp. 108-109. See also Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1903-04, p. 218.

<sup>2</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1898-99, p. 171.

<sup>3</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1899-1900, p. 163. See Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1902-03, p. 79. Rules for examination still show wood engraving offered, however, certificates for photogravure are offered also, see ibid., p. 124. See also Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1903-04, p. 218.

Design.<sup>1</sup>

Primary Art Course

1. Freehand Drawing from Flat Examples.
2. Practical Geometry.
3. Linear Perspective.
4. Model Drawing.
5. Memory or Blackboard Drawing.

Advanced Art Course

1. Shading from Flat Examples.
2. Outline Drawing from the 'round.'
3. Shading from the 'round.'
4. Drawing from Flowers, etc.
5. Industrial Design.

Mechanical Drawing Course

1. Projection and Descriptive Geometry.
2. Machine Drawing.
3. Building Construction.
4. Architectural Design.
5. Advanced Perspective.

Industrial Art Course

1. Modelling in Clay.
2. Wood-carving.
3. Wood-engraving.
4. Lithography.
5. China Painting.<sup>2</sup>

With the increase in the number of extra subjects in 1886/87, the following session in 1887/88, recorded that two bronze medals were awarded for painting and drawing from life, and a gold medal certificate for drawing from the

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1903-04, pp. 217-218. See also Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1902-03, pp. 78-79. The South Kensington influence continued to be present in the way drawings were executed. In the Primary art course, Freehand drawing from flat examples had to be 'in pure outline, no shading allowed'; Model drawing 'must be in pure outline, no shading allowed; the purpose being to combine correctness of drawing and neatness of execution.' In the Advanced art course, Outline drawing from the round 'must be life size, from an antique or modern bust. . . . If there be any shading the exercise will not be examined'; Drawing from flowers 'must be in strict outline; no shading allowed.'

<sup>2</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1902-03, pp. 78-79.

antique. In 1888/89, bronze medals were given for other extra subjects of Wood Carving, Painting on China, Wood Engraving, in addition to drawing and painting from life. Conforming to the emphasis on industrial over that of fine art, gold and silver medals were awarded only for industrial art subjects, and bronze medals for extra subjects.

In 1904, the number of certificates and medals awarded by the Ontario provincial government to post-secondary schools, mechanics' institutes, high schools and 'ladies' colleges, was comparable to the South Kensington system in its heyday.<sup>1</sup>

From the 1904/05 session until 1914 only two post-secondary art schools remained open, Hamilton and Toronto.

Some years ago Art Schools were established at Toronto, Hamilton, London, Kingston, St. Thomas, Ottawa, [Stratford] and Brockville, which received small grants from the Ontario Legislature. Of these all have gone out of existence except two - the one at Hamilton . . . and the one at Toronto. . . .<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1903-04, pp. 217-219.

<u>Course/Year</u>	<u>1882</u>	<u>1883</u>	<u>1897</u>	<u>1904</u>	<u>Total</u>
Primary	106			4,056	73,048
Advanced	-	40		145	5,898
Mechanical	-	11		34	1,501
Industrial	-		30	8	465

Of the 20 extra subjects from 1885-1904 the number of proficiency certificates totalled 2,111. The greatest number of proficiency certificates awarded in the Primary course was 6,543 in 1895; in the Advanced course 558 in 1898; in the Mechanical course 149 in 1893; and in the Industrial course 43 in 1900. *South Kensington awarded medals, prizes and certificates for design only, not fine art.*

<sup>2</sup>John Seath, Education for Industrial Purposes: A Report of John Seath, Superintendent of Education for Ontario (Toronto: L. K. Cameron, 1911), p. 309.

In 1909 /10, the art school in Hamilton was combined with the newly constructed technical school and from September 1909, was named the Technical and Art School, Hamilton.<sup>1</sup> A wide variety of subjects were offered, ranging from arts and crafts, science, and applied art. Some of the subjects, such as mechanical drawing, freehand drawing, industrial design, china painting, clay modelling, and architectural drawing continued from the original 1885/86 Hamilton art school curriculum.<sup>2</sup>

In 1910, the new Toronto Technical school building was nearing completion and John Seath, the Superintendent of Education for Ontario, expressed the same opinion as his predecessors in the mid-to-late 19th century, that industrial art and design should be an important component of the school. He believed that industrial and art education were inseparable.

In the new Technical School building about to be erected one of the most important departments should be that of Industrial Art and Design.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 271.

<sup>2</sup>John Seath, op. cit., p. 272. The day curriculum consisted of the following: "English, mathematics, science, woodworking, forging, machine shop practice, mechanical drawing, freehand drawing, and electricity. Special day courses are also offered in industrial designing, including wallpaper, book covers, posters, jewellery, fabrics; and in china painting, clay modelling, cooking, and dressmaking."

The evening courses ranged from: ". . . mathematics, physics, chemistry, forging, experimental electricity, machine shop practice, woodworking, printing, mechanical drawing, architectural drawing, dressmaking, millinery, cookery, and a number of branches of fine and applied art."

<sup>3</sup>John Seath, op. cit., p. 310.

He proposed that the 'Board of Management' be re-organized at the Central Ontario School of Art and Design, Toronto, to afford it a "more representative character" with the hope that "Such a reconstruction would probably weld together all the art interests of the city, and secure more liberal support from both the Legislature of the Province and the City of Toronto."<sup>1</sup>

It was the 'only teaching body' of post secondary drawing and art education in Toronto in 1911, although six other organizations exhibited and promoted art.

The chief of these are the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, the Art Museum Association of Ontario, and the Ontario Society of Artists. Others in Toronto are the Canadian Art Club, an offshoot of the last named; the Toronto Society of Applied Arts; the Graphic Art Club, consisting of illustrators of various kinds; and the Toronto Association of Architects.<sup>2</sup>

The Ontario College of Art, Toronto, was incorporated in 1912, replacing the Central Ontario School of Art and Design. With the creation of the Toronto Technical School and the O.C.A., industrial art was finally separated from fine art, or was it? An examination of the 1913/14 'syllabus of instruction' of the O.C.A. proves otherwise. The curriculum was divided into four courses: Primary, Advanced, Design and Applied art, and an art teachers' training course. The Primary course "is not only intended for the training of beginners but also for the training of advanced workers who

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 311.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

require to systematize their knowledge for the purpose of teaching."<sup>1</sup>

Blackboard and Memory drawing were still considered important; shapes and forms were to be executed in 'pure outline'; Geometry and Perspective were taught; and 'training of the hand and arm for control in drawing and the eye in judgment of proportion and form' was the purpose of such elementary training, an opinion which hadn't changed from those expressed by mid-19th century art educators. Portrait, illustration, modelling and antique classes were offered, as well as drawing and painting from life. The Advanced course was composed of drawing of historic ornament from the cast, antique figure from the cast, still life, costume figure, and nude figure. The Design and Applied art course resembled, in content, the subjects given at the City School of Art, Liverpool, and the Municipal Art School, Manchester, both of which had been visited by John Seath and their curriculum reproduced in his 1911 report.<sup>2</sup>

The O.C.A. Design and Applied Art Course curriculum consisted of ten subjects: Decorative Illustration and Typography; Illumination and Lettering; Heraldry and Grotesques; Embroidery, Tapestry, Lace-making and Weaving; Printing on Fabrics, Wall paper, etc.; Metal working, jewellery and enamelling; Stone, wood and other carving;

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<sup>1</sup>O.C.A. Archives, General Syllabus of Instruction, O.C.A. Prospectus 1913-14, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup>John Seath, op. cit., pp. 63, 54.



Pottery, tiles and glass painting; Casting in various materials; Furniture and cabinet work.<sup>1</sup>

In the first volume of the Ontario College of Art Students' Annual, the Principal, George A. Reid, stated the purpose of the art school, its responsibility to society and its students, were not any different than those of its predecessor the Ontario School of Art founded in 1876, *with the exception of the development of Arts and Crafts.*

(a) The training of students in the fine arts, including drawing, painting, design, modelling and sculpture, and in all branches of the applied arts in the more artistic trades and manufactures; and

(b) The training of teachers in the fine and applied arts. These are similar to the objects of the preceeding [sic] Ontario School of Art, and perhaps the only essentially distinguished difference between the early school and the present College of Art is the development of the crafts in connection with design, and the training of teachers, together with a more systematic organization of the work into grades.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>O.C.A. Archives, General Syllabus of Instruction, O.C.A. Prospectus 1913-14, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup>George A. Reid, "The Ontario College of Art: A Historical Note by the Principal Mr. G. A. Reid, R.C.A." Ontario College of Art Students' Annual, Vol. 1, no. 1, p. 4, n.d. [c. 1912].

D) Staff

The ideas of the South Kensington system were reinforced by the personal art educational philosophy of the instructors. South Kensington art teachers and graduates were employed by the Ontario art schools. As the number of art schools increased, the instructors hired were either South Kensington-trained or former Ontario art school graduates or both, thus ensuring continuity of the utilitarian philosophy and homogeneity of staff.

Of the eighty-four instructors (57 male, 27 female) in the Ontario post-secondary art schools from 1876-1914, a period of thirty-eight years, seventy-eight (51 male, 27 female) were graduates of British art schools under the jurisdiction of the South Kensington system or were former pupils of the Ontario post-secondary art schools (where the instruction and the curriculum were based upon the South Kensington system), or both. The remaining six (6 males) had taken part of their art training in Paris. Charles Moss (1860-1901)<sup>1</sup> and Robert Harris (1849-1919)<sup>2</sup> studied at

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<sup>1</sup>J. R. Harper, E.P.& E., op. cit., p. 232. Moss studied under Léon Bonnat, Bouguereau, Gérôme, Cormon, and Ferrier. According to Harper, he was Principal of the Ottawa art school from 1883-85, however, examination of the Reports of the Minister of Education revealed he was Principal from 1883-87.

<sup>2</sup>J.R. Harper, E.P.& E., op. cit., p. 148. Harris also studied at the Slade in 1877 under Alphonse Legros. He was one of five instructors of the afternoon classes (Elementary, Flat Copy, Antique, Perspective and Design) during the winter and spring terms (ending 30 March 1881) at the Ontario School of Art, Toronto. His name does not appear in documents prior to or after 1881 in connection with the art school in Toronto. He became A.A.M. director and instructor from 1883-85.

the atelier Bonnat in 1878; J. W. L. Forster (1850-1938)<sup>1</sup> c. 1879/80 and Franklin Brownell (1857-1946)<sup>2</sup> were both enrolled at the Académie Julian prior to 1887; G. A. Reid (1860-1947)<sup>3</sup> at the Académie Julian and Colarossi in 1888/89; and William Cruikshank (1848-1922)<sup>4</sup> at the atelier Yvon for approximately one month in 1870. The duration of their Paris studies was for some, one year, for others, less. Prior to their brief advanced art studies in Paris, five of the six artists had been exposed, in their preliminary art education, to the South Kensington methods and techniques of drawing instruction in Britain, Ontario and Massachusetts. J. W. L. Forster attended the *National Art*

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<sup>1</sup>J. R. Harper, E.P.& E., op. cit., p. 116. Forster studied at the Académie Julian under Lefebvre and Boulanger, and later under Bouguereau, Robert-Fleury, and Carolus Duran. He wrote two books about his Paris experiences: Under the Studio Light: Leaves from a Portrait Painter's Sketch Book (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1928) and published posthumously, Sight and Insight (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1941). He is listed amongst the staff of the Central Ontario School of Art and Design for the 1890/91 session, when he taught the antique and life classes. He may have taught more than one session, as the staff lists for the following sessions are incomplete.

<sup>2</sup>J. R. Harper, E.P.& E., op. cit., p. 48. Brownell studied at the Académie Julian under Bonnat, Bouguereau, and Robert-Fleury before he succeeded fellow American-born Charles Moss as chief instructor and Principal of the Ottawa art school for the 1887/88 session. He taught oil painting and drawing from the antique and draped figures from 1887/88-1894/95. He may have continued in the same capacity from 1895/96 until the close of the Ottawa art school in 1902, as staff members were not listed in the Reports of the Minister of Education from 1895/96.

<sup>3</sup>J. R. Harper, E.P.& E., op. cit., p. 262. Reid attended the Ontario School of Art, Toronto, from 1878/79-82; he studied with Thomas Eakins from 1882-85 at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia, and then at the Académie Julian, Paris, in 1888/89 under Bouguereau, Constant, and Laurens.

<sup>4</sup>J. R. Harper, E.P.& E., op. cit., p. 79.

*Training School*, London, in 1879; previously, William Cruikshank had studied in Edinburgh at the Royal Scottish Academy, taken anatomy at the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons<sup>1</sup> and in London attended the Royal Academy Schools; G. A. Reid studied at the Ontario School of Art, Toronto, from 1879/80-82; Robert Harris in Boston c. 1873-74 under Rimmer and Dewing; and Franklin Brownell in Boston under Dewing.

Due to the economic constraints of the period, it was not uncommon for an instructor to remain at the same school for his entire teaching career. For example, the Western School of Art and Design, London (1878-1900/01), had a staff of four men that was reduced to three when S. K. Davidson left in 1885, and further by one in 1887 with the death of Charles Chapman<sup>2</sup> and in 1898 with the passing of John H. Griffiths.<sup>3</sup> No one was replaced. Few changes were

<sup>1</sup>"Mr. William Cruikshank," Toronto Saturday Night, Vol. 1, no. 22, 28 Apr., 1888, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1887-88, p. 191. ". . . during the year this School sustained a severe loss in the death of one of our teachers, Secretary and Treasurer, Mr. Charles Chapman, one who had worked so long and faithfully in the interest of the School."

<sup>3</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1897-98, p. 154. "We regret to announce that Mr. J. H. Griffiths, who was Principal of the London Art School from its commencement [1878] and pioneer teacher of china painting in Canada has died." The popularity of individual teachers was helpful in assuring a 'satisfactory' attendance in the drawing classes.

See, Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1898-99, pp. 179-180. ". . . that owing to the death of Mr. John Griffiths, the late lamented principal, who had been one of the main supporters of the school since 1878, it was found necessary . . . to engage a new principal, consequently there is a decrease in the students."

made in the staff of an institution unless through the death or the resignation of a teacher. Additions to the staff only came about when new courses were introduced into the curriculum or assistants were needed due to increased attendance.

A few members of staff changed art schools within the Ontario provincial system, such as Robert Holmes (1861-1930),<sup>1</sup> who taught initially in Stratford in 1886/87, then in Toronto from 1890-1930. John R. Peel (1830-1904) taught in London from 1878-91/92, then in St. Thomas from 1893/94. When the St. Thomas art school closed after the 1899/1900 session, he returned to be the only instructor for the last session (1900/01) of the art school in London, renamed 'Mr. Peel's art school.' E. R. Babington taught at two branches of the central art school, Toronto: West-End from 1886/87-1888/89, and Parkdale in 1888/89. Miss F. Kinton taught at the Kingston art school for the 1886/87 session and the following year 1887/88 at the central art school, Toronto.

A number of instructors taught inter-provincially, in the Ontario government art schools and in Quebec at the A.A.M. Robert Harris was director and principal instructor at the A.A.M. from 1883-85; Charles Moss taught Water-

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<sup>1</sup>Robert Holmes is listed as assisting the teaching of Elementary and Advanced Drawing from 12 Jan. - 1 May 1885 (6th session) at the art school, Toronto.

colour painting at the A.A.M. from 1892-1901;<sup>1</sup> and Marmaduke Matthews loaned his collection of casts to the A.A.M. art classes in 1884 and again in 1886.

As the artistic community was small, so were the number of teachers in art education. Staff members were well acquainted with each other, as most were members of the Ontario Society of Artists (1872), Royal Canadian Academicians (1882) or Associates. Ottawa, Hamilton and Toronto had the largest staffs.<sup>2</sup> William Cruikshank (from 1883), George A. Reid (from 1890-), Robert Holmes (c.

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1886-87, p. 228. "A loss has this year been incurred by the school in the departure, for the practice of his profession, of its headmaster, Mr. Charles E. Moss; for the past three years the school has benefitted by his able and thorough teaching." See also, Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1887-88, p. 192. "The headmaster for the previous three years, Mr. C. Moss, having to the regret of the Association, found it advisable to resume his professional work, it became necessary to fill the vacated post, and in the present headmaster, Mr. Franklin Brownell, it is felt that the Society has secured the services of a thoroughly competent successor."

<sup>2</sup>See Appendix 3c&e. With the available, but incomplete statistics provided by the annual Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario), the Ottawa staff reached its greatest number in the 1885/86 session (9), 1886/87 (7), 1887/88 (6), 1889/90 (6), and 1896/97 (5). From 1878 - 1902 twelve instructors (9 male, 3 female) were listed on the Ottawa staff. Hamilton's staff remained constant from 1890/91 through at least 1898/99 when S. John Ireland, the principal, had six assistants. From 1886-1910 fifteen (7 male, 8 females) instructors were listed on the Hamilton staff. From 1876/77 until 1912, Toronto claimed the greatest number of staff members - thirty-two (25 male, 7 female). From its beginning in 1876/77 the staff changed, however, the total number per year averaged six. 1903/04 recorded the largest number of teachers, ten.



1903),<sup>1</sup> and C. M. Manly (c. 1903)<sup>2</sup> were the core of the teaching staff at the art school, Toronto. Holmes and Reid were former students of that school. Most were members of both the Ontario Society of Artists, Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, and some were affiliated with the Toronto Art Students' League (1886-1904). Cruikshank, Holmes and Manly were products of the British art school system in the second half of the 19th century.

Although a number of drawing instructors were trained in Britain, the first to be identified as a graduate of the South Kensington system, was Andrew Dickson Patterson<sup>3</sup> (1854-1930), born in Picton, Ontario, and hired by the Ontario School of Art, Toronto, for the 1883/84 session. He taught Oil and Watercolour painting, based on the South

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<sup>1</sup>J. R. Harper, E.P.& E., op. cit., p. 161. Holmes (1861-1930) studied at the Central Ontario School of Art and Design, Toronto, under Wm. Cruikshank, c. 1896, then at the Royal College of Art, London, under W. R. Lethaby, Edward Johnston, Gerald Moira, and A. Beresford-Pite. He taught at the Ontario College of Art, Toronto, from 1912-30.

<sup>2</sup>J. R. Harper, E.P.& E., op. cit., p. 213. Manly (1855-1924) emigrated to Canada at an early age, then studied at the Heatherly School of Art, London, under Andrew Maclure, and then at the Metropolitan School of Art, Dublin, under Edward Wyne. He taught at the Ontario College of Art, Toronto.

<sup>3</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1883-84, p. 243. See "A. D. Patterson," Toronto Saturday Night, Vol. 1, no. 23, 5 May 1888, p. 7. "Mr. Patterson began the study of art in 1876 and went to England to attend the South Kensington school, at that time, under the direction of E. J. Poynter, R.A. In 1881 he returned to Toronto and returned to the practice of portraiture. . . ." See also Colin S. MacDonald, op. cit., Vol. 5, pp. 1526-1527; and J. R. Harper, E.P.& E., op. cit., p. 245. Both Harper and MacDonald stated that A. Dickson Patterson studied with Sir John Everett Millais at the *National Art Training School*, London. In March, 1883 A. D. Patterson replaced L. R. O'Brien, who resigned, as one of the provincial art examiners. Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1883-84, p. 237.



Kensington methods and techniques, which according to the detailed description of his classroom instruction, was popular with the pupils.

The Kingston art school reported hiring in 1884 "Mrs. Carter of the Massachusetts Normal Art School,"<sup>1</sup> who was regarded highly because of her experience under the Walter Smith system. The drawing skills demonstrated by students of the Carleton Place Mechanics' Institute were attributed to its staff, who were South Kensington trained.

Carleton Place Mechanics' Institute sent a large collection of specimens of machine drawing; these, we understand, are chiefly done by workmen employed in the workshops of the Canadian Pacific Railway. They exhibit considerable skill, and reflect great credit on the teachers, who, we are informed, were trained at South Kensington.<sup>2</sup>

In 1887/88, Robin L. Paley was hired to instruct courses in Watercolour, Design and Freehand at the Ottawa art school.

Water Colors, also Design and Freehand, Morning Class - Mr. Robin L. Paley (gold medallist of the Royal Academy of Antwerp, and certified by South Kensington, . . .<sup>3</sup>

During the same year, the Ontario School of Art, Toronto, recognized the service of Miss F. Kinton, formerly of South Kensington and the Kingston art school.

The Board desires to place on record its high appreciation of the services rendered

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<sup>1</sup>The Dominion Annual Register and Review 1884, p. 209.

<sup>2</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1885-86, p. 108.

<sup>3</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1887-88, p. 192.

by Miss F. Kinton, a graduate of South Kensington and lately attached to the Kingston Art School, and Mr. John Galt, C.E., both of whom were exceedingly energetic and painstaking. The success attending their instruction demands this public recognition. The 'Day' and the 'Night' Class contained 68 and 204 respectively; the average attendance of the former was 24, of the latter 78.<sup>1</sup>

According to Major-Marothy, the Ottawa art school employed Mrs. Cowper-Cox, who was a former South Kensington student. ". . . Mrs. Cowper-Cox, a graduate of South Kensington School in London, was apparently recruited for the School in Ottawa."<sup>2</sup>

In 1888/89, the Hamilton Art School acknowledged that more satisfactory work had been accomplished than previously due to the efforts of the newly appointed Principal, Mr. S. John Ireland (1854-1915), who had been trained and later taught at South Kensington, and who was still affiliated with the British art schools in his capacity as an art examiner.

Better work by far has been done this year than in previous years, under Mr. S. John Ireland, Principal (late bursaried student and Assistant Art Master at South Kensington, late Principal of art schools at Barrow, Barnstaple and Ilfracombe, England . . . Lecturer and Deputy Professor, King's College, London, England, and at

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 194.

<sup>2</sup>Eva Major-Marothy, unpublished typescript on the Ottawa School of Art, p. 5.

present examiner for the city of London and Birkbeek [sic] colleges).<sup>1</sup>

In 1891/92, the St. Thomas art school reported its staff were all graduates of the Ontario provincial art schools and that its principal, Robert H. Whale (1857-1906), was a South Kensington student.

The classes are still under the able instruction of Mr. R. H. Whale, who holds full Provincial Certificates and is a South Kensington student, and assisted by Miss S. Mackay, who holds full Primary and Advanced Provincial Certificates, . . . Mr. A. J. Miller, an assistant teacher, . . .<sup>2</sup>

The following session, the annual report stated that Mr. R. H. Whale had returned to London, England, to com-

<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1888-89, p. 272. See also "Art Notes," Toronto Saturday Night, Vol. 8, no. 32, 29 June, 1895, p. 9. "The Canadian Architect and Builder number on the exhibition of the Hamilton Arts and Crafts Association. At the close the writer emphasizes the distinction between their Association and the Hamilton Art School, there have been some confusion in the minds of some about the two, owing perhaps to the fact that Mr. S. T. [sic] Ireland, principal of the Art School is also president of the Arts and Crafts Association." The Hamilton Arts and Crafts Association was founded in October 1885. See Canadian Architect and Builder, Vol. 8 (1895), no. 5, p. 68. "The Association was originally founded in October, 1885, by a contribution of \$50 each from fifty individual citizens who felt an interest in matters artistic, and in the improvement of handicraft on the part of mechanics and amateurs." The members of the association only began exhibiting in 1894. Ibid. "The success which attended the first Exhibition held by the Association last year encouraged the management to repeat the effort and endeavour if possible to make the Exhibition an annual one."

<sup>2</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1891-92, p. 259. See Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1892-93, p. 282. ". . . Mr. Alfred Miller, who holds full Primary Certificate and some in advanced course." See also Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1889-90, p. 314. R. H. Whale was awarded certificates for Mechanical and Advanced courses.

plete his South Kensington examinations, and was to continue his art studies in Paris. Whale was expected to return to teach in St. Thomas as the notification explaining his absence mentioned he would be replaced temporarily.

Our principal, Mr. R. H. Whale, has left for England to take the examinations at the Kensington Art Schools, and will proceed thence to Paris to perfect his studies in painting under some of the French masters.

Arrangements have been made for Mr. John R. Peel, of London, to take charge of the school during the absence of Mr. Whale.<sup>1</sup>

In 1894/95, an experienced teacher, Mrs. Leith-Wright, was hired by the Hamilton school of art to instruct pupils in needlework, a new course added to the curriculum.

A new class was formed for needlework taught by Mrs. Leith-Wright, late of the Royal School of Art Needle Work, at South Kensington.<sup>2</sup>

A number of former pupils were hired to teach drawing in the Ontario provincial art schools. In 1887/88, the Kingston art school appointed a new principal, Charles E. Wrenshall, a graduate of the Kingston art school, and a gold and silver medallist in 1886/87. Jennie C. Shaw, a graduate of the Ontario School of Art, Toronto, was chosen as an assistant teacher.

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1892-93, p. 282.

<sup>2</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1894-95, p. 266. See also Canadian Architect and Builder, Vol. 8 (1895), no. 6 (June), p. 77. "The artistic needlework forms a good exhibit - no doubt from the fact that Mrs. Wright, late superintendent of the Royal School of Art Needlework, London, England, has a class in the Hamilton Art School." *The Royal School of Art Needlework was located in South Kensington, London, however, it was not part of the South Kensington system. See Anthea Callen, Women in the Arts and Crafts Movement (London: Astragal Books, 1980), pp. 8-9.*

Mr. Chas. E. Wrenshall, the gold medalist of the previous season, filled the position of principal, and Miss Jennie C. Shaw, a graduate of the Ontario School of Art, that of assistant teacher.<sup>1</sup>

The same year, two members of the Ottawa art school staff were certificated by the provincial art schools and two other instructors were graduates of the South Kensington system.

. . . Design and Freehand Drawing, Evening Class - Mr. Fennings Taylor (certificated by the Ontario Government School of Art). . . . Practical Geometry and Perspective - Mr. J. S. Bowerman (certificated by the Ontario Government School of Art).<sup>2</sup>

Also in 1887/88, Arthur H. Heming received a primary art certificate (teaching) from the Hamilton art school, and subsequently was employed as an assistant to the Hamilton Principal S. John Ireland.

. . . , and excellent work has been accomplished during the year under the tuition of Mr. S. John Ireland, as principal, and Mr. Arthur Heming, as assistant teacher.<sup>3</sup>

In 1890/91, the Brockville art school selected "Mr. Robert Lindsay, a graduate of the Education Department in

<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1887-88, p. 190. See also Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1886-87, p. 221. Charles E. Wrenshall also won a silver medal "for the highest marks, in the Mechanical Course."

<sup>2</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1887-88, p. 192. See also Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1891-92, p. 257. Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1892-93, p. 280. By 1892/93, Fennings Taylor was "teacher of design, freehand, architectural and mechanical drawing, geometry and perspective."

<sup>3</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1887-88, pp. 186-188.

the Art School courses"<sup>1</sup> who taught the evening courses and in 1891/92, a former student Celia Kearns, a bronze medalist for painting from life, was teaching painting in the day classes.<sup>2</sup>

A number of graduates of the Ontario government art schools attributed their successful advanced art studies to their preliminary art education.

Some students continued their art studies in the United States, such as former Brockville graduate Miss Margaret L. Stewart who won acclaim at the Philadelphia School of Design for Women.

It is gratifying to state that a late pupil of this school, Miss Margaret L. Stewart, now attending the Philadelphia School of Design for Women, in addition to gaining the Nortsman Fellowship last year is this year the successful winner of the George W. Childs Scholarship for designs for industrial purposes.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1890-91, p. 255.

<sup>2</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1891-92, p. 251.

<sup>3</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1893-94, p. 131. See also Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1892-93, p. 276. "Miss Margaret M. Stewart, a pupil of last year, who had since been attending the Philadelphia School of Design for Women, has gained the Nortsman Fellowship. This honor has previously been taken by fourth year students of that school, and Miss Stewart advises us that she is largely indebted for the honor to the training received at Brockville Art School." In 1894/95, Margaret M. Stewart was looking for employment with the Ontario provincial art schools, although examination of staff lists indicate she was not successful in obtaining employment with them. See, Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1894-95, p. 265. "Miss Margaret Stewart, one of their [Brockville] former pupils who recently won a scholarship and fellowship in the Philadelphia Women's School of Design, is now in town, and if possible the directors will avail themselves of her services next session."



Another former pupil of the Hamilton art school, John Lyle, received considerable attention for his work at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris.

The efficiency of the School [Hamilton] may in some measure be judged by the fact that in the competition for scholarship at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris, where hundreds of the best students from all parts of the world competed, Mr. John Lyle, a late student of this school, took the third place in the art subjects, and fifth place in modelling in clay, and gained his admission to what is considered the most advanced art academy known.<sup>1</sup>

George A. Reid and William Cruikshank were artists and teachers who had a long association with the art school in Toronto. An examination of their art educational background and philosophy of art, from fragmented sources, revealed a conservative and traditional outlook regarding drawing and art education which conformed to South Kensington and British ideas. Their philosophy of art was an anachronism when compared with the *progressive attitudes and the techniques* in Paris.

George Reid was associated with the art school in Toronto as a student from 1878/79-82, an instructor between 1890/91-1929, and finally as its Principal from 1912-18.<sup>2</sup> His ideas and philosophy of art were conventional, although he had studied for three years (1882-85) at the Pennsylvania

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<sup>1</sup>Canadian Architect and Builder, Vol. 8 (1895), no. 5 (May), p. 68.

<sup>2</sup>J. R. Harper, E.P. & E., op. cit., p. 262. See Appendix 3c & e. Reid taught painting at the Central Ontario School of Art and Design, Toronto, during the 1890/91 session. In 1903/04, he was listed as teaching drawing and painting from life and still life; and in 1913/14 primary and day costume classes. He was President of the O.S.A. from 1897-1901 and R.C.A. from 1906-09, then from 1912-18, Principal of the Ontario College of Art, Toronto.



Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia, with one of the most innovative art instructors in 19th century America, Thomas Eakins (1844-1916), and one year 1888/89 at the Académie Julian, Paris. Reid, like Eakins, "had a thorough training in traditional drawing technique. . ." <sup>1</sup> before going to France.

Although Reid had been attracted to Eakin's methods and ideas, he had not made his teacher's ideas his own, nor had he developed new ideas from them. Instead, he consistently looked backward to older, more tested out ideas and methods. <sup>2</sup>

Reflecting on his three years of study with Eakins, Reid re-evaluated his youthful experiences in Philadelphia, and concluded that learning to draw with the brush was an important part of art education, but expressed his opinion that commencing in this manner, without the preliminary drawing from casts etc., led to bad habits.

<sup>1</sup>Gerald M. Ackerman, "Thomas Eakins and His Parisian Masters Gérôme and Bonnat," Gazette des Beaux-Arts, Vol. 73, p. 252, note 6. "Eakins taught at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia from 1876 to 1886, and at the National Academy of Design in New York City from 1888 to 1894." Ironically, "After Eakin's resignation, the school returned to the conventional pattern of art education." Elizabeth Johns, Thomas Eakins. The Heroism of Modern Life (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983). John W. McCoubrey, American Art 1700-1900: Sources and Documents in the History of Art Series, ed. H. W. Janson (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall Inc., 1965), p. 152. W. C. Brownell, "The Art Schools of Philadelphia," Scribner's Monthly Illustrated, Vol. XVIII (1879), pp. 737-750. See also Maria Chamberlain-Hellman, "Thomas Eakins as a Teacher" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1981). Ronald J. Onorato, "The Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and the Development of an Academic Curriculum in the Nineteenth Century" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Brown University, 1977). Lloyd Goodrich, Thomas Eakins, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Published for the National Gallery by Harvard University Press, 1982), Vol. 1, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup>Eva Major-Marothy, op. cit., p. 130.

Beginning as a radical in art and a devotee of Eakins of Philadelphia, who, though academic in reality, broke the hitherto hard and fast rule that drawing should precede painting and taught a large school about thirty years to combine the two, the painter modelling in clay as well as painting for the purpose of learning to feel the form from all points of view, and the sculptors painting the appearance of things so that the vision might be refined to the last degree. For three years I studied in this way, drawing with the brush about in the same way that the sculptor feels form with his fingers shaping the clay. I came to realize, however, that this break with tradition was only a trifling matter, and while a great truth, was only a part of the greater one that no one way to do things is the only right way.

I have, however, arrived at the belief that all representation in art must rest on some solid foundation, and I would state this to be included in the two aspects of representation: anatomy and perspective. The term anatomy must be made broad enough to cover all forms and their structure, and perspective to include all visual relations of form and their color and tone. I can conceive these factors being used in endless variation to serve the artist for all flights of the imagination.<sup>1</sup>

Reid was aware of contemporary art movements in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, but considered them ephemeral styles and fashionable trends. He even admitted to experimenting with some techniques utilized by these well-known movements, but concluded personally that the academic was the quintessential component of art.

When impressionism came I experimented with it, and found it both, as to vision and technique, worthy of respect but only a phase of art to be considered a healthy movement. L'Art Nouveau, also a movement in the full accent of its time in the nineties, was a

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<sup>1</sup>Muriel Miller, G. A. Reid, Canadian Artist (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1946), p. 182.

disturbance of moment. The attempt to depart entirely from historic ornament was too drastic however for suffering humanity to bear, and it died of inanition. Post Impressionism, Cubism, Futurism, Vorticism, Expressionism have arisen of late years as efforts to cast off the academic. Futurists claim that they alone have succeeded, and this by abjuring the static image and giving a mingling set of impressions in one picture. It is confusion, worse confounded.

Now although it seems to be a paradox, I wish to say to you that I am both a believer in the academic and in modernism. I claim for the academic the power to grow, because it has the power to assimilate all good thought through research and experiment. The academic was never static, although at times it may appear so. . . . All that is named modernism is not necessarily modern, but only the old cry for something new at any cost.<sup>1</sup>

William Cruikshank had a long and varied education in drawing prior to taking a teaching position at the art school, Toronto. At age sixteen, in 1864, he is alleged to have studied with Hugh Cameron (1835-1918) for two years at the Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh,<sup>2</sup> and anatomy at the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons,<sup>3</sup> after which Sir Noel Paton (1821-1901)<sup>4</sup> suggested he apply for a studentship at the Royal Academy, London, where he spent seven

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<sup>1</sup>Muriel Miller, op. cit., p. 184. J. R. Harper, E.P.& E., op. cit., p. 262. See also, Christine Boyanoski, Sympathetic Realism: George A. Reid and the academic tradition (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1986), p. 46.

<sup>2</sup>J. R. Harper, E.P.& E., op. cit., p. 79. See also James Mavor, "William Cruikshank, R.C.A.," Canadian Magazine, Feb., 1926, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup>"Mr. William Cruikshank," Toronto Saturday Night, Vol. 1, no. 22, 28 Apr., 1888, p. 7.

<sup>4</sup>O.C.A. Archives, Typescript by G. A. Reid entitled "William Cruikshank, R.C.A.," (n.d.).

years under the instruction of Sir John Leighton (1822-1912), Sir John Everett Millais (1829-1896), Sir William Quiller Orchardson (1832-1910), and John Pettie (1839-1893).<sup>1</sup> During this time he exhibited works at the Royal Academy and the Dudley Gallery.<sup>2</sup> On the advice of Sir George Reid (1841-1913), President of the RSA, in 1870, Cruikshank went to study in Paris at the studio of Yvon ". . . but with the Franco-Prussian war breaking out they (fellow students) and Yvon were driven from Paris by the advancing Prussians and went to London."<sup>3</sup> It can be concluded, therefore, that his brief stay in Paris resulted in minimal French atelier influences. While in London he worked as an illustrator for Cassels and the London Graphic. In 1877, he returned to Toronto and shortly thereafter went to New York where

. . . he resumed his career as an illustrator - drawing chiefly for the original 'Scribner's' and for 'St. Nicolas' - and started a pen-and-ink sketch class at the National Academy of Design. This sketch class evolved into the Art Students' League of New York, which became so important an

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<sup>1</sup>"Mr. William Cruikshank," op. cit., p. 7. Subsequent writers Mavor (1926) and Harper (1967) replaced John Pettie with the name of Calderon or Calderson, however, the 1888 Toronto Saturday Night source is reliable as Cruikshank supplied the biographical information himself. Cameron, Orchardson and Pettie were all students of Robert Scott Lauder (1803-69) at the Trustee's Academy, Edinburgh. In 1858 the Trustee's Academy came under the control of the South Kensington educational authorities.

<sup>2</sup>James Mavor, "William Cruikshank," op. cit., p. 7.

<sup>3</sup>A.G.O. Archives, Artist's file - William Cruikshank. See James Mavor, "William Cruikshank," op. cit., pp. 7, 43. See also, Journal of Education (Quebec), Vol. 15, Feb., 1871, p. 32. "Mr. Yvon, the French painter of battle scenes, has determined to take up his residence in England. He says there will be no demand for Art in France for many a year to come."

artistic influence that when Benjamin Constant [1845-1902] visited it he said, perhaps with more amiability than accuracy, that it was no longer necessary for American students to go to Paris.<sup>1</sup>

According to Harper, Cruikshank was "undoubtedly one of the greatest yet least appreciated nineteenth century painters in Canada."<sup>2</sup> Mavor praised Cruikshank's skills as a draughtsman.

That William Cruikshank is a man of fine genius, none who know him would dispute. As a draughtsman he has few rivals and as a colorist he might have had few equals had 'the chains and slavery' of elementary teaching not consumed so large a part of his life.<sup>3</sup>

Teaching drawing occupied most of his time, "for twenty-five years he taught at the Central Ontario School of Art and Design (later renamed the Ontario College of Art),"<sup>4</sup> from 1891 to 1916. Respected by colleagues and his students alike, he was renowned for his 'dry humourous and often cutting remarks' that were attributed to his Scottish origin. One such comment about a female student was recorded in a letter dated 1883, when he was the drawing

<sup>1</sup>James Mavor, "William Cruikshank," op. cit., p. 43.

<sup>2</sup>J. R. Harper, P in C, op. cit., p. 227.

<sup>3</sup>James Mavor, "William Cruikshank," op. cit., p. 43.

<sup>4</sup>Encyclopedia Canadiana, 1958, 1960, 1962, 1963 (Toronto: Grolier Society of Canada Limited, 1963), p. 166. See Appendix 3c & e. Cruikshank taught shading and drawing from flat examples, including flowers and objects of natural history; outline drawing from the round; and shading in chalk from the round in 1883. From 1883/84 he taught elementary and advanced drawing; from 1903/04 to 1908/09, drawing from the antique and life; in 1913/14 he was listed as teaching the antique class.

instructor for the antique class at the Ontario School of Art, Toronto.

. . . Ross is a cheery, agreeable [sic] old girl but is absolutely wanting in any artistic quality. It's funny to me that many there are who have tried most things and have hardly intelligence or application enough to succeed in anything and finally take up art as a last resource. Is it because they rely on inspiration to do the most difficult thing that a man may do in this world, or is it because they are idiots.<sup>1</sup>

Later in his career, he wrote to George Agnew Reid, his long time friend and colleague, that teaching was not financially rewarding.

I have devoted the most of my life preaching the Gospel of Beauty at the art school and it is not by any means a paying business. To have practice you have to paint people of no social or financial standing at all and there is generally no return for the use of your time and your pain. . . .<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ontario Archives, MSS. Morris (Alexander Papers, 1883, MS 535, reel 3). Letter of Wm. Cruikshank to Alexander Morris, Aug., 1883.

<sup>2</sup>O.C.A. Archives, Letter from Wm. Cruikshank to G. A. Reid, 20 Apr., 1919.



E) Drawing Instruction

The drawings executed in the Ontario post-secondary art schools were from a wide variety of subjects, as indicated by their descriptions in the yearly educational reports, newspapers, periodicals, and magazines of the annual student exhibitions. Environmental factors, such as curriculum, staff, the emphasis of industrial over that of fine art, and the utilitarian philosophy of the South Kensington system, contributed to and resulted in producing drawings that resembled in both execution and subject matter those produced under similar conditions in art schools where the South Kensington system or one of its imitators was utilized.

*Only a few of these drawings have survived*

in private or public collections. Descriptions of the drawings exhibited have become the primary source other than isolated examples reproduced in newspaper or periodical accounts contemporary to the annual student exhibitions.

In 1885, the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, was the recipient of a gift of thirty-nine works of art (drawings, paintings, etc.),<sup>1</sup> executed by students in the South

<sup>1</sup>Unfortunately, these drawings are no longer in the collection of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. I would like to thank Mr. Charles Hill of the N.G.C. for his help in attempting to locate these drawings. M.M.F.A. Watts MSS., Vol. 4, 1885, p. 413. National Art Gallery - Curator's Report. Appendix no. 27. Ref. no. 62,973, 10 Nov., 1885. "I [John W.H. Watts] have the honour to report the following additions to the National Art Gallery, received during the fiscal year 30 June, 1885.

A series of drawings, paintings, &c., 39 in number, by students of the South Kensington (England) School of Art; showing the system adopted in the various branches of Art as taught by the Government Schools in England.

The above studies were presented through H.R.H. the Princess Louise." See The Dominion Annual Register and Review, 1884, p. 206. "The Princess has presented a collection of the highest value to this country, from an educa-



Kensington art schools, arranged by H.R.H. the Princess Louise, wife of the Governor-General of Canada, the Marquis of Lorne. Queen Victoria<sup>1</sup> was given on two occasions, 1886 and 1897, a selection of the works by students from the provincial art schools in Ontario, however, with time these examples have been destroyed or lost.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to the hiring of South Kensington-trained teachers for Ontario art schools, on one occasion, the

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tional point of view, apart from its intrinsic merit: namely, a number of specimens of work of pupils of the South Kensington Museum, showing by progressive stages up to the work of portrait-painting in oils, the whole system [South Kensington] of that great art centre." See also The Dominion Annual Register and Review, 1885, p. 351. "A series of drawings, paintings, etc., 39 in number, by students of the South Kensington School of Art, presented through H.R.H. the Princess Louise, . . ."

<sup>1</sup>After the successful Indian and Colonial Exhibition, London 1886, the Ontario Education Department presented a number of the students works to Queen Victoria. "I may also mention that Her Majesty the Queen was pleased to accept some of the specimens from the Art Schools and sent me a letter through Her Private Secretary, Henry Ponsonby, commanding him to give Her Majesty's thanks for the well executed specimens of the work of the students of the Art Schools connected with the Education Department." Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1886-87, p. 215. In 1898/99, the Education Department again forwarded to Queen Victoria for her jubilee year 1897, additional examples of art works by pupils attending the Ontario government art schools, via the former Governor-General, the Marquis of Lorne, and his wife, daughter of Queen Victoria, Princess Louise. "The articles forwarded by you have arrived here today and I have given them to the Queen, who was much pleased with them, and has commanded me to thank you for sending these well-executed specimens of the work of the students of the Art Schools, Education Department, Toronto." Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1898-99, p. 188.

<sup>2</sup>I would like to thank Sir Oliver Millar, KCVO, Surveyor of Her Majesty's art collection, and the Honourable Mrs. Roberts, Curator of Prints, Royal Collection, Windsor, for their help in attempting to trace the 1886 and 1897 gifts of drawings to Queen Victoria, however, no record of correspondence about them nor their whereabouts has been located.

Principal of the 'Normal College of Art, South Kensington,' John Sparkes, lectured at the Hamilton art school during the 1897/98 session.

During the visit of the British Association to Canada, Mr. Sparkes, Principal of the Normal College of Art, South Kensington, came to Hamilton and gave a most interesting address<sup>1</sup> to the students and patrons of the school.

The visit by Sparkes no doubt was the catalyst for securing a loan exhibition of South Kensington students' work two years later in September 1900, held in Ottawa.

A collection of works executed by Art Students in different Schools of Art in the United Kingdom, representative of the subjects of instruction for which grants in aid are made by the Science and Art Department, South Kensington, London, England, and which gained awards at the National Competition, selected by the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education, secured through the efforts of the Hon. the High Commissioner of Canada [Sir Donald Smith - Lord Strathcona], has been secured for the Educational Museum during the year. Art Schools Represented: Royal College of Art, Ashton under Lyne, Bradford, Bristol, Coalbrookdale, Dover, Heywood, Grantham, Lancaster, Manchester, Marylebone, Plymouth, Redditch, St. Albans, St. Pancras, South-

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1897-98, p. 154. See "Personal," Canadian Architect and Builder, Vol. 10, no. 9, Sept., 1897, p. 175. See A. S. Levine, op. cit., p. 174. "John Sparkes, Head-Master at the Lambeth School of Art, took the lead in organizing an Association for Art Masters to force the Government to admit to its obligations." See also Harry Butterworth, op. cit., p. 289. "J. C. Sparkes succeeded Burchett as Head of the School (The Director for Art, Poynter, was officially its 'Principal') . . . Sparkes retained his appointment as Superintendent of the Doulton 'Art Potteries,' where he had carried into production his methods of clay modelling, and in which all the 'artists' came from the Lambeth School of Art of which he had been Head." Sparkes served as Head until 1898, becoming Principal in name and in fact when Poynter, who had suggested his appointment, was succeeded in 1881 by Armstrong, as Art Director."

ampton, Widnes, Worcester. Drawings and Paintings: Geometrical drawings, freehand drawing from the cast, model drawing, shading from the cast, perspective, architecture, plant drawing, flower and tree designs, in outline, drawing from the antique, study of drapery, painting ornament in monochrome, group in watercolors, historic styles in ornament, ornamental design, drawing from the nude, study of drapery, painting figure from the nude, architectural drawing from measurement, time sketches from life. Modelling: Modelling ornament from the cast, figure from the antique, fruits, etc., from nature, design, anatomical studies, the human figure from the nude, human figure in relief.<sup>1</sup>

Unfortunately, none of the drawings given by the Ontario provincial art schools to Queen Victoria in 1886 and 1897, nor the South Kensington student drawings presented to the National Gallery of Canada by H.R.H. Princess Louise<sup>2</sup> in 1885, have been found. Neither has a catalogue of the 1900 exhibition of South Kensington student drawings, if indeed one was printed. British writers also have encountered difficulties in locating drawings produced in the South Kensington art schools.

Chisholm (1954), Sutton (1967), Carline (1968), MacDonald (1970), and Althorpe-Guyton (1982), to accompany their texts, have reproduced a few South Kensington student drawings, however, the best visual record showing the wide range of drawings executed in the South Kensington art schools is found in two publications of the late 1890's,

<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1899-1900, p. 170. Ibid., p. xii. "Fine Arts Exhibitions. . . . An exhibition of drawings and paintings from South Kensington, and paintings from the Provincial Art Gallery, was held at Ottawa in September, 1900." See also W. Stewart Wallace, op. cit., p. 802. Sir Donald Alexander Smith (1820-1914), first Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal was Canadian High Commissioner, London, from 1896 to his death in 1914.

<sup>2</sup> Christopher Frayling, The Royal College of Art (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1987), p. 58. "Princess Louise, Queen Victoria's sculptress daughter, had been a student [at South Kensington] for a short while in 1875, and had given the prizes in 1888, . . ."

compiled and edited by John Fisher,<sup>1</sup> headmaster of the Kensington School of Science and Art, Bristol.

Both international and annual exhibitions of Ontario student drawings afforded the public and educational experts the opportunity to view their work and evaluate their skill to justify the money spent on the system of drawing and art education. The exhibitions promoted drawing as an important part of a general education and reinforced the attempt by governments and educators to raise the level of public awareness, taste and standard of workmanship.

In 1876, at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition, Ontario received considerable acclaim and publicity for its general educational display, which included a number of student drawings.<sup>2</sup>

Subsequent successes and increased recognition at the Paris Exhibition (1878) London's Indian and Colonial Exhibition (1886), and Chicago's World Columbian Exposition (1893), all contributed to an inflated sense of educational superiority over other countries.

<sup>1</sup>John Fisher, ed., National Competitions 1896-97. An Illustrated Record of National, Gold, Silver and Bronze Medal Designs, Models, Drawings, Etc., Edited and compiled by John Fisher, Head Master, Kensington School of Science and Art, Bristol (London: Chapman & Hall Ltd., 1899). See also John Fisher, ed., An Illustrated Record of the Retrospective Exhibition held at South Kensington, 1896. Compiled and edited by John Fisher (London: Chapman & Hall, 1897). For a review of the latter publication see The Academy, Vol. LIV, 2 July 1898, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup>Robert M. Stamp, "Ontario at Philadelphia: The Centennial Exposition of 1876," p. 305 in Egerton Ryerson and His Times., Eds., Neil McDonald and Alf Chaiton (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1978). Alfred Falk, Trans-Pacific Sketches: A Tour Through the United States and Canada (Melbourne, Sydney, and Adelaide: George Robertson, 1877), p. 182.

Just two years after Philadelphia, at the Paris Exhibition of 1878, the Ontario Department of Education exhibited in six classes and won awards in each - more awards than Britain and other parts of the Empire won altogether. Similar results came at the Colonial Exhibition in London in 1886. The climax in international praise was reached at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. Twenty-one prizes went to Ontario - for kindergarten and primary work, secondary and higher education, schools for teacher training, art schools and mechanics' institutes. . . .<sup>1</sup>

The 1886 Indian and Colonial Exhibition, London, was the first exposition where such a large and varied selection of student drawings representative of all levels of the Provincial art schools was exhibited.

. . . we had 580 exhibits from Art Schools, Ladies' Colleges and other Institutions affiliated with the Education Department for examination purposes; these exhibits including Industrial Designs, Machine and Architectural Drawings, Modelling in Clay, Sculpture, Painting on China, and Oil and Water Colors, Drawing, etc. I am proud to say . . . no less than 237 Medals and Diplomas were awarded by the Royal Commissioners. . . .<sup>2</sup>

Newspapers, such as the Canadian Gazette, the Toronto Globe, and the Morning Post were unanimous in their praise of the exhibition of the Ontario art schools. The Canadian Gazette reported that

. . . Kingston exhibits mechanical work that is illustrated in such a way as to call forth the admiration of the Principal of the South Kensington Art Schools.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 312.

<sup>2</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1898-99, p. 187. A detailed list of the drawings sent to the Indian and Colonial Exhibition was reproduced in the Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1886-87, p. 215.

<sup>3</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1885-86, pp. 110-112; see also Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1898-99, pp. 188-189.



In addition to the accolades accorded the Ontario art school student drawings by the Canadian press and the principal of the South Kensington art schools, H. C. Bowen, principal of the Finsbury Training College, expressed his pleasure with the artwork exhibited.

The machine drawing and the carving in wood sent by the Mechanics' Institutes formed a most interesting collection, including many specimens of really excellent work as did also their freehand drawings. But the most attractive and most memorable exhibition of all was the large and varied collection of art-work from the Art School of Toronto, London, Ottawa, and Kingston. The time at my disposal was all too short to allow of my doing full justice to all its many merits in detail. But the general impression made on me - especially in the case of Ottawa - was one of considerable pleasure, and - if I may be honest without offence - not a little surprise. The mere enumeration of the varieties of work from the Art Schools is sufficiently striking: life studies, oil and water colors, free-hand drawings of every kind, industrial designs, architectural and machine drawings, shading from the antique and from the flat, chasing in brass, modelling in clay and plaster casts from clay, carving in wood, painting on china, and even electro-metallurgy and repoussé work. It is somewhat difficult to know what to mention amongst so much. I may say, however, that the advanced work generally of the Ontario School of Art [Toronto] was excellent; the wall-paper patterns showed great taste in design and coloring, the drawings from the antique were very good indeed, but perhaps a little too heavily shaded; and the wood-carving, metal-work, and plaster casts were in many cases highly creditable. I noticed, by the way, a portrait of Dr. May in plaster, which, though undoubtedly like, was by no means flattering. The Western School of Art [London] showed some very good painting on china. The Ottawa School of Art deserves very decided praise. The paintings of flowers and plants, with industrial designs invented from them, were delightful - excellent in form and composition and color. The life-studies were very good indeed,



and the water-colors were highly creditable. The drawings of a wrought-iron fence, and the collection of industrial designs which were shown at a recent Antwerp Exhibition, deserve very decided praise. From the Kingston Art School the original designs for industrial uses were again strikingly good.<sup>1</sup>

Descriptions of student drawings exhibited in both the annual and international expositions were for the most part a repetition of the subjects listed in the course divisions, including extra subjects. The opinions of anonymous writers and government officials were optimistic, positive and supportive of the skill exhibited in the student drawings.

Ina N. Banting's gold medal-winning designs were reproduced in the 1884/85 annual report, and although separated by twelve years, were remarkably similar to the geometrical and floral patterns in the 1896/97 South Kensington system national competition.<sup>2</sup>

Only on one occasion, the 1889/90 session, were specific subjects for the annual student competition identified. The subject for the antique class was the 'Chariot of Aurora' and the model class drew 'a saw, a saw-horse and an axe.'

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1885-86, pp. 111-112.

<sup>2</sup>See figs. 10, 11. Compare Ina N. Banting's design for floor tiles (p. 194) and for oil cloth (p. 195) in Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1884-85, pp. 194-195, with the design for wall tiles by Arthur Ford (p. 3), and William Hammond (p. 5), Macclesfield, and the design for ceiling paper by William Parkinson (p. 10), Royal College of Art, and the analysis of flowers by John Brownsword (p. 26), Royal College of Art, in John Fisher, ed., National Competitions 1896-97, op. cit., pp. 3, 5, 10, 26.

The best drawing from the antique is generally conceded to the Ottawa Art School for Mr. Prudhomme's representation of the Chariot of Aurora. This young artist has developed great ability in the work of this class. . . . The subject for model drawing in all the Art Schools is a saw, a saw-horse and an axe; and these very familiar, albeit useful, implements had to be arranged in a certain position according to instruction, but the diversity presented by the various youthful artists in their conception of what is required is highly interesting.<sup>1</sup>

The 1889/90 annual student exhibition, consisting of over three thousand drawings, was reported in great detail, with individuals and works singled out for their skill.

Mrs. Fuller, of the London Art School, shows a beautiful china painting which has been awarded a bronze medal. By the way, painting on china has become quite an industry in Forest City. There are two factories in existence employing about forty people, and these are mostly pupils of the Art School. The industry has assumed such magnitude that manufacturers in England have began [sic] to look upon it with some amount of apprehension for it has already made its effect felt upon their trade. . . . Some excellent workmanship has been displayed in wood carving. Mr. W. Hall, of the London Art School, submitted an artistic design of a winged dragon, which secured a bronze medal. A fine collection of the same class of work has been sent from the Ottawa Art School. There are splendid examples of modelling in clay from the Hamilton, Toronto and London Art Schools, the specimens being in the clay in its natural state, baked clay, and in plaster of paris cast from the clay. The model of the lady sculptors is of more than ordinary merit. . . . There is a fine collection of flower pots, products of industrial art, and too much praise cannot be bestowed on these studies. The freehand drawing done in some of the schools is a marvel of neatness. Some of it looks almost like copper plate. Many of the papers in the geometrical branch are worthy of an award for

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1889-90, p. 305.

the faultless taste manifested as well as for accuracy. The subject for model drawing in all the Art Schools is a saw, a saw-horse and an axe; and these very familiar; albeit useful implements had to be arranged in a certain position according to instruction, but the diversity presented by the various youthful artists in their conception of what is required is highly interesting. A few very promising original landscape paintings are sent from the St. Thomas Art School. One by Mr. R. H. Whale from the White Mountains is worthy of special commendation. A collection of admirably executed studies from the antique from the Brockville Art School - imitations of French art - also the nice oil and water color sketches were greatly appreciated, and so too were the eight designs for <sup>1</sup> tiles by a child thirteen years of age.

The 1890/91 annual report emphasized the importance of drawing as the basis of industrial design and stated that most of the drawings were executed in outline for this purpose. Accuracy and precision of drawing were essential to raise the standard of draughtsmanship and design.

The subjects worthy of special mention are: Freehand drawing, drawing from models, geometry, and industrial designs. The study of geometry in art schools and colleges is now more thoroughly appreciated than formerly, as pupils now understand that it is the basis of industrial design, and that all the improvements of modern life which are dependent upon the principles of design such as textile fabrics, carpets, paper-hanging etc., are manufactured from geometrical patterns and outlined conventionalized representations of flowers, fruit or figures, and unless these objects had been symmetrically drawn the various productions would only exist as ugly, ill constructed forms.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1889-90, p. 305. Robert Heard Whale (1857-1906) became Principal of the St. Thomas Art School in its first year of operation 1889/90.

<sup>2</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1890-91, p. 240.

In 1893, at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, two distinguished educationalists commented favourably about the Ontario educational exhibition which included art objects produced in the provincial art schools. Sir Richard Webster, Chairman of the British Royal Commission to the exposition, and General Eaton, an ex-commissioner of education of the U.S. , praised the Ontario display. General Eaton<sup>1</sup> attributed the fine showing to the available teaching apparatus in the Educational Museum, Toronto, and the system of training used in the schools.

One reviewer of the 1896 annual student exhibition praised the work of the Central Ontario School of Art and Design, Toronto, and attributed the fine drawings from life and cast to the teaching and methodology of the instructor, William Cruikshank.

This neighbouring school is of Toronto, and to know that the crayon work, from the cast and life both, is done by pupils of Mr. Cruikshank, is to know why even the drawings from the cast seem to have a certain vitality, and why there is none of the weak over-finish that never covers a multitude of radical defects, not even one. . . .

Among the pen and ink sketches are several when the worker seems to have grieved at the stage where his medium is forgotten. It is most satisfactory to see some half-dozen of the designs for carpet utilized and a sample of the finished article accompanying the design. The designs for stained glass are excellent, and in the oil department is a good proportion of promising work in the sketches from life, and at least two, a profile head with black dress and a quarter view of a face, that are a fair way to fulfil the promise. The two examples of the

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1898-99, p. 189.

lithographer's art are excellent, and the modelling from the flat, of which there are a number of examples, shows a very good feeling for form.<sup>1</sup>

The review continued with positive comments about art works from art schools in Hamilton, Kingston, Ottawa, and Brockville.

. . . From Hamilton are life class studies in crayon, very correctly drawn and carefully painted, flowers lacking any freedom; two decidedly peculiar designs from stained glass, a good example of modeling from the flat, and the very best architectural drawings in the whole collection. Here Hamilton is away ahead of the rest, almost 'out of sight.' There are plans for private houses and a city hall; drawings for an engine, a steam pump, besides much else that shows skill and good training. Kingston had a single design for a vase, and some pieces of china. . . . The Ottawa school has good work in each department - several carefully done architectural drawings, designs fairly good; the crayon and pen-and-ink sketches show several examples of intelligent, forceful work, while of the oils the same might be said, as well as that there is originality in the still-life groups. There is nothing so good in its way in the whole gallery as a study in oil of some pots of primulas.

Brockville sends two very creditable heads of the same model, a little mulatto girl, a decorative painting on matting, and two graceful and charmingly colored designs for wallpaper; the crayon work from the cast also shows careful work but lacks the vigor to be seen in a neighbouring school [Toronto].<sup>2</sup>

The art school at Toronto had a distinct advantage over the other provincial branches. From its inception,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Lynn C. Doyle, "Art," Toronto Saturday Night, Vol. 9, no. 30, 13 June, 1896, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1883, p. 176. An agreement was made between the Education Department and the Ontario School of Art, Toronto, to permit the art school use of the collection and library of the Educational Museum.

the Educational Museum was used, as was its South Kensington counterpart, as a teaching apparatus with its collection of art objects copied in pencil and charcoal by art students.

In 1886/87, officials of the Ottawa art school expressed satisfaction with the work of their students despite disadvantages regarding the lack of visual art resources.

Work has been done during the year which, considering the limited extent of the opportunities at hand for comparative study in the way of museums and art collections, is creditable to both students and teachers.<sup>1</sup>

Most of the contents of the Educational Museum were destroyed by a fire "a couple of years" prior to 1911.<sup>2</sup> There is no evidence that part of the collection was circulated throughout the other provincial branch schools, which had been one of the objectives of the South Kensington Museum collection. However, it was only after the fire that the few remaining casts and paintings were distributed to the provincial 'Normal schools.'<sup>3</sup>

After its founding in 1912, the Ontario College of Art, Toronto, continued to make purchases of casts from the Victoria and Albert Museum.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1886-87, p. 228.

<sup>2</sup>John Seath, A Report of John Seath, Superintendent of Education for Ontario, op. cit., p. 310. "But the equipment is quite inadequate; all the original casts and art accessories were destroyed in the fire that took place a couple of years ago. The casts have been partly replaced by subscription, but the equipment is not yet so good even as it was before the fire."

<sup>3</sup>Fern Bayer, op. cit., p. 4. Bayer fails to make the connection between the fire and the distribution of remaining art objects to the 'Normal Schools.' *Normal Schools were both primary and secondary schools under the control of the Ontario education department.*

<sup>4</sup>O.C.A. Archives, Minutes of meeting of the staff, 4 Dec., 1925. "7. The Principal [G. A. Reid] reported the arrival of a consignment of casts from the Victoria and Albert Museum."



## F) Life Classes

R.C.A. members realized that the two essential and inseparable components of art education were drawing instruction firstly based on technical and industrial, and secondly the artistic. The 1884 R.C.A. annual report expressed the opinion that the provincial art schools were providing adequately for technical and industrial art education, however, fine art instruction was lacking.

Elementary and technical art education are being fairly provided for by the Provincial Governments in the public schools, and in the art schools which are intended to complete the system. . . . Two distinct phases of art training are necessary, . . . One, the technical, is being treated by the Provincial Governments and local schools. The other, more specifically artistic, but equally necessary, being that which has given to France such supremacy in draughtsmanship and beautiful and tasteful design, comes naturally within the scope of the Academy, . . .<sup>1</sup>

Life classes had been part of the curriculum at the Ottawa art school<sup>2</sup> at its founding in 1879, however, it wasn't until the 1887/88 session that it received recognition when two bronze medals were awarded annually for drawing and painting from life.<sup>3</sup> From then on drawing and

<sup>1</sup>R.C.A. Annual Report 1884, p. 12. For a brief history of R.C.A. activities, see Charles Hill, "To Found a National Gallery: The Royal Canadian Academy of Arts 1880-1913," N.G.C. Journal, no. 36, Mar., 1980, pp. 1-8.

<sup>2</sup>N.A., R.C.A. of Arts papers, R.C.A. Minute Books 1880-1906, MG 28 I 126, Vol. 17 (Feb., 1886), p. 52. "The Association (Ottawa Board Royal Academy) since 1879, the year of its formation, has maintained classes for study from the antique and life, both nude and draped (in oils and watercolours), for which work its head master (C. Moss), for years a student in Paris, is exceptionally well qualified."

<sup>3</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1887-88, p. 185.

painting from life were offered as extra subjects in the provincial art school curriculum.

To encourage fine art students, who were a minority in the provincial government art schools, the O.S.A. (in 1882/83)<sup>1</sup> and the R.C.A. (in 1885/86)<sup>2</sup> initiated and funded study from life (either draped or nude figure).

Until that time study from the nude model, considered advanced art studies, had been restricted to those who attended art schools in Britain, Europe, and some parts of the United States.

At present Art Students who have gone through the Art School course, and desire such further facilities for study as will fit them for the successful practice of their profession, are obliged to go abroad. While we recognize most fully the value of artistic training of the Old World, we feel the necessity of making the home education of our artists as complete as possible, . . .<sup>3</sup>

From its initiation in 1885, until the First World War, the R.C.A. annual grants, based upon enrolment and attendance, were issued for the promotion of study from

<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1883-84, p. 252. See also Reports of the Minister of Education for 1884-85, p. 212; 1885-86, p. 148; 1886-87, p. 234; 1890-91, p. 259; 1891-92, p. 261.

<sup>2</sup>N.A., R.C.A. of Arts papers, R.C.A. Minute Books 1880-1906, MG 28 I 126, Vol. 17 (1886), p. 18. An R.C.A. life class had been suggested as early as 1882 by J.A. Fraser and T. Mower Martin. Ibid., p. 30. "Moved by J. A. Fraser, seconded by T.M. Martin, and Resolved that in order to inaugurate and encourage the study of drawing and painting from the life, the Council of the Royal Canadian Academy donate the sum of one hundred dollars to the Ontario Society of Artists for the formation of a life class, to be managed by the resident Academicians and a Committee of the Ontario Society of Artists; Further that a like sum of one hundred dollars be placed at the disposal of the local Committee of the Academy in Montreal for the same purpose."

<sup>3</sup>R.C.A. Annual Report, 1886, p. 19.

life to the three eastern Canadian cities of Ottawa, Toronto, and Montreal.

In 1885 and 1886, we placed \$800 at the disposal of the committees of resident Academicians in Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto, to be by them expended in aid of study from the life. These grants were intended to enable the Academicians in each city to feel their way to the best method of accomplishing our purpose in each place. In Montreal and Ottawa, the resident committees deemed it best to aid the higher classes of the Art Schools in connection with the Art Associations; this mode of dealing with the question may require some modification in order to give our efforts a wider scope. In Toronto an independent drawing class, for study from the living model, was opened under the direction of the resident Academicians, but has been temporarily discontinued, as it was found that without competent instruction in anatomy, illustrated by suitable casts, etc., the good results to be expected from serious study<sup>1</sup> of the living model could not be attained.

In Ontario, in addition to Ottawa and Toronto, art schools in London, Hamilton<sup>2</sup> and Brockville offered drawing and painting from life without R.C.A. financial assistance.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>2</sup>See figs. 12, 13, 14.

<sup>3</sup>Fragmented information proving the existence of life classes is found in the R.C.A. documentation and the annual reports of the Minister of Education (Ontario) referring to bronze medal winners for best drawing or painting from life, financial statements for hiring of models, and life class attendance. All the following references are from the Minister of Education (Ontario). Ottawa - 1884-85, p. 210; 1885-86, pp. 143-145; 1886-87, p. 229; 1887-88, pp. 185, 192-193; 1888-89, pp. 268, 277, 279; 1889-90, pp. 312, 320, 321; 1890-91, p. 259; 1891-92, p. 258; 1892-93, p. 281; 1893-94, p. 131; 1894-95, pp. 265, 267; 1896-97, p. 156. Toronto - 1887-88, p. 194; 1890-91, pp. 251, 257, 261, 262; 1891-92, p. 247; 1892-93, p. 284; 1893-94, p. 133; 1895-96, p. 336; 1896-97, p. 158; 1897-98, p. 155; 1902-03, p. 129. London - 1882, p. 260; 1894-95, p. 267. Hamilton - 1887-88, p. 188; 1888-89, pp. 272-274; 1889-90, pp. 316-317; 1891-92, p. 255; 1892-93, p. 278. Brockville - 1886-87, p. 223; 1888-89, p. 268; 1892-93, p. 265; 1894-95, p. 265; 1895-96, p. 337; 1896-97, p. 157.

These life classes were considered advanced art studies and were available only to members of the O.S.A. and R.C.A., in effect professional artists, and a limited number of art school pupils judged by their superiors to be competent to draw or paint from life.

One individual, who was an R.C.A. member, was chosen to organize the R.C.A. life class in both Ottawa and Toronto. The responsibilities and qualifications for membership were outlined for the Toronto R.C.A. life class.

It was Resolved That an Association be formed under the control of the Toronto local Committee of Academicians to be called the Academy drawing club, Toronto branch.

That all admissions to the Academy drawing club be by invitation from the committee.

That all members of the Academy and all members of the Ontario Society of Artists be invited to become members of the club.

That such art students as show themselves qualified to pursue the course of study laid down may also be invited to join the club.

That the objects of the club shall be especially the study of drawing from the Antique and from the life, either the human figure or animals, and

That an Exhibition of drawings in Black and White or monochrome be held annually in connection therewith.

That on Monday and Tuesday forenoon in each week, and on one evening in each week the members of the club shall meet to draw, in such places and from such subjects as may be arranged by the Committee.<sup>1</sup>

He was responsible for hiring and posing a model. The class was not entirely restricted to life drawing, but included study of the antique.

. . . shall be from the Antique, from the draped and undraped male figure, and from the draped female figure and from animals if practicable.

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<sup>1</sup>N.A., R.C.A. of Arts papers, R.C.A. Minute Books 1880-1906, MG 28 I 126, Vol. 17 (6 Oct., 1884), p. 44.

That the selection and pose of the figures used as models, be left, under the foregoing limitations to the members of the club attending to draw, . . .<sup>1</sup>

George Reid and William Cruikshank supervised the Toronto life class in 1887,<sup>2</sup> however, a combination of poor attendance<sup>3</sup> and the use of the R.C.A. grant to purchase casts<sup>4</sup> rather than pay the wages for a living model closed the classes frequently. Finding suitable and acceptable accommodation for the life classes was another problem. In 1891, an agreement was reached between the R.C.A. and the Central Ontario School of Art and Design, Toronto, to use some of their available classroom space two evenings per week,<sup>5</sup> however, by 1894 the life class was held between 1:30-4:30 p.m. on Wednesdays in George Reid's studio.<sup>6</sup>

Resistance to life classes, or more specifically, drawing or painting from the nude model, was expressed by the public, art educators and artists, politicians and the clergy. Morality would remain an unresolved problem. Victorian Ontario, particularly the powerful Methodist lobby, believed it was immoral to reproduce the naked image of the male or female for artistic purposes. The character of

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 45.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 7 Jan., 1887, p. 55.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 20 Apr., 1887, p. 57.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 7 Jan., 1887, p. 55.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 6 Mar., 1891, pp. 76-77.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 29 Jan., 1894, p. 90. In 1898 a Toronto life class was held three nights per week. Ibid., 14 Dec., 1898, p. 114. However, by 1910 it had been reduced to twice weekly sessions for men only. See John Seath, op. cit., p. 310.

anyone who did, or those who posed, was immediately suspect.

George Trobridge, A.R.C.A., wrote in 1905:

Young lads enter the life school at a most susceptible period of life, and are brought into association with women of doubtful character, and not unfrequently with fellow-students whose character is anything but doubtful, and whose influence renders the atmosphere of the classroom unwholesome and dangerous. Enthusiasm for art and a strong moral sense serve in many cases to counteract these influences, but it cannot be denied that danger exists. . . .<sup>1</sup>

Models were difficult to hire in Toronto, especially since the notoriety of the widely circulated novel, Trilby, written by George Du Maurier.

It must be remembered that in the 'nineties and even later few professional models were available. Rumours afloat of a model's life in the gay ateliers of Paris and wide currency of du Maurier's Trilby made the task of obtaining a model of any kind extremely difficult. . . . Sitters for posing nude were virtually non-existent. And when a model was obtained, it was often found that the vogue of the wasp waist resulted in a figure ill-suited to the artist's purpose.<sup>2</sup>

For these reasons, there are no reproductions of nude models (male or female) accompanying articles and reviews of the annual student exhibitions. Only occasionally were studies from nude models cited in the literature of the period (1876-1914).<sup>3</sup> Therefore study of the 'living model'

<sup>1</sup>George Trobridge, "The Nude in Art and Semi-nude in Society," Westminster Review, Vol. 164 (Sept., 1905), pp. 307. See also Robert O. Mellow, op. cit., p. 179, note. 50.

<sup>2</sup>William Colgate, The Toronto Art Students' League 1886-1904 (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1954), p. 9.

<sup>3</sup>The Ottawa art school was cited five times in the Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario). See the following years: 1884-85, p. 210; 1885-86, pp. 143-144;



for the vast majority of students meant drawing or painting from a semi-draped male figure.

In addition to life study promoted by both the R.C.A. and the Ontario provincial art schools, the Toronto Art Students League (1886-1904) was founded on 24 September, 1886. Its purpose was "the formation of the life class, and the composition class, which were made the chief features of the club's work,"<sup>1</sup> and by the mid-1890's until it disbanded in 1904 the T.A.S.L. "afford[ed] facilities for the study of drawing and painting from the antique and life, and to cultivate a spirit of fraternity among art students."<sup>2</sup> The classes were attended by professional artists, staff and advanced students of the art school in Toronto. The fees charged were \$3.00 at entrance and \$2.00 per month for men and \$1.50 per month for women,<sup>3</sup> with the membership money used to pay expenses, including the model's wages. In the beginning, the life class was one evening per week, however, as the years passed it was increased by popular demand to three and occasionally five evenings,

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1888-89, p. 277; 1889-90, p. 320; 1894-95, p. 267. The annual student exhibition for 1888/89, and 1889/90 listed studies from the nude amongst the works exhibited. See 1888-89, p. 261. ". . . life draped and nude, . . . figures from life, . . . oil paintings from life, . . . sepia sketches from life, water color paintings from life, . . ." See also 1889-90, p. 302. ". . . charcoal drawing from life, draped and nude, sepia sketches from life, . . . water color paintings from life, . . ."

<sup>1</sup>Robert Holmes, "Toronto Art Students' League," Canadian Magazine, Vol. IV, no. 2, 1894, p. 173.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 175.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

depending upon the circumstances.

In the earlier days, a life-class on more than one evening a week was looked upon as a strain. At present [1894], three evenings are considered too few, and, although, with practice of persistently securing the best models by paying the best prices, the expense of this is not inconsiderable, there are now frequently recurring weeks in which the life-class is in operation on Monday, Tuesday,<sup>1</sup> Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday evenings.<sup>1</sup>

Study from the nude<sup>2</sup> was given equal time as work from costume and draped models. As evidenced from drawings of the T.A.S.L. reproduced in Canadian Magazine,<sup>3</sup> nude studies are not represented. C.M. Manly of the T.A.S.L. committee hinted that the model was never completely nude and that most models were male.

. . .the scheme for the sketch class was set forth. . . , according to which subjects for compositions, suited to the requirements of landscapes and figure men, were to be announced every month, and the sketches, 'mounted in Christian-like manner, . . .'<sup>4</sup>

Robert Holmes reiterated the sentiments and philosophy of mid-19th century artists, art educators and educational theorists concerning the importance of drawing - eye to hand coordination.

. . . drawing from the living model is a matter requiring close observation, and a conscientious study of the form, proportions,

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 176.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 178. "The programme of work from the life is planned so that there shall be about an equal number of nude and costume poses."

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 173. See figs. 15, 16, 17, 18. *Although nude studies were done by T.A.S.L. members, none were reproduced in Canadian Magazine because it was felt subscribers might be offended.*

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

and construction of the figure. . . . There is a subtlety of line, a harmony of tone, and a delicacy of modelling, that must appear in the treatment of the figure, . . . Then, besides accuracy of sight and skill of hand, there must be brought to bear upon this work a certain broad, artistic perception of that which gives the subject its specific character, of that which makes it strong and vigorous, or graceful and refined, rugged or delicate, dignified or menial. The expression of such characteristics must be realized before the work can be of value, and it is this ever-present necessity of living up to Ruskin's demand that 'all great art must be delicate,' that makes this line of study indispensable to the thorough student.<sup>1</sup>

The first public exhibition of the T.A.S.L. was held on 10 May, 1889 and received a good review with William Cruikshank singled out for his work.

The Art Students League is to be congratulated on the success of its modest little exhibition last week. A large number of visitors found their way to the workrooms, and seem to have been favorably impressed with the work, which for the most part consisted of studies made from the models employed during the winter, along with compositional sketches drawn, in connection with the Sketch Club. To those unfamiliar with the workings of a life class it seemed strange to see so many drawings of one man seemingly in so many different positions. But it is only the result of the students drawing the same model each from a different point of view. The sketches which probably attracted the most attention were those of Mr. William Cruikshank.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 180. Besides the contribution of John Ruskin, the T.A.S.L. acknowledged Joseph Pennell's book, Pen Drawing and Draughtsmen: Their work and their methods (London and New York: Macmillan and Co., 1894) was cited. See also W. Colgate, op. cit., p. 28.

<sup>2</sup>"Art and Artists," Toronto Saturday Night, Vol. 2, no. 25, 18 May 1889, p. 7. For subsequent activities of the T.A.S.L. see Lynn C. Doyle, "Art," Toronto Saturday Night, Vol. 9, no. 26, 16 May 1896, p. 9.

By the mid-1890's 'Art Student Leagues' had been instituted in elementary and secondary schools throughout Ontario to promote and encourage drawing, as well as create amongst the population an interest, awareness and raise the level of taste and standard for 'the beautiful in nature and art.'<sup>1</sup> These 'Art Student Leagues' were modelled upon and directly inspired by the T.A.S.L. Although the T.A.S.L. was disbanded in 1904, the Mahlstick Club and the Graphic Arts Club were ephemeral and unsuccessful attempts to extend its existence.<sup>2</sup>

Throughout the period the O.S.A., R.C.A., T.A.S.L., and the provincial art schools realized the importance of life study for fine art students. The success of drawing and painting from the living model, offered by these four organizations to Ontario art students, can be questioned because of the small enrolments, poor facilities, etc. To those who were judged competent to study, the opportunity was made available. All four groups acknowledged, however, that study in England and Europe was essential for fine art

<sup>1</sup>Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1898-99, p. 181. "Within the past three years great interest has been taken by teachers and parents in the establishment of School Art Leagues, for the purpose of improving the architecture of our schools, and decorating the school rooms so as to surround our children with examples which will develop a taste for the beautiful in nature and art. . . . Several of the Public Schools in Toronto have formed Art Leagues, and are giving popular lectures, exhibitions and entertainments, which are largely attended and greatly appreciated by the public."

According to Stankiewicz, Ruskin promoted the idea of decorating public school classrooms with reproductions of great works of art to inspire the imagination of children and create a pleasant environment for study which would "improve character and conduct," and "inspire manners and morals." See Mary Ann Stankiewicz, "The Eye is a Nobler Organ: Ruskin and American Art Education," Journal of Aesthetic Education, Vol. 18, no. 2, summer 1984, pp. 61-62.

<sup>2</sup>W. Colgate, op. cit., p. 30.

students continuing an advanced education.<sup>1</sup> In 1913, the R.C.A. awarded its first travelling scholarship for study abroad.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Dominion Annual Register and Review 1882, p. 309. "The formation of such scholarships here, in Canada, to enable a properly grounded pupil to attend the European studies for a term of say three years, would not entail any great cost, and would, under certain restrictions, be attended with much advantage to the cause of art."

<sup>2</sup>R.C.A. Annual Report, 1913, p. 13. The scholarship was for 1 year and had a value of \$1000. "The student must pass the whole of the year of scholarship in Europe, visiting the most important art centres on the continent and in England."

## CONCLUSION

In the last quarter of the 19th century great changes took place in the emerging industrialized countries. To meet the demands of this transformation of society, industrial art education took priority over cultural. Britain's South Kensington system of drawing instruction was the most influential and widely used method in some industrialized nations. Several Canadian provinces, particularly Quebec and Ontario, a number of states in the United States, especially Massachusetts, New Zealand, Brazil from 1882-1901 and France's 1863 reforms of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and art education, employed ideas from, aspects of and graduates of Britain's South Kensington system.

In Canada, Quebec and Ontario developed their education departments independently (education was under provincial rather than federal government control). Ontario's population was predominantly English-speaking and Methodist. Quebec was French-speaking and had a Roman-Catholic majority after 1854. However, they both followed very much the same policies with regard to the establishment of industrial art schools, although at different dates.

Both Quebec and Ontario hired graduates of and purchased models from South Kensington, and imposed a curriculum in their government art schools which was based on the British system. Ontario developed two characteristics of the system that were not developed in Quebec. These were, firstly, the art museum founded in Toronto in 1857 by Egerton Ryerson which was used much in the same way as the South Kensington museum and secondly, in 1882, an art teacher training course was established in the provincial government art schools.

Art educators, politicians, manufacturers, etc., believed that national prestige, moral, social and commercial benefits would be derived from utilizing a standardized system of art education and drawing applied to industrial concerns.

It was difficult to put the principles of the South Kensington system into practice, because of opposition to it from certain individuals, however, in Quebec in the Council art schools, public and mechanics' institutes from 1876-1891, the Walter Smith system of drawing instruction was taught. In Ontario, the Smith system was used in public schools from 1882-1886. From 1876, the independent post-secondary Ontario art schools employed a system of drawing based on South Kensington, however, when the



provincial government took over the art schools (1882-1885) the curriculum remained virtually intact until the Ontario College of Art was founded in 1912 and the Technical art school in 1913, thereby separating fine arts from industrial art for the first time in Ontario's history.

In Quebec, from 1891 the E. M. Templé system of drawing and in Ontario, the Canadian Drawing Course, from 1886, replaced Walter Smith's method at the primary and secondary school level. Upon examination and comparison, the two new systems adopted were essentially and pedagogically no different from that of Smith, however, in terms of national pride and ardent nationalism both were designed by                      Canadians, and therefore adopted.

A form of the South Kensington system was used in Quebec and Ontario. Its influence was extensive and profound, post-dating those aforementioned chronological periods, and became entrenched at the elementary levels of art instruction in the primary, secondary, and technical and industrial schools, where drawing was still interpreted and associated with the material prosperity of industrial progress.

APPENDIX 1

- 1a) List of Students
- 1b) List of *"Canadian" Artists Who Studied* at British Art Schools  
1867 - 1914

Appendix 1a) List of Students

The students who acknowledged study with Wm. Cruikshank, Edmond Dyonnet, Wm. Brymner and G. A. Reid have been derived from Colin S. MacDonald's A Dictionary of Canadian Artists (Ottawa: Canadian Paperbacks Ltd., 1967 - ), Vols. 1-6.

William Cruikshank

Allword, Walter Seymour (1876-1955), Vol. 1, p. 10.  
 Beatty, John William (1869-1941), Vol. 1, p. 30.  
 Beynon, John H. (1890- ), Vol. 1, p. 45.  
 Brigden, Frederick Henry (1871-1956), Vol. 1, p. 82.  
 Brown, Archibald (1864-1948), Vol. 1, p. 93.  
 Carmichael, Franklin (1890-1945), Vol. 1, p. 116.  
 Gillett, Violet Amy (1908- ), Vol. 2, p. 276.  
 Greene, Thomas Garland (1875-1955), Vol. 2, p. 315.  
 Haines, Frederick Stanley (1879-1960), Vol. 2, p. 343.  
 Harvey, Phylis Nelson (1906- ), Vol. 2, pp. 386-87.  
 Holmes, Robert (1861-1930), Vol. 2, pp. 457-59.  
 Innes, John (1863-1941), Vol. 2, p. 509.  
 Johnston, Francis Hans (1888-1949), Vol. 3, p. 566.  
 Johnston, Robert Edwin (1885-1933), Vol. 3, p. 571.  
 Kingsford, Winifred (1880-1947), Vol. 3, p. 645.  
 Laur, Edgar Lee (1867- ), Vol. 3, p. 750.  
 Logan, Martha (1863-1937), Vol. 4, p. 883.  
 Loveroff, Fred Nicholas (1894-1960), Vol. 4, p. 914.  
 McCrea, Harold Wellington (1887-1969), Vol. 4, p. 962.  
 MacDonald, James Edward Hervey (1873-1932), Vol. 4, p. 981.  
 McGillivray, Florence Helena (1864-1938), Vol. 4, p. 1021.  
 McLean, Thomas Wesley (1881-1951), Vol. 4, p. 1062.  
 Madden, Orval Clinton (1892- ), Vol. 4, p. 1083.  
 Mickle, Alfred Ernest (1869- ), Vol. 4, p. 1202.  
 Mitchell, Thomas Wilberforce (1879-1958), Vol. 4, p. 1243.  
 Morris, Edmund Montague (1871-1913), Vol. 4, p. 1297.  
 Moyer, Stanley Gordon (1887- ), Vol. 4, p. 1325.  
 Payne, Gordon Eastcott (1890- ), Vol. 5, p. 1543.

Edmond Dyonnet

Brunet, Emile (1899-1977), Vol. 1, p. 99.  
 Bush, Jack H. (1909-1977), Vol. 1, p. 108.  
 Caron, Paul Archibald (1874-1941), Vol. 1, p. 118.  
 de Garthe, William Edward (1907- ), Vol. 1, p. 171.  
 de Lall, Oscar (1903- ), Vol. 1, p. 174.  
 Earle, Paul Barnard (c. 1872- ), Vol. 1, p. 187.  
 Fabien, Henri (1878-1935), Vol. 1, p. 195.  
 Findlay, Jean Ness (1901- ), Vol. 1, p. 208.

Fortin, Marc-Aurèle (1888- ), Vol. 1, p. 224.  
 Garside, Thomas H. (1906- ), Vol. 2, p. 253.  
 Goldberg, Regina Seiden (1897- ), Vol. 2, p. 288.  
 Graham, James Lillie (1873- ), Vol. 2, p. 303.  
 Hébert, Adrien (1890-1967), Vol. 2, p. 405.  
 Hébert, Henri (1884-1950), Vol. 2, p. 408.  
 Hill, Donald Richings (1900-1939), Vol. 2, p. 441.  
 Holland, Miriam Ramsay (1904- ), Vol. 2, p. 455.  
 Judah, Doris Minette (1887- ), Vol. 3, p. 585.  
 Knopf, Miss Ernestine ( ? ), Vol. 3, p. 658.  
 Lebel, Maurice (1898-1963), Vol. 3, p. 771.  
 Lefort, Marie Agnès (1891- ), Vol. 3, p. 792.  
 Legault, Joseph-Onésime (1882-1944), Vol. 3, p. 796.  
 Lemieux, Marguerite (1899- ), Vol. 3, p. 807.  
 L'espérance, Alphonse (1914- ), Vol. 3, p. 819.  
 Long, Beatrice Mary (1877- ), Vol. 4, p. 888.  
 Macaulay, Lorna Lomer (1881- ), Vol. 4, p. 947.  
 MacDonald, Thomas Reid (1908- ), Vol. 4, p. 1003.  
 McLaren, Alex (1892- ), Vol. 4, p. 1052.  
 Malcouronne, Kathleen Delacour (1885- ), Vol. 4, p. 1092.  
 Massicotte, Edmond Joseph (1875-1929), Vol. 4, p. 1140.  
 Miller, Herbert McRae (1895- ), Vol. 4, p. 1222.  
 Morency, André (1910- ), Vol. 4, p. 1277.  
 Muhlstock, Louis (1904- ), Vol. 4, p. 1328.  
 Pemberton-Smith, Freda (1902- ), Vol. 5, p. 1582.  
 Pépin, Jean-Paul (1894- ), Vol. 5, p. 1586.  
 Poirier, Narcisse (1883-1983?), Vol. 6, p. 1749.  
 Pringle, Annie White (1867-1945), Vol. 6, p. 1851.

### William Brymner

Barnes, Wilfred Molson (1892-1955), Vol. 1, p. 23.  
 Brunet, Emile (1899-1977), Vol. 1, p. 99.  
 Caron, Paul Archibald (1874-1941), Vol. 1, p. 118.  
 Clapp, William Henry (1879- ), Vol. 1, p. 128.  
 Cleland, Mary Alberta (1876- ), Vol. 1, p. 131.  
 Collyer, Nora Frances Elizabeth (1898- ), Vol. 1, p. 137.  
 Delfosse, Georges (1869-1939), Vol. 1, p. 174.  
 Earle, Paul Barnard (c. 1872- ), Vol. 1, p. 187.  
 Fabien, Henri (1878-1935), Vol. 1, p. 195.  
 Gagnon, Clarence A. (1881-1942), Vol. 2, p. 245.  
 Gass, Marjorie Earle (1889-1928), Vol. 2, p. 254.  
 Gill, Charles Ignace Adélar (1871-1918), Vol. 2, p. 275.  
 Goldberg, Regine Seiden (1897- ), Vol. 2, p. 288.  
 Graham, James Lillie (1873- ), Vol. 2, p. 303.  
 Hébert, Adrien (1890-1967), Vol. 2, p. 405.  
 Hébert, Henri (1884-1950), Vol. 2, p. 408.  
 Heward, Efa Prudence (1896-1947), Vol. 2, p. 432.  
 Hewton, Randolph Stanley (1888-1960), Vol. 2, p. 436.  
 Hill, Donald Richings (1900-1939), Vol. 2, p. 441.  
 Hingston, Lilian (1881-1967), Vol. 2, p. 446.  
 Holgate, Edwin Headley (1892-1977), Vol. 2, p. 453.  
 Hutchison, Frederick William (1871-1953), Vol. 2, p. 497.  
 Jackson, Alexander Young (1882-1974), Vol. 2, p. 520.

Johnstone, John Young (1887-1930), Vol. 3, p. 571.  
 Kennedy, Sybil (1899- ), Vol. 3, p. 628.  
 Kilgour, Andrew Wilkie (1868-1930), Vol. 3, p. 640.  
 Legault, Joseph-Onésime (1882-1944), Vol. 3, p. 796.  
 Lockerby, Mabel Irene (1887- ), Vol. 4, p. 881.  
 Luke, Jane Corbus (1881- ), Vol. 4, p. 928.  
 Macaulay, Lorna Lomer (1881- ), Vol. 4, p. 947.  
 MacFarlane, David Huron (1875- ), Vol. 4, p. 1019.  
 Mack, Mary Agnes (1899- ), Vol. 4, p. 1030.  
 McNicoll, Helen Galloway (1879-1915), Vol. 4, p. 1077.  
 Maillet, Corinne Dupuis (1895- ), Vol. 4, p. 1088.  
 May, H. Mabel (1884-1971), Vol. 4, p. 1156.  
 Montigny-Giguère, E. Louise (1878- ), Vol. 4, p. 1269.  
 Morris, Kathleen Moir (1893- ), Vol. 4, p. 1298.  
 Mount, Rita (1888-1967), Vol. 4, p. 1320.  
 Muhlstock, Louis (1904- ), Vol. 4, p. 1328.  
 Newton, Liliias Torrance (1896- ), Vol. 5, p. 1370.  
 Perrigard, Hal Ross (1891-1960), Vol. 5, p. 1605.  
 Poirier, Narcisse (1883-1983?), Vol. 6, p. 1749.  
 Pringle, Annie White (1867-1945), Vol. 6, p. 1851.  
 Racey, Arthur George (1870-1914), Vol. 6, p. 1900.

#### G. A. Reid

Atkinson, William Edwin (1862-1926), Vol. 1, p. 18.  
 Beatty, John William (1869-1941), Vol. 1, p. 30.  
 Brigden, Frederick Henry (1871-1956), Vol. 1, p. 82.  
 Carmichael, Franklin (1890-1945), Vol. 1, p. 116.  
 Challener, Frederick Sproston (1869-1959), Vol. 1, p. 124.  
 Gillett, Violet Amy (1898- ), Vol. 2, p. 276.  
 Haines, Frederick Stanley (1879-1960), Vol. 2, p. 343.  
 Harvey, Phylis Nelson (1906- ), Vol. 2, pp. 386-87.  
 Jefferys, Charles William (1869-1951), Vol. 3, p. 551.  
 Johnston, Francis Hans (1888-1949), Vol. 3, p. 566.  
 Kingsford, Winifred (1880-1947), Vol. 3, p. 645.  
 Liebich, Kathleen Chipman Sweeney [Mrs.] (1892- ), Vol. 3.  
 p. 844.  
 Logan, Martha (1863-1937), Vol. 4, p. 883.  
 Long, Marion (1882-1970), Vol. 4, p. 890.  
 Loveroff, Fred Nicholas (1894-1960), Vol. 4, p. 914.  
 MacDonald, Evan Weekes (1905-1972), Vol. 4, p. 971.  
 MacDonald, James Edward Hervey (1873-1932), Vol. 4, p. 981.  
 McGeogh, Lilian Jean (1903- ), Vol. 4, p. 1020.  
 McLean, Thomas Wesley (1881-1951), Vol. 4, p. 1062.  
 Madden, Orval Clinton (1892- ), Vol. 4, p. 1083.  
 Mickle, Alfred Ernest (1869- ), Vol. 4, p. 1202.  
 Millar, Clara Louise [Neads] (1888- ), Vol. 4, p. 1216.  
 Mitchell, Thomas Wilberforce (1879-1958), Vol. 4, p. 1243.  
 Moyer, Stanley Gordon (1887- ), Vol. 4, p. 1325.  
 Munro, Jean [née Cockburn] (1869- ), Vol. 4, p. 1335.  
 Norwell, Graham Noble (1901-1967), Vol. 5, p. 1403.  
 Parsons, William (1909- ), Vol. 5, p. 1511.  
 Payne, Gordon Eastcott (1890- ), Vol. 5, p. 1543.  
 Pepper, George Douglas (1903-1962), Vol. 5, p. 1590.  
 Pinkerton, Kathleen Louise Campbell Ward (1902- ), Vol. 6, p. 1709.  
 Price, Winchell [Addison Winchell Price] (1907- ), Vol. 6, p. 1845.

1b) List of "Canadian" Artists Who Studied at British  
Art Schools 1867 - 1914

The letter placed before each artist's name signifies his/her place of birth: C - Canada, E - England, S - Scotland, W - Wales, A - Australia, S.A. - South Africa, I - India, U.S. - United States.

The numbers placed after each artist's name indicate the source of the information presented and the corresponding page numbers from either 1 - J. R. Harper, E.P. & E. or 2 - Colin S. MacDonald, A.D.C.A.

- C Adams, Lily Osman (1865-1945), St. John's Wood, 1:3.  
 E Bamford, Thomas (1861-1941), Liverpool School of Art, 1:15.  
 E Barnes, Archibald (1887 - ), St. John's Wood and R.A., 2:3.  
 E Barr, Robert Allan (1890-1954), London School of Art, 2: 25.  
 E Bell-Smith, Frederic Marlett (1846-1923), South Kensington, 1:26; 2:36.  
 E Britton, Harry (1878-1958), Heatherly's and London, 2:86.  
 E Brooks, Maria (act.1881-1900), South Kensington and R.A., 1:46.  
 E Browne, Joseph Archibald (1864-1948), Glasgow, 1:47; 2:93.  
 E Brownhill, Harold (1887- ), Sheffield, 2:95.  
 S Cameron, Donald Stewart (1866-1941), South Kensington, 1:55.  
 C Carr, Emily (1871-1945), Westminster, 2: 118-19.  
 E Carter, Alexander Scott (1881-1968), Bournemouth, Heatherly and R.A., 2:121.  
 C Coburn, Frederick Simpson (1871-1960), Slade, 2:134.  
 S Cruikshank, William (1848-1922), Royal Scottish Academy and R.A., 1:79; 2:156.  
 E Cutts, Gertrude E. (1858-1941), Lambeth and Scarborough, 1:81; 2:161.



- E Day, Forshaw (1837-1903, Royal Dublin Society, South Kensington, 1: 86.
- C De Forrest, Henry (1860-1924), South Kensington, 1:86.
- E Fanshaw, Hubert Valentine (1878-1940), Sheffield and R.C.A., 2:198.
- C Forbes, Elizabeth Adela Stanhope (1859-1912), South Kensington, 1:114; 2: 214.
- C Forbes, John Colin (1846-1925), South Kensington and R.A., 1:114; 2: 215.
- C Forbes, Kenneth Keith (1892- ), Newlyn, Slade, London New Art School, 2: 216
- C Forbes, W.F. (act. 1868), London, p. 115.
- C Ford, Harriet Mary (1859-1939), St. John's Wood and R.A., 1: 115; 2:217.
- C Forster, J.W.L. (1850-1938), South Kensington, 2:219
- E Fripp, Thomas William (1864-1931), St. John's Wood and R.A., 1:122.
- C Graham, James Lillie (1873-1965), Slade, 2:303.
- C Green, Thomas Garland (1875-1955), Westminster and Finsbury, 2: 315.
- A Grier, Sir Edmund Wyly (1862-1957), Slade, 1:135; 2:318.
- W Harris, Robert (1849-1919), Slade, 1:148; 2: 380-81.
- E Harvey, Reginald Llewellyn (1888-1973), Yarmouth and London, 2: 387.
- C Hayward, Alfred Frederick William (1856-1939), R.A., 1:152.
- C Hayward, Gerard Sinclair (1845-1926), R.A., 2:400.
- S Henderson, James (1871-1951), Glasgow, 2: 425.
- I Hodgins, Aimée Gertrude (1866-c. 1936), R.A., 1:159.
- C Holmes, Robert H. (1861-1930), R.C.A., 1:161; 2:457-59.
- C Hutchinson, George (c. 1885), R.A., 1:168.
- E Ireland, S. John (1854-1915), South Kensington, 1:170.
- E Jack, Richard (1866-1952), York, 2:518.
- C Johnston, Robert Edwin (1885-1933), Westminster and Bolt, 2:571.
- E Keene, Louis (1888- ), Bolt Court and Chelsea, 2:612.
- E Kelsey, Leonard Edgar (1883- ), London, 2:620.
- E Kenderdine, Augustus Frederick (1870-1947), Manchester, 2: 623
- S Kilgour, Andrew Wilkie (1868-1930), Glasgow, and Heatherly, 2: 640.

- E Kilpin, Legh Mulhall (1853-1919), R.C.A., 1:181;  
2:642.
- E Lee, Frederick Walter (1863-1941), South Kensington  
and R.A., 1:193.
- E Lismer, Arthur (1885-1969), Sheffield, 2:860.
- U.S. Logan, Martha (1863-1937), R.C.A., and South Kensington,  
2:883.
- E Long, Beatrice Mary (1877- ), Camberwell, 2:888.
- S Low, Thomas (1875- ), Glasgow, 2:917.
- C Lyall, Laura Muntz (1860-1930), South Kensington,  
2: 935.
- U.S. Lyman, John Goodwin (1886-1967), R.C.A., 2:937.
- E. Lynn, W. Frank (act.1875-1901), R.A., 1:203.
- E. MacCarthy, Hamilton Plantagenet (1846-1939), Marylebone,  
South Kensington, and R.A., 2:954.
- S McGregor, A.G. (Act. late 19th c.), South Kensington,  
1:207.
- C MacLean, Jean Munro (1879-1952), Liverpool and  
Heatherly, 2:1062.
- C McMullen, Ralph Spencer (1885- ), London School of Art,  
2:1071.
- C McNicoll, Helen Galloway (1879-1915) Slade and St.  
Ives, 2:1077.
- E Manly, Charles MacDonald (1855-1924), Heatherly School  
of Art, London and Metropolitan School of Art, Dublin,  
1:213, 2:1097.
- S Melvin, Grace Wilson (1890-1977), Glasgow, 2:1181.
- C Millard, Charles Stuart (1837-1917), Bristol and  
R.C.A., 1:223; 2:1217.
- S.A. Mortimer, Florence Maud (1885-1959), Bath, 2:1309.
- C. Neilson, Henry Ivan (1865-1931), Glasgow, 1:235;  
2:1358.
- E Norbury, Frank H. (1871-1965), Liverpool and Lambeth,  
2:1398.
- E Nutt, Elizabeth Styring (1870-1946), Sheffield, 2-1409.
- C Patterson, Andrew Dickson (1854-1930), South Kensington,  
1: 245; 2:1526.
- C Peel, Paul (1860-92), R.A., 1:247; 2:1561.
- C Pemberton, Sophie (1869-1959), Slade, 2:1581.
- E Phillips, Walter Joseph (1884-1963), Birmingham,  
2:1666.
- S Pringle, Annie White (1867-1945), Edinburgh, 1:256;  
2:1851.

- E Radford, John A. (1860-1940), South Kensington,  
2: 1910.
- E Raine, Herbert (1875-1951), Sunderland, 2:1914.
- S Russell, George Horne (1861-1933), South Kensington,  
1:276.
- C Smith, Edith Agnes (1867-1935), Chelsea, 1:291.
- S Taylor, Sir Andrew Thomas (1850-1937), R.A., 1:304.
- E Tempest, John Sugden (1864-1933), South Kensington,  
1:305.
- E Thompson, Ernest Evan Seton (1860-1946), R.A., 1:307.
- C Tully, Sydney Strickland (1860-1911), Slade, 1:313.
- C Verner, Frederick Arthur (1836-1928), South Kensington  
and Leighs, London, 1:316
- E Vickers, Henry Harold (1851- 1918), Birmingham, 1:317.
- E Wake, Margaret Eveline (1867-1930), Slade, 1:319.
- C Wallis, Katherine Elizabeth (1861-1957), South Ken-  
sington, 1:321.
- C Way, Charles Jones (1835-1919), South Kensington,  
1:324.
- C Whale, John Claude (1852-1905), R.A., 1:328.
- C Whale, Robert Heard (1857-1906), R.A., 1:328.
- C Wickson, Paul Giovanni (1860-1922), South Kensington,  
1:331.

## APPENDIX 2: QUEBEC

- 2a) Report of the Committee Appointed to Visit Art and Industrial Schools in the United States 16 Feb., 1876
- 2b) Council Art Schools (1873/74 - 1913/14) Development and Staff
- 2c) Enrolment/Average Attendance
- 2d) Montreal Art School Curriculum, Enrolment/Attendance (1873/74 - 1914)
- 2e) Art Educational Backgrounds of Some of the Staff
- 2f) A.A.M. Curriculum and Attendance (1880-1914)

## APPENDIX 2: QUEBEC

2a) Report of the Committee Appointed to Visit Art  
and Industrial Schools in the United States

16 Feb., 1876.

Your Committee visited the Art Schools of Boston, New York and Philadelphia, they were most cordially received and allowed to become acquainted with the different modes of teaching art and design in their different branches such as are followed in the above mentioned cities they found the day and night Schools largely attended, and, seeking for the cause of the interest taken in the study of art and design they found it in the following statement embodied in a Report published by the Visitors to the Normal Art School of the State of Massachusetts.

'It [the Normal Art School], is an essential element in that system of agencies which the Government of the State is beginning to put into operation for the purpose of diffusing art culture, not as an indispensable constituent of a competent general education but as a means of enabling our manufactures to compete more successfully with the manufactures of Europe. The material prosperity of the State depends chiefly upon the profits of its manufactories. That these profits might be immensely augmented by the application of a higher artistic skill, is no longer doubted by any well informed person. . . . Thoughtful men are becoming everywhere more and more impressed with the value and importance of technical education, and drawing is now recognized by some scholars as lying at the foundation of all technical education, . . . We have returned home firmly convinced that if our work of the night Schools is not entirely useless, it is however, inadequate to the requirements of the age and almost powerless to train our industrial population in the artistic taste and knowledge which are necessary to attain some degree of eminence, but, in extenuation of our deficiencies, permit us to state that the American city which seems to stand foremost in the way of progress with regard to art education, Boston, has spent twenty years of time and large sums of money in carrying on exactly the same Schools as we have now, and would probably be still struggling against impossibility but for her good fortune in striking on a man of genius, Mr. Walter Smith, who has established a system of art education in the State of Massachusetts with a great chance of founding a national school in the United States, and who was kind enough to make the offer of any aid in his power towards organizing art Schools in Canada.'

The material presented in Appendix 2b was extracted from the Documents of the Session, Quebec, 1873/74 - 1913/14. Information about the staff of four schools was unavailable (no. 11 - St. Henri; no. 12 - Hochelaga; no. 13 - St. Cunégonde; no. 17 - Diamond Harbour).

Abbreviations

N.L.	- Not listed
C.	- closed
S.T.	- Staff Total
T.P.	- Total Practical
D & E	- Drawing and Extra subjects
D.S.	- Dress cutting and sewing
D & E Staff	- Drawing and Extra subject Staff
No. S.	- Number of Schools



2b) Council Art Schools (1873/74 - 1913/14)Development and Staff

1. Montreal 1873/74 - 1913/14.
2. Quebec 1873/74 - 1913/14.
3. Sorel 1873/74 - 1880/81; closed 1881/82; re-opened 1882/83 - 1900/01; closed 1901/02 - 05/06; re-opened 1906/07 - 13/14.
4. Three-Rivers 1873/74 - 76/77; closed 1877/78; re-opened 1879/80 - 85/86; closed 1886/87 - 92/93; re-opened 1893/94; closed 1894/95; re-opened 1895/96 - 1913/14.
5. Levis 1873/74 - 1907/08; closed 1908/09. Levis was divided into a branch at St. Romuald and Charny.
6. St. Romuald 1909/10 - 13/14.
7. Charny 1909/10 - 13/14.
8. Sherbrooke 1873/74 - 82/83; closed 1883/84 - 84/85; re-opened 1885/86 - 91/92; closed 1892/93 - 93/94; re-opened 1894/95 - 1913/14.
9. New Liverpool 1874/75 - 89/90; closed 1890/91; re-opened 1891/92 - 92/93; closed 1893/94 - 1913/14.
10. St. Hyacinthe 1874/75 - 1881/82; closed 1882/83 - 86/87; re-opened 1887/88 - 1913/14.
11. St. Henri 1877/78.
12. Hochelaga 1877/78 - 1881/82; closed 1882/83 - 1913/14.
13. St. Cunégonde 1879/80 - 81/82; closed 1882/83 - 1913/14.
14. Huntingdon 1877/78 - 94/95; closed 1895/96 - 1913/14.
15. Granby 1877/78 - 1884/85; closed 1885/86 - 91/92; re-opened 1892/93 - 94/95; closed 1895/96 - 1913/14.
16. St. Columb de Sillery (Sillery) 1880/81 - 90/91; closed 1891/92 - 1913/14.
17. Diamond Harbour 1881/82.  
(branch school of Quebec)
18. St. John's 1881/82 - 83/84; closed 1884/85 - 1906/07; re-opened 1907/08 - 13/14.

19. St. Jérôme 1881/82 - 91/92; closed 1892/93; re-opened 1893/94 - 94/95; closed 1895/96 - 1913/14.
20. Fraserville 1883/84; closed 1884/85 - 1901/02; re-opened 1902/03; closed 1903/04 - 05/06; re-opened 1906/07 - 09/10; closed 1910/11; re-opened 1911/12; closed 1912/13 - 13/14.
21. Iberville 1884/85 - 86/87; closed 1887/88 - 91/92; re-opened 1892/93; closed 1893/94 - 1913/14.
22. Farnham 1885/86 - 88/89; closed 1889/90 - 1913/14.
23. Chicoutimi 1886/87; closed 1887/88 - 1908/09; re-opened 1909/10 - 13/14.
24. Hull 1901/02 - 04/05; closed 1905/06 - 1913/14.
25. Valleyfield 1901/02 - 1913/14.
26. Lachine 1907/08 - 1909/10; closed 1910/11; re-opened 1911/12; closed 1912/13 - 13/14.















## 2b) (cont'd)

School/Year	06/ 07	07/ 08	08/ 09	09/ 10	10/ 11	11/ 12	12/ 13	13/ 14
2. Quebec S.T. (cont'd)	7	7	7	6	7	7	5	5
D & E.	5	5	5	4	4	4	2	2
<u>D &amp; E Staff</u>								
Ed. Lenoine	x		x	x	x	x	x	x
Arthur Manne						x	x	
J.J. Scherrer	x	x						
James McIsaac	x							
C.A. Lenay		x						
G.H. Duquet			x					
Pierre Lévêque			x		x			
Frère Secondian			x		x			
A. Prévost					x	x		
G. Coucke								x
T. Dorval	x	x	x			x		
Henri Angers	x	x						
Charles Huot		x						

2b) (cont'd)

School/Year	73/74	74/75	80/81	81/82	82/83	83/84	84/85	85/86	86/87	87/88	88/89	89/90	90/91	91/92	92/93	93/94	94/95	97/98	98/99	99/00	00/01	01/02	06/07	07/08	08/09	09/10	10/11	11/12	12/13		
3. Sorel	1	1	N.L.	C.	N.L.	2	2	1	N.L.	2	N.L.	1	1	1	1	1	1	N.L.	1	1	1	C.	2	1	1	1	1	1	1		
D & E.	1					2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1		2	1	1	1	1	1	1		
<u>D &amp; E Staff</u>																															
F. Lachance	x																														
J.G. Rouleau						x	x	x				x	x	x	x	x	x														
A. Massy						x	x																								
O. Lessieur																															
H.A. Terreault																															
S. Cosky																															



2b) (cont'd)

School/Year	73/74	74/75	75/76	83/84	84/85	85/86	86/87	87/88	88/89	89/90	90/91	91/92	92/93	93/94	94/95	95/96	96/97	97/98	98/99	99/00	00/01	01/02	02/03	03/04	04/05	05/06	06/07	07/08	08/09						
5. Lewis S.T.	N.L.	2	N.L.	3	2	2	N.L.	2	N.L.	2	2	2	4	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	6	6	9	9	N.L.	6	6	6	C.					
D & E.	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	4	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	6	6	7	7	7	4	4	4						
D & E Staff																																			
M. Beauty	x																																		
D.C. Morency	x																																		
P.N. Hamel																																			
A.H. Laroche																																			
J.E. Laroche																																			
Léonidas Guenette																																			
Joseph Scherrer																																			
D.A. Beaulieu																																			
Valère Bouchard																																			
J. Hamel																																			
O. Carrier																																			

## 2b) (cont'd)

<u>School/Year</u>	09/ 10	10/ 11	11/ 12	12/ 13	13/ 14
6. <u>St. Romald S.T.</u>	2	1	1	1	1
D & E.	2	1	1	1	1
<u>D &amp; E Staff</u>					
O. Carrier	x				
J. Geo. O. Trudel	x	x	x	x	x
<u>School/Year</u>	09/ 10	10/ 11	11/ 12	12/ 13	13/ 14
7. <u>Charmy S.T.</u>	2	1	1	1	2
D & E.	2	1	1	1	1
<u>D &amp; E Staff</u>					
Arthur Dorval	x	x			
J.E. Larochelle	x				
N.R. Beaudet			x	x	x











2b) (cont'd)

<u>School/Year</u>	07/		08/		09/		10/		11/		12/		13/	
	08	09	08	09	09	10	10	11	11	12	12	13	13	14
10. <u>St. Hyacinthe</u> S.T.	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	4	4	4	4	3	3
(cont'd)														
D & E.	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2
<u>D &amp; E Staff</u>														
Joseph Richer	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
J.H. Blanchard	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
Geo. Borduas	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x						
Noé Loranger									x	x	x	x	x	x

2b) (cont'd)

School/Year	83/84	84/85	85/86	86/87	87/88	88/89	89/90	90/91	91/92	92/93	93/94	94/95	95/96
14. <u>Huntingdon</u>	1	1	1	N.L.	2	N.L.	2	2	2	2	2	2	C.
D & E Staff					2		2	2	2	2	2	2	
W.W. Corbett	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	
R.H. Crawford				x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	
J. Boyd													x

School/Year	77/78	82/83	83/84	84/85	85/86	86/87	88/89	89/90	90/91	91/92	92/93	93/94	94/95	95/96
15. <u>Granby</u>			1	1	1	C.		2	2	2	2	2	2	C.
D & E Staff			1	1	1			2	2	2	2	2	2	

School/Year	83/84	84/85	85/86	86/87	87/88	88/89	89/90	90/91	91/92	
16. <u>Sillery</u>	1	1	1	N.L.	1	N.L.	1	1	1	C.
D & E Staff					1		1	1		
J.H. Gignac	x	x	x		x		x	x		x

School/Year	83/84	84/85	85/86	86/87	87/88	88/89	89/90	90/91	91/92
D & E Staff									
J.H. Gignac	x	x	x		x		x	x	







## 2b) (cont'd)

<u>School/Year</u>	85/ 86	86/ 87	87/ 88	88/ 89	89/ 90
22. <u>Farnham</u> S.T.	2	N.L.	4	N.L.	C.
D & E.	2		3		
<u>D &amp; E Staff</u>					
P. L'Hérault	x				
P.D. Bilodeau	x				
J. O'Halloran			x		
Jos. L'Hérault			x		
L. Philie			x		
<u>School/Year</u>	09/ 10	10/ 11	11/ 12	12/ 13	13/ 14
23. <u>Chicoutimi</u> S.T.	2	1	1	1	1
D & E.	2	1	1	1	1
<u>D &amp; E Staff</u>					
Eugène Fortier	x				
Thomas Tremblay	x				
T.R. Gousse		x	x	x	x

2b) (cont'd)

<u>School/Year</u>	01/ 02	02/ 03	03/ 04	04/ 05	05/ 06	06/ 07	07/ 08	08/ 09	09/ 10	10/ 11	11/ 12	12/ 13	13/ 14
24. <u>Hull</u>	1	1	1	1	C.								
S.T.													
D & E.	1	1	1	1									
<u>D &amp; E Staff</u>													
J.H. Rouleau	x	x	x	x									
<u>School/Year</u>	01/ 02	02/ 03	03/ 04	04/ 05	05/ 06	06/ 07	07/ 08	08/ 09	09/ 10	10/ 11	11/ 12	12/ 13	13/ 14
25. <u>Valleyfield S.T.</u>	2	2	2	2	N.L.	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	3
D & E.	2	2	2	2		2	2	2	2	3	3	2	2
<u>D &amp; E Staff</u>													
A.A. Frappier	x	x	x	x		x	x						x
T. Lionais	x	x	x										
C.B. Price				x									
C.E. Foster					x								
J.H. Whiting						x							
J.M. Gagnier								x	x	x			
James Long								x	x	x			x
G. Poirier								x	x	x			x
B. O'Sullivan											x		

2b) (cont'd)

<u>School/Year</u>	07/ 08	08/ 09	09/ 10	10/ 11	11/ 12	12/ 13	13/ 14
26. <u>Lachine</u>							
S.T.	2	1	2	C.	C.	2	2
D & E.	2	1	2			2	2
<u>D &amp; E Staff</u>							
J.A. Roy	x	x	x				
A. Lepage	x						
J.D. Viau			x		x		
A. Laframboise					x	x	
U.T. Benoit							x

2c) Enrolment/Average Attendance

<u>Year</u>	<u>1873/74</u>	<u>74/75</u>	<u>75/76</u>	<u>76/77</u>	<u>77/78</u>	<u>78/79</u>	<u>79/80</u>	<u>80/81</u>	<u>81/82</u>	<u>82/83</u>
<u>School</u>										
1	138	293/133	N.L.	N.L.	354/100	N.L.	244/140	207/125	196/104	271/104
2	16	65/36			295/105		286/105	79/45	82/45	62/36
3	39	22/18			42/28		N.L.	48/15	C.	19/13
4	29	N.L.			N.L.		N.L.	41/15	31/15	31/17
5	27	38			115/43		60/31	93/33	57/33	50/27
6										
7										
8	29	28/24			131/48		97/38	74/35	68/48	30/16
9		79/41			167/39		86/40	151/53	51/28	66/30
10		25			55/24		N.L.	32/13	19/14	C.
11					27/15		C.	C.	C.	C.
12					76/28		N.L.	61/37	64/28	C.
13							23/19	73/31	29/17	C.
14					72/24		68/45	67/46	38/23	27/9
15					56/37		N.L.	94/36	56/19	55/26
16								44/30	27/15	30/19
17									N.L.	C.
18									84/35	55/20
19									60/19	38/23

## 2c) (cont'd)

<u>Year</u>	<u>83/84</u>	<u>84/85</u>	<u>85/86</u>	<u>86/87</u>	<u>87/88</u>	<u>88/89</u>	<u>89/90</u>	<u>90/91</u>	<u>91/92</u>
School									
1	515/149	434/197	242/101	N.L.	570/366	395/234	393/244	313/194	261/154
2	164/109	240/181	209/131		220/151	195/113	298/N.L.	190/89	249/80
3	78/37	41/18	50/30		33/23	35/18	30/16	31/16	33/16
4	32/22	59/18	78/50		C.	C.	C.	C.	C.
5	94/42	117/47	135/64		118/58	208/94	189/106	227/100	284/107
6									
7									
8	C.	C.	73/36		85/56	85/37	61/41	56/33	104/56
9	105/44	81/45	99/43		70/33	63/31	59/37	C.	62/27
10	C.	C.	C.		34/27	31/22	48/25	32/21	33/23
11	C.	C.	C.		C.	C.	C.	C.	C.
12	C.	C.	C.		C.	C.	C.	C.	C.
13	C.	C.	C.		C.	C.	C.	C.	C.
14	34/20	49/18	82/52		39/27	66/44	90/67	73/51	81/53
15	43/37	30/11	C.		C.	C.	C.	C.	C.
16	35/21	37/25	30/21		42/32	53/42	30/19	26/23	C.
17	C.	C.	C.		C.	C.	C.	C.	C.
18	101/67	C.	C.		C.	C.	C.	C.	C.
19	43/30	48/41	55/45		71/47	38/26	29/20	30/21	21/14
20	69/29	C.	C.		C.	C.	C.	C.	C.
21		52/20	31/17		C.	C.	C.	C.	C.
22			62/30		65/36	67/44	C.	C.	C.
23					C.	C.	C.	C.	C.

2c) (cont'd)

Year	92/93	93/94	94/95	95/96	96/97	97/98	98/99	99/1900	1900/01	01/02
School										
1	339/209	316/221	395/277	372/273	434/320	365/262	463/187	727/450	817/508	939/613
2	178/103	250/104	178/97	151/81	183/90	150/92	264/126	339/124	149/71	188/78
3	37/15	35/18	30/16	27/10	27/10	31/10	34/11	39/13	25/6	C.
4	C.	44/14	C.	28/14	62/25	41/24	69/24	28/11	44/28	62/28
5	239/111	184/61	254/113	208/107	235/104	168/99	270/126	212/107	275/149	347/158
6										
7										
8	C.	C.	67/31	49/31	69/34	53/33	54/29	63/42	51/34	108/64
9	91/44	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.
10	54/26	44/19	37/20	16/10	28/13	13/12	24/9	58/44	49/39	39/28
11	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.
12	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.
13	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.
14	71/57	36/28	20/16	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.
15	45/24	19/7	24/11	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.
16	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.
17	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.
18	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.
19	C.	26/11	21/15	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.
20	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.
21	12/3	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.
22	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.
23	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.
24										49/22
25										57/47



<u>Year</u>	<u>2c) (cont'd)</u>										
	<u>02/03</u>	<u>03/04</u>	<u>04/05</u>	<u>05/06</u>	<u>06/07</u>	<u>07/08</u>	<u>08/09</u>	<u>09/10</u>	<u>10/11</u>	<u>11/12</u>	<u>12/13</u>
<u>School</u>											
1	1065/634	1178/745	1278/863	1493/960	1475/828	1617/912	1623/958	1518/888	1635/892		
2	284/245	151/73	214/108	224/116	220/113	173/93	180/77	263/105	253/131		
3	C.	C.	C.	C.	35/32	27/25	27/20	32/23	29/20		
4	86/38	85/24	43/23	69/19	92/37	57/52	81/74	133/73	130/83		
5	355/190	390/185	405/203	222/93	159/57	141/62	C.	C.	C.		
6								91/28	26/14		
7								73/25	25/11		
8	71/41	85/59	76/48	88/57	79/48	98/55	73/49	103/53	100/59		
9	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.		
10	146/93	126/54	42/28	69/45	99/53	226/101	231/149	224/112	196/88		
11	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.		
12	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.		
13	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.		
14	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.		
15	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.		
16	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.		
17	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.		
18	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	53/26	59/30	58/21	53/17		
19	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.		
20	62/25	C.	C.	C.	40/18	16/10	30/15	22/12	C.		
21	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.		
22	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.		
23	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	35/19	21/9		
24	106/48	74/34	80/38	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.	C.		
25	42/33	43/37	56/50	56/48	59/42	43/32	47/28	49/27	65/36		
26						51/31	49/31	31/18	C.		

2c) (cont'd)

<u>Year</u>	<u>11/12</u>	<u>12/13</u>	<u>13/14</u>
<u>School</u>			
1	1763/932	1657/906	1730/969
2	171/85	181/95	180/103
3	20/15	16/13	16/12
4	122/87	105/82	74/30
5	C.	C.	C.
6	41/15	33/13	37/15
7	27/11	19/12	97/61
8	104/59	125/68	122/65
9	C.	C.	C.
10	258/147	258/151	216/106
11	C.	C.	C.
12	C.	C.	C.
13	C.	C.	C.
14	C.	C.	C.
15	C.	C.	C.
16	C.	C.	C.
17	C.	C.	C.
18	21/10	48/10	31/13
19	C.	C.	C.
20	19/10	C.	C.
21	C.	C.	C.
22	C.	C.	C.
23	16/11	25/13	19/13
24	C.	C.	C.
25	71/52	89/69	79/62
26	C.	49/35	33/20

2d) Montreal Art School Curriculum, Enrolment/Attendance (1873/74 - 1914)

<u>Year</u>	<u>73/74</u>	<u>74/75</u>	<u>75/76</u>	<u>76/77</u>	<u>77/78</u>	<u>78/79</u>	<u>79/80</u>	<u>80/81</u>	<u>81/82</u>
<u>Total</u>	138	293/133	N.L.	N.L.	354/100	N.L.	244/140	207/125	196/104
<u>Subject</u>									
Orn. & Freehand	N.L.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Freehand	-	134/66	N.L.	N.L.	221/61		sr. 35/25 jr. 63/24	sr. 34/20 jr. 64/39 obj. 15/8	50/31 obj. 36/17
Linear	N.L.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Arch.	N.L.	29/13	N.L.	N.L.	52/14		8. 20/13 m. 15/12	27/19	41/18
Mech.	N.L.	48/14	N.L.	N.L.	33/14		44/28	43/23	44/23
Geo.	N.L.	14/7	N.L.	N.L.	-		-	-	-
Mod.	N.L.	20/12	N.L.	N.L.	36/6		7/4	9/5	10/6
W.C.	-	8/6	-	-	-		-	-	-
Chem.	-	40/15	-	-	-		-	-	-
Orn. & Fig.	-	-	-	-	12/5		-	-	-
Ladies	-	-	-	-	-		60/34	15/11	15/9

Year	2d) (cont'd)									
	<u>82/83</u>	<u>83/84</u>	<u>84/85</u>	<u>85/86</u>	<u>86/87</u>	<u>87/88</u>	<u>88/89</u>	<u>89/90</u>	<u>90/91</u>	<u>91/92</u>
<u>Total</u>	271/104	515/149	434/197	242/101	N.L.	570/366	395/234	393/244	313/194	261/154
<u>Subject</u>										
Freehand	95/32	Elem.175/5	Elem. 162/64	Elem. 92/38	Elem.158/98	jr.27/20	jr. 29/20 jr.	16/9 jr.	16/10	
Obj.	27/15	Adv. 25/13	Adv. 26/13	Adv. 18/12	Adv. 23/15	Adv. 45/26	Adv. 23/13	Adv. 24/13	Adv. 15/8	
Arch.	37/10	42/12	53/22	33/8	80/42	64/36	53/28	31/16	32/19	
Mech.	61/25	61/28	59/29	28/11	71/41	52/31	1. 50/32	1. 40/23	1. 46/28	
Mod.	30/9	16/7	28/13	24/10	-	-	2. 38/29	2. 33/22	2. 23/15	
Carv.	9/5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Lith.	12/8	16/10	15/9	16/7	24/14	16/8	17/11	19/10	18/10	
Wood Carv.	-	16/7	19/8	17/9	-	-	-	-	-	
Wood Engr.	-	14/5	10/8	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Chem.	-	150/62	53/24	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Anatomy	-	-	9/7	14/6	-	-	-	-	-	
Mod. & Wood Carv.					45/34	31/15	28/21	21/16	14/9	
Dec. Pt.					45/24	25/14	25/13	34/25	24/9	
Bldg.Cons.& Stair Bldg.					43/29	26/14	27/16	13/7	12/5	
Plumbing					32/30	32/22	49/29	39/23	32/21	
Scagliola					14/9	-	-	-	-	
Pattern Makers					35/30	1. 27/13	14/9	16/9	16/10	
						2. 11/5				

Year	2d) (cont'd)									
	<u>92/93</u>	<u>93/94</u>	<u>94/95</u>	<u>95/96</u>	<u>96/97</u>	<u>97/98</u>	<u>98/99</u>	<u>99/00</u>	<u>00/01</u>	
<u>Total</u>	339/209	316/221	395/277	372/273	434/320	365/262	463/287	727/450	817/508	
<u>Subject</u>										
Freehand	48/23	jr. 58/47	jr. 70/60	jr. 97/77	jr. 97/74	jr. 70/55	jr. 67/41	jr. 88/64	jr. 119/60	
Adv.	22/17	Adv. 30/21	Adv. 38/31	sr. 40/32	sr. 34/26	sr. 29/18	sr. 40/29	sr. 32/26	sr. 30/23	
Arch.		29/14	37/20	31/20	45/30	39/28	60/38	46/35	45/33	
Mech.	1.	50/34	1. 45/29	1. 33/23	1. 38/23	1. 36/23	1. 33/19	1. 66/39	1. 63/38	
	2.	37/26	2. 27/20	2. 37/25	2. 40/25	2. 35/24	2. 21/13	2. 31/17	2. 28/19	
Lith.		19/12	12/8	14/10	10/7	16/13	22/15	31/18	12/10	
Mod. & Wood Carv.		24/16	18/11	21/15	-	-	-	-	-	
Dec.Ptg.		18/14	24/18	-	6/0	-	41/32	17/6	17/7	
Bldg.Cons.& Stair Bldg.		14/8	21/10	30/17	16/14	25/19	23/16	18/13	23/10	
Plumbing		42/23	29/23	72/51	47/37	44/34	38/27	44/33	-	
Modelling		-	-	-	22/17	23/20	24/11	26/15	50/24	
Pattern Mkrs. (Boot & Shoe)		20/10	23/14	16/11	18/13	17/13	22/15	22/15	19/11	
Dress Cutting				12/8	61/52	35/28	72/20	127/84	196/97	
Steam Fitting								25/16	-	
Solfeggio								154/69	169/97	
Plumbing & Steam Fitting									46/36	

		2d) (cont'd)						
<u>Year</u>	<u>01/02</u>	<u>02/03</u>	<u>03/04</u>	<u>04/05</u>	<u>05/06</u>	<u>06/07</u>	<u>07/08</u>	
<u>Total</u>	939/618	1065/939	1178/745	1278/863	1493/960	1475/828	1617/912	
<u>Subject</u>								
Freehand	jr.150/87 sr. 41/26	jr.122/63 sr. 92/55	jr.105/56 sr. 84/46	jr.114/69 sr. 98/52	jr.115/77 sr.104/49	jr.124/69 sr.117/61	jr.126/69 sr.106/61	
Arch.	60/36	85/58	88/59	83/55	118/69	136/53	113/51	
Mech.	1. 64/36 2. 33/23	1. 78/37 2. 35/27 3. 35/20	1. 93/45 2. 35/25 3. 15/9	1. 75/43 2. 44/33 3. N.L.	1. 101/52 2. 49/34 3. 34/20	1. 122/63 2. 50/33 3. 33/21	1. 112/58 2. 46/36 3. 92/63	
Lith.	18/12	29/19	27/16	25/16	21/13	22/10	20/11	
Modelling	44/23	51/30	32/23	42/24	31/21	28/14	64/35	
Dec.Ptg.	17/6	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Bldg.Cons.& Stair Bldg.	23/12	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Plumbing & Steam Fitting	41/33	47/36	46/36	76/55	111/82	139/99	134/90	
Pattern Mkrs. (Boot & Shoe)	14/10	1. 17/9 2. 17/9	1. 15/8 2. 18/9	19/13	17/10	16/7	21/12	
Dress Cutting	Day153/125 Eve.101/84	205/142	290/207	349/241	413/304	-	-	
Solfeggio	177/99	178/97	240/159	264/209	252/169	220/147	180/118	
Making & Ptg. Signs		37/16	27/17	37/21	46/25	45/22	53/27	
Carpentry		37/16	63/30	52/33	81/35	-	-	
Dress Cutting & Millinery						343/190	465/240	
Carpentry & Stair Bldg.						88/39	85/41	

<u>Year</u>	2d) (cont'd)						
	08/09	09/10	10/11	11/12	12/13	13/14	
<u>Total</u>	1623/958	1518/888	1635/892	1763/932	1657/906	1730/969	
<u>Subject</u>							
Freehand	jr. 117/58 jr. 130/76 jr. 127/67 jr. 121/63 jr. 125/71 jr. 120/69	sr. 136/68 sr. 140/88 sr. 117/39 sr. 117/59 sr. 123/68 sr. 112/62					
Arch.	93/55	100/47	124/96	127/54	120/49	123/59	
	1. 63/40	1. 73/44	1. 82/44	1. 87/43	1. 51/27	1. 67/33	
	2. 69/48	2. 60/35	2. 62/39	2. 72/43	2. 74/41	2. 46/33	
	3. 51/36	3. 38/29	3. 42/32	3. 42/32	3. 30/22	3. 31/23	
	4. 26/17						
Lith.	22/16	25/12	25/13	28/14	29/14	26/14	
Modelling	51/23	36/17	45/25	51/23	36/21	60/32	
Plumbing & Steam Fitting	101/66	117/72	128/76	152/93	127/81	139/88	
Pattern Mkrs. (Boot & Shoe)	17/10	15/7	38/16	18/10	9/8	-	
Dress Cutting & Millinery	408/244	416/234	533/284	562/271	515/259	584/307	
Solfeggio	161/99	105/77	163/116	171/123	194/136	192/132	
Making & Ptg. Signs	53/29	56/24	61/27	61/30	68/30	76/35	
Carpentry & Stair Bldg.	71/34	73/32	82/35	95/33	102/40	89/36	
Electricity	Elem. 27/17	24/13	-	-	-	-	
	Adv. 17/11						
Mathematics	1. 59/32	34/22	-	-	-	-	
	2. 37/22						
Locomotive	44/22	-	-	-	-	-	
Car Drwg.		38/24	26/19	28/22	25/18	28/23	
Painting (Day)			22/16	31/19	29/21	37/23	



2e) Art Educational Backgrounds of  
Some of the Staff

Most of the information in this appendix is derived from two sources: DS (1893-94), Vol. 28, no. 2, pp. 482-91; and DS (1910-11), Vol. 45, no. 6, pp. 178-88. Of the total of 46 former Council students, who later taught in the Council art schools, 39 names are found in these two aforementioned sources. 7 additional names come from other sessional papers quoted in the text.

	<u>Council</u>	<u>Council/Paris</u>	<u>Paris</u>	<u>A.A.M.</u>
<u>Total</u>	46	6	11	3
<u>Name</u>				
C. Balboni	x			
Mr. Bilodeau	x			
J.H. Blanchard	x			
J. Boyd	x			
E. Brégent	x			
A. Carli	x			
H.B. Cooper	x			
Charles Doddridge	x			
John Dolphin	x			
C.S. Dorval	x			
Théodule Dorval	x			
Joseph Dussault	x			
J.H. Egan	x			
Charles E. Foster	x			
J.C. Franchère	x	x	x	
J.T. Gardham	x			
C. Gill	x	x	x	x
J.L. Graham	x			x
J.O. Gratton	x			
J. Harris	x			
L.P. Hébert			x	
Charles Huot			x	
J. Labelle	x			
A. Laliberté	x	x	x	
Arthur Laroche	x			
J. Eug. Laroche	x			
J.B. Lavigne	x			
Ed. Lemoine	x			
P. Lévesque	x			
Mr. L'Hérault	x			
James Long	x			
J.M. Mackie	x			

## 2e) (cont'd)

	<u>Council</u>	<u>Council/Paris</u>	<u>Paris</u>	<u>A.A.M.</u>
<u>Total</u>	46	6	11	3
<u>Name</u>				
D.P. MacMillan	x	x	x	x
A. Marcoux	x			
J.H. Matte	x			
James McIsaac	x			
G.A. Monette	x			
Jobson Paradis			x	
J.S. Picher	x			
J.C. Pinhey			x	
Charles Price	x			
Joseph Richer	x			
Joseph St. Charles	x	x	x	
Louis St. Hilaire			x	
Joseph Scherrer	x	x	x	
Elzear Soucy	x			
A. Vincent	x			
Alp. Venne	x			
J. Weston	x			
George Wilson	x			
Robert Wyatt	x			

DS (1893-94), Vol. 28, no. 2, pp. 482-91.

<u>Page</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Class</u>	<u>School</u>
482	H.B. Cooper	Mechanical	Montreal
"	J.M. Mackie	"	"
"	J.O. Gratton	Architectural	"
483	J. Franchère	Decorative Ptg.	"
"	J.St. Charles	" "	"
484	J. Weston	Lithography	"
"	J. Harris	"	"
485	E. Soucy	Modelling & Wood Carving	"
486	Joseph Scherrer	" "	"
"	J.L. Graham	" "	"
"	C. Gill	" "	"
486	J.S. Picher	Freehand	"
	C.S. Dorval	"	"
487	Art Marcoux	Decorative Ptg.	Quebec
488	Théodule Dorval	Mech'al & Geom'al	"
"	Arthur Larochelle	" "	"
"	Eug. Larochelle	" "	"
489	John Dolphin	N.L.	Sherbrooke
"	Robert Wyatt	N.L.	"
489	J. Boyd	N.L.	Huntingdon
490	J.H. Blanchard	N.L.	St. Hyacinthe
"	Joseph Richer	N.L.	"
491	J.H. Matte	N.L.	St. Jérôme
491	Charles Doddridge	N.L.	New Liverpool

DS (1910-11), Vol. 45, no. 6, pp. 178-88.

<u>Page</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Class</u>	<u>School</u>
178	J.H. Egan	Freehand	Montreal
"	J.L. Graham	"	"
179	A. Laliberté	"	"
"	J. Labelle	"	"
"	E. Soucy	"	"
"	Alph. Venne	"	"
182	E. Brégent	Modelling	"
"	C. Balboni	"	"
"	A. Carli	"	"
"	A. Laliberté	"	"
"	E. Soucy	"	"
185	James McIsaac	Freehand	Quebec
"	Edmond Lemoine	"	"
"	P. Lévesque	Architectural	"
"	Joseph Dussault	Mechanical	"
188	Robert Wyatt	"	Sherbrooke
"	George Wilson	"	"
189	Charles E. Foster	N.L.	Valleyfield
"	James Long	N.L.	"
"	Charles Price	N.L.	"

2f) A.A.M. Curriculum and Attendance (1880-1914)

<u>Source</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Classes</u>		
			<u>Comp. &amp; Land.</u>	<u>Fig. Ptg. &amp; Drwg.</u>	<u>Mod. &amp; Sculp.</u>
A.R., p. 8	1880/81	42	17 (Edson) 2 Sessions morn. & aft.	14 (Raphael) 1 Session aft.	11 (Van Luppen) 1 Session morn.
	1881/82	Closed			
	1882/83	Closed			
Council Meetings 4 June 1884	1883/84	25/34			
	1884/85	N.L.			
	1885/86	N.L.			
<u>Montreal Gazette</u> 18 May 1887	1886/87	30			
See also <u>M.M.F.A.</u> Archives, Scrapbook 03-048-06					
A.R., pp. 5-6	1887/88	N.L.			
See also <u>M.M.F.A.</u> <u>Scrapbook</u> , 03-054-01(02)					
<u>The Toronto Week</u> 29 Mar., 1889.	1888/89	33			
<u>Montreal Herald</u> 20 Dec., 1889	1889/90	N.L.			
<u>Montreal Gazette</u> 20 Dec., 1889					
A.R., pp. 5-6	1890/91	N.L.			

2f) (cont'd)

<u>Source</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>		<u>Anatomy</u>	<u>Elem. Drwg.</u>	<u>W/C</u>
		<u>Term 1</u>	<u>2</u>			
A.R., p. 5	1891/92	36	32			15
A.R., p. 9	1892/93	36	26			12
A.R., p. 4	1893/94	32	25			15
A.R., p. 7	1894/95	28	26			
A.R., p. 5	1895/96	31	31			
A.R., p. 5	1896/97	37	35			
A.R., p. 4	1897/98	42				
A.R., p. 4	1898/99	51		28	5	
A.R., pp. 3-4	1899/1900	44		Adv. Drwg. 15	11	Oils out
A.R., p. 5	1900/01	74		<u>20</u>	8	<u>of doors</u>
A.R., p. 4	1901-02	71	27	14	15	15

2f) (cont'd)

<u>Source</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>		<u>Adv. Drwg.</u>	<u>Ptg.</u>	<u>Elem. Drwg.</u>	<u>Oils out of doors</u>
		<u>Term 1</u>	<u>2</u>				
A.R. unpag.	1902/03	N.L.		N.L.	14	15	11
A.R. unpag.	1903/04	59		N.L.	16	30	13
A.R. p. 7	1904/05	N.L.		N.L.	15	32	10
A.R. p. 7	1905/06	N.L.		34	N.L.	N.L.	N.L.
A.R. unpag.	1907/08	N.L.		24	10	31	12
A.R. unpag.	1909	N.L.		28	9	31	-
A.R. unpag.	1910/11	N.L.		Jan-May/ Oct-Dec. 19/24	19/16	28/30	16
A.R. p. 7	1911/12	25/33		<u>Adv. Art</u>	<u>Elem. Drwg.</u>		<u>Sketching</u> <u>(May-June)</u>
	1913	42/41		16/13	28/37		22
	1914	47/33		17/17	28/26		14
				37/18	25/26		16

Illus.  
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Mod.  
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APPENDIX 3: Ontario Art Schools (1876/77 - 1914)

- 3a) Development of Art Schools (1876/77- 1904/05)
- 3b) Development of Curriculum (1882/83- 1904)
- 3c) Staff Lists and Individual Courses Offered (1881 - 1913/14)
- 3d) Attendance (1878/79- 1909/10)
- 3e) Staff

The information found in Appendix 3 is from the annual reports of the Minister of Education (Ontario), unless stated otherwise.

3a) Development of Art Schools (1876/77- 1904/05)

Year	Schools								
	Total	Tor.	Ham.	Ott.	Lon.	King.	Str.	St.T.	Broc.
1876-77	1	x							
1877-78	1	x							
1878-79	2	x			x				
1879-80	3	x		x	x				
1880-81	3	x		x	x				
1881-82	3	x		x	x				
1882-83	3	x		x	x				
1883-84	3	x		x	x				
1884-85	4	x		x	x	x			
1885-86	5	x	x	x	x	x			
1886-87	7	x*	x	x	x	x	x		x
1887-88	6	x**	x	x	x	x			x
1888-89	6	x***	x	x	x	x			x
1889-90	7	x***	x	x	x	x		x	x
1890-91	7	x*	x	x	x	x		x	x
1891-92	7	x	x	x	x	x		x	x
1892-93	7	x	x	x	x	x		x	x
1893-94	7	x	x	x	x	x		x	x
1894-95	7	x	x	x	x	x		x	x
1895-96	7	x	x	x	x	x		x	x
1896-97	7	x	x	x	x	x		x	x
1897-98	7	x	x	x	x	x		x	x
1898-99	6	x	x	x	x	x		x	
1899-1900	5	x	x		x	x		x	
1900-01	5	x	x		x	x		x	
1901-02	4	x	x			x		x	
1902-03	4	x	x			x		x	
1903-04	3	x	x					x	
1904-05	2	x	x						

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Abbreviations: Tor. - Toronto  
 Ham. - Hamilton  
 Ott. - Ottawa  
 Lon. - London  
 King.- Kingston  
 Str. - Stratford  
 St.T.- St. Thomas  
 Broc.- Brockville

\* Two branches at Toronto: Central and West-End.

\*\*Three branches at Toronto: Central, West-End and Parkdale.

3b) Development of Curriculum (1882/83-1904)

Primary teachers' certificates first awarded - 1884

Advanced teachers' certificates first awarded - 1885

Ornamental design proficiency certificates awarded - 1887-1894

Industrial design proficiency certificates awarded - 1896 -

Primary art Course (1882-1904)

Freehand Drawing 1882-1904  
 Geometry 1882-1904  
 Perspective 1882-1904  
 Model Drawing 1882-1904  
 Teachers' certificate 1884-1904

Advanced Art Course (1883-1904)

Shading from flat 1883-1904  
 Outline from round 1883-1904  
 Shading from round 1883-1904  
 Drawing from flowers 1883-1904  
 Ornamental design 1887-1895  
 Industrial design 1896-1904  
 Teachers' certificate 1885-1904

Mechanical Drawing Course (1883-1904)

Advanced Geometry 1883-1904  
 Machine Drawing 1883-1904  
 Building Construction 1883-1904  
 Industrial design 1883-1895  
 Architectural design 1896-1904  
 Advanced perspective 1883-1904  
 Teachers' certificate 1885-1896; 1901. Other years certificates not awarded.

Industrial Art Course (1885-1904)

Modelling in clay 1885-  
 Wood carving 1886-  
 Wood engraving 1888- (awarded occasionally)  
 Lithography 1888- (except 1891)  
 Painting on china 1888-1903

## 3b) (Cont'd)

Special or Extra Subjects

Drawing from the antique 1893-  
Shading from casts 1897-  
Architectural designs 1893-1897  
Drawing from life 1887-  
Painting from life 1888-  
Painting oil colours 1885-  
Painting water colours 1885-  
Sepia 1888-  
Monochrome 1888-  
Pastel 1896-  
Sculpture in marble 1888; 1898  
Photogravure 1896-1901  
Repoussé work 1887-1888  
Industrial design 1894-  
Pen and Ink 1896-  
Machine drawing 1894-  
Engraving on copper 1895  
Crayon portraits 1892  
Monotypes 1904  
Photography 1904

3c) Staff Lists and Individual Courses Offered

(1881-1913/14)

School: TORONTOYear1881-82 Winter and Spring term ending 30 Mar. 1881  
p. 258Staff  
Total

8

Marmaduke Matthews - Elementary and watercolour  
classes.

Mrs. Schreiber - Oil Painting

Robert Harris

Henry Perré

R. Baigent

Miss Westmacott

John A. Fraser

W. Revell

1881-82 Autumn term 1881  
p. 259Staff  
Total

6

DayMarmaduke Matthews - Elementary and watercolour  
classes

R. Baigent - Perspective

Henry Perré - Shading from the flat; Oil Colours

John A. Fraser - Antique

Evening

W. Revell - Elementary and Mechanical

R. Baigent - Perspective

H. Perré - Shading from the flat

John A. Fraser - Antique

A. Howard - Industrial Design

1882-83 10 Oct. 1882- 20 Jan. 1883 (1st Session)  
pp. 245,  
249 No staff listed.1883-84 29 Jan. - 25 Apr. 1883 (2nd Session)  
pp. 182-  
183, 185DayStaff  
Total

6

Marmaduke Matthews - 1. Freehand Drawing from Flat  
Examples. 2. Freehand Drawing from Models.

3. Practical Geometry. 4. Linear Perspective.

5. Advanced Perspective.

William Cruikshank - 1. Shading and Drawing from  
Flat Examples, including Flowers and Objects of

Natural History. 2. Outline Drawing from the

Round. 3. Shading in Chalk from the Round.

Evening

W. Revell - 1. Practical Geometry. 2. Linear

Perspective. 3. Advanced Geometry. 4. Plain and

1883-84 Solid Geometry. 5. Plan Drawing and Building Construction. 6. Ornamental Design.  
 pp. 182- Miss Windeat, assistant - 1. Freehand Drawing from Flat Examples. 2. Freehand Drawing from Models.  
 183 R. Baigent - Normal School Students' Class - 1. Freehand Drawing from Flat Examples. 2. Freehand Drawing from Models. 3. Practical Geometry. 4. Linear Perspective.  
 John A. Fraser - Shading and Drawing from Flat Examples, including Flowers and Objects of Natural History. 2. Outline Drawing from the Round.  
 3. Shading in Chalk from the Round.

1883-84 15 Oct. 1883 (3rd Session)

pp. 184-  
 185

Day

Marmaduke Matthews and Miss Windeat (assistant) - Freehand from Flat and Model Drawing, Practical Geometry, Linear Perspective, Advanced Perspective.  
 William Cruikshank - Shading and Drawing from Flat and Round, Flower Drawing and Objects of Natural History.

Staff

Total

6

Evening

W. Revell, with Miss Windeat and Mr. Reading as assistants - Freehand from Flat, Model Drawing, Ornamental Design.  
 William Cruikshank - same subjects as Day classes  
 Mr. Dunbar - Modelling in Clay.

Painting Classes

Marmaduke Matthews - Oil and Watercolours.

1884 30 Jan. - 25 Apr. 1884 (4th Session)

pp. 236-  
 237

Staff

Same as previous entry.

Total

6

1884 13 Oct. 1884 (5th Session)

pp. 241-  
 243

Staff listed, however no specific references to what they taught.

Staff

Elementary and Advanced Drawing

Total

William Cruikshank

5

Arthur Reading

Miss Windeat

Miss Bell Smith

Painting in Oil and Watercolours

A. Dickson Patterson

1884-85 12 Jan. - 1 May 1885 (6th Session)

pp. 190-

191

Elementary and Advanced Drawing

William Cruikshank

Staff

Arthur Reading

Total

Miss Windeat

5

Robert Holmes

Painting in Oil and Watercolours

A. Dickson Patterson

1884-85 12 Oct., 1885 (7th Session)

p. 205

William Cruikshank

Staff

Arthur Reading

Total

Miss Windeat

5

Miss Payne

Painting in Oil and Watercolours

Miss Peel

1885-86 11 Jan., 1886 (8th Session)

p. 134

William Cruikshank

Staff

Arthur Reading

Total

Miss Windeat

5

Miss Payne

Painting in Oil and Watercolours and Modelling in Clay

Miss Peel

1886-87 27 Oct., 1886 - 30 Apr., 1887

p. 231

Staff not listed.

1887-88 Year ending 30 Apr., 1888

p. 194

Only two members of the staff cited in the report:

Miss F. Kinton and John Galt

1888-89 Year ending 30 Apr. 1889

p. 282

Staff not listed.

1889-90 No statistics are listed for the staff and students,

p.?

although the number of pupils receiving certificates were recorded.

1890-91 12 Jan., 1891

p. 261

J.W.L. Forster - antique and life

Staff

George A. Reid - painting

Total

Hamilton McCarthy - modelling

6

Marmaduke Matthews and W. Revell - elementary

Robert Holmes - elementary (appointed in March 1891)

1891-92 5 Oct., 1891 - 30 Apr., 1892

p. 260

Staff not listed.



1892-93 p. 283	5 Oct., 1892 - 30 Apr. 1893 Staff not listed.
1893-94 p. 133	Year ending 30 Apr. 1894 Staff not listed.
1894-95 p. 268	Year ending 30 Apr. 1895 Staff not listed.
1895-96 p. 339	30 Sept. 1895 - 30 Apr., 1896. Staff not listed.
1896-97 p. 158.	28 Sept. 1896 - 30 Apr., 1897 Staff not listed.
1897-98 p. 155	Year ending 30 Apr., 1898 Staff not listed.
1898-99 p. 180	Three terms: Sept., 1898 - 3 Dec., 1898; 5 Dec., 1898 - 18 Feb., 1899; 20 Feb., 1899 - 27 Apr., 1899. Staff not listed.
1899- 1900 p. 169	Year ending 30 Apr., 1900 Staff not listed.
1900-01 p. 147	Year ending 30 Apr., 1901 Staff not listed.
1901-02 p. 132	Staff not listed.
1902-03 p. 129	Staff not listed.
1903-04 p. 225	Year ending 30 Apr., 1904. Staff not listed in <u>Ed. Report</u> , however, see <u>O.C.A. Archives</u> Central Ontario School of Art and Design, <u>Toronto Prospectus</u> 1904, p. 6.
<u>Staff</u> <u>Total</u> 6	George A. Reid - Drawing and Painting from Life. William Cruikshank - Drawing from the Antique and from Life.
<u>Arch.</u> <u>Sect.</u> 4	C.M. Manly - Drawing for reproductive processes. Robert Holmes - Primary, Mechanical Drawing and Industrial Design. F.S. Challener - Drawing and Painting from Life and Still Life. A.C. Goode - Primary Drawing. Architectural section was taught by Eden Smith, William Rae, J.C.B. Horwood, and C.H. Acton Bond.
1904-05	to 1907-08 there are no statistics available on the Central Ontario School of Art and Design.

1908-09	George A. Reid - Drawing and Painting from Life and Still life.
<u>Staff</u>	William Cruikshank - Drawing from the Antique and from Life.
<u>Total</u>	
4	C.M. Manly - Drawing for reproductive processes. Robert Holmes - Primary and Mechanical Drawing and Industrial Design. See <u>O.C.A. Archives</u> , Central Ontario School of Art and Design, Prospectus 1908-09, unpagged [2-3].
1909-10 to 1912-13	there are no statistics available on the Central Ontario School of Art and Design.
1913-14	George A. Reid - Primary Classes and Day Costume Class.
<u>Staff</u>	C.M. Manly - Evening Costume Class, Primary Classes.
<u>Total</u>	Emanuel Hahn - Modelling Classes, Primary Classes.
6	Robert Holmes - Design and Applied Art Classes, Primary Classes. William Cruikshank - Antique Classes. J.W. Beatty - Drawing and Painting from Life. See <u>O.C.A. Archives</u> , Ontario College of Art Prospectus 1913-14, unpagged [2].

School: LONDON

1881	Three terms: 11 Jan., - 17 Mar., 1881; 5 Apr. - pp. 261- 14 June, 1881; 11 Oct. - 16 Dec., 1881.
262	John H. Griffiths
<u>Staff</u>	Charles Chapman
<u>Total</u>	John R. Peel
4	S.K. Davidson
1882	
p. 261	4 teachers, unidentified.
1883	
p. 188	4 teachers, unidentified.
1884	Three terms: Jan.; Apr.; and Oct.
pp. 250- 251	4 teachers, unidentified.
1885	Three terms: Jan.; May-June; Oct.-Dec.
pp. 207- 208	4 teachers, unidentified.
1886	
pp. 142- 143	Teachers unidentified.
1887	Jan. - Apr., 1887
p. 227	3 teachers, unidentified.

- 1887-88 Oct. - Dec., 1887; Jan. - Apr. 1888; extended  
pp. 190- term 30 Mar. - 30 Apr., 1888.  
191 3 teachers paid; death of Charles Chapman noted.
- 1888-89 Oct. 1888 - Jan. 1889; Jan. - Mar. 1889  
pp. 275- John R. Peel  
276 John H. Griffiths
- 1889-90 Year ending 30 Apr. 1890  
pp. 318- John R. Peel  
319 John H. Griffiths
- 1890-91 Year ending 30 Apr., 1891  
pp. 258- John R. Peel  
259 John H. Griffiths
- 1891-92 Year ending 30 Apr., 1892  
pp. 256- John R. Peel  
257 John H. Griffiths
- 1892-93 Year ending 30 Apr., 1893  
pp. 279- John H. Griffiths  
280
- 1893-94 Year ending 30 Apr., 1894  
pp. 131- John H. Griffiths  
132
- 1894-95 Year ending 30 Apr., 1895  
p. 267 1 teacher paid, unidentified.
- 1895-96 Year ending 30 Apr., 1896  
pp. 338- Staff not listed.  
339
- 1896-97 Year ending 30 Apr., 1897  
pp. 157- Staff not listed.  
158
- 1897-98 Year ending 30 Apr., 1898  
p. 154 Staff not listed, however, the death of John H.  
Griffiths was reported.
- 1898-99 Year ending 30 Apr., 1899  
pp. 179- Staff not listed, however, with the death of  
180 John H. Griffiths, a new unnamed principal was  
appointed.
- 1899-1900 Year ending 30 Apr., 1900  
p. 169 Staff not listed.
- 1900-01 Year ending 30 Apr., 1901  
p. 146 Art school temporarily closed, although a few  
certificates were granted to students in London  
attending "Mr. Peel's art school." See pp. 139-  
140.

School: HAMILTON

1885-86 Feb. 1886 - May 1886  
 pp. 146- "Art Association" was established on 10 October  
 147 1885.

Staff Miss Ida N. Banting  
Total Miss Anslie Borrow  
 3 Mr. W.S. Hicks - Extra classes.

1886-87 Oct. 1886 - 1 May, 1887  
 pp. 224- S. John Ireland  
 225 Miss Ida N. Banting

Staff  
Total  
 2

1887-88 5 Sept., 1887 - 26 June, 1888  
 p. 188 S. John Ireland

Staff Arthur Heming  
Total  
 2

1888-89 12 Sept., 1888 - 29 June, 1889  
 p. 272

Staff S. John Ireland  
Total Arthur Heming  
 2

1889-90 10 Sept., 1889 - 30 Apr., 1890  
 p. 316 S. John Ireland

Arthur Heming  
 Miss Annie Dickson - elementary class, Saturday

1890-91 Sept., 1890 - 30 June, 1891  
 p. 256 S. John Ireland - Principal

A.W. Peene - assisted in elementary, architectural  
 and mechanical drawing, and the Saturday class.  
Staff Miss A. Dickson and Miss Luxton - assisted the  
Total Saturday class.  
 6 R.A. Lyall - plane geometry and applied mechanics  
 R.A. Thomson - Algebra and Trigonometry

1891-92 Sept. 1891 - 30 June, 1892  
 pp. 253- S. John Ireland

254 Robert A. Lyall  
Staff Richard Allan  
Total Miss Eola Luxton  
 6 Miss A. Dickson  
 Mrs. Ireland

1892-93 Sept. 1892 - 30 June, 1893  
 pp. 277- S. John Ireland

278 Robert A. Lyall  
Staff Miss Eola N. Luxton  
Total Miss Emeline Armitage  
 5 Miss Lena Bowman

1893-94	14 Sept., 1893 - 30 Apr., 1894
pp. 131-	
132	S. John Ireland and 6 assistants
<u>Total</u>	
<u>Staff</u>	
7	
1894-95	14 Sept., 1894 - 30 Apr., 1895
p. 266	S. John Ireland and 6 assistants
<u>Staff</u>	Mrs. Leith-Wright - Art Needlework
<u>Total</u>	
7	
1895-96	Year ending 30 Apr., 1896
p. 338	Staff not listed.
1896-97	Year ending 30 Apr., 1897
p. 157	Staff not listed.
1897-98	Year ending 30 Apr., 1898
p. 154	Staff not listed.
1898-99	Year ending 30 Apr., 1899
p. 179	S. John Ireland and 6 assistants.
1899-1900	Year ending 30 Apr., 1900
p. 168	Staff not listed.
1900-01	Year ending 30 Apr., 1901
p. 146	Staff not listed.
1901-02	Year ending 31 Dec., 1901
pp. 131-	Staff not listed.
132	
1902-03	Year ending 30 Apr., 1903
pp. 128-	Staff not listed.
129	
1903-04	Year ending 30 Apr., 1904
pp. 225-	Staff not listed.
226	
1904-1914	Hamilton art school remained open, however, statistics are unavailable for staff members.

School: KINGSTON

- 1884-85 Dec. 1884 - May 1885  
pp. 210- 2 teachers paid, however, unidentified.  
211
- 1885-86 Oct. 1885 - May 1886  
pp. 145- H.W. Poor - Principal  
146 Miss C. Emmins - assistant
- 1886-87 Oct. 1886 - Apr. 1887  
p. 226 H.W. Poor - Principal  
Miss F. Kinton - assistant
- 1887-88 17 Oct., 1887 - 8 June, 1888  
p. 190 Charles E. Wrenshall - Principal  
Miss Jennie C. Shaw - assistant
- 1888-89 1 Oct., 1888 - 1 June, 1889  
p. 274 Charles E. Wrenshall - Principal
- 1889-90 Oct. 1889 - 30 Apr., 1890  
pp. 317- Staff not listed.  
318
- 1890-91 17 Sept., 1890 - 30 Apr., 1891  
pp. 257- Staff not listed.  
258
- 1891-92 15 Sept., 1891 - June 1892  
p. 255 Staff not listed.
- 1892-93 10 Oct., 1892 - 30 Apr., 1893  
pp. 278- Staff not listed.  
279
- 1893-94 Year ending 30 Apr., 1894  
p. 132 Staff not listed.
- 1894-95 1 Oct., 1894 - 30 Apr., 1895  
p. 266 Staff not listed.
- 1895-96 30 Sept., 1895 - 30 Apr., 1896  
p. 338 Mr. Wainwright - woodcarving and modelling in clay  
Mr. Cunningham - woodengraving  
Miss Wrenshall - china painting  
The Principal - lithography
- 1896-97 Oct. 1896 - 30 Apr., 1897  
p. 157 Staff not listed.
- 1897-98 Year ending 30 Apr., 1898  
p. 154 Staff not listed.
- 1898-99 Year ending 30 Apr., 1899  
p. 179 Staff not listed.

1899-1900 Year ending 30 Apr., 1900  
p. 168 Staff not listed.

1900-01 Year ending 30 Apr., 1901  
p. 146 Staff not listed.

1901-02 Year ending 31 Dec., 1901  
p. 132 Staff not listed.

1902-03 Year ending 30 Apr., 1903  
p. 129 Staff not listed.

1903-04 Kingston art school closed.

School: BROCKVILLE

1886-87 1 Oct., 1886 - 1 May, 1887  
p. 223 established 1 Oct., 1886, incorporated 26 Jan., 1887  
1 teacher paid, unidentified.

1887-88 Year ending 30 Apr., 1888  
p. 187 1 teacher paid, unidentified.

1888-89 Year ending 30 Apr., 1889  
p. 271 1 teacher paid, unidentified.

1889-90 Year ending 30 Apr., 1890  
pp. 314- 1 teacher paid, unidentified.  
315

1890-91 14 Oct., 1890 - 30 Apr., 1891  
p. 255 Robert Lindsay - evening classes  
Miss K. Brule - day painting classes

1891-92 31 Oct., 1891 - 30 Apr., 1892  
pp. 251- Robert Lindsay - evening classes  
252 Miss Celia Kearns - day painting classes

1892-93 11 Oct., 1892 - 30 Apr., 1893  
pp. 275- Robert Lindsay - evening classes  
276 Miss Celia Kearns - day painting classes

1893-94 Year ending 30 Apr., 1894  
p. 131 Staff not listed.

1894-95 Year ending 30 Apr., 1895  
p. 265 Staff not listed.

1895-96 Year ending 30 Apr., 1896  
p. 337 Staff not listed.

1896-97 Year ending 30 Apr., 1897  
p. 157 Staff not listed.



1897-98 Year ending 30 Apr., 1898  
pp. 153- Staff not listed.  
154

1898-99 Brockville art school closed.

School: ST. THOMAS

1889-90 Statistics not listed.

1890-91 Two terms: 15 Sept., 1890 - 30 Dec., 1890; 5 Jan.,  
p. 260 1891 - 30 Apr., 1891  
Robert H. Whale  
Miss S. McKay

1891-92 15 Sept., 1891 - 6 Apr., 1892  
p. 259 Robert H. Whale  
Miss S. McKay  
A.J. Miller  
Mrs. R. Kenly - art needlework

1892-93 Two terms: 15 Sept. - 30 Dec., 1892; 3 Jan. -  
p. 282 30 Apr., 1893  
Robert H. Whale  
Miss S. McKay  
A.J. Miller  
Mrs. R. Kenly - art needlework

1893-94 Year ending 30 Apr., 1894  
p. 133 John R. Peel  
Mr. Johnson  
Miss S. McKay  
Alfred J. Miller

1894-95 1 Oct., 1894 - 30 Apr., 1895  
p. 267 Staff not listed.

1895-96 Year ending 30 Apr., 1896  
p. 339 Staff not listed.

1896-97 Year ending 30 Apr., 1897  
p. 158 Staff not listed.

1897-98 Year ending 30 Apr., 1898  
p. 155 Staff not listed.

1898-99 Year ending 30 Apr., 1899  
p. 180 Staff not listed.

1899-1900 Year ending 30 Apr., 1900  
p. 169 Staff not listed.

1900-01 Year ending 30 Apr., 1901  
pp. 146- Staff not listed.  
147

1901-02 Year ending 31 Dec., 1901  
p. 132 Staff not listed.

1902-03 Year ending 30 Apr., 1903  
p. 129 Staff not listed.

1903-04 Year ending 30 Apr., 1904  
p. 226 Staff not listed.

School: OTTAWA

The Ottawa art school was founded in 1879, however, information about the staff first appeared in the Annual Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario), 1883. Art Association was incorporated 1883.

1884 1 Oct., 1884 - 31 Dec., 1884  
pp. 251- 1 Headmaster, 2 assistants.  
252  
Staff  
Total  
3

1884-85 1 Oct., 1884 - 31 Mar., 1885  
pp. 208- Staff not listed.  
210

1885-86 15 Sept., 1885 - 4 April, 1886  
pp. 143- Charles E. Moss - Headmaster  
145 Mrs. Cowper-Cox  
Staff G.W. Stalker  
Total R.L. Paley  
9 J.T. Bowerman  
J.P. Lamb  
W.H. Burns - Clay Modelling  
Miss McDonald  
Miss Barrett - Art Needlework

1886-87 1 Nov., 1886 - 30 Apr., 1887  
p. 227 Charles E. Moss - Headmaster  
Staff G.W. Stalker  
Total J.T. Bowerman  
7 R.L. Paley  
J.B. Lamb  
W.H. Burns  
Miss Barrett - Art Needlework

1887-88 1 Nov., 1887 - 30 Apr., 1888  
p. 192 Franklin Brownell - Life, Oil Painting and Drawing  
Staff from the Antique and Draped Figures, Clay Model-  
Total ling.  
6 Fennings Taylor - Design and Freehand Drawing,  
Evening Class,  
Robin L. Paley - Watercolours, Design and Freehand  
Class Morning, Clay Modelling.  
J.B. Lamb - Mechanical and Architectural Drawing.  
J.T. Bowerman - Practical Geometry and Perspective.  
Miss Barrett - Art Needlework.

1888-89	1 Nov., 1888 - 30 Apr., 1889
p. 277	Franklin Brownell - Life, Oil and Watercolour
<u>Staff</u>	Painting, Drawing from the Antique and Draped
<u>Total</u>	Figures.
5	Fennings Taylor - Design, Freehand and Architec-
	tural Drawing - Evening Class.
	J.B. Lamb - Mechanical Drawing, Locomotive and
	Stationary Engine and Mill Work
	J.T. Bowerman - Practical Geometry and Perspective
	Miss Barrett - Art Needlework
1889-90	1 Nov., 1889 - 30 Apr., 1890
p. 320	Franklin Brownell - Life, Nude and Draped, Oil and
<u>Staff</u>	Watercolour Paintings, Drawings from the Antique.
<u>Total</u>	Fennings Taylor - Design, Freehand and Architec-
6	tural Drawing.
	J.B. Lamb - Mechanical Drawing, Locomotive and
	Stationary Engine and Mill Work.
	J.T. Bowerman - Practical Geometry and Perspective
	F.P.D. Bartolome - Woodcarving.
	Miss Barrett - Art Needlework.
1890-91	1 Nov., 1890 - 30 Apr., 1891
p. 259	2 teachers paid, 1 instructress in needlework
<u>Staff</u>	unpaid.
<u>Total</u>	
3	
1891-92	1 Nov., 1891 - 30 Apr., 1892
p. 257	Franklin Brownell - Principal
<u>Staff</u>	Fennings Taylor
<u>Total</u>	unidentified instructress, unpaid, Needlework
3	
1892-93	1 Nov., 1892 - 30 Apr., 1893
pp. 280-	Franklin Brownell - Life, Nude and Draped, Oil and
281	Watercolour Painting, and Drawing from the Antique.
<u>Staff</u>	Fennings Taylor - Design, Freehand, Architectural
<u>Total</u>	and Mechanical Drawing, Geometry and Perspective.
3	Miss Barrett - Art Needlework.
1893-94	1 Nov., 1893 - 30 Apr., 1894
pp. 132-	Franklin Brownell
133	2 assistant teachers, unidentified
<u>Staff</u>	Miss Barrett - Art Needlework
<u>Total</u>	
4	
1894-95	1 Nov., 1894 - 30 Apr., 1895
p. 267	Franklin Brownell
<u>Staff</u>	2 assistant teachers, unidentified.
<u>Total</u>	Art Needlework abandoned.
3	
1895-96	1 Nov., 1895 - 30 Apr., 1896
p. 339	Staff not listed.

1896-97 1 Nov., 1896 - 30 Apr., 1897  
 p. 158 5 teachers  
Staff  
Total  
 5

1897-98 1 Nov., 1897 - 30 Apr., 1898  
 p. 154 Staff not listed.

1898-99 Year ending 30 Apr., 1899  
 p. 180 Hired special instructor to teach Decorative  
 Design, certified by the New York School of  
 Applied Design for Women. Unidentified.

1899-1900 Ottawa students awarded certificates for Extra-  
 p. 164 subjects, however, no report printed for 1899-  
 1900.

1900-01 Ottawa not listed in Annual Report

1901-02 Ottawa art school closed.  
 p. 132

School: STRATFORD

1886-87 1 Oct., 1886 - 30 Apr., 1887  
 pp. 229- Wm. McBride  
 230 Robert Holmes  
Staff Miss J. Denovan  
Total Miss N. Freeman  
 4

1887-88 School closed.

School: PARKDALE (TORONTO)

1888-89 4 Dec., 1888 - 4 May, 1889  
 pp. 280- F.M. Bell-Smith - Principal  
 281 E.R. Babington - mechanical drawing  
Staff  
Total  
 2

1889-90 Year ending 30 Apr., 1890  
 pp. 321- Staff not listed.  
 322 \*Art school closed after 30 Apr., 1890.

School: WEST-END (TORONTO)

1886-87 1 Jan. - 1 May, 1887

pp. 232-

233 E.R. Babington

Staff R.L. SmithTotal

2

1887-88 Year ending 30 Apr., 1888

p. 195 E.R. Babington - Principal

1888-89 Year ending 30 Apr., 1889

pp. 282- E.R. Babington - Principal

283

1889-90 School is still in existence, as few certificates  
 pp. 306- were awarded, however, staff information was not  
 307 included.

1890-91 School is still in existence, as few certificates  
 pp. 242- were awarded, however, staff information was not  
 244 included.

1891-92 School closed.

3d) Attendance (1878/79 - 1909/10)School: KINGSTONYear

1884-85 (Dec. - May)  
p. 210 Total 69

1885-86 (Oct. - May)  
p. 145 Adv. Aft. 8  
Adv. Eve. 16  
Prim. Aft. 18  
Prim. Eve. 13  
Painting 24  
Sketching 23

1886-87 (Oct. - Apr.)  
p. 226 Adv. 17  
Prim. 54  
Painting 27

1887-88 (17 Oct. 1887 - 8 June 1888)  
p. 190 Total 115  
Prim. Eve. 80  
Adv. Eve. 16  
Drwg. Aft. 19  
Painting 26  
(5 wc, 21 oil)

1888-89  
p. 275 Aft. Drwg. 29  
Eve. Drwg. 62  
Painting 22

1889-90  
p. 317 Eve. 55  
Aft. 36  
Ptg. 21

1890-91 (17 Sept. -)  
p. 258 Eve. 40  
Aft. 33  
Ptg. 23

1891-92 (15 Sept.-)  
p. 255 Eve. 28  
Aft. 40  
Oil & W/C 28

1892-93 (10 Oct.-)  
p. 278 Eve. classes witness drop in attendance, unspecified.  
Aft. Drwg. 36  
Oil & W/C 17

1893-94  
p. 132      Eve. 26  
              Day 29

1894-95    (1 Oct. - 30 Apr.)  
p. 266      Eve. 26  
              Day 35

1895-96    (30 Sept. - 30 Apr.)  
p. 338      Yearly Total 49

1896-97  
p. 157      Eve. 20  
              Day 33

1897-98  
p. 154      Eve. 20  
              Day 31

1898-99  
p. 179      Eve. 20  
              Day 40

1899-1900  
pp. 168-    Prim. 23  
169        Adv. 14  
              Mech. 12  
              Ind. 12  
              Oil & W/C 12

1900-01  
p. 146      Prim. 37  
              Adv. 19  
              Mech. 20  
              Ind. 14  
              Oil & W/C 12

1901-02    Attendance not listed.  
p. 132

1902-03    Yearly Total 40  
p. 129



School: LONDON

1878-79 123\*

1879-80 154\*

1880-81 325\*

1881-82 [1881] 1st term

p. 262 (11 Jan. - 17 Mar.) Aft. 46  
Eve. 66

2nd term

(5 Apr. - 14 June) Aft. 31  
Eve. 52

3rd term

(11 Oct. - 16 Dec.) Aft. 42  
Eve. 100

\*China painting 18

1882-83 [1881]

p. 260 457

1883-84 [1883]

p. 188 Eve. 257

Aft. 154

Porcelain 48

Total 459

1884-85 [1884]

pp. 250- 1st term Eve. 70

251 Aft. 47

2nd term Eve. 80

Aft. 36

3rd term Eve. 90

Aft. 39

Yearly Porcelain total 36

Total 398

1885-86 [1885]

p. 207 1st term Eve. 67

Summer term

(May - June) 60

2nd term Eve. 67

Aft. 27

China painting 34

Yearly Total 255

1886-87

p. 142 Yearly total 152

Eve. 103

Extra-subjects 52

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\*Figures derived from Dominion Annual Register and Review  
1880/81, p. 325.

1886-87 (Jan. - Apr.)  
p. 227 Eve. 51

1887-88 Total 197  
p. 191 Oct. - Dec. 42  
Jan. - Apr. 48  
Extra-subjects 107

1888-89 Oct. - Jan. 25  
p. 275 Jan. - Mar. 31

1889-90  
p. 318 Yearly Total 101

1890-91  
p. 258 Yearly Total 95

1891-92  
p. 256 Eve. 114  
Prim. & Adv. 84  
Mech. 30  
Oil & W/C., China 79  
Yearly Total 179

1892-93  
p. 279 Eve. 87  
Oil & W/C 104  
Yearly Total 191

1893-94  
p. 132 Yearly Total 187

1894-95  
p. 267 Attendance not listed.

1895-96  
p. 338 Yearly Total 74

1896-97  
p. 158 Eve. 44

1897-98  
p. 154 Yearly Total 49

1898-99  
p. 180 Prim. 53  
Adv. 23  
Mech. 17

1899-1900  
p. 169 Prim. 55  
Adv. 57  
Mech. 15  
Ind. 22  
Oil & W/C 19

1900-01 Art School closed.

School: TORONTO

Year

1876 to 1880 no attendance figures were recorded.

1881

p. 258 (Winter and Spring)  
 Total 226 M/F  
 Morn. 60 13/47  
 Aft. 85 18/67  
 Eve. 81 63/18

p. 259 Autumn 1881  
 M/F  
 Day 83 13/70  
 Eve. 81 63/18

1882

pp. 247- Oct. 1882  
 248 Total 202 M/F  
 Morn. 28 5/23  
 Aft. 53 5/49  
 Eve. 121 97/24

1883

pp. 182- (29 June - 25 Apr.)  
 183 M/F  
 Morn. 31 2/30  
 Aft. 50 3/47  
 Eve. 110 64/46

p. 186 15 Oct.  
 Total M/F  
 Aft. 38 4/34  
 Eve. 111 66/45  
 Mod. 13 4/9

p. 188 Yearly Total: Eve. 257  
 Aft. 154  
 Porcelain 48  
 Total 459

1884

p. 238 (30 Jan. - Apr.)  
 M/F Total  
 Aft. 5/46 51  
 Eve. 66/46 112

p. 243 (13 Oct. -)  
 M/F Total  
 Aft.  
 Eve.  
 Total 154

1885 (7th Session)

p. 205 (12 Oct. -)  
 M/F  
 Aft. Drwg. 7/35  
 Aft. Mod. 0/12  
 Morn. Ptg. 0/26  
 Aft. & Morn. Total 80

M/F  
 Eve. Drwg. 80/34  
 Eve. Mod. 6/11  
 Eve. Total 131

1886 (8th Session)

pp. 134, (11 Jan. -)  
 136-137 M/F  
 Aft. Drwg. 6/46  
 Aft. Mod. 1/7  
 Ptg. 0/16  
 Total 76

M/F  
 Eve. Drwg. 45/28  
 Eve. Mod. 8/0  
 Total 81

1886-87	(7th Session ending Dec. 1886);	(session ending Apr. 1887)
p. 231	Prim. 48	Prim. 32
	Art 43	Art 27
	Mech. 22	Mech. 16
	Ptg. 13	Ptg. 18
	Mod. 10	Mod. 10
	Total 96 (Individual enrolments)	Total 83 (Individual enrolments)

1887-88  
p. 194 (Session ending 30 Apr. 1888)

	Day	Eve.
Prim.	99	156
Art	76	71
Mech.	13	90
Extra Total	59	
Individual enrolments	145	

1888-89  
p. 282 No attendance figures submitted.

1889-90  
p. ? No attendance figures submitted.

1890-91  
p. 261 (12 Jan. 1891 - Apr.)  
Total 57

1891-92  
p. 260 Total 105

1892-93  
p. 283 (5 Oct. - 5 Apr.)  
Total 125

1893-94  
p. 133 Total 113

1894-95  
p. 268 Total 105

1895-96  
p. 339 (30 Sept. - 30 Apr.)  
Total 148  
Eve. 89  
Day 59

1896-97 (28 Sept. - 30 Apr.)  
p. 158 Total 128

1897-98  
p. 155

		M/F
Day	63	15/48
Eve.	95	75/20

1898-99 (Sept. - 30 Apr.)  
 p. 180 M/F  
 Total 160 105/55  
 1st term (Sept. - 3 Dec., 1898) 87  
 2nd term (5 Dec., 1898-18 Feb., 1899) 112  
 3rd term (20 Feb., 1898 - 27 Apr., 1899) 110

1899-1900  
 p. 169 (- 30 Apr., 1900)  
 Prim. 42  
 Adv. 91  
 Mech. 8  
 Ind.  
 Oil & W/C 51

1900-01 (- 30 Apr., 1901)  
 p. 147 M/F  
 Total 197 112/85

1901-02  
 p. 132 Total 215

1902-03  
 p. 129 Total 194

1903-04  
 p. 226 Prim. 79  
 Adv. 161  
 Mech. 41  
 Extra 64 (Drawing and Painting from Life)

School: TORONTO - WEST END

1886-87 M/F  
 p. 233 Total 57 46/9

1887-88  
 p. 195 1st term 24  
 2nd term 20  
 3rd term 27

1888-89  
 p. 283 Total 123

1889-90  
 pp. 306- Attendance figures not listed.  
 307 Certificates awarded.

1890-91  
 pp. 243- Attendance figures not listed.  
 245 Certificates awarded.

School: TORONTO: PARKDALE

1886-87 \_\_\_\_\_

1887-88 \_\_\_\_\_

1888-89

pp. 280- (4 Dec. 1888 - 4 May, 1889)

281 M/F  
Total 84 51/33

1889-90

p. 321 M/F  
Total 52 35/17

1890-91 \_\_\_\_\_

School: STRATFORD

1886-87 (1 Oct. - 30 Apr.)

pp. 229- Detailed list of attendance of individual classes.  
230School: HAMILTON

1885-86 (Feb. - May)

p. 146. Aft. 38  
2 Eve. classes 44 each  
Sat. morning 49  
2 extra Eve. 34 each  
Total 243

1886-87

p. 224 Total 236

1887-88 (5 Sept. - 26 June)

p. 188 Total 130  
Detailed list of course attendance

1888-89

p. 272 Total 167

1889-90

p. 316 Total 126 M/F  
35/17

1890-91

p. 256 Total 181 M/F  
99/82

1891-92

p. 253 Total 190 M/F  
100/90

1892-93

p. 277 Total 198 M/F  
91/107

1893-94  
p. 132 (Sept. - 30 Apr.)  
Total 185

1894-95 (14 Sept. - 30 Apr.)  
p. 266 M/F  
Total 222 83/81  
Eve. 40  
Geo. & Pers. 38  
Sat. classes 92  
Tech 16

1895-96 M/F  
p. 338 Total 154 71/83

1896-97  
p. 157 Total 163

1897-98 M/F  
p. 153 Total 155 91/64

1898-99  
p. 179 Total 198

1899-1900  
p. 168 Prim. 119  
Adv. 92  
Mech. 48  
Ind. 43  
Extra 36

1900-01 M/F  
p. 146 Total 220 145/75

1901-02  
p. 131 Total 204  
Total enrolment since 1885-86 recorded 1,729  
Total overall attendance since 1885-86 7,024

1902-03  
pp. 128-129 Directors neglected to submit attendance figures.

1903-04  
p. 225 Total 202

1904-05 to 1908-09 Attendance figures were not recorded.

1909-10  
p. 272 Total Eve. between 150-170; Total Day 40



School: OTTAWAYear

1879-80 Attendance statistics not listed.  
 1880-81 Attendance statistics not listed.  
 1881-82 Attendance statistics not listed.  
 1882-83 Attendance statistics not listed.

1884  
 p. 144 Total 114

1885  
 p. 219 Total 133

1885-86 (15 Sept. - 4 Apr.)  
 p. 143 Total 149  
 Art Needlework 56

1886-87  
 p. 227 Total 125  
 Art Needlework 36

1887-88 (1 Nov. - 30 Apr.)  
 p. 192 Total 80  
 Needlework 46  
 \*Attendance affected by epidemic

1888-89  
 p. 277 Total 83  
 \*Detailed list of individual courses.

1889-90  
 p. 318 Total 101

1890-91  
 pp. 259-  
 260 Attendance statistics not listed.

1891-92  
 p. 258 Detailed list of individual class attendance.

1892-93 (1 Nov. - 30 Apr.)  
 p. 281 Total 112  
 Detailed list of individual courses.

1893-94  
 p. 133 Total 79

1894-95 (1 Nov. - 30 Apr.)  
 p. 267 Total 88

1895-96  
 p. 339 Total 68  
 Detailed list of individual courses.

1896-97  
p. 158 Total 68

1897-98  
p. 154 Attendance statistics not listed.

1898-99  
p. 180 Prim. 37  
Adv. 26  
Mech. 12  
Ind. 3  
Oil & W/C Ptg. 18

1899-1900 Art School closed.

School: BROCKVILLE

1886-87 (Oct. - May)  
p. 223 Colour 17  
Life 3  
\*See list of individual classes

1887-88  
p. 187 Prim. 35  
Adv. 17  
Ptg. 13

1888-89  
p. 271 Day Prim. 5  
Day Adv. 10  
Eve. Prim. 40  
Eve. Adv. 5

1889-90  
p. 315 Total 54

1890-91  
p. 255 Total 107

1891-92  
p. 252 Total 120

1892-93  
p. 275 Total 106

1893-94  
p. 131 Total 66

1894-95  
p. 265 Total 73 (Prim., Adv., Mech.)  
\*Small number attending Extra subjects.

1895-96  
 p. 337 Total 65 (Prim., Adv., Mech.)  
 \*Small number attending Extra subjects.

1896-97  
 p. 157 Total 62

1897-98  
 p. 153 Total 53

School: ST. THOMAS

1889-90 Attendance statistics not listed.

1890-91 (15 Sept. - 30 Dec. 1890)  
 p. 260 Total 65

1891-92  
 p. 259 Prim. 53  
 Adv. 27  
 Mech. 23  
 Oil Ptg. 12  
 W/C Ptg. 6  
 Sepia Drwg. 3  
 Modelling in Clay 3  
 China Ptg. 1  
 Art Needlework 40

1892-93 (15 Sept. - 30 Apr.)  
 p. 282 Total 78

1893-94  
 p. 133 Total 50  
 Mech. & Geom. Drwg. 36  
 Art Needlework 14

1894-95 (1 Oct. - 30 Apr.)  
 p. 267 Total 50  
 Prim. 34  
 Adv. 12  
 Mech. 8

1895-96  
 p. 339 Attendance statistics not listed.

1896-97  
 p. 158 Total 44

1897-98  
 p. 155 Total 52

1898-99

p. 180	Prim.	27
	Adv.	29
	Mech.	30
	Ind.	16

1899-1900

p. 169	Prim.	50
	Adv.	29
	Mech.	25
	Ind.	22

1900-01

p. 146	Total	79
	Prim.	62
	Adv.	20
	Mech.	22
	Ind.	15

1901-02

p. 132	Total	54
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1902-03

p. 129	Total	66
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1903-04

p. 226	Prim.	34
	Adv.	36
	Mech.	57
	Ind.	11

Appendix 3e) Staff

N.L. Not listed

( ) unidentified number of Staff

<u>School</u>	<u>Staff Tot.</u>	<u>M/F</u>	<u>Duration of art school</u>
Hamilton	15	7/8	1885/86 - 1914
Ottawa	12	9/3	1879 - 1901
Parkdale (Tor.)	2	2/0	1888/89 - 1890/91
West-End (Tor.)	2	2/0	1886/87 - 1891/92
Brockville	3	1/2	1886/87 - 1898/99
St. Thomas	6	4/2	1889/90 - 1904/05
Stratford	4	2/2	1886/87
London	4	4/0	1878 - 1900/01
Kingston	8	4/4	1884/85 - 1903/04
Toronto	32	25/7	1876/77 - 1914







Parkdale  
 1888/ 89/ 90/  
89 90 91  
 N.L. Closed  
Teacher

F.M. Bell-Smith x  
 E.R. Babington x

West-End  
 1886/ 87/ 88/ 89/ 90/ 91/  
87 88 89 90 91 92

Teacher  
 E.R. Babington x N.L. N.L. Closed  
 R.L. Smith x

Brockville  
 86/ 87/ 88/ 89/ 90/ 91/ 92/ 93- 98/  
87 88 89 90 91 92 93 97/98 99  
 N.L.(1) N.L.(1) N.L.(1) N.L.(1) N.L.(1) N.L. Closed

Teacher  
 Robert Lindsay x x  
 Miss K. Brule x  
 Miss Celia Kearns x



Toronto Teacher	Win/Spr	Aut.	Jan-Apr.	Oct.	Jan-Apr.	Oct.	Jan-May	Oct.	Jan.	Oct.	87/	89/	90/	91-	03/	04-	08/	09-	13/
	1880/81	1881	1883	1883	1884	1884	1885	1885	1886	86/87	88	90	91	03	04	08	09	13	14
Marmaduke Matthews	x	x	x	x	x					N.L.	(2)	N.L.	x	N.L.					N.L.
Mrs. Schreiber	x																		
Robert Harris	x																		
Henry Perré	x	x																	
R. Baigent	x	x	x																
Miss Westmacott	x																		
J.A. Fraser	x	x	x																
W. Revell	x	x	x	x	x														
A. Howard	x																		
Wm. Cruikshank			x	x	x	x	x	x	x										
Miss Windeat			x	x	x	x	x	x	x										
Mr. Dunbar			x	x	x	x	x	x	x										
Mr. Reading																			
Miss Bell-Smith					x	x													
A. Dickson Patterson					x	x													
Robert Holmes																			
Miss Payne																			
Miss Peel																			
Miss F. Kinton																			
John Galt																			
J.W.L. Forster																			
G.A. Reid																			
Hamilton McCarthy																			
C.M. Manly																			
F.S. Challener																			
A.C. Goode																			
Eden Smith																			
Wm. Rae																			
J.C.B. Horwood																			
C.H. Acton Bond																			
Emanuel Hahn																			
J.W. Beatty																			



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fig. 1



fig. 2



fig. 3



fig. 4



fig. 5



fig. 6



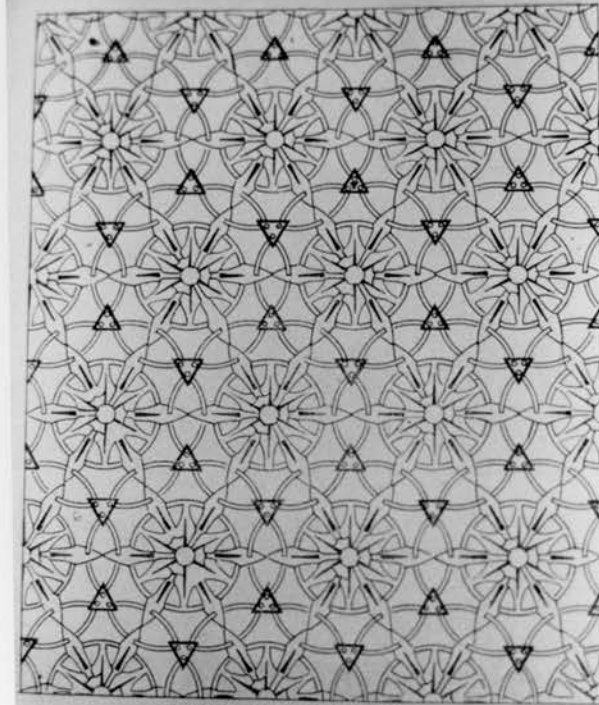
fig. 7



fig. 8



fig. 9



DESIGNS FOR OIL CLOTH. IDA N. BARKING.

fig. 10



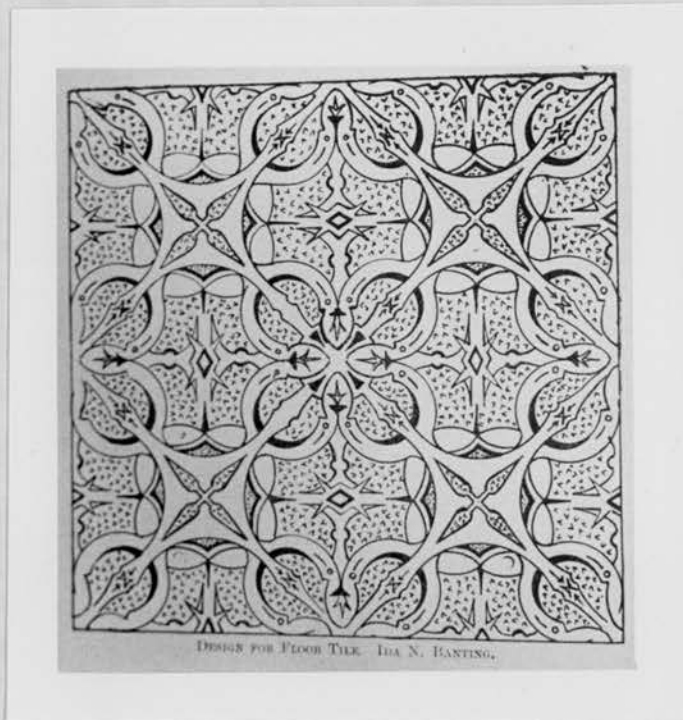


fig. 11



fig. 12

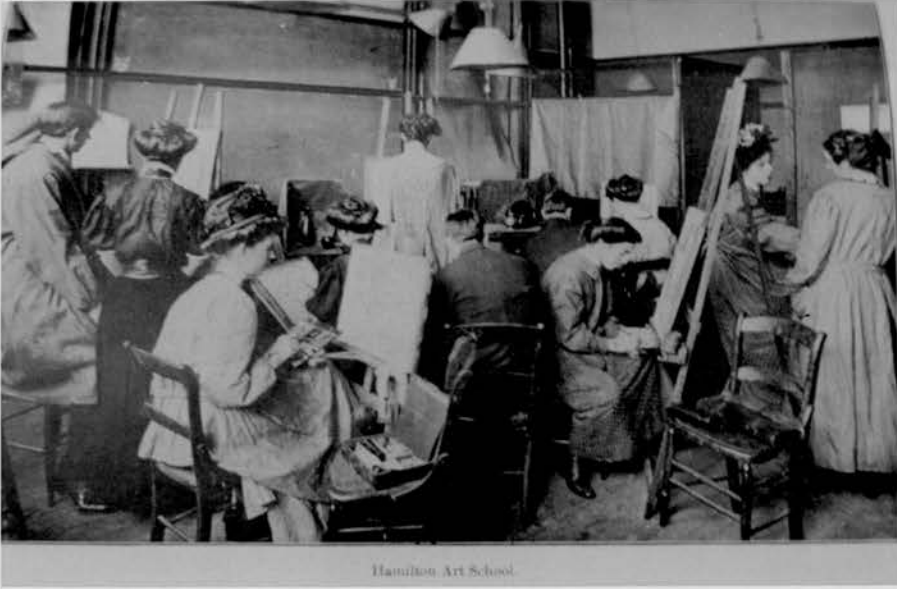


fig. 13



fig. 14





AT WORK IN THE LEAGUE  
 (From the picture painted by W. Beaman, and presented to the League.)

fig. 15



fig. 16



fig. 17



fig. 18