THE TRAINING, EARLY PROFESSIONAL CAREER AND
PUBLICATIONS OF THE SHEFFIELD ARTIST AND ART EDUCATOR
ELIZABETH STYRING NUTT (1870-1946)


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ABSTRACT

THE TRAINING, EARLY PROFESSIONAL CAREER AND PUBLICATIONS OF THE SHEFFIELD ARTIST AND ART EDUCATOR ELIZABETH STYRING NUTT (1870-1946)

JOSEPHINE F. SMITH 2000

The research area is the history of art and design education and Elizabeth Styring Nutt (1870-1946) was its focus. Whereas her prominence in Canada where she was principal of Nova Scotia College of Art and Design (1919-1943) had been fairly well researched (Soucy and Pearse 1993, Soucy 1987, 1988a, 1988b) little was known of her formative years in England or her contribution to British art education. She was not referred to in the standard histories of art education (Sutton 1967, Carline 1968, Macdonald 1970) despite evidence that she was a significant art educator and art education author prior to her emigration. The lack of reference to Nutt paralleled that of many women art educators in Britain who are neglected in these histories.

The research was principally biographical and was informed by the history of art education and feminist values. Key questions were directed to the lack of knowledge about Nutt’s early biography and the formative influences on her British and Canadian careers; the content and form of her art textbooks; and her status as an art educator in the twentieth century. Nutt’s early life and career from her birth in 1870 to her emigration to Canada was investigated within the framework of the nineteenth and early twentieth century provision for primary, secondary and higher education and the context of major nineteenth century art movements such as Romanticism and the Arts and Crafts Movement. Additionally, the research analysed the theoretical underpinnings of her art textbooks and compared these with others of the same period written by men. The research also raised issues of gender and inequality pertinent to Nutt’s career in Britain. The extensive research into her early life and career utilized archival material some identified in institutions such as Sheffield Local Studies Library, Sheffield School of Art, Nova Scotia College of Art and Design and the British Newspaper Library. Other sources included art work by Nutt and interviews with her relatives.

The key findings were that Nutt experienced an extensive education and art teacher training before establishing a substantial professional career as an art educator in Sheffield. She was a deeply Christian woman whose strongly held religious views were rooted in her family background and reinforced by the educational establishments she attended as a child and adolescent. Her stated aims for primary art education were spiritual and moral and drew upon a philosophy of romantic religious idealism that connected religion, morality and aesthetics. The publication of Nutt’s art texts in the Schoolmistress between 1913 and 1916 and her first textbook called Flower Drawing with the Children enhanced her status as an art educator but despite extensive artistic, scholastic and pedagogic expertise she did not achieve a senior position in a major British School of Art. A tentative conclusion was that gender bias may have prevented her from gaining major positions in the field. Nevertheless, she made a more significant contribution to art education in England than is historically acknowledged.
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AUTHOR DECLARATIONS

1. During the period of registered study in which this dissertation was prepared the author has not been registered for any other academic award or qualification.

2. The material included in this dissertation has not been submitted wholly or in part for any academic award or qualification other than that for which it is now submitted.

3. The programme of advanced study of which this dissertation is part has consisted of:

(1) Research Design and Methods course
(2) Participation in Research Colloquia
(3) Supervision tutorials
   All the above were held in the School of Humanities and Social Sciences, De Montfort University, Leicester.
(4) Attendance at relevant conferences.

Josephine F. Smith.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Personal Statement

In a painting called 'Ulysses and the Sirens' (see figure 1), by the Pre-Raphaelite artist John William Waterhouse (1849-1917), huge menacing birds adorned with faces of beautiful women ominously circle the vulnerable figure of a man tied to a boat mast. Painted in 1891 this work depicts the legend of the Greek hero Ulysses. During his adventures at sea, Ulysses bound himself to the mast of a boat in order to hear the irresistible but fatal song of the Sirens which lured unsuspecting sailors to a watery death upon the rocks. This painting was one of many depicted in a book entitled Royal Academy Pictures (1891). The bound volume, comprising Royal Academy Supplements of The Magazine of Art (1888-1891), illustrates paintings and sculpture exhibited at annual exhibitions of the Royal Academy from 1888 to 1891. The publication, which I inherited from my grandparents, was a source of great personal childhood curiosity and fascination. Many of the paintings in it represented historical events or images in a factual, gruesome or romantic way. For example, 'Whitehall: January 30th 1649', exhibited in 1890 by E. Crofts A.R.A. (1847-1911) illustrated the execution of the British monarch Charles I in a photographically realistic manner while 'On Strike', exhibited in 1891 by Professor Hubert von Herkomer R.A. (1849-1914) graphically portrayed an image of a dejected unemployed Victorian labourer, standing outside his terraced house accompanied by a despairing wife, baby and daughter. Anna Lea Merritt (1844-1930) depicted the Creation in a romantic painting entitled 'When the World was Young', also shown in 1891. It featured the figure of Pan in a forest setting surrounded by wild animals such as a deer, fox, rabbits and birds. Today, I would describe many of the paintings illustrated in this volume such as, 'Under the Sea-Wall' by E. J. Poynter R.A. (1836-1919) as 'superficial' or 'sentimental.' This work exhibited in 1888 shows a partly clothed woman seated in a classical setting in the shelter of a sea wall. However,
in the austere postwar years of my childhood in the late 1940s and early 1950s, they aroused a lifelong interest in both history and art.

An affinity for nineteenth and early twentieth century history and artefacts was also stimulated by family relations. In particular I remember frequent visits to my grandmother's house. Born in 1864, six years prior to Elizabeth Nutt who is the subject of this research, she still retained an aura of the Victorian age. This was reflected not only in the way she dressed but in her surroundings and lifestyle. I was impressed by the large sunless landscape paintings of grazing cattle on her walls and by the decorative ceramic vases and bowls that reflected her Victorian taste for Japanese art and design and Art Nouveau. Above all, I admired the contents of her china cabinet, which included items such as a tortoiseshell fan and a miniature ivory carving of Saint George and the dragon. I valued them for their Victorian charm and difference from the utilitarian postwar artefacts of my parents home.

A liking for nineteenth century representational art persisted throughout my adolescent years until I enrolled as a student in the Foundation Studies Department at Leicester College of Art in 1959. The modernist pre-Diploma course I entered next directed by the art educator Tom Hudson, in his first year at Leicester, was intended to provide an innovative programme of work across a range of media and materials prior to specialization. The curriculum was largely based upon the Basic Design Course at the Bauhaus² pioneered by Johannes Itten in Germany in 1919. Much of the work we were asked to do was abstract, concerned with the formal elements of art such as, form, shape and colour. We also studied the structure and texture of materials. In this starkly modernist and forward looking course there was no time or place for nineteenth century figurative art and design which the tutors dismissed as both mediocre and obsolete. Consequently, for almost two decades, I reluctantly denied any natural inclination to
identify with the art of this period, until, in the 1980s, I began to re-evaluate my feelings for it in the light of an increasing revival of public interest in Victorian art and design.

**Broad Problem Area**

As a teacher of art and design who has worked in secondary and adult education for the past thirty-three years my interest in the history of art education has been relatively recent. It has grown through M.A. and PhD study since 1991. Once I discovered it, I became intrigued by accounts of art education historians, such as Sutton (1967), Macdonald (1970) and Swift (1995), of the development of the British system of public art education in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. I became especially interested in the growth of the British Schools of Art in the nineteenth century, of their organization and of the lengthy and demanding content of their drawing curriculum. I was also intrigued by historical accounts of the establishment, social construction and development of public elementary education in Britain in the late 1800s written by social historians, such as Lawson and Silver (1973); and by analyses of the artistic and scientific movements that have influenced the elementary art curriculum, such as Eland’s (1990) discussion of the child study movement. However, in addition to the histories of art education movements and institutions, I became interested in the social and personal histories of the individual educators, students and pupils, both famous and uncelebrated who attended these educational establishments who ultimately shaped the history and philosophy of the profession. Although they exist on paper today only as shadows from the past, I am intrigued by the way historical investigation and imagination can illuminate and recreate their lives and reveal their achievements. At the time this research was carried out the history of the profession reported the names of the distinguished art educators, such as Henry Cole, Richard Redgrave, Walter Crane and many others who pioneered art education in Britain. However, with the exception of the legendary Marion Richardson, reference to British women art educators in the literature was minimal which created the false impression that scholarly women have historically been absent from the field.
During the period of my M.A. study and as a female art educator I became concerned as to why so few prominent women art educators had been mentioned in the literature despite the fact that many women had trained in British Schools of Art, at the end of the nineteenth century, and thousands more were engaged in elementary education. I began to suspect there were ways of understanding art education history other than those offered by the standard texts, such as those of Macdonald (1970) or Sutton (1967). Was there an alternative academic perspective from the androcentric one, that would enable me to focus upon women’s contribution to the field? Did women do and achieve more in art education historically than current scholarship implies?

Soucy (1991, p 23), claims that the written history of art education is based upon male interpretations, developed and recorded in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries by men who controlled its institutions. He argues that these men were narrow in their viewpoint because they ‘concentrated on the people, theories, and practices being promoted at their institutions’ with little reference to art education other than that practised in the public school system, as for example in the ‘accomplishments curriculum of the female schools’. Nor, according to Soucy, did they closely examine the practical application of their ideas, much of which was administered by women. He maintains that, despite their limited views, the authority of these men still influences our concept of art education history today. However, in the past twenty-five to thirty years, there has been a growing body of feminist scholarship leading to recognition of women’s achievements from the past in all aspects of life, including the contributions of women artists (Callen, 1979; Nunn, 1987; Cherry, 1993). There have also been an increasing number of biographical studies of women art educators in the USA (Erickson, 1979; Smith, 1990). In acknowledging these women, North American researchers have begun to challenge the dominant male-centred notions of art education history. Nevertheless, according to Soucy (1991, pp. 5, 7, 21), the ‘scope’ of these art education histories has continued to be too narrow, focusing upon the women’s autobiographical ‘characteristics
and self-perceptions'. Although these studies have revealed insights into their lives he argues they are unsatisfactory in the sense that they remain in what he calls a ‘“compensatory and contribution” genre’. For example, while they chronicle women’s position as individuals in art education they place them in a separate framework in isolation from, rather than in relation to the men, institutions and social changes that shape the gender hierarchy. According to Soucy (1991, p. 23) some American feminist historians outside the specialist field of art education such as, Kelly-Gadol (1977) and Scott (1987) have challenged the androcentric concept of history by changing its subject matter from that of ‘individuals who achieved success status and power’ to the concept of power itself, and analyses of how and why it functions. These scholars interpret history in terms of ‘social relations--especially the gender relations--that shape success and status.’ The research reported in this thesis is informed by the premise that a broader concept of art education history than is current in Britain is called for that takes into account issues of gender and power and recognizes women’s contributions to the field.

This research on Elizabeth Styring Nutt was informed by a personal interest in the neglect of women art educators as stated above. 1919 was momentous year for Nutt because it was the one in which she emigrated to Canada from England and where, at the age of forty-nine, she took up a post as principal of Nova Scotia College of Art. For almost a quarter of a century, until her retirement in March 1943, she governed this College autocratically, and with untiring energy and determination. Under her guidance, it developed from ‘a neglected institution with a handful of students to a viable school with an increasingly secure base’ (Soucy and Pearse, 1993, p.129). She also became an influential force in art education throughout Nova Scotia. At the time this research began her prominence as an art educator there had already been fairly well researched (Soucy, 1987; 1988a; Soucy and Pearse 1993), but little was known of her formative years in Britain. Although she was uniquely qualified and empowered by a distinctive vision of art education, and had a substantial career in the field, she is not referred to in the
standard histories of art education in Britain (Sutton 1967, Carline 1968, Macdonald 1970). This lack of reference to Nutt’s absence from these texts appears to parallel that of many women artists, educators and writers in this country whose careers developed at a time when society viewed professional status as a male prerogative. This research sets out to fill a gap in historical knowledge and to provide a model for understanding seminal figures in the development of British art education with reference to gender. Having identified Nutt as an appropriate topic for research, key questions were formulated with a view to (i) completing her English biography from 1870-1919, (ii) determining the formative influences of her early life and their effect on her Canadian curriculum, (iii) assessing her significance to art education through a comparison of her British curriculum and published works on art education with others of the same historical period and (vi) identifying reasons why she is not recorded in the history of British art education. However, the investigation of her early life and career in Britain was shaped by a broader concept of art education history than is found in British mainstream texts such as Macdonald (1970) or Sutton (1967). It methodologically drew together insights from; (i) biographical history, (ii) the theory and development of art education and (iii) my own feminist interests and concerns.

**Origins of Research**

The investigation into Nutt’s training, early professional career and publications began in 1991 when I was completing course work for a Masters degree in Art and Design Education. Two taught courses in particular, ‘Process Studies in Art and Design’ which explored some of the factors conducive to creative activity and ‘Ways of Understanding Art and Design’ which were intended to help art and design teachers, such as myself, appreciate some of the major theoretical frameworks for the study of their subject and understand their relevance for designing curricula, were especially useful. Through the art history lectures in the latter course I became more aware of the development of late eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth century art historical movements, such as Neo-
classicism, Romanticism, Realism, Impressionism and Formalism and began to appreciate more thoroughly how they had evolved and underpinned my own artistic practice. Subsequently, I also realized that knowledge of art education history is valuable in terms of understanding how and why contemporary curriculum theory and practice developed and consequently informs my own professional practice.

Prior to this course I had been unaware of the substantial number of women artists who had practised historically and I became engrossed in their rediscovery and re-evaluating their artistic achievements. In reviewing the literature, I learned of the developing discipline of feminist art history being carried out by scholars, such as Broude and Garrard (1982), Pollock (1988) and Chadwick (1990) and found this a liberating experience in terms of personal and artistic empowerment. The realization that there had been many successful albeit unrecorded women artists greatly increased my own self-confidence as a painter. It also led me to question why there was an apparent lack of female professional attainment in the history of art education, and to evaluate the effects of the aesthetics and ideology that have determined women’s relationships to the profession.

**Choice of Nutt**

A tutor suggested the name of Elizabeth Nutt as a possible subject. That she merited further research quickly became apparent for a number of reasons. Firstly, because studies of her Canadian career portrayed her as a colourful ‘strong willed and unremitting’ character (Soucy 1988b, p. 11), ‘a born teacher, endowed with the gift of inspiring others’ (Blakeley, 1967, p. 37), who dominated art criticism and education in Nova Scotia for almost a quarter of a century from 1919 to 1943. Secondly, the absence of research into her early life in Britain suggested a need to complete her biography as a whole. It also provided an investigative challenge that would require both ingenuity and perseverance. Thirdly, investigating her art education philosophy and professional
expertise offered me an opportunity to pursue my studies in areas of scholarship that were of personal and professional interest, namely: feminist art history, the history of art education, and theory and practice of nineteenth century art movements.

**Previous Research on Nutt**

The majority of existing research on Nutt was located in Canada. Soucy and Pearse (1993), had investigated her influence on the development of the College where she was principal in a history, entitled, *The First Hundred Years: A History of Nova Scotia College of Art and Design*. Additionally, in a series of unpublished papers Soucy (1987, 1988a, 1988b), had researched her career in Canada within a number of social and educational frameworks. For example, he had examined (1987) gender bias and women's position in the art world as reflected in the College from 1887 to the 1930s and concluded that although gender bias persisted during this period, under Nutt's supervision, female art students and College managers became acknowledged as professionals rather than amateurs. Soucy (1988a) had also investigated the provision of vocational art training for women at Nova Scotia College of Art, in the same period, together with Nutt's role in the provision of vocational art courses and opportunities for women. He had also compared her career with that of two other artist-teachers, Arthur Lismer and Stanley Royal, who emigrated to Canada from Sheffield in England between the two World Wars (1988b). Additionally, paintings by Nutt had been exhibited at the Dalhousie Art Gallery, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia in an exhibition, entitled, *Elizabeth S. Nutt: Heart and Head and Hand* in 1980 and more recently at the exhibition *Eighty/Twenty: 100 Years of Nova Scotia College of Art and Design* organized by the Art Gallery of Nova Scotia, Halifax, in 1988. This retrospective exhibition of art work by past principals, the President and faculty of the fine art department of the College between 1887 and 1987 included paintings by Nutt. But, as noted previously, investigation of her formative years in England by British researchers was very limited. A study by Tooby (1991) on the Sheffield artists who emigrated to
Canada between 1911 and 1931, which included a summary of her British and Canadian career, was published on the occasion of an exhibition of their paintings at the Mappin Art Gallery in Sheffield in 1991 but this was the only available British research on Nutt.

Historical Method

Much has been written about the nature of history its objects, methods and values. Marwick (1991, p.3), has defined it as ‘an interpretation of the past, one in which a serious effort has been made to filter out myth and fable’; on the other hand, Cohen and Manion (1990, p. 48) have defined it as ‘the systematic and objective location, evaluation and synthesis of evidence in order to establish facts and draw conclusions about past events’. Many historians agree with Collingwood (1986, pp. 9-11) ‘that history is a kind of research or inquiry’ that attempts ‘to answer questions about human actions done in the past’ and that historical method ‘consists essentially of interpreting evidence... for the sake of human self-knowledge.’ However, Johnson (1978) has extended this definition of historical inquiry to include a social function. He has suggested that the events, or people under investigation are not isolated phenomena but exist within social or cultural frameworks that require ‘interpretations in terms of social, political or economic movements, or some variant of them’ (p.8). He has proposed that, in order to gain meaningful answers, historians need to ask imaginative questions that enable them to illuminate the subject of their investigation ‘by connecting it with other events, movements, ideas, etc., ... in terms of other “levels” which seem to furnish a plausible account of it’ (p. 10).

Other historians, including Hexter (1972), Johnson (1978), Collingwood (1986), and Marwick (1991) claim that there is a continuing and interactive link between the past, the present and the future. For example, Marwick (1991, p.1) has identified past legacies, such as ‘systems of government (as well as the buildings which embody them), political ideas (radical as well as conservative), beliefs about art and culture, educational practices,
customs and behaviour’, that underpin our present and future systems, ideas and beliefs which he claims are our heritage. He argues they are profoundly important to us, in the sense that they are the source from which we emanate and that determine our development and organizational structures. It can be argued that the capacity of historical research to illuminate the past, thereby increasing individual and corporate knowledge and understanding, is one of its greatest contributions. Although ‘history will not directly tell us what to do today or tomorrow’ since no two events are identical, its relevance ‘stems from its role in constructing understanding, and evaluating our choices’ and in enabling us ‘to locate and develop the connections which unite thought and experience’ (Johnson, 1978, pp. 1-2).

Hill and Kerber suggest the values of historical research are that:

(a) it enables solutions to contemporary problems to be sought in the past;
(b) it throws light on present and future trends; (c) it stresses the relative importance and the effects of the various interactions that are to be found within all cultures; and (d) it allows for the revaluation of data in relation to selected hypotheses, theories and generalisations that are presently held about the past (Hill and Kerber in Cohen and Manion, 1989, p. 48).

Similarly, the values of historical research for the field of art education particularly when it is investigated with reference to social and political contexts are many. Historical inquiry in art education, for example, may help present day art teachers to understand how current beliefs about their subject and curriculum practices have evolved, enabling insights into contemporary debates about the content of the field. Comparison with former practices may also help them to evaluate newer emerging ones. Additionally it could provide a valuable tool for the professional development of both students and teachers. For example, Freedman and Popkewitz (1985, p. 25) have noted a need for art educators to reflect upon their ‘own role as “professionals” in the formation of the curriculum.’ For Erickson (1977, p. 28), ‘a broad range of events of the past are historically significant to art students, art teachers and art educators’. She has argued (1979, pp. 5, 13) that historical research into the specialist field is important because it
offers a framework of understanding and 'self-examination' within which students can situate themselves in order to reflect upon and clarify and interpret their current aesthetic experiences and artistic and professional practices.

From a safe distance in time such histories can introduce students to the complexities of thinking about art teaching and learning. They can also initiate students into some of the traditional philosophies and practices of art educators as well as traditional frustrations confronted by art educators, thus aiding students in developing realistic expectations for circumstances they are likely to face in schools (Erickson, 1979, p.5).

The significance of contemporary feminist historical research for the field of art education is its potential to problematize and reconstitute the central issue of how gender meaning in the profession has been constructed and perpetuated. When I began this research on Nutt in the early 1990s, I found that contemporary feminist studies in art education were very limited in number in contrast with research into feminist art history. Therefore, I had to refer to the more developed and abundant literature on art history for guidance in research methodology. Much of this had been initiated by American feminist art historians, such as Nochlin (1989) first published in 1981, Broude and Garrard (1982) and Chadwick (1990) and by their British contemporaries, for example, Parker (1989), Pollock (1988) and Tickner (1989). Two British publications, Victorian Women Artists by Pamela Gerrish Nunn (1987) and Painting Women (1993) by Deborah Cherry, which focused upon the social reality and public perceptions of nineteenth century women artists and a revaluation of their status as art producers also offered a useful model. Additionally, an unpublished paper, Applications of Feminist Theory in Educational History: the Case of Art Education (1991), by the Canadian art educator Soucy, which explored the historiography and methodology employed in American feminist art education history, offered pertinent theoretical and historical insights into its application to the field.

Unearthing and establishing evidence of Nutt’s early life and career in Britain as the research progressed was a journey of discovery in terms of both professional and social
understanding. It was fostered by many unique and kindly people who helped me, through interviews or by allowing access to private and public archives that enabled insights not only into Nutt’s fascinating early life and work but, through this, into my own professional history. At times, the research process was frustrating, but more often it was intensely satisfying and even exciting. Disappointment experienced when it was impossible at first to locate some material about particular periods of her life was fully redressed when the elusive evidence was finally located. One example was an attempt to trace and name the training college attended by Nutt in the early 1890s, prior to her enrolment at Sheffield School of Art in 1897 which required extensive detective work. During a period of seven or eight months I wrote to many people and organizations requesting information that might lead me to the location. All replied generously with helpful and practical suggestions, including the historian Professor Harold Silver. The college was eventually identified as the Oxford Diocesan Training College at Felstead House, 23, Banbury Road, St. Giles’, Oxford. When I visited it the building looked almost the same as it must have more than a hundred years earlier when Nutt had boarded there as a student. It was not difficult to imagine her life there once inside this austere Victorian edifice or to feel a sense of empathy with the past and this brief glimpse into a previous age was a delight.

I started the research in February 1991 with a great deal of optimism but very little primary source material. This was a disadvantage, because primary sources are the life blood of historical work according to Marwick (1989, p. 199), which is ‘generally esteemed serious and scholarly to the extent that it is properly based’ upon them. I began my search for evidence of Nutt’s art teacher training and career in England by writing to the more readily available registries for information. These included institutions, such as the National Art Education Archive (Trust) at Bretton Hall, the National Society for Education in Art and Design at Corsham, and the University of London Institute of Education Library in London, which holds the records of the National Union of Women
Teachers. Throughout 1991 I wrote to many other institutions and organizations, such as the Department of Education and Science, the Design and Industries Association and the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, but with no success. However, I knew, from the existing Canadian research, that Nutt had attended Sheffield Technical School of Art at the turn of the century and felt sure that an investigation of this institution's records would reveal primary source information about her. Although I later visited the University in order to search for evidence of Nutt's attendance, my initial enquiries were made by telephone to the librarian John Kirby in late February 1991. One conversation was particularly fortunate because I learned of an exhibition to be held at the Mappin Art Gallery in Sheffield from 2.3.91 to 10.4.91 entitled, Our Home and Native Land (Tooby, 1991). This exhibition was to feature art work by a group of Sheffield Artists, including Nutt who had emigrated to Canada in the early 1900s. I was very excited by this news and set out on the first of many journeys to Sheffield on March 7, 1991.

My visit to this exhibition proved to be a powerful catalyst for the rest of the research. Not only did it show student examination work, paintings and publications by Nutt but, more importantly, recorded ownership of two personal paintings enabled me to contact one of her relatives, her great nephew Sir Michael Carlisle, whom I interviewed in person on May 31, 1991 and on subsequent occasions by telephone. His grandmother was Nutt's sister and he was able to supply a wealth of fascinating and detailed oral and documentary history about Nutt's family background. This included childhood reminiscences, letters and photographs, in addition to miniature paintings and publications by Nutt.

I was also able to trace two of Nutt's nieces. The first, Mrs Isobel Roe, I located by placing an advertisement in the Sheffield Star on March 29, 1991 as may be seen in Figure 2. The second, Dr. Ursula Clarke I found as a result of enquiries made at the
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Personal

IS there a Lady short of affection, fun and a general good time? Successful businessman, late 30's with no ties, looking for attractive lady, photo appreciated. — Write to Box No. 0763, Sheffield Newspapers.

WELL educated professional divorced lady, 54 years young, wishes to meet gentleman in similar circumstances. — Write to Box No. 0769, Sheffield Newspapers.

MA Student researching the life of the Art Educator Elizabeth Styring Nutt, would be most grateful for any information on this subject. — Write to Box No. 0774, Sheffield Newspapers.

IS there anyone, anywhere, who would like Lady, young 68, smart, tall and slim, for modern and sequence dancing, also outings. — Box No. 0744, Sheffield Newspapers.

FIGURE 2. ADVERTISEMENT PLACED IN THE SHEFFIELD STAR MARCH 29, 1991 REQUESTING INFORMATION ABOUT NUTT.
Mappin Art Gallery. I first interviewed Dr. Clarke at her home near Sheffield on May, 4, 1991, and subsequently on May 13 and July 31, 1991 and on a number of occasions by telephone. She was able to supply a great deal of information about Nutt’s early life and the Sheffield School of Art where her mother, Nutt’s sister-in-law, was a student in the early 1890s. One of the most attractive aspects of doing historical research is the unexpected discovery of unique treasures. For example, I discovered that Dr. Clarke owned a complete folder of drawings, prepared for the National Graded Examinations in Art by her mother, that vividly illustrated the work required of nineteenth century art students engaged in the British National Course of Instruction. Additionally, she was able to offer oral testimony of Nutt’s early life, newspaper articles about Nutt’s career and personal art work. Through information gained from Dr. Clarke, I was able to establish Nutt’s early education history and to locate her elementary school, which exists today as the High Storrs School, Sheffield. On May 22, 1991, with the help of Mary Hicks, Vice-president of the High Storrs Centrailians Association and, while searching for evidence of Nutt’s early education in Sheffield, I was able to make a most exciting discovery; namely that in addition to her lengthy instruction at Sheffield School of Art (1897-1903) Nutt had initially trained as an elementary school teacher. This finding makes an important addition to Nutt’s biography in the sense that it has revealed new knowledge and insights into her teacher training and educational philosophy. The inquiry into her early teacher education and subsequent location of the training college was finally resolved in February 1992 and is recounted in detail in Chapter 3. I found unearthing new primary sources and following the trail of clues that leads to their discovery to be the most exciting and rewarding part of this research.

Unfortunately, Sheffield School of Art retained only a limited record of Nutt’s attendance because much archival material had been destroyed during World War II, when ‘an incendiary bomb hit the main building’ in December 1940 (Kirby, 1987, p. 32). However, Sheffield Local Studies Library held a wealth of primary source archival
material. This included, nineteenth and early twentieth century census records, that gave
details of Nutt’s family, their residences and origins; school registers that revealed her
elementary education and admission dates; School of Art annual reports listing her
examination progress through the National Course of Instruction and her artistic
achievements in the form of National Board of Education and Local prizes; and Education
Committee Handbooks, Minutes and Reports cataloguing her teaching appointments in
Sheffield. Sheffield University records also contained archival evidence of Nutt’s
academic scholarship there from 1910 to 1915 in the form of examination records. Other
archives consulted during the research included the Public Record Office at Kew, the Tate
Gallery Archive, the Royal Academy of Arts Archive and the National Art Library all of
which were in London and the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa, Canada.

Investigation and analysis of Nutt’s curriculum and teaching practice carried out with a
view to evaluating their significance for the field was accomplished through comparison
of her art textbooks with a selection of contemporary art education literature published
between 1850 and 1950. This included official documents, such as Board of Education
codes, circulars and reports and art textbooks in university libraries, such as the
University of London Institute of Education Library, Leicester University and the British
Library Document Supply Centre at Boston Spa. Additionally it incorporated articles in
the periodical press such as, for example, the educational newspapers the Schoolmistress
and the Schoolmaster, which are held at the British Library Newspaper Library in
London. Secondary sources consulted during the research in order to help me
understand and explain the historical, theoretical and aesthetic underpinning of Nutt’s art
textbooks, included literature on the history of art education, art theory and aesthetics
obtained mainly from the De Montfort University Library in Leicester. These are
discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.
Key Questions

The research as a whole set out to investigate Nutt’s early life and career in Britain and to establish her status as an art educator in the twentieth century. The key questions that emerged during the design of the research can be grouped into four clusters. The first focused upon Nutt’s early biography and covered her early life history, family background, teacher and postgraduate training, and the development of her British professional career in Sheffield. In this regard I was anxious to find out, for example, which individuals, either in public or private life, had helped to form or significantly influence Nutt’s strongly held religious or artistic views and which educational establishments had influenced and guided her early religious beliefs and artistic theory and practice. Since the previous research in Canada had shown that a significant part of Nutt’s Canadian curriculum was committed to the training of the artist-worker, I hoped to find out where she got her concept of the artist-worker from. There was a need also to determine which historical movements were reflected in her art work and art teaching publications. In the early 1900s Nutt established a position in Britain as an educational writer on the specialist subject of teaching children to draw. In particular, between 1913 and 1916, she regularly contributed articles in the educational newspaper the Schoolmistress, which she also published privately in textbook form. Accordingly, a second cluster of questions was directed at a textual and theoretical analysis of Nutt’s art textbooks and art curriculum and teaching methods. This included, for example, the question ‘what educational aims, methods, content and outcomes did she consider important in forming her art curriculum and why?’ How significant were her religious beliefs in the formation of her pedagogy and how did they influence her educational values and practices? Also, given that her textbooks encapsulated her personal educational philosophy, did this differ in any significant way from that of her male colleagues who wrote similar textbooks at that same time? A third cluster centred upon Nutt’s reputation as an art educator. Given that she is widely acknowledged as an influential force in art education in Canada, I was keen to establish whether or not she
had contributed to British art education in any significant way prior to her emigration in 1919. Had she been instrumental in the debate that developed in the early 1900s in Britain about the need for a more child-centred, self-expressive approach to art education? Alternatively, did she initiate any new concepts or teaching methods equivalent to the “New Art Teaching” pioneered by Marion Richardson in the 1920s and 30s which promoted creative self-expression? A fourth set of questions clustered around issues of class and gender in art education in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries which focused on the social position of women teachers and art educators like Nutt in public education during that period. I wanted to know, for example, what her social position was. Also, what career expectations were and what kind of personal life she might anticipate. Did she and other women do and achieve more in art education than is generally historically acknowledged? Finally, given that many standard histories of art education, such as Macdonald (1970) and Efland (1990) are androcentric and ‘overemphasize male contributions’ to the field (Soucy, 1991, p.4), are there other ways of understanding art education history that are fairer to women?

Content of Thesis

The thesis is organized into eight chapters. In addition to the introduction and the research findings and conclusions there are four chapters that constitute a biography of Nutt, and two that are concerned with her place in history and contribution to the theory and practice of art education.

Chapter 2, which provides a general overview of the provision and development of public and private education and art education in Britain between 1835 and 1920, is designed to present an historical background to Nutt’s own art education, teacher training and professional career. It discusses the nineteenth century establishment of the Schools of Design and the British national system of public art education, the provision of universal elementary education and the elementary school art curriculum (1870-1912). It
also presents the findings of an enquiry into drawing in the private and grammar schools from 1850 to 1920 and reports on the provision of art education for women between 1840 and 1910 and their involvement in the teaching profession.

Chapters 3 to 6 are devoted to the establishment of a biographical account of Nutt’s life and career in Britain from 1870 to 1919. They are intended to link with the existing Canadian research about her life and professional career in Canada thereby completing her biography as a whole and filling a gap in historical knowledge. Chapter 3 in particular is concerned with Nutt’s early history from 1870 to 1891. It explores her religious background, unusual family circumstances and elementary education and teacher training with the aim of discovering what personal historical events and educational achievements shaped her formative childhood and adolescent years. Chapter 4 focuses upon her art teacher training at Sheffield School of Art from 1897 to 1903 with the purpose of finding out what formative factors and/or individuals associated with the College significantly influenced her art education philosophy or contributed to her later distinguished career. It includes a discussion of the Arts and Crafts Movement and summarizes the social and artistic philosophy of its main proponents, Ruskin and Morris and explains Nutt’s concept of the artist-craftsman. Additionally, it incorporates a brief history of Sheffield School of Art from 1843 to 1903 together with a description of the School’s curriculum for the year 1900-1901 and an appraisal of the art work Nutt prepared for the National Graded Examinations in art between 1900 to 1903. This chapter also mentions contemporary students and teachers that may have significantly influenced her artistic and professional philosophy at this time.

Chapter 5 investigates Nutt’s extensive postgraduate art education at the Royal College of Art in London, in Paris, Italy, Newlyn in England and at Sheffield University between 1903 and 1915. It explores the influence on her of some of the individuals, educational establishments and artistic movements that guided her artistic theory and practice during
this period with the aim of determining their influence on her educational aims and values and on her personal growth and development as an artist. Chapter 6 explores her professional career as an art educator in Britain from 1904 until her emigration in 1919 with the aim of discovering what pedagogic qualities, expertise and other skills she took to Canada and their contribution to her Canadian curricula. It investigates her teaching posts in Sheffield in that period, briefly considers the elementary drawing curriculum she published in book form in 1916, and compares her British and Canadian Curricula. It also assesses her teaching style and development as a painter and art education writer.

The research reported in Chapters 2 to 6 was descriptive rather than interpretative or evaluative. In the penultimate Chapter 7 it became analytical. The chapter sets out to establish Nutt’s art education philosophy and curriculum values and her stated art educational aims through a comparison of her texts with other similar published works from the same period. It also seeks to determine her status as an art educator and female art education author in the early twentieth century. The chapter constitutes a textual and theoretical analysis of her textbooks which considers possible gender difference in their presentation and content from those written by men. In it some of the nineteenth and early twentieth century aesthetic and scientific influences reflected in her texts are compared with a selection of art education literature published between 1850 and 1950. This selection includes government literature, art education textbooks and articles in the periodical press.

Chapter 8 summarizes the findings of all the research and draws conclusions regarding Nutt’s achievements and status as a twentieth century art educator, the effects of gender roles in Victorian society on her career and about androcentrism and British art education history. Additionally, the implications of the investigation for future research on Nutt and other women art educators and for research and researchers in the history of British
art education are explored. Finally, there is a postscript which is a reflection on research method.
Notes

1. In Greek mythology a siren is ‘a sea nymph who lured sailors on to rocks by her singing’ Upshall (1988, p. 1068).

2. According to Upshall (1988, p. 125), the Bauhaus was a ‘German school founded in 1919 in an attempt to fuse all the arts and crafts into a united whole, by the architect Walter Gropius at Weimar’. It moved to Dessau in 1925 and was closed by the Nazis in 1933. Famous artists and architects who taught at the Bauhaus included Johannes Itten (1888-1967), Moholy-Nagy (1895-1946), Paul Klee (1879-1940), Wassily Kandinsky (1866-1944) and Mies van der Rohe (1886-1969).

3. According to Copelman (1996, p. xiv) 4,597 women were employed in the public secular, tax- supported elementary schools in London alone in 1889.

4. Arthur Lismer was principal of Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, then called the Victoria School of Art and Design, from 1916-1919.

5. I later discovered references to Nutt, who was a member of the National Society of Art Masters now called the National Society for Education in Art and Design, in the archives of this organization.

CHAPTER 2: ART EDUCATION IN BRITAIN 1835-1920

Introduction

During the nineteenth century, major changes in the provision of both general and art education occurred in Britain. In this period the first Schools of Design were established from 1837, and a national system for public art education was introduced in 1852. In general education also, by the turn of the century, a structured, national system of education was achieved. In the early 1900s the educational system, determined by the criteria of social class, comprised a diverse variety of types of schools. These included voluntary and lower-grade elementary board schools usually attended by working class pupils, and higher-grade board schools attended by children of the more ambitious, better off, working class and lower middle class parents. Also grammar, private and proprietary schools frequented principally by middle-class pupils, and the ancient public schools patronized predominately by the upper classes. Within this educational framework Nutt, who graduated as an elementary school teacher in 1891 and as an Art Master from Sheffield School of Art in 1903, experienced an extensive nineteenth century elementary, secondary and tertiary education. Her documented contribution as an art educator in Sheffield in the late 1890s and early twentieth century occurred in the field of higher education. At that level, her instruction in drawing at the Sheffield Pupil Teachers' Centre (1898-1919), The Firs Hill Branch School of Art (1904-1913), The City of Sheffield Training College (1908-1919) and Sheffield Technical School of Art (1912-1919) predominantly aimed to prepare student teachers and existing elementary school teachers for their role in the public elementary school sector. In this chapter an investigation into the provision and development of public and private art education in Britain between 1835 and 1920 is undertaken in order to present an historical background to Nutt’s own art education, teacher training and professional career. An enquiry into the
establishment of the Schools of Design and the nineteenth century British national system of art education and teacher training is reported. Additionally, nineteenth and early twentieth century provision of elementary and secondary art, craft and general education is discussed. The art philosophy, educational values and professional expertise gained by Nutt through her involvement in the British educational system also occurred within the context of major nineteenth and early twentieth century artistic movements such as Romanticism, Realism, Impressionism, Formalism and the Arts and Crafts Movement. An account of the latter movement appears in Chapter 4. Secondary source material used in this background chapter was obtained from established histories of art education such as Macdonald (1970), Carline (1968) and Sutton (1967). Also from publications on the social history of general education, for example, Lawson and Silver (1973), and from articles in current art educational journals such as Studies in Art Education. Primary source material used to illustrate elementary art teaching methods included Nelson's New Drawing Course, a teachers' handbook by J. Vaughn (1907).

**Establishment of Schools of Design.**

According to Macdonald (1970, pp. 60, 67) the British Government, motivated by economic necessity, intervened in art education for the first time in 1835. This was because the Government was alarmed by the substantial expenditure made by British manufacturers on French designs. Also by the large number of superior manufactured products imported from the Continent, which began to flood into Britain in the 1820's and 1830's. Following the findings of a Select Committee on Arts and their Connections with Manufacturers in 1835 and 1836 the British Parliament decided, in 1837, to make the training of designers a national responsibility and subsequently authorised the introduction of national art education. Consequently the Normal School of Design was set up at Somerset House, in 1837, under the control of the Board of Trade. This supervision indicated the British Government's belief that the primary function of the School was the provision of designers for industry¹. In that year, the Scotsman William
Dyce² (1806-1864), was sent to Europe by members of The Council of the Normal School of Design to report on Continental methods of art education. There he studied the French and German models. The French model, supervised by the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts did not make a distinction between high and low art³. Also life drawing was an important part of the art curriculum. The German schools followed a different system. According to Macdonald (1970, p. 79) the Prussian schools, unlike French Schools of Art which were governed by educational bodies, ‘were trade schools under the Privy Councillor of Finance.’ Maths and Physics were included in the curriculum which was less concerned with education in art than in vocational and technical training in design for industry. Dyce, a graduate scientist, believed design to be a science and much preferred the German system. He particularly favoured the Bavarian model in which all primary schools held optional classes in outline drawing of geometrical shapes and simple elements of drawing⁴. This was the same kind of drawing that he introduced into Britain through his Drawing Book⁵. According to Macdonald (1970, p.80) on his return, Dyce determined to import the German model of art education for designers into Britain. The Board of Trade, deeply impressed by his report, appointed him Superintendent and Professor of the Normal School of Design in 1838.

The curriculum Dyce introduced into the Normal School of Design was based upon copying from historic motifs. These formed the foundation of contemporary design which artisans had to learn. The drawing curriculum, divided into seven stages, comprised a mechanical progression in drawing techniques. According to Macdonald (1970, p.82) students began by drawing straight lines without the use of a ruler, and geometric figures from the Flat, i.e. from illustrations on boards. Next they learned to shade objects from diagrams of shaded cubes, cones, spheres or cylinders and to draw from the Round, i.e. from casts of ornament and natural forms such as fruit, flowers and shells. Subsequently students attempted the colour course, copying coloured drawings, before being allowed to copy elementary outlines of the human figure. First from the
Flat, as for example in Dyce's Drawing Book and then from casts. Finally they reached their highest design objective, instruction in the 'history, principles and practice of Ornamental Design and its application to various processes of manufacture'. Drawing from the nude was not included in this general course. According to Carline (1968, p. 78) Dyce sought through his drawing curriculum to promote in art teaching 'a more scholarly and scientific basis than it had enjoyed hitherto.' However, his narrow concept of vocational art training for artisans, concerned with techniques in applied art rather than the subject of fine art, was influenced by his perception of their low social status as industrial workers and his religious beliefs. He did not believe that artisans should be allowed the opportunity to raise their status to the position of fine artist and envisaged:

... a strictly ordered Christian Society in which every person should be trained only for that class of society in which he was predestined by God to serve. (Macdonald, 1970, p. 77).

In 1843 Dyce resigned as Director of the Normal School of Design and accepted a new and less strenuous position as Inspector of Provincial Schools of Design (Macdonald, 1970, pp 88, 92). His position at Somerset House was taken by an associate Charles Heath Wilson who became Director and Headmaster at Somerset House from 1843-1847. Between 1842 and 1847 fourteen provincial Schools of Design, modelled upon the Central School, were officially recognised in Britain. Manchester was the first, in March 1842, and Sheffield and Nottingham were second and third in 1843.

**National System of Public Art Education**

In 1852 Henry Cole (1808-1882) became head of the Central School of Design at Somerset House (see figure 3). He was named as General Superintendent and Richard Redgrave, a former headmaster of the School of Design, was appointed Art Superintendent. Cole was a civil servant with an interest in art. He was favoured by Prince Albert, himself an amateur artist and architect, and had been knighted by Queen
FIGURE 3. SIR HENRY COLE, HEAD OF THE CENTRAL SCHOOL OF DESIGN FROM 1852 TO 1873, FROM A PORTRAIT BY SAMUEL LAURENCE, 1865.
Victoria for his role in organizing the Great Exhibition of 1851. In a letter to the Board of Trade, in 1852, Cole outlined three practical policy objectives:

...to train teachers of drawing at the elementary level, to train masters for provincial art schools, and to provide training in the technical arts for industry. (Carline, 1968, p.81)

According to Carline (1968, p.81), although the system of teaching in the newly formed Department hardly changed, 'the organization was greatly augmented.' Cole and Redgrave set up a rigid national system of art education with great thoroughness that was practised in the Schools of Design, renamed the Schools of Art after 1853, until the turn of the century. The ingrained system also remained evident in the public day school curriculum up until the second world war. The national system consisted of the National Course of Instruction, the National Competition and the National Graded Examinations in Art.

The National Course of Instruction was a rigorous art curriculum which could be adapted to different types of schools and requirements. According to Macdonald (1970, pp. 188, 388-391) the course comprised four areas of study: drawing, painting, modelling and design. It consisted of twenty-three stages most of which were divided into subsections. The first twenty-one stages were strictly imitative and took the form of exercises in copying from flat examples, the Flat, or from casts, the Round, or from Nature. Geometry and technical drawing formed an important part of the curriculum and were considered synonymous with art.

Cole and Redgrave not only drew no distinction between these subjects and art, but affirmed that geometry was the basis of drawing and design. (Macdonald, 1970, p.227)

The curriculum was predominantly one of drawing. The slow and tedious method practised produced work of sharp outline laboriously filled with hatching or stippled and smudged with bread pellets, to produce a smooth, soft, shaded drawing. It offered a complete range of exercises from which it was possible to draw sections to suit particular
interests. For example, according to Macdonald (1970, p.160), elementary school teachers were required to complete stages one to seven, and thirteen, while:

designers and ornamentalists had to undertake the full course, omitting only stage 19 and section (a) of stages 2, 3, 4, and 23. (Frayling, 1987, p.41)

Uniformity and standardization were characteristics of this utilitarian, austerely practical, curriculum which confined art to a schematized body of knowledge regulated by strict rules.

The National Competition for Schools of Art, was the most lasting part of Cole's system. According to Macdonald (1970, p.192), for sixty-three years, from 1852-1915 the public determined 'the relative merits of the Schools of Art by the awards given in this competition'. Apart from National Scholarships, introduced in 1863 the award of a medal was considered the highest honour by the Schools of Art and art masters were financially rewarded by the Department of Science and Art for each medal won by a student.

The gold medal, inscribed with depictions of the virtues, was the Victorian's concrete expression of the summit of excellence achieved only after years of climbing upwards from stage 1a of the Course of Instruction. (Macdonald, 1970, p.193)

A comprehensive system of public graded art examinations completed the national system of public art education. These examinations devised to accommodate artisans and designers, school children and art teachers commenced in the Elementary Schools and extended to the Training Colleges, and to the central and provincial Schools of Design.

**Art Teacher Training**

As has previously been discussed the original purpose of the Schools of Design was to train ornamental designers and artisans in order to improve the quality of British manufactured goods. However, in a new departure from this original policy, in 1852,
Cole made the introduction of elementary drawing in national education, and the training of art teachers, the primary function of the Central School of Design. He organized the training of art teachers into the following three categories:

training existing schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, training pupil teachers and students in training colleges and training masters for the Schools of Art. (Macdonald, 1970, p.159)

According to Macdonald (1970, p.161) in 1853, at the request of the Committee of Council on Education, Cole prepared a seven year drawing course starting with exercises for first year pupil teachers and ending with final examinations in the Training Colleges. Successful candidates were awarded the Certificate of Competency to teach Elementary Drawing. This was known in the 1880's as the Elementary School Teachers Certificate.

A description of a Training College curriculum and lifestyle is given in Chapter 3. After 1853 the course for pupil teachers and Training College students could also be taken in the local Schools of Art by existing schoolmasters and schoolmistresses.

In 1852 a Class for Training Masters for Schools of Art was set up at Somerset House to prepare specialist teachers of drawing for the local Schools of Art.

During his course the master-in-training had to teach Elementary Drawing in the London public day schools, in the general or model classes, and in the Training Class for Schoolmasters. (Macdonald, 1970, p.163)

Art masters-in-training also had to complete various stages of the National Course of Instruction. This rigorous, highly repetitive and imitative course took up to seven years to complete.

**Lack of Art Training for Artisans**

During Cole's term of office the pretence of training artisans as designers for industry was discarded:

The greatest paradox of the British system in Cole's time was that a member of the artisan class never darkened the daylight in the doorway of the Central Training School in London (Macdonald, 1970, p.176)
According to Macdonald (1970, p.176) at this time (1852-1873) it was common practice to present the system of public art education to the British people as a model especially planned to meet the needs of the artisan. By contrast the French system of art education for the artisan was disparagingly described as unduly biased towards fine art. However Macdonald (1970, p. 176) reported that the reality was quite different. In France art education for the sons of factory workers was provided free of charge. In contrast impoverished British artisans were required to pay their own reduced fees. Also, French artisans received hands on instruction in industrial processes. For example, according to Macdonald (1970, p.79), in the department of ornament at the Académie des Beaux Arts de Lyons students learned to prepare patterns for industrial production. In Britain the technical classes provided for artisans were restricted to learning ornament through drawing. Whereas this was regarded as a primary skill, it was not translated into hands-on experience in industrial methods of production.

Where the technical classes were concerned there was little point in trying to keep up with the latest developments in manufacturing industry: since the days when 'The designer and the artificer are united in the same person' had long since passed away, it was unlikely that the designer would ever be expected in later life also to be a producer. (Frayling, 1987, p.42)

During his period of office (1852-1873) Cole worked tirelessly to establish a national system of art education and to achieve his key objective in bringing art education to the greatest number of British people through the creation of a national museum and the introduction of universal drawing into the public day schools. In these years the accelerated growth of art institutions in Britain included:

the establishment of the first training schools for art masters, the first Government art examinations and teaching certificates, the first state art education in the public day schools and training colleges, the first art masters' association, and the first great museum of applied art, later to become the Victoria and Albert Museum. (Macdonald, 1970, p.157)
The British Public Elementary School System (1870-1910)

Prior to 1870 universal elementary education was not practised in Britain but, with the passing of the Elementary Education Act of 1870, this provision became the declared purpose of the State. Lawson and Silver (1973) wrote:

The Elementary Education Act of 1870 was the most workable piece of compromise legislation in English nineteenth-century history. It did not introduce free or compulsory education, but it made both possible. (p.314)

The aim of the Act was to provide school accommodation for all children who were not already receiving elementary education. Subsequently this was to be provided by school boards in areas where there appeared to be a deficiency in the provision of elementary schooling. According to Lawson and Silver (1973, p. 318) the Government's intention was based upon the assumption that the newly created public elementary board schools would provide an independent system of education for the lower classes. They wrote:

the elementary schools were viewed as catering for the class of children ranging from the 'street Arabs' to those of the 'respectable' working class. (p. 318).

Between 1870 and 1902 a number of elementary schools, of which the Central School Sheffield was the first were promoted as higher-grade board schools. This development was achieved by adding a higher stage within the elementary system, for pupils beyond the age of thirteen years; also by offering an advanced curriculum that included subjects such as chemistry, physics, mechanics, machine drawing, mathematics, history, geography and some language teaching besides English. In so doing the higher-grade elementary schools appeared to some people to acquire alarming quasi-secondary features. According to Lawson and Silver (1973, p.367) the superior quality of education offered began to outpace that in existing voluntary schools and to adversely affect the reputation of the middle-class grammar schools. Both of these appeared financially insecure at the turn of the century.
In 1902, the Conservative Government led by A. J. Balfour (1848-1930) passed the Education Act. This greatly influenced the structure of elementary and secondary education in the sense that it helped to hold back, and in some ways even destroy, the efforts made by elementary schools to expand their curricula upwards. Robert Morant, a senior civil servant and member of the Board of Education, who masterminded the Education Bill of 1902, like Balfour believed in a social hierarchy. The new Act did not offer equality of educational opportunity and in some cases prevented intelligent children from poor families progressing to secondary and higher education.

By defining the board schools as strictly elementary, and then bringing them into a relationship with the newly strengthened grammar schools, Morant defined also a strictly class relationship to be tempered only by the introduction of a formal system of transition from one system to another. (Lawson and Silver, 1973, p.372)

The Public Elementary School Art Curriculum 1870-1912

During the period of Elizabeth Nutt's teacher training and early art teaching career in Britain between 1890 and 1919 fundamental new ideas and approaches to elementary, general and art education were introduced. At this time educational thought became subject to international influences. These derived in particular from Continental Europe and North America and were especially concerned with an interest in child study and the recognition of child art. The ideas of philosophers of education such as the American John Dewey (1859-1952) and the Italian Maria Montessori (1870-1952) emerged placing a greater emphasis upon child activity for its own sake. In Britain, according to Macdonald (1970, p.320), there was an awareness of the new concept of child art derived from studies in psychology, a growth of interest in primitive art and a growing appreciation of the characteristics of modern art. The recognition of child art and related approaches of art educationalists such as Franz Cizek (1865-1946) in Austria and Arthur Dow in America filtered into Britain through exhibitions such as the British International Art Congress in 1908 when both men exhibited exciting examples of Child Art. However for working class children in the early 1900's despite fundamental changes in
the philosophies of child education, and a relaxation of the rigid primary art curriculum
guidelines issued by the newly formed Board of Education, the drawing content practised
in the elementary schools remained effectively unchanged from the previous century. In
the early nineteen hundreds the elementary school drawing curriculum continued to be
predominantly concerned with imitative and mechanical drawing aimed at the
development of hand and eye training.

The philosophy behind the practice of imitation was that it would make
the mind operate accurately; and since, the Utilitarians insisted, drawing
was as easy as writing, all intelligent children could learn to draw very
accurately. (Macdonald, 1970, p.168)

The drawing curriculum was intended to co-ordinate the hand and eye and develop in the
child a capability for clear, definite and accurate representation. It was intended to give
pupils the capacity to copy accurately simple outline drawings from illustrations on boards
(from the flat), or from the blackboard, or from simple objects such as a cone, a sphere or
a symmetrical vase; a basic knowledge of practical geometry and the ability to draw simple
objects from memory.

The drawing techniques employed to achieve these goals were free, mechanical and
memory drawing. Free drawing included freehand and freearm drawing (see figure
4). Both of these techniques were practised without the aid of instruments.

Mechanical or technical drawing was accomplished by the use of instruments such as
rulers, set-squares, T-squares and compasses. As with all aspects of the drawing
curriculum in the early twentieth century precise instructions governing the practice of
these techniques were issued to teachers and pupils alike. For example Vaughn
(1907) described the official formula for freehand drawing as follows:

Freehand work, should be done with the wrist and fingers, neither
elbow-joint nor shoulder-joint being used except to a limited extent for
lines drawn from left to right...The hand should rest easily and firmly
on its side, and the strokes should be made by using the joints of the
wrist and fingers; there should be no bodily movement of the hand as a
whole, necessitating the use of the elbow-joint, except for strokes
mentioned above. (p.28)
FIGURE 4. FREEARM DRAWING INTRODUCED NATIONALLY IN 1895 BY THE DEPARTMENT OF SCIENCE AND ART. By permission of Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd.
This method of drawing which combined tentative hand and finger movements was extremely restrictive. Since the hand remained firmly upon the working surface the length of each drawn line varied from about one and a half to two inches in length, depending upon the distance the pencil was held from the end and the natural radius of the child's hand. According to Sutton (1967, p. 139) the art educationalist Ebenezer Cooke, who launched freearm drawing as an alternative technique, described one example as 'fifty little touches to a line five inches long'. Freearm drawing differed from freehand in the sense that children were encouraged to work with a rhythmic arm movement using the whole arm instead of only the wrist and fingers. This less restricted technique allowed a greater production of drawing in the lesson. The main advantages were the increased length of the drawn line that could be achieved by a single stroke, and a greater freedom of arm movement. The larger scale work produced by freearm drawing required a bigger working surface than freehand drawing which was accomplished by the use of a pencil and paper. For freearm drawing children sat or stood at blackened millboards or blackboards. Millboards provided a working surface of about 12" x 22". They were usually placed in a nearly vertical position resting in the desk pengroove supported by a slate positioned in a slot at the back of the desk or, were simply placed in the slate slot. Pupils either worked with chalk directly onto the millboards or attached sheets of brown paper to the surface. The only contact with the working surface was the point of the chalk or, if a drawing book or paper was used, the point of the pencil. Some school classrooms or school halls were equipped with a continuous low level narrow ledge about six inches wide upon which millboards or blackboards could be placed and leaned against the walls, others were furnished with continuous blackboards fixed to the walls. Vaughn (1907) commented that it took:

\[
\text{a fairly large hall to accommodate fifty and sixty children standing round at the same time. (p.42)}
\]

Drawing instruction was given simultaneously to a whole class which might accommodate between forty and sixty pupils. In this context the blackboard played a
very important part in the teaching process. Each elementary form such as a line or an oval was carefully demonstrated by the teacher on the blackboard. Alternatively a large outline drawing of a simple object such as a leaf was placed on a large board in front of the class, or drawn upon the blackboard and painstakingly copied stroke by stroke by the pupils.

Mechanical or technical drawing was regarded as equally important as free drawing. Vaughn (1907) considered its educational goal was to train children in:

> habits of neatness, accuracy and precision - just the habits that were mainly lacking in free drawing. (p.47)

Mechanical drawing lessons began very simply. Children learned how to use a pencil and ruler to draw straight lines and after much practice progressed to more complicated constructions such as right angles, squares and eventually hexagons and octagons. Vaughn (1907, p.48) advised against the practice which required pupils to draw one line and then wait until a detailed examination of the work of the whole class was made by the teacher. However it was possible for an entire drawing lesson to be occupied in the production of a single line using a pencil and ruler. The acquisition of a sound knowledge of linear geometry was considered a major elementary drawing curriculum goal.

Memory drawing also formed an important component of the elementary school curriculum. It was originally included in the National Course of Instruction (1852) and continued to be taught in British primary and secondary schools up until the second world war. The standard exercise consisted of drawing a group of objects from memory withdrawn after a few minutes of study. According to Macdonald (1970, p.273) the theory of memory drawing was that students learned 'to be conscious of the construction of objects and the space between them', through careful observation committed to memory.¹⁵
In 1900 a new Board of Education replaced the Department of Science and Art and adopted a less rigid approach to elementary school drawing. The new Board formed a Council of Advice and appointed Walter Crane\(^6\) (1845-1915) as a member. *The Circular on Primary Drawing* (1901) issued by the Board of Education and illustrated by Walter Crane adopted a more conciliatory tone in its texts than had previously been apparent in curriculum instructions issued to teachers by the Department of Science and Art.

According to Sutton (1967, p.204) the text of the circular reflected a concern for the education of the child compared to the purely vocational attitude of the Department of Science and Art. The use of flexible points (brushes) was introduced into Primary School drawing together with a new liberal idea that children should be encouraged to choose objects to draw for themselves. The Circular introduced the notion that elementary school drawing need not necessarily be measured against a rigid national syllabus. Also that ‘Teachers should be encouraged to teach what they themselves know and can do.’

By 1911 changes in the drawing curriculum in most elementary schools were discernible. Although far from extinct, the use of the flat copy had been discontinued in many schools and was increasingly replaced by drawing from common objects. Edmond Holmes (1911) believed the number of schools in which drawing from objects was adequately taught was small but increasing. He praised:

> not only the new gospel of drawing from the object, but also the whole gospel of education through self-reliance and self-expression. (Sutton, p.219)

The concept of self-reliance and self-expression in the elementary drawing curriculum was an important innovation in the sense that, for the first time, elementary school children were allowed to draw directly from common objects rather than copy simplistic diagrammatic representations from flat copies or from the blackboard. However the habit of copying persisted and remained firmly entrenched in school drawing practice. In a perceptive illustration of elementary school drawing
and the often general lack of teacher understanding or misinterpretation of official drawing guidelines and policy Holmes (1911) wrote:

the formula or 'tip' is beginning to take the place of the flat copy. There is a formula for the tulip, a formula for the snowdrop, a formula for the daffodil and so on; and the children draw from these formula while the actual flowers are before them and they are making believe to reproduce them. In other schools an object is placed before the class, and the teacher draws this for them on the blackboard explaining to them in detail how it ought to be drawn; and when he has finished, the children pretend to draw the object, but really copy this blackboard copy of it (Sutton, 1967, p.219)

In 1912, according to Sutton (1967, p.259), clear guidelines were issued by the Board of Education concerning art teaching in elementary schools which emphasized the development in pupils of capabilities of observation and expression. The Education Code for that year specified that, from the beginning of the school art curriculum, pupils above Infant level should abandon the flat copy and work from sight and memory, directly from natural and artificial objects.

**Elementary and Secondary Craft Education in Britain 1850-1920**

The Arts and Crafts Movement which evolved in England during the latter part of the nineteenth century, the introduction of crafts into the Royal College of Art in 1898, and the teachings of art educators such as Walter Crane and William Lethaby (1857-1931) at the turn of the century gave a tremendous stimulus to craft teaching in the Schools of Art. However the concept of craft education, in the sense of William Morris' integrated vision of the artist-craftsman in which art was inseparable from craft did not infiltrate general British school education until after the Hadow Report in 1926.17

The provision of vocational school craft instruction developed slowly in Britain from 1854. Handwork had been taught in some British schools from that year when the first kindergarten was established in Hampstead. Children under seven years of age
had engaged in activities or 'occupations' derived from the teachings of the German educationalist Friedrich Froebel (1782-1852).18

Children carried out block-building, stick-laying, paper weaving and folding, paper cutting, pasteboard modelling, pea work, and net drawing on squared slates. (Macdonald, 1970, p.306)

In the mid 1880's, a small number of independent random woodwork classes were set up for older boys in elementary schools separate from the common school curriculum. For example, according to Macdonald (1970, p.305) a class was organised in the playground sheds of Beethoven Street School, Paddington in 1885 by the school-keeper, an ex-carpenter. Also workshop centres in Manual Training19 were established in London for older boys in elementary schools. However craft education was not generally accepted in the elementary schools until the late 1880's. According to Macdonald (1970, p.306), following the report of the Cross Commission in 1888, the Science and Art Department recognised and sanctioned the introduction of Manual Training Centres in 1890 by approving a grant of six shillings per pupil. Following the award of this grant the number of Manual Training Centres expanded rapidly. The Training Centres offered a weekly craft lesson, usually in woodwork, although sometimes in metalwork to selected older boys under the supervision of a craftsman.20 Boys learned to make artefacts, such as book and letter racks, and joints such as dovetails using simple industrial methods. As in the elementary drawing curriculum the content of these vocational lessons was intended to promote accuracy of hand and eye in prospective artisans.

A more heuristic approach to craft education known as Sloyd21 was developed in Scandinavia and was introduced into Britain in the late 1880's.22 The aim of the Sloyd curriculum was to provide practical handwork training throughout a child's entire school life. It aimed to develop an aesthetic feeling for form and material and an enduring appreciation of practical work. Sloyd differed from British Manual Training in the sense that craft was regarded as a general educational rather than a
vocational subject. However, according to Macdonald (1970, p.307) despite 'initial
enthusiasms, especially among female teachers' the Sloyd system of woodwork was
rejected in Britain and did not replace or influence Manual Training for boys in
British elementary schools.

Although craft teaching was provided for infants in the form of 'occupations' (see figure
5), and Manual Training was available for selected older boys there still remained a gap in
craft education for the age group from seven to eleven years. Handwork became the
accepted term for classroom craftwork produced by pupils in this category. According to
Sutton (1967, p.241), 'attempts to bridge this gap had powerful support in the early ears
of the new century.' By 1905 elementary schools offered a comprehensive range of craft
subjects to children of all ages. These were reflected in the examination subjects for that
year which Sutton (1967, p.242) suggested linked 'in a measure the interests of art and
craft'. The subjects were divided into two categories. The first, intended for infants,
included Froebel's Gifts and Occupations. The secondary category for Juniors was
divided into two sections. Section one, for children of seven to ten years included clay
modelling, brush drawing, blackboard drawing, colour work, paper cutting and mounting
and cardboard modelling. Section two for boys from about eleven to thirteen years
included woodwork, wood carving, metalwork, repoussé (metal)work and school
gardening. Girls who studied needlework continuously from the infant stages followed a
similar course except instead of wood or metalwork they learned cookery, laundry or
housewifery. The elementary craft curriculum aimed to develop in pupils a mental clarity
and accurate manipulation of tools through hand and eye training. Vaughn (1907) wrote:

While the eye is being trained to accuracy, and the hand to dexterity and
manipulative skill, the mind is being trained to observation, attention,
comparison, reflection and judgement. (p.11)

Until 1911 most pupils were educated either in Elementary or Grammar Schools.

From that year however:
FIGURE 5: MANUAL OCCUPATION: CLAY MODELLING. AN INFANT CLASS MODELLING BIRDS.

By permission of the London Metropolitan Archive.
Central Schools were established to take the place of higher Elementaries which took children up to fifteen years of age. (Macdonald, 1970, p.307)

These schools offered boys and girls about to enter the trades, industry or domestic service a general education and their workrooms added considerable stimulus to practical work. According to Macdonald (1970, p.307) the increasing numbers of adolescents in the Elementary and Central Schools 'demanded a more educational and less vocational approach' to craft education. The Board of Education agreed and an extension of the Educational Handwork practised in the junior schools was introduced into secondary education.

There were now three categories of craftwork for seniors. Educational Handwork for the production of apparatus and models for school subjects, usually done in the classrooms; handicrafts such as bookbinding, pottery, basketry, and needlework, sometimes done in the School workroom, sometimes in the classrooms; and lastly wood and metalwork done in the workroom, at a centre, or at a junior department of an art or technical school. (Macdonald, 1970, p.308)

Under the Education Act of 1918 the Board of Education validated the title of Practical Instruction, making the subject a requisite part of the school curriculum.

The Grammar and Private Schools which served the middle classes, and the Municipal Secondary Schools, implemented under the Education Act of 1902 which were modelled upon the endowed Grammar Schools, appeared to offer little craft education. These schools concerned with academic studies such as the classics, languages, history and science perceived University entrance as their ultimate goal. Sutton (1967, p.230) suggested that 'towards these ends art and craft could offer nothing.' The ancient public school curriculum, in which the classics generally predominated did not include craft as an integral part of their school curriculum; although there were notable exceptions, for example, Edward Thring's\textsuperscript{23} workshops at Uppingham, and Sanderson's\textsuperscript{24} at Oundle.
Drawing in Secondary Schools 1850-1920

In the second half of the nineteenth century drawing was firmly established as an integral part of the British elementary school curriculum, designed for the education of future artisans. However the national system of education which continued to be defined by the criterion of social class also comprised the endowed, private and public schools. In these establishments intended to educate the Country's future managers and leaders art occupied a minor position in the school's curriculum.

According to Sutton (1967, p.86) the 'Clarendon' Commission of 1864 which inquired into the management and financial affairs of nine public schools including Eton, Winchester and Rugby recommended that every boy 'should learn either music or drawing during a part at least of his stay at school.' The Commissioners noted that hand and eye training, of the type taught in the British elementary schools was rare in the public schools. Art in the form of copied landscape drawing, drawing from nature and the principles of perspective was taught as an accomplishment in the sense that it was considered a suitable activity for a gentlemen. Art was not regarded as an integral part of the public school curriculum and was usually practised as an optional extra by a small proportion of pupils in their own time.

In 1868, the 'Taunton' (Schools Enquiry) Commission investigated all Endowed, Private and Proprietary Schools which had not been considered in 1864 by the Clarendon Commission. According to Sutton (1967, pp. 104, 105) replies from the Secondary Schools to the Commissioners suggested that many, although not all Grammar and Private Schools offered drawing usually for a period of approximately one to two hours per week as a paid optional extra. However the number of pupils studying drawing in individual schools appeared variable. In Leeds Grammar School, for example, a high proportion of pupils learned drawing while in other schools the numbers were low or non existent. Information supplied to the Commissioners by the endowed and private schools under
examination indicated that Freehand Drawing from the Flat, was the most popular form of
drawing available, although Perspective, Model-drawing and Colouring were also
offered. Copying from finished pictures was also widely practised. However drawing in
the Grammar schools was not as prescriptive as in the Government public elementary
schools. In the late 1860's:

Compared with the rigidly controlled drawing taught in the elementary
schools of the day, there is no doubt that a faint glimmer of the old
Renaissance interest in art for its own sake was surviving in some of the
Grammar Schools. (Sutton, 1967, p.92)

A system of public art examinations developed in the 1850's to meet the needs of the
middle-class private and Grammar Schools. By 1888, there were four different
kinds of Art examinations open to middle-class schools. These were the College of
Preceptors Examinations which commenced in 1850; the Oxford and Cambridge
University Local Examinations which were established for boys in the late 1850's
and opened to girls by 1870; the Department of Science and Art Examinations and the
Drawing Society examinations which were introduced in 1888. In the overall
examination pattern, art occupied an inferior position compared to other subjects such
as classics. For example, Professor Rawlingson, a member of the Oxford Delegacy,
who testified to the Taunton Commission stated:

Music and drawing are included but are put quite on a lower
footing...as subjects of third-rate importance. (Sutton, 1967, p.100)

Under the Education Act of 1902 both elementary and secondary education became a
local authority responsibility. As has been discussed previously, many new
Municipal Secondary Schools were formed at this time modelled largely upon the
endowed Grammar Schools. In these schools which were more concerned with
academic studies, drawing was also relegated to a minor status. The lack of an
appropriate qualification, specifically designed for secondary school art teachers in
the first decade of the twentieth century also contributed to the general perception of
art as a non-essential fringe subject in secondary education. A report published in 1911, compiled from a questionnaire produced by the Art Teachers' Guild, and sent out to six hundred boys' and four hundred girls' secondary schools in 1909 concluded:

Drawing occupies an unimportant place in the curriculum and is treated as a separate subject without consideration of its education value in relation to the general school course. (Carline, 1968, p. 151)

The Report offered a dreary image of the subject:

They begin [states the report] with outline drawing in the lower forms, frequently from freehand copies, geometric models and simple common objects. Not until the higher forms are reached are the pupils given any opportunity for drawing objects of a more interesting character, or of drawing them in a way which leaves any freedom for individual expression. (Carline, 1968, p. 151)

In the early 1900's there were some signs of progress towards a more 'artistic' approach to art education in secondary schools. According to Carline (1968, p. 152) in 1911 London University extended it's local examinations in art to include 'Drawing (Art)' in the syllabus for the Schools Leaving Certificate (Matriculation Standard). This syllabus included still-life groups instead of geometrical solids, drawing from a natural object and the use of paint instead of pencil only. However, according to Carline (1968, p. 152), schools 'were slow to respond; there were only 165 Senior candidates in the first year.'

Freehand drawing from flat copies remained common practice in the secondary school curriculum in the first decade of the twentieth century, and according to Macdonald (1970, p. 224) drawing from geometric 'type solids' continued until the Second World War.

**Nineteenth Century Provision of Education for Women**

In the mid-nineteenth century general educational opportunities for women were extremely limited and determined by the criterion of social class. Before the late 1840's there was no established pattern of general schooling for girls as was the case for boys.
This was because girl's education was an upper class activity and usually happened at home. According to Jones (1979, p. 146) this kind of education 'normally, was more "social training" than learning' and was concerned with the acquisition of 'accomplishments' such as drawing, music and general knowledge. Upper and middle-class girls were trained to become good wives and mothers and the notion of a career, particularly in the professions, was inconceivable. Education for working-class girls before 1870 other than in morals and good habits was considered unnecessary. However radical educational changes both in the perception and provision of women's education emerged slowly from the 1850's and progressed significantly throughout the century, accelerated by the social emancipation of women and economic determinants. In England, the provision of schooling for middle-class girls, which was predominantly a separatist movement, greatly increased. For example, in 1868 the Taunton Commission found only twelve Endowed Schools for girls in England, while in 1895 the Bryce Commission had found eighty, and maintained that:

since 1868 'there has probably been more change in the condition of the Secondary Education of girls than in any other department of education' (Lawson and Silver, 1973, p.343)

**Art Education for Women 1840-1910**

In the mid nineteenth century there were a number of different types of institutions where women could study art. For example, the Female School of Design, opened in 1842, and the regional Schools of Design and the Royal Academy admitted women in 1862. There were also other establishments which took women such as the Slade School of Fine Art inaugurated in 1871, and private studios such as those supervised by Francis Bates and Mrs Jopling-Rowe in London (Zimmerman, 1991, p. 109), and individual tuition. Art was considered an appropriate occupation and a prestigious accomplishment for upper and middle-class young ladies. According to Macdonald (1970, p.147) 'the demand for art education for the better-class females' in the mid nineteenth century was very great, especially in London. Art tuition based upon copying from existing works of
art of landscapes, romantic ruins or castles could be obtained privately from drawing masters, from private seminaries, or in the Schools of Design. In the latter, according to Macdonald (1970, p.147) 'ladies could learn from the headmaster how to paint landscapes and flowers'. The Schools of Design also offered middle-class women such as 'reduced gentlewomen' or the daughters of tradesmen the prospect of a 'career as a governess or freelance designer'.

An article in the Art Journal in 1861 gave the view that art education was pointless for working-class girls, since their career was labour. (Macdonald, 1970, p.146)

In her analysis of art education for women in England from 1890-1910, as reflected in the Victorian periodical press, Zimmerman (1991, p.112) has written about the manner in which the social and economic environment in England at the turn of the century determined the art education women received. Zimmerman concluded that middle and upper class women who studied fine art at academies were perceived as 'less talented' than men and unequal in terms of their 'intellect and technical abilities'. She distinguished between these women however and working and middle-class women, 'who were needed in the labour force' and studied applied art at the Schools of Design. She suggested that women studying the applied arts, apart from the study of the nude, were able to participate in the same arts and crafts classes as men and concluded:

that women art students who worked in feminine - identified media and processes associated with applied art were able to receive a more equitable art education than those women who studied more prestigious, masculine - identified media and processes associated with fine art. (Zimmerman, 1991, p.112)

According to Boris (1986 in Zimmerman, 1991, p. 112) the Arts and Crafts Movement, which championed the integration of art and labour through the development of manual skills and craftsmanship 'did dignify women's skills, such as weaving, embroidery, ceramics and furniture making.' However these 'decorative
"arts' were regarded as less prestigious than the fine arts and women engaging in them were considered less talented artistically.

**Women's Involvement in the Teaching Profession 1870-1910**

By 1870, the movement for the social emancipation of women had made some progress in the sense that very gradually the universities and professions were beginning to open to women. The provision of Endowed, Private and Proprietary Schools for middle class girls from the 1850's and especially the establishment of the Elementary Schools after 1870 offered some women employment and the prospect of a stable, respectable career as a schoolmistress. As a result, by the end of the nineteenth century, there was a concentration of talented, and unmarried dedicated women practising in the teaching profession.

When the 1870 Act was passed there were somewhat over 12,000 certified teachers about half of them women. Ten years later there were over 31,000, and in 1895 there were almost 53,000 the proportion of women steadily increasing to about three-fifths at the later date (Lawson and Silver, 1973, p.332)

At the turn of the century the majority of women schoolteachers educated in the Training Colleges, were employed in primary rather than secondary education. At this educational level a perception of women as natural child carers, intellectually inferior to men, was socially acceptable. The lack of access to adequate secondary teaching qualifications prevented women gaining employment in secondary education however. According to Lawson and Silver (1973, p. 343) ‘Government - supported training colleges...trained elementary teachers only’. As very few women were admitted to the universities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century they were unable to obtain the degrees necessary to teach in secondary education unlike men. As has been discussed, the lack of an appropriate qualification, specially designed for secondary school art teachers reduced the status of both male and female art teachers working in secondary education in the first
decade of the twentieth century. According to Sutton (1967, p.230) the Training College Certificate level 'D' was often considered all that could be 'reasonably expected in Art.'

In higher education women who had trained in the Schools of Art found employment, often as part-time specialist teachers of drawing, in Pupil Teachers' Centres, Training Colleges, and in minor positions in the Schools of Art. Research carried out during this investigation suggests that although they existed in large numbers in the teaching profession as a whole, with rare exceptions, women did not achieve the highest positions of leadership within their institutions. In elementary, secondary and higher education generally, women were employed in the lower professional grades, earned less money than men and had lower career expectations.

Summary
In the nineteenth and early twentieth century in Britain unprecedented developments in the provision of both general education and art education emerged. In general education the provision of universal elementary education after 1870 and the growth in secondary education throughout the period greatly expanded the number and variety of schools. In this period the growth and development of a national system resulted in education for children of all social classes. However the choice of system which comprised the Elementary, Endowed, Private and Public schools was still determined by the criteria of social class and did not offer equality of educational opportunity.

In nineteenth century Britain there was also a rapid growth of art institutions and in art education. During this period, the first School of Design was established in 1837. The narrow vocational art curriculum for artisans, based upon copying from historic motifs, was concerned, exclusively with methods and techniques in applied art rather than the subject of fine art. It reflected the Victorian perception of the low social status of the artisan as an industrial worker. Dyce's drawing curriculum denied the possibility of
personal artistic development and did not offer British artisans the opportunity to raise their status to the position of fine artist. In 1852 Henry Cole became head of the Central School of Design. The introduction of a national system of art education, the training of art teachers and the organization of drawing in the public day schools changed the original aim of the Schools of Design from the training of artisans to the training of art teachers. The rigorous national system typically exemplified the Victorian moralistic concept of success as a virtue that could only be achieved through remorseless exertion. Cole envisaged art as a significant part of a utilitarian education and one of his greatest achievements was the introduction of elementary drawing into national education. In the elementary schools drawing occupied an important, well established integral part of the curriculum, and was rigorously taught by specially trained and qualified staff. In contrast generally, in the private and secondary schools it was regarded as an unimportant minor subject.

The major changes that occurred in education in the second half of the nineteenth century related to provision and organization.

Under new pressures, changes in the final decades also began to focus on content, method and on children. (Lawson and Silver, 1973, p.357)

In the early 1900's, the new concept of child art and child-centred education were reflected in the literature issued by the Board of Education formed in 1900. However teachers were slow to respond. Practices such as freehand and freearm drawing from the flat copy and geometric models continued to be taught in British elementary and secondary schools until the second decade of the twentieth century. Craft education was successfully established in the elementary schools in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. By 1911 a comprehensive range of craft subjects for pupils of all ages in state Elementary and Central Schools was achieved. However craft teaching in these schools was vocational rather than educational and did not reflect the interdisciplinary concept of the Arts and Crafts
Movement of art as inseparable from craft. There was very little craft education in the Grammar, Municipal, Private or Public schools in the early twentieth century.

The provision for women’s education progressed significantly from the mid 1850's accelerated by their social emancipation. By the turn of the century, education was generally considered suitable for women although its form was determined by social and economic circumstances. Working and middle-class women who studied applied art in the Schools of Art were reported to compete more equally with men in terms of their intellectual and technical art abilities than women who studied in more prestigious processes associated with fine art. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, teaching was considered a respectable career for a women; however the majority were employed in elementary rather than secondary education. This situation reflected the Victorian perception of women as intellectually inferior to men and better suited to a child caring role.

The unparalleled expansion in the provision of general and art education in the nineteenth century was a great achievement. Although limited and rigidly determined by the criterion of social class, by the turn of the century universal education was accomplished in Britain. It is in the context of these remarkable developments in education and art education and of increased female participation in the field that Nutt’s early life and professional career will now be discussed.
Notes

1. According to Macdonald (1970, pp. 69, 70) the academicians on the Council of the Central School of Design, set up in 1836, considered design for industry to be the 'lowest branch of ornament, even below the hand crafts'. Anxious that ambitious artisans might aspire to fields of design other than industry, for example architecture, the Council later decreed the new School of design was not 'a school for every kind of design, but for one kind only viz. ornamental'.

2. William Dyce, a young Edinburgh portrait painter was appointed master of the Trustees' Academy in 1837. This was the first institution set up in Britain, in 1760, with the intention of teaching drawing to artisans.

3. The distinction between high and low art i.e. between painting, sculpture and architecture and industrial design or the crafts, was not maintained in France as it was in Britain. For example, at the Académie des Beaux Arts de Lyon:

   students did not decide whether to enter the fine arts departments or the ornament department until they had completed a basic course of drawing and painting. (Macdonald, 1970, p. 79).

   Students in the department of ornament, although predominantly the sons of factory workers, considered themselves to be artists.

4. According to Macdonald (1970, p. 79) in Bavaria pupils who had attended the optional primary design classes could progress to a secondary gewerbeschulen which existed for training artisans. These schools followed a wide course of education which included French, History, Geography, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry and 'severe outline' Drawing.

5. According to Sutton (1967, p. 54) Dyce's Drawing Book of elementary examples in outline was published in consecutive parts from 1842. It was intended as an elementary drawing book for schools with the purpose of training pupils to invent and design ornamental patterns suitable for industry. Also for the use and guidance of manufacturers and pattern draughtsmen.

6. Dyce had worked in Rome with the German Nazarene painters under the leadership of Johann Friedrich Overbeck. The group of artists lived and worked together as a medieval guild.

   These Nazarenes objected to intellectual principles, humanist influences, and emotional qualities in art, believing that, if these distractions were avoided in a picture, the residue would be purely religious. (Macdonald, 1970, p. 77).

7. According to Macdonald (1970, pp. 129, 133) Cole had published 'illustrated hand books on Westminster Abbey, Hampton Court and other medieval buildings.' He had also been awarded a silver medal by the Society of Arts or his design of a tea service which was very successfully produced and sold by the firm of china manufacturers, Mintons. From 1849-1852 Cole also published a Journal of Design and Manufacturers.

8. The course of instruction recorded in The Fifty-Seventh Annual Report of the Sheffield School of Art in 1900 appeared the same as the one drawn up by Richard Redgrave, the Art Superintendent and Richard Burchett the headmaster of the Central School of Design in 1852.
9. According to Millington (1955, p. 15) pupil teachers were selected at the age of thirteen from amongst the most intelligent elementary school children and were apprenticed to a headmaster for five years. They studied a comprehensive range of subjects such as English, Mathematics, History, Geography etc. and were examined in drawing annually. They could study either:

in their own school under a visiting or resident teacher certified by the Science and Art Department, or attend the local School of art at half-fees. (Macdonald, 1970, p. 162).

After five years pupil teachers sat a competitive examination on the results of which Queen's Scholarships were awarded. These entitled the holder to attend a two-year Training College Course.

10. According to Macdonald (1970, p. 163), the Class for Training Masters or Schools of Art moved to Marlborough House in 1853. Together with the Special Technical Class, and the general students, this faculty was designated the Central Training School of Art. In 1863 after the School moved to South Kensington it was renamed the National Art Training Schools and, in 1896, it became the Royal College of Art.

In 1852, at Cole's suggestion, a Department of Practical Art was created within the Board of Trade to supervise the Schools of Design. Provincial Schools were renamed Schools of Practical Art. In 1853 these schools were placed under the supervision of the newly formed Department of Science and Art and were renamed Schools of Art.

11. In 1852 a collection of artefacts from the Great Exhibition of 1851 and from Buckingham Palace was gathered together by Cole and exhibited at Marlborough House. The collection was designated the Museum of Ornamental Manufactures. According to Macdonald (1970, p. 178) 'It was the nucleus around which eventually grew the great Victoria and Albert Museum.' Cole intended the Museum as an educational institution for the Victorian public. Textiles, ceramics and metalwork were exhibited together with examples of 'correct' and 'false' illustrations of applied design.

12. According to Jones (1979, p. 152) the Free Place system introduced in 1907 offered scholarships to provide payment for grammar school tuition fees to children from working class families. However, the cost of school uniforms, books and games equipment had to be born by the pupil's families. Therefore even the children who won the limited number of scholarships were not necessarily able to afford a secondary grammar school education.

13. At the time of publication (1907) Vaughn, author of Nelson's New Drawing Course was superintendent for the Glasgow School Board. Previously he had been Art Master to the School Board for London. In view of his status, the advice offered in his Teachers' Handbook cannot be considered representative of the guidelines offered to Junior School teachers in the early 1900's.

14. In 1895 the Department of Science and Art published the Alternative Syllabus. According to Sutton (1967, p. 153) the syllabus which introduced freearm drawing into the elementary school drawing curriculum was commonly attributed to Ebenezer Cooke.

15. According to Carline (1968, p. 136) belief in the value of developing the memory originated with the teaching of Lecoq de Boisbaudran, Professor at the École Impérial de Dessin in Paris who had published an essay on the subject in 1847. Alphonse Legros
(1837-1911) who was appointed head of the Slade School London, in 1876 and R. Catterson-Smith, head of Birmingham School of Arts and Crafts in the early 1900’s, were mainly responsible for introducing de Boisbaudran’s ideas into England.

16. Walter Crane was one of the leading figures of the Arts and Crafts Movements. He was a member of the Art Worker's Guild founded in 1884 and first president of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society founded in 1886. Crane was Principal of the Royal College of Art from 1898-1899 and promoted design education and craftwork at the College and in the Schools of Art.

17. According to Macdonald (1970, p. 308), the Hadow Report (1926), was concerned with adolescent education and ‘the establishment of Modern Schools with a leaving age of fifteen.’ It recommended that in Practical Instruction i.e. craftwork, ‘emphasis should be laid on the artistic aspect of the work.’ Also that the subject should be related to courses in drawing and the applied arts. Hadow suggested that practical work for girls should be less concerned with vocational needlework and more with artistic crafts such as leatherwork, bookbinding, basketry, pottery enamelling, weaving etc.


19. According to Macdonald (1970, p.306), in the mid 1880’s there was no funding for Manual Training in elementary schools, either from the Education Department or from the Science and Art Department. However a number of workshop centres were founded in London by a Joint Committee of the City and Guilds of London Institute, of the Livery Companies, and of the London School Board. The first Normal Manual Class was set up in 1886.


21. The Scandinavian word slöjd and the anglicized sloyd were derived from an Icelandic term for creative handwork.

22. The Finn, Uno Cygnaeus (1810-1888) who was a disciple of the Swiss educationalist Pestalozzi (1746-1827), and Froebel, was the original founder of Sloyd. He pioneered the subject in Finnish Schools from 1863. According to Sutton (1967, p. 182) the first Sloyd course in England was held at Bedford in 1887.

23. Edward Thring was headmaster at Uppingham School from 1853-1887. According to Sutton (1967, p.176) he pioneered manual work for boys in middle-class schools.

24. F. W. Sanderson was Headmaster at Oundle Public School from 1892-1922. According to Sutton (1967, p. 243), Sanderson started craft workshops at Oundle School and at Laxton Modern School, for the sons of farmers and tradesmen, of
which he was also headmaster

25. Proprietary schools were founded by the early Victorians from the 1830's onward in response to the unsatisfactory educational opportunities offered by the declining grammar schools and private schools which were often inefficient and corrupt. According to Reader (1974, p. 158) proprietary schools were privately owned, but not by individuals. Initially many were financed by shareholders and their purpose was educational rather than profit. Marlborough founded in 1843 and Cheltenham Ladies' College in 1853 are examples of proprietary schools. 'Between them they covered the whole social, religious and educational range of the middle classes'.

26. Sutton (1967, pp. 286-293) mentions a list of 252 boy's Endowed Schools where drawing was taught, compiled by the Schools Enquiry ('Taunton') Commission in 1868 which indicated that 25,734 boys were being educated. Of these approximately 40% were taught drawing. In the 20 girl's Endowed Schools listed, educating 1,567 pupils, approximately 66% learned drawing.

27. According to Sutton (1967, p.90) replies to a letter sent to headteachers of 'all endowed and private schools under examination' by the 'Taunton' Commission indicted various approaches to Colouring. For example there was evidence of watercolour painting in a number of Grammar Schools, landscape painting in Grammar and Proprietary schools and landscape painting in oils at the Wakefield Northern Congregational School.

28. According to Sutton (1967, pp. 104,163) the Drawing Society was founded in 1888 by the art educator Thomas R. Auletter (1848-1945) to promote his own drawing teaching methods and to conduct drawing examinations. The Society's syllabus 'was the first to reject Freehand Drawing from the Flat.'

29. According to Sutton (1967, p. 235) the first qualification specially designed for secondary school art teachers was initiated in 1916. It was introduced by the Oxford University Delegacy of Local Examinations and known as the Secondary Teachers' Drawing Certificate. A major aim of the award was to raise the general standard of education of art teachers, and consequently their status, in line with other members of the teaching profession practising in secondary schools.

30. A number of distinguished propriety schools for middle class girls were founded from the mid nineteenth century. For example, the North London Collegiate School established in 1850. The school's first headmistress was Miss Frances Buss. Also Cheltenham Ladies' College was founded in 1853. The famous educator Miss Dorothea Beale was appointed Principal at Cheltenham in 1858.

31. The movement for the social emancipation of women, which reached a climax in the Suffragette Movement, gained considerable success by the 1870's. During this decade, according to (Lawson and Silver, 1973, p. 341) the first of the Married Women's Property Acts and the Matrimonial Causes Acts heralded 'changes in the status of women in the family', also, the need for economy by the middle classes in order to maintain their standard of living in the last quarter of the nineteenth century prompted a reassessment of the type of intellectual education relevant to women.

The smaller family, as well as other pressures for change, affected the view of the kind of education most appropriate to the middle-class girl. (Lawson and Silver, 1973, p. 341)
32. From the late 1860's a number of women's colleges such as Girton and Newnham Cambridge, and Somerville and Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford were opened. London University admitted women to degrees in 1876 although according to Lawson and Silver (1973, p. 343) 'it was to be over forty years before Oxford and Cambridge did likewise'. In the professions Elizabeth Garrett Anderson became a doctor in 1865.

33. Although there was no national legislation forbidding married women from the teaching profession a strong climate of opinion which determined the accepted role of women teachers in Victorian society dictated that they should remain single and dedicated to their profession.

34. Information based upon investigation into Nutt's employment in higher education in Sheffield 1898-1919. Data assembled from Sadler (1903 b, pp 47-49) Millington (1955, p. 101) and Sheffield Education Committee Handbooks for the years 1904, 1906 and 1915.
CHAPTER 3: NUTT’S EARLY HISTORY AND RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND

Introduction

In this chapter the personal historical events and educational achievements that shaped Nutt’s formative childhood and adolescent years are examined together with some of the nineteenth century religious influences that underpinned this period of her life (1870-1891). The research as a whole attempts to answer key questions regarding Nutt’s religious and spiritual beliefs and their effect upon her educational values and teaching practice. For example, it endeavoured to determine which individuals in this period of Nutt’s public or private life, helped to form or significantly influence her strong religious and artistic views; which educational establishments influenced and guided her early religious and artistic beliefs and practice. It asked what were the aims, methods, content, and outcomes of the teacher training courses in which she enrolled as a student and whether or not she encountered examples of sexual discrimination during her student training. Primary source material utilized in this chapter was obtained through informal interviews with members of Nutt’s family\(^1\), and correspondence with officials of the First Church of Christ, Scientist in Britain and Massachusetts, U.S.A\(^2\). Other data sources included archives such as newspapers, Census returns for the years 1881 and 1891, and educational documents such as the Register No 1 Central School Sheffield, Training Colleges Reports for the Years 1887 and 1891 and the Directory of Science and Art Classes (1889) in the Great Britain House of Commons Parliamentary Papers 1801-1900.

For some time there remained a gap in the research into a part of this period of Nutt’s life. Important primary source material containing evidence of Nutt’s training as an elementary school teacher (1890-91) remained elusive and tracking it down proved an intriguing exercise. Tracing and authenticating this part of her life history involved many months.
investigation in order to fill the gap in the research. A valuable clue appeared in an information sheet in the staff register of the Pupil Teachers' Centre Sheffield (p. 18) now the City School, dated 31st August 1919. This confirmed that Nutt was appointed as an art teacher for 'The Art instruction of Pupil Teachers' (1898). Included among her details in the information sheet in the section giving particulars of her teacher training, certificates and diplomas appeared the entry '1890-1 Oxford Training College', followed by the confirmation of her qualification, '1891 Elem. Teachers' Certificate'. Early on in this research, extensive enquiries and searches of archives in Sheffield at the Sheffield University Library, the Sheffield Polytechnic Library, the Sheffield Local Studies Library, the Sheffield Department of Education and among local people in Sheffield failed to uncover evidence of a training college of that name in Sheffield. Later searches of the Training Colleges Reports for the Year 1891, discovered in the Leicester University School of Education Library offered new clues. Included among the reports of the Training Colleges for Schoolmistresses by Mr J. G. Fitch (p. 82) was a record of a visit by the inspectorate on 'November 5th and following days' to the Diocesan Training College, Felstead House, St. Giles', Oxford. This finding provided an important clue to the possible location and character of Nutt's early teacher training. Extensive enquiries to the Department of Education and Science at Elizabeth House, the Oxfordshire Archives, the Oxford County Library, the Oxford Diocesan Board of Education, the Bodleian Library Oxford, Somerville College, Oxford and the Culham Educational Foundation Oxford all failed to produce definite documentary proof of Nutt's attendance at this college. However there was a general consensus among archivists in these institutions that the Diocesan Training College, Oxford was probably the College attended by Nutt 1890-1891. A small but positive shred of supporting evidence was revealed by the release in 1991 of the 1891 Census for the Municipal Ward of Ecclesall Sheffield. This disclosed the Nutt family living at 5, Mackenzie Crescent Sheffield. It also revealed that Nutt was not at home in Sheffield on the night of April 5th 1891 so she could possibly have been resident at the Oxford Diocesan Training College at that time. Conclusive proof of Nutt's attendance at the Diocesan Training College
was finally provided by the publication some months later of the 1891 Census for the Municipal North Ward of Oxford showing Nutt to be resident as a second year student at Felstead House, 23, Banbury Road, Oxford the address of the Anglican Diocesan Training College (see figure 7). The discovery of Nutt’s early teacher training was an exciting finding that afforded me as the researcher contact with many interesting and learned people.

**Family Background**

Elizabeth Nutt was born at Onchan in the Isle of Man on September 5, 1870 (see figure 8). She had two elder brothers called Henry and William and a younger brother and sister called Ernest and Helen. Through her mother Elizabeth Crabtree Nutt, née Styring (1842-1930), who was a member of the respected Styring family of Sheffield, she was able to trace her descent and origins in Yorkshire back to Styr the Strong of Upsala, 700 A.D. Elizabeth Crabtree Styring, (Nutt’s mother) married a farmer from Beeston Nottinghamshire, Thomas Hardwood Nutt (1844-1886). Following his marriage Thomas Nutt decided to breed race horses and moved with his family to Onchan Grange on the Isle of Man. There Elizabeth Nutt and her younger brother Ernest and sister Helen were born. Unfortunately Thomas Nutt’s enterprise proved unsuccessful and he was not able to make enough money to support the family. Therefore and with a view to making his fortune, he left Britain and his family for New South Wales in Australia. There on August 19, 1884 he staked a claim at the Broken Hill Silver Mine near Silverton, calling his portion ‘The Elizabeth Mine’ after his wife.

Pioneer life in Australia in the early 1880’s when Thomas Nutt arrived to prospect for silver was very hard. Although the township of Broken Hill grew after 1885 in the early years of that decade the area was devoid of the most basic amenities. According to Curtis (1908) the first survey of Broken Hill was started on August 27th 1884 and the following year the township of Broken Hill commenced. He wrote:

> Previous to that date it was nothing but mulga scrub, with two or three tents or humpies. (p. 13).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Relationship to Head of Family</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John Smith</td>
<td>Head of Family</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Smith</td>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jane Smith</td>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Junior</td>
<td>Son</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total of Males and Females:** 3

---

**Note:** Dots the men through each of the words of the headings as are inappropriate.

**Figure 7. Census Return April 5, 1891, for the North Ward of Oxford Showing Nutt Resident at Felstead House. Crown copyright by permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationary Office.
Extract from the Register of Baptisms in the Parish of Orchan in the Isle of Mann in the Year One thousand eight hundred and Seventy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>When Baptised</th>
<th>Child's Christian Name</th>
<th>Parents' Name</th>
<th>Abode</th>
<th>Quality, Trade, or Profession</th>
<th>By whom the Ceremony was performed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>Elizabeth</td>
<td>Thomas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Former Unnamed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 3</td>
<td>Styng</td>
<td>Hardwood</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Vicar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No 67</td>
<td>Elizabeth</td>
<td>John</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Vicar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I certify that the above is a true copy, made by me.

Orchan: Vicar

October 18, 1870

PB Entries are not required by Law in the Isle of Man 1772

FIGURE 8. NUTT'S RECORD OF BAPTISM NOVEMBER 3, 1870.
However in these years while the mines around Silverton were being opened the excitement generated through silver prospecting was at its height. Curtis (1908, p.13) reported that: ‘every man, no matter who or what he was, talked silver and silver only.’ Thomas Nutt acquired and ‘pegged out’ Block 9 of the mine. It had always been his intention to bring his family to Australia at the first opportunity. Having achieved his goal of part ownership in a silver mine and the prospect of a degree of financial security he decided to return to England to fetch them. He reached the Australian coast but, on hearing of an emergency at the mine returned to Broken Hill then, after resolving the problem, he left once again for the coast. Unfortunately on reaching Silverton he became very ill and died of pneumonia. His death was recorded in the Australian newspaper the Silver Age, Wednesday May 19th 1886 (see figure 9). It read

Henry Peryman age 24, of enteric fever, and Thos. H. Nutt, age 42 of congestion of the lungs. The latter gentleman was one of the earliest residents on this field and was interested in various mining ventures. He took up the Elizabeth, which was afterwards sold to a syndicate, and at the time of his death held a third in the Nutt's Broken Hill S.M. Co.,...Previous to the opening of the Barrier field we are informed he followed the occupation of a drover. (Vol. III. No. 110)

Following Thomas Nutt’s death his wife, Elizabeth, was left a widow at the age of forty-four years with five children and little money. It is probable she returned to Sheffield where she was born and had family ties at the time her husband emigrated to Australia. Records from the 1881 Census for the municipal ward of Park, Sheffield showed Elizabeth Crabtree Nutt, classified as a glass and china dealer, and resident with four of her five children at 16, South Street Sheffield, a poor area of the city (see figure 10). The change in family fortunes and the move from the rural surroundings of the Isle of Man to the heavy industrial city of Sheffield in the 1880’s must have been a devastating transformation in the life style of the family. In the 19th century, Sheffield had experienced a major expansion due to the Industrial Revolution and the development of the steel industry. According to Pollard (1959, pp. 181-192) in the 1890’s and until 1914 (and by implication previous to these dates) there
of the Board, s aban-ecently II to a way. be the at Sil- h. The is occu-by the rds the instra-re in- tion of licants. en, sur-all so gnorant several tificates believe? spared by such. a con- tenance es. Byross and passed in cer- ing the ped for of the TENDERS are invited by the S.A. Government for the erection of a telegraph line from Petersburg, following the railway track to the N.S.W. border—to close on the 25th inst. The time allowed for the construction is six months, so that railway and telegraph communication with Adelaide will be completed at about the same time—towards the end of the year. The N.S.W. section, from Silver- ton to the border, is already being proceeded with.

Two rather sudden deaths occurred early yesterday morning in Silverton—Henry Peryman, aged 24, of enteric fever, and Thos. H. Nutt, aged 42, of congestion of the lungs. The latter gentleman was one of the earliest residents on this field, and was interested in various mining ventures. He took up the Elizabeth, which was afterwards sold to a syndicate, and at the time of his death held a third in the Nutt’s Broken Hill S.M. Co., the prospectus of which we published about a fortnight ago. Previous to the opening of the Barrier field we are informed he followed the occupation of a drover.

A WELCOME change in the weather took place on Monday afternoon, when, after a good deal of threatening, a smart shower of rain began to fall and continued with brief intervals till yesterday morning. The total quantity registered amounted to 1 lin. 7 points, and there is a probability of more, as the sky continues heavily over. It is impossible to over-estimate

The Ten- House of Co and have a 350 M.P.’s Option.

Owing to working cl proposed to to tax all fo from the pub- able societ.

The Coot the kangar pest on the grass by th and it is sa have thus sstructive o crops. It worse that enemies, th have b both consequenc increasing.

Louise M leader, has meeting he enable her strike, the Socialist n had she ris and sand mercilessly treat thro.

She mana.

FIGURE 9. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THOMAS HARDWOOD NUTT’S DEATH IN THE SILVER AGE, MAY 19, 1886.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of</th>
<th>Road, Street, &amp; House</th>
<th>Name of</th>
<th>Relation to Head of Family</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Birthplace</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Where Born</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>14, South St.</td>
<td>Nutt</td>
<td>Husband &amp; Father</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Sheffield</td>
<td>Iron &amp; Steel</td>
<td>Sheffield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>14, South St.</td>
<td>Nutt</td>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Sheffield</td>
<td>Housekeeper</td>
<td>Sheffield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>14, South St.</td>
<td>Nutt</td>
<td>Child</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Sheffield</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Sheffield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>14, South St.</td>
<td>Nutt</td>
<td>Child</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Sheffield</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Sheffield</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total of Houses: 1
Total of Males: 3
Total of Females: 2

Note: Draw the pen through each of the words of the headings as are inappropriate.

1881 Census

were slums, poverty, overcrowding, disease and high infant mortality in the centre of the town. Reader (1973) wrote of the period 1837-1901:

The greatest problems of the towns was keeping their people alive and throughout the century it was never entirely resolved. (p.82).

Although she was a single parent with little money living and working in a poor area of Sheffield it seems that Elizabeth Crabtree Nutt, who was a deeply religious woman provided a stable, disciplined, loving and Christian family background. In a memorial tribute to her mother Nutt wrote:

Morality and the Old Testament she took for granted.... Her children were a sacred charge given to our father and herself by the Divine. She often said to me, 'Sissie when I see you father, I can tell him I strove my utmost to be true and just to our children, and of course I expect them to be good men and women.' (1932, p. 2,3).

The fact that her children achieved substantial success in the fields of education, medicine and industry\textsuperscript{10} may in part have been due to her stamina, determination and care.

Throughout her life Nutt remained devoted to her mother and her memory. Nutt was initially a member of the Church of England and later a Christian Scientist.\textsuperscript{11} Her deeply religious beliefs emanated from her family background and were initially strongly influenced by her mother. Nutt (1932) wrote:

Throughout our lives she committed each one of us definitely and consciously to the care of the Divine, before the day's work with its temptations began, again during the afternoon and at night, as definitely, she confided us to Divine protection. (p.3)

Nutt demonstrated her devotion to her mother in a number of ways. For example, according to Tooby (1991) following her emigration to Canada in 1919 she returned to Sheffield each year to see her mother. Also, according to Pearse and Soucy (1986, p. 179) in January 1931, a few months after her mother's death in August 1930 as a tribute Nutt created the Elizabeth Crabtree Nutt Memorial prize for the best woman painter at Nova Scotia College of Art, a prize which she 'felt to be especially important.'

Nutt’s commitment to the Church continued throughout her life. In June 1916 she became a member of the First Church of Christ, Scientist, Sheffield and was also registered with the
Mother Church in Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. \( ^{12} \) Christian Science as a religious denomination was founded in the United States of America in 1879 by Mary Baker Eddy (1821-1910).\(^ {13} \) A distinctive part of Christian Science is its healing of physical disease as well as sin by spiritual means alone. Mary Baker Eddy searched for a universal spiritual principle which she felt must underlie New Testament healing. *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1984) stated:

In social terms, the Christian Science movement has increasingly been perceived as anticipating the development of feminism in the religious world. Mrs Eddy was clearly 'liberated' herself and she taught that the spiritual equality of men and women must have political and social effects. (p. 564).

All this evidence suggests that Elizabeth Nutt was a deeply religious woman, inheriting a strong family Christian tradition which she maintained and developed throughout her life, initially as a member of the Church of England and subsequently as a Christian Scientist. This spiritual and theological aspect of Nutt's early background proved significant in the formation of her art educational values and teaching practices as is demonstrated in her text books for art teachers. For example, in the Preface to her first book called *Flower Drawing with the Children* which she dedicated to her mother Nutt (1916) described her lessons as:

> a plea for the appreciation of Drawing as a most valuable means whereby we may aid in unfolding the God-like in our children. \(^ {v} \)

**Secondary Education**

Records taken from Register No. 1. (1883) of the Central School, Leopold Street, Sheffield show Nutt to have attended the public elementary Park Board School and the Central School (see figures 11 and 12).\(^ {14} \) Although placed under the Higher Elementary School minute the *Sheffield and Rotherham Red Book and Almanack* (1913, p.130) described the Central school as a 'Higher-grade Board School with an organized science section at the top', the first of its kind to be approved by the Board of Education.\(^ {15} \) According to Bunker (1972), from its inception the Sheffield School Board had in mind plans for involvement in higher education. These were revealed in their report for the period November 1870 - November
FIGURE 11. EXTRACT FROM REGISTER NUMBER 1 OF THE CENTRAL SCHOOL, LEOPOLD STREET, SHEFFIELD, 1883, SHOWING NUTT, ADMISSION NUMBER 819.
Figure 12: Staff from the Central School, Sheffield in the 1880s. Arthur Newell, seated centre, was headmaster from 1882 to 1885.
1876 in which they stated that their intended plan for the Central School was:

To furnish (in addition to some accommodation similar to that in other elementary schools) a distinct higher department to which may be drafted deserving and clever pupils from other schools of the town...irrespective of class...and that in addition to the ordinary subjects for higher standards, subjects set forth in the Fourth Schedule of the New Code of the Education Department, viz, Literature, Mathematics, Latin, French, German, Mechanics, Animal Physiology, Physical Geography, Botany and Domestic Economy (for girls) should be taught. There should also be taught other subjects specially bearing upon industries of this district, which may be taken under the regulations of the Science and Art Department...such as Drawing, Chemistry, Geology, Mineralogy, Principles of Mining, Metallurgy, Machine Construction, Steam, Building Construction, etc. In both senior departments special attention should be given to the training of boys and girls intending to become pupil teachers... To scholars of special ability passing the competitive examinations....it is intended that aid should be given of a financial character where necessary. (p.180).

Although this is unconfirmed, Dr. U. Clarke (recently deceased) who was Nutt's niece believed Nutt to be the recipient of a scholarship to the Central School which selected clever pupils from the local board schools for further education. According to Walton (1948, p.212) the school was also the first of its kind in the country in that it opened up the 'possibility of reaching a university to boys and girls from any of the poorest elementary schools.' Therefore, although she came from a relatively modest family background due to the death of her father, Nutt received an unusually enlightened and superior academic education for a girl at the Central School in the 1880's which prepared her for higher education and teacher training.

Following her secondary education it is probable that Nutt remained at the Central School as a pupil teacher until the age of 19 years. According to Millington (1955, p.17) several part-time Pupil Teacher Centres were opened in the suburbs of Sheffield in the early 1880s. However, in 1884 a room in the Central School building was made available for pupil-teachers who were studying for the London University Matriculation Examinations. After five years apprenticeship to a headmaster

the pupil-teacher sat for a competitive examination, on the results of which Queens' Scholarships were awarded entitling the holder to attend a three year course at a training college. (Millington, 1955, p.16).
It is probable that Nutt was both a successful candidate and a Queen’s Scholar since according to the staff register of the Pupil Teachers’ Centre Sheffield,\textsuperscript{17} in 1890 she enrolled at the Oxford Diocesan Training College which provided a two year training course for elementary schoolmistresses. According to the \textit{Training Colleges Reports for the Year 1887} only one student attending the College had ‘not been a pupil teacher.’ Additionally, ‘ex-pupil-teacher Queen’s scholars of the first class’ were awarded reduced fees.

In the decade 1881-1891 there had been an improvement in the Nutt family fortunes. When details of family circumstances taken from the 1891 Census for the Municipal Ward of Ecclesall, Sheffield (p.17) were compared with similar details from the 1881 Census for the Municipal Park Ward Sheffield (p.6), where the family had originally lived, an improvement both in their lifestyle and financial position was detected. The 1891 Census for the Municipal Ward of Ecclesall showed the Nutt family resident at 5, Mackenzie Crescent, a comfortable suburb of the city close to the countryside.\textsuperscript{18} They were also able to afford to live-in general servant. Elizabeth Crabtree Nutt who was now 48 no longer found it necessary to work because her two elder children were both employed. Henry aged 23 was a saw maker and William aged 22 was a joiner.

\textbf{Elementary Teacher Training}

In 1890, aged 19, Nutt left her home in Sheffield to enter the Anglican Diocesan Training College for schoolmistresses in Oxford (see figure 13). According to the \textit{Training Colleges Reports for the Year 1891} (p.82) the College was founded in 1873 by Miss Susannah Miller who purchased Felstead House at 23, Banbury Road, St Giles’, Oxford and enlarged and adapted the building to provide adequate elementary teacher training facilities. It was described as ‘A dwelling-house well situated and fairly adapted for its purpose. No chapel or day room’ (p.82). In 1891, the year in which Nutt attended the College as a second year student\textsuperscript{19} there was a total of twenty-seven students in residence of whom 14 were in the first year and 13 in the second year. According to the 1891 \textit{Report}, provision for teaching
practice was offered at two schools opposite the college, ‘one for 90 girls and one for 120 infants’ (p.82). Members of staff at the College included a chaplain and secretary, a lady superintendent, four female lecturers and governesses and Sergeant-Major Childs, the drill master.

The syllabus for female candidates prescribed in the Training Colleges Reports for the Year 1891 (p.150-157) required a broad knowledge and skill in reading and repetition from memory, penmanship, school management, domestic economy, sewing and cutting out, vocal music, English, Geography, English history, Mathematics and Drawing. According to Macdonald (1970, p.162) pupil-teachers who had gained entry to the two year Training College course were required to take the Second Grade Certificate papers in drawing prescribed in the Directory for Science and Art Schools and Classes (1889, p.62). Students were required to obtain passes in four papers; freehand, model, perspective and geometrical drawing. Successful students were awarded the Elementary School Teacher's Certificate ‘D’ (drawing) which qualified them to teach drawing in elementary schools. Records show that Nutt gained her Elementary Teachers Certificate in 1891. It may have been at this point in her career that she was able to develop the interest in teaching drawing to children which later led to her training as a specialist teacher of art at Sheffield School of Art (1897-1903) and ultimately facilitated the writing of her first book, Flower Drawing with the Children (1916).

The curriculum offered at Felstead House provided an unusually broad academic education for female students at that time. Mr Fitch's Report in the Training Colleges Reports for the Year 1891 commented:

The college makes full use of the exceptional opportunities which its position in Oxford affords for extending the range of the students' training and experience beyond the limits of the syllabus prescribed by the Department. (p.82)

Students were able to attend courses of University extension lectures given under the direction of the Oxford branch of the Teachers’ Guild and the local Association for the Education of Women. The 1891 Training Colleges Reports (p.82) also noted that the Diocesan Training College benefited from the support of 'many members of the University
and of the leading teachers of Somervile Hall and of the High School.’ Nutt who had received a substantial and progressive education for a girl in the 1880’s at the Central School Sheffield, in terms of the range and scope of the school curriculum continued to experience a superior academic education for a woman in the 1890’s at the Oxford Diocesan Training College.

**Rev. R. St. John Tyrwhitt’s Religious Art Education Philosophy**

The religious and art educational values and teaching practices exercised at the Training College can be ascertained from a review of the published work of the Rev. R. St. John Tyrwhitt M.A. He was named in the *Training Colleges Reports for the Year 1891* as a member of the Diocesan College Committee.\(^22\) In a previous edition of the *Training Colleges Reports for the Year 1887* (p. 73), he had been included under the category of ‘staff’ as a member of the committee who ‘continues to give gratuitously some lectures on logic to the students.’ Tyrwhitt was recognised in the nineteenth century in the field of art education for his publication *A Handbook of Pictorial Art* (1875). According to Macdonald (1970, p.266) this was ‘an approved text book and prize-book of the Science and Art Department from 1869-1900.’ Like Nutt’s books, Tyrwhitt’s (1875) was an art instructional manual which was divided into two parts. The first part which was devoted to theory included Tyrwhitt’s rationale, and explanation for and philosophy of art education. It also contained a highly selective history of art in the sense that it was mainly restricted to early Christian art, symbolism in European art and a discussion of the work of some major Italian Renaissance artists. The second part of his book which was concerned with art practice, included detailed instructional exercises on free-hand drawing, drawing from the cast, landscape painting, composition, tree drawing and the study of the human figure. In his *Handbook of Pictorial Art* (1875) Tyrwhitt displayed a moralistic interpretation of the function of art which is typical of the nineteenth century. For example, in Part 1 of his book, he posed a number of questions that he considered important and relevant to his philosophy of art in education. After discussion of the significance of art as a means of general education he asked:
What is the function of Art in ordinary liberal education?....What will teaching and practice in drawing do for a person who does not expect or intend ever to make pictures to sell? What good will he get while he is learning, and what will it be worth to him to have learned, more or less about Art? (p. 5).

He concluded:

We say, it will do him good mentally, morally, and physically. Mentally, it will train his mind to grasp at ideas of beauty; morally, it will make him thankful for them, save him from lower desires and open to him the way of aspiration; physically, it will teach him how to make the hand obey the eye with perfect service. (p. 5).

Trywhitt (1875) extended his moralising to all sections of society but in particular to the middle and working classes. He wrote:

There is a painful truth in saying that the English middle classes are drugged with business, and incapable of at least many rational enjoyments, and the poorer classes blinded by labour, and hopeless of any but the lowest pleasures. (p. 13).

His naive moralistic and romantic answer to the social problems of the working classes was the provision of ‘cheap Art Schools, well supplied with natural models’ (p. 13). There he claimed the working classes would learn vocational skills and an appreciation of the beauty of nature in which he claimed God was manifest although he conceded that:

Nobody expects that the whole of the working classes will at once take to drawing and entirely renounce strong liquor: what is hoped is that a fair percentage of them may be partly secured from temptation to excess by having a finer mental stimulus put in their reach, instead of the coarser physical one (p.14)

Tyrwhitt introduced the final chapter of his Handbook of Pictorial Art (1875, p.350) with the words: ‘I am allowed by Miss Miller, of Felstead House, Oxford (for whose pupils this lecture was written) to add it to this volume.’ His ‘lecture’ initially focused upon the students’ future role as women teachers and emphasised the accepted Victorian distinction of status between men’s and women’s professional roles in the educational system. It designated women to the more caring child centred role intrinsic to elementary education and
identified men as more suited to the role of specialist teaching as practised in secondary education. He wrote:

women teachers at least, are still for the most part called on to educate, not merely to inform. Year by year, the advanced courses of study which are in men's hands get more and more narrowly divided into specialists; division of labour is going too far; men give their lives honourably up to some ramification of knowledge as students, and as teachers they naturally think only of telling their pupils all they can in their own department. (p. 370).

Developing his moral theme, Tyrwhitt explained his hope that in the 'teaching of churchwomen' the moral education of the child would always be combined with the school curriculum. He urged his audience to contemplate their responsibilities as future teachers, as spinsters dedicated to the unselfish service of their profession. He wrote:-

I do assure you it is a higher and better thing to fall into a groove of duty in teaching children their duty..., than to fall into a groove of self-repetition in genre-painting, or sham landscape, or domestic humbug, or sensational wickedness. (p.377).

He reminded them also that they were learning art in order to teach it as a subject rather than to become artists themselves. He said:

you are privileged now to take up Art as part of an honest day's work, without perhaps, having any future designs on the Royal Academy. It really is better so. (p. 376).

Tyrwhitt (1875) continued his lecture by stressing the moral benefits of art education. He said.

I have no doubt that the process of teaching children good drawing is practically inseparable from the process of teaching them to be good children. Those who believe men to be a moral agent at all will never be able to separate Art from morals. (p. 371).

Another popular nineteenth century art educational perception Tyrwhitt shared was that it is as easy to draw as to write and that all intelligent children can learn to draw accurately.

According to Macdonald (1970), the Rev. J. S. Howson, Principal of the Liverpool Institute had made a statement that had pleased Sir Henry Cole, (pioneer in art education and head of
the Government School of design 1852-1873) so much that he inserted it in the Science and

Art Directory of 1856. Howson said:

It is almost as easy to learn to draw a chair or a chest as to learn to set down your own Christian name and surname in real good handwriting. (Macdonald, 1970, p.168).

Tyrwhitt advanced similar views on the benefits of mechanical imitation i.e. the co-ordination of hand and eye to develop habits of accuracy. According to Pett (1983, p. 33) Tyrwhitt did not recognize any obstacles in the path of the attainment of drawing skill, except the lack of personal determination. Tyrwhitt wrote (1875):

If you can sew, you can draw; if you can play the piano you can draw: there is nothing but eye, hand and purpose in learning either of these things: but purpose is moral (p.372)

as to any child being really unable to learn to measure distances and get a correct outline. I do not think it is so in any case. (p.376).

All this is typical of the social moralising and romantic religious approach to art education advocated by the clergy and most of the Victorian public in the nineteenth century. In view of Tyrwhitt’s status as a clergyman, his reputation as an art educationalist and long association with the Training College 23 it is likely that his philosophy of art education contributed to, or was representative of the type practised at the Diocesan College. Also that his typically nineteenth century aesthetic philosophy and values would have influenced the educational aims and values of the Diocesan Training College where Nutt studied (1890-91)

Summary

Throughout her childhood and adolescent years Nutt was the recipient of powerfully determining religious influences. Her Anglican religious and spiritual beliefs were deeply rooted in her family background. Initially and probably most significantly Nutt's religious beliefs were nurtured and guided by her Mother a devout Christian to whom she was devoted. The curriculum aims of nineteenth century educational establishments that Nutt attended as a pupil, pupil-teacher and a training college student also supported strong moralistic Christian values. At the Anglican Diocesan Training College there was evidence
also of a moralistic interpretation of the function of art education. Additionally there was evidence of a typically nineteenth century perception of women as intellectually and artistically inferior to men and as professionally suited to a career in elementary rather than secondary education. Nutt never married. At the College she was provided with positive role models in the form of dedicated unmarried female lecturers and governesses, a factor which may have influenced her decision to remain a spinster and follow a career in education.

Following her elementary teacher training it is probable that Nutt returned to her home town of Sheffield and taught in one of the City’s elementary board schools. There, within an education system strictly governed by examinations and a rigid National Curriculum, Nutt began her teaching career before enrolling at the age of twenty seven years as a student at Sheffield School of Art in 1897.
Notes

1. Interviews with Dr. Ursula Clarke, niece 13.4.91, 31.7.91, Sir Michael Carlisle, great nephew, 31.5.91; and Ann Carlisle, great niece, 17.10.91.


3. In correspondence with the historian Dr Harold Silver December 5, 1991, he suggested Culham College as a possible location for the Oxford College.

4. Information from Dr Ursula Clarke. Confirmation of Nutt's date of birth came from Register No.1, The Central School, Leopold Street, Sheffield.

5. Styring (1965) wrote:

Prior to 1200, the name had been Styr and the change appears to have taken place about the time, when, on the introduction of Christian names, after the Conquest, a William Styr had the Danish ending attached to the name of his grandson, William, who became known as William Styring, i.e. of William Styr.

Thus the connection from Styr the Strong of Upsala, 700 A.D., to the Yorkshire Styring was established. Since Styr (steer) was a dynastic name confined to a royal house, it was confined to members of that house and that is why only one family in England bears that name. (p xiii).

6. According to details in the 1891 Census (5.4.91) for the Civil Parish of Ecclesall, Sheffield, Frances Helen Nutt was born in Douglas, Isle of Man.

7. Information from Dr Ursula Clarke.

8. ibid.

9. Dr. U. Clarke believed her father, Ernest Nutt (1872-1935), who was Elizabeth Nutt's brother, had moved from the Isle of Man to Sheffield at about the age of 9 years in 1880 or 1881.


11. Information from Nutt's membership record of The First Church of Christ, Scientist, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A.

12. Ibid.

Christian Science came into prominence in late 19th century America when Darwinism, biblical criticism, and other secularizing influences were undermining the supernaturalist structure of Protestant orthodoxy (p.526).

14. The Central School, Sheffield attended by Nutt is now known as the High Storrs Comprehensive School.

15. The Central School, which was initially a Higher-grade Board school, became a Secondary School immediately following the Education Act of 1902 and was adapted for pupils from 12 to 17 years.

16. Sadler (1903 b, p.46) reported the average age at entrance to the Pupil Teachers' Centre, Holly Street, Sheffield as 15 years and the average age of leaving as 19 1/2 years.

17. According to Millington (1955, p.17), buildings were opened in Holly Street (1899) to found a full-time, independent Pupil Teachers' Centre. Records from the staff register indicate Nutt was among the first appointments at the Centre where she was employed for 'the art instruction of pupil teachers' (1898-1919). The Pupil Teacher's Centre is now the City School Sheffield.

18. According to Pollard (1959), between 1891 and 1911 there was an exodus from the central areas of Sheffield to the suburbs. The main factors responsible for the migration were the congestion in the central areas of the city and the introduction of the electric tramway. He wrote:

The movement of the population, including some working-class families, to the suburbs was perhaps the most striking social phenomenon of the age (p.185).

19. The 1891 Census of England and Wales, taken on Sunday 5th April 1891 in the Municipal North Ward for the administrative County of Oxford (p.17) showed Nutt as a second year student, aged 20 years, resident at 'Felstead House' 23, Banbury Road, Oxford.

20. According to the Syllabus for Female Candidates in the Training Colleges Reports for the Year 1819 (p.156-158), Languages, Science and extra Drawing could be taken as additional subjects where a special course of instruction was provided by the college.

21. Information taken from the staff register of the Pupil Teachers' Centre, Sheffield (p.18).

22. The strong direction of the Anglican Church was evident in the composition of the Oxford Diocesan Training College Committee which was made up of an M.P., a titled chairman and five clergymen.

23. Tyrwhitt, who's lecture to the students at Felstead House was included in his Hand Handbook of Pictorial Art (1875), was still represented on the College Committee in 1891. Therefore, he was connected with the Diocesan Training College for at least sixteen years.
CHAPTER 4: SHEFFIELD SCHOOL OF ART AND THE ARTS AND CRAFTS MOVEMENT

Introduction

Nutt attended Sheffield School of Art (1897-1903) at a time when great changes in the applied arts were taking place in Britain, Europe and America. The Arts and Crafts Movement, which was an essential source of the Modern Movement, was a social, moral and artistic force in Britain in the second half of the nineteenth century. However the social and artistic philosophy of its main proponents, Ruskin and Morris, although influential among architects and artists such as Walter Crane, was slow to penetrate the Schools of Art. In 1900 the content of the twenty three stages of the Course of Instruction at Sheffield School of Art remained the same as the original National Course of Instruction set up by Henry Cole in 1852. In this chapter the origins and aesthetics of the Arts and Crafts Movement, the art philosophy of John Ruskin (1819-1900) and William Morris (1834-1896) and Nutt’s concept of the artist-craftsman will be examined. It also includes a short history of Sheffield School of Art (1843-1902), an account of the School in 1900 and an analysis of existing course work by Nutt (1900-1903).

It was anticipated that in researching this period of Nutt’s life and work in the context of the predominant art movement of the period some answers would be forthcoming to a number of key questions. For example, which individual either in her public or private life helped to form or significantly influence Nutt’s strong religious and artistic views? Which art historical movements did her art work and art teaching publications reflect? What was Nutt’s involvement in the National Course of Instruction for Government Schools of Art in Britain and to what extent did it influence her Canadian curriculum? Previous Canadian research had shown that a significant part of Nutt’s Canadian curriculum was committed to the training of artist-worker and the question arose from where did she get her concept of the
artist-worker? The primary source material for this chapter was *The Sheffield School of Art Reports 1881-1901*, *The Fifty-Seventh Annual Report of the Sheffield School of Art* (1901) and *The Sixtieth Annual Report of the Technical School of Art*. It also draws on examples of examination work completed by Nutt at Sheffield School of Art between 1900-1903.

**The Arts and Crafts Movement**

The Arts and Crafts Movement originated in Britain towards the end of the nineteenth century. Its motivations were social and moral and its aesthetic values were derived from the conviction that there was a need to improve the taste of the Victorian public who were prepared to accept industrial art and architecture that was crude in design and overloaded with ornament. According to Pevsner (1991, p. 42) typical examples of the latter were the early Victorian manufactured carpets and silverware which were monstrously over decorated with applied art incompatible with their shape, material and function. Pevsner (1991, p. 20) identified the two factors responsible for the poor quality of architectural building and design of British manufactured goods in the nineteenth century as 'the Industrial Revolution' and... the theory of aesthetics created since 1800.' During the Industrial Revolution, which occurred first in Britain, newly invented machinery allowed manufacturers to produce many cheap artefacts for the same cost and in the same time as it had previously taken to produce a single well-made article. As Pevsner has noted:

> Skilled craftsmanship, still so admirable when Chippendale and Wedgwood were at work, was replaced by mechanical routine. (1991, p. 20).

A long standing aesthetic division between the artist and the general public in Western societies reached a climax in the nineteenth century. The notion of the artist as a scholar or a scientist emerged during the Renaissance and artists became accustomed to consider themselves superior members of society. According to Osborne (168, p. 21) the development of the conception of Fine Art in the eighteenth century 'encouraged the divorce of the artist from artisans and craftsmen in utilitarian fields.' People spoke of the higher arts of painting, sculpture and architecture and the lower arts of ornament. According to
Macdonald (1970) this division of meaning in the public's understanding of design was
deepened in the nineteenth century by the excessive quantity of inferior ornament mass-
produced to supply the insatiable desire for manufactured goods of the industrial rich. He
wrote of the aesthetic motivation that inspired the Arts and Crafts Movement:

After fifty years' burial under this welter of ornament, design was
resurrected in the eighteen-nineties when art and craft were reunited by
a new reverence for fine craftsmanship. (p. 291)

The Arts and Crafts Movement in England sought to artificially restore medieval conditions
in which the artist functioned as a craftsman and had a sense of pride in his work which was
performed to the best of his ability.

According to Macdonald (1970, p. 291) the Arts and Crafts Movement derived its first
inspiration from the ideas of the brilliant designer Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-
52). His use of Gothic architectural design stemmed from his belief that the British should
develop a native architecture using local materials. Macdonald (1970, p. 233) considered
Pugin to be 'the most notable advocate of principles of design in the Victorian period' and
observed that he influenced the South Kensington Circle in publications such as The True
Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture (1841). In this publication Pugin, who
rejected lavish over decoration in applied art, stated his alternative rules of design as follows:

The two great rules for design are these. First that there should be no
features about a building which are not necessary for convenience,
construction or propriety; second that all ornament should consist of
enrichment of the essential construction of the building. (Macdonald,
1970, p. 234)

Although Pugin's attitudes towards design foreshadowed the Arts and Crafts Movement, he
did not share Ruskin's aversion to mechanisation. Pugin did not believe that the machine
compromises the integrity of design or the artist-worker. In this respect he wrote:

We do not want to arrest the course of inventions, but to confine these
inventions to their legitimate uses. (Naylor, 1990, p. 15).

John Ruskin was a leading advocate of the Arts and Crafts Movement whose philosophy of
the artist-worker greatly influenced the middle class Victorian Public. Pevsner (1991, p. 22)
has suggested that, Ruskin and Morris both understood how ‘decayed the social foundations of art had become’, particularly in the years since the Industrial Revolution. Ruskin believed the desire for mass produced articles created terrible social conditions and made life squalid and ugly. With other members of the Arts and Crafts Movement he shared the view that the root of social evil lies in the separation of work from joy and art from craft. Ruskin set out his moral philosophy concerning the position of the artist-worker in a number of publications. His first volume of *Modern Painters* was published in 1843 and he was writing *Praeterita* in 1889 when he become mentally ill; therefore, his moral and aesthetic philosophy as revealed in his books spanned the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1849 Ruskin interrupted work on *Modern Painters* in order to write *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*. According to Naylor (1990, p. 25) this publication contained ideas concerned with ‘honesty or expression, material and workmanship’ and architectural integrity that were to become fundamental to Arts and Crafts Theory. In the first sentence of *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* Ruskin ([1849] 1880) stated his philosophy regarding the function of architecture and the relationship of man to his environment when he wrote:

> Architecture is the art which so disposes and adorns the edifices raised by man, for whatsoever uses, that the sight of them may contribute to his mental health, power and pleasure. (p. 8).

Naylor (1990) has suggested that his philosophy of the artist-worker added a new dimension to Victorian social thinking which she summarized as:

> the belief that beauty was as necessary to man’s survival as food, shelter and a living wage, and that this essential could only be achieved within a society in which all men would work, take pleasure in their labour and share their delight in its results. (p. 27).

The theme of spiritual reward granted to the artist-worker in return for his labour was implicit in *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* and was further developed by Ruskin in *The Stones of Venice* first published 1851 according to Naylor (1990, p. 27). In a chapter called *The Nature of Gothic* in *The Stones of Venice* (1881) Ruskin wrote:

> There are, however, far nobler interests mingling in the Gothic heart, with the rude love of decorative accumulation: a magnificent enthusiasm, which feels as if it never could do enough to reach the fullness of its ideal; an
unselfishness of sacrifice, which would rather cast fruitless labour before the alter than stand idle in the market. (p. 132).

William Morris reprinted ‘On the Nature of Gothic’ as a separate pamphlet and distributed it to students at the newly founded Working Men’s College, where Ruskin taught in 1854. A subtitle, ‘And Herein of the True Functions of the Workman in Art’, was added in 1892. Morris wrote of Ruskin’s chapter ‘On the Nature of Gothic’:

To my mind, and I believe to some others, it is one of the most important things written by the author, and in future days will be considered as one of the very few necessary and inevitable utterances of the century. To some of us when we first read it, now many years ago, it seemed to point out a new road on which the world should travel. (Naylor, 1990, p. 27).

Pevsner (1991, p. 21) pointed out that Ruskin was the first thinker to recognise the degenerate nineteenth century social foundations of art and William Morris was the first artist to realise his ideas. When Morris, who had trained as an architect and a painter, came to open his first studio in London (1857) he found himself unable to buy well-designed solid furniture that contributed to the congenial environment he wanted to create. He decided to make his own furniture instead and repeated this exercise when he built his celebrated Red House, in 1859 at Bexleyheath, in Kent. His successful experiments in the production of simple, solid functional furniture, led Morris to set up his own firm of Morris, Marshall and Faulkner, Fine Art Workmen in Painting, Carving, Furniture and the Metals in 1862.

Pevsner (1991, p. 22) understands this as the ‘beginning of a new era in Western Art’ which considered aesthetic activity to be a universal right of all men to be practised through joy in their labour and throughout life. Morris perceived art as divorced from society and the artist as out of touch with the public and everyday life. He gave thirty-five public lectures between 1877 and 1894. In them he defined his ‘common philosophy of art’ and its relevance for the working man. He said:

I do not want art for a few, any more than education for a few or freedom for a few.

those who now sit in darkness will be enlightened by an Art made by the people and for the people, a joy to the maker and the user. (Naylor, 1990, p. 108)
Although Morris’s social philosophy of art was forward looking in the sense that it helped to lay the foundations for twentieth century developments such as the Modern Movement, he remained partly committed to nineteenth century artistic style and prejudices. He looked back to the Middle Ages for inspiration when artists were craftsmen who took pride in producing beautiful artefacts. According to Naylor (1990) the cardinal principal upon which Morris based all his theory was the conviction that in order to produce valid work the designer, or architect, needs a personal knowledge and understanding of the potential and limitations of his working materials; and also an understanding of the design process learned at first hand through practical participation in it rather than from books. For Naylor the following reference to the design process and use of materials sums up the art philosophy of Morris’ working life.

Never forget the material you are working with, and try always to use it for doing what it can do best... The special limitations of the material should be a pleasure to you, not a hindrance; a designer, therefore, should always thoroughly understand the process of the special manufacture he is dealing with, or the result will be a mere tour de force. On the other hand, it is the pleasure of understanding the capabilities of the special material and using them for suggesting (not imitating) natural beauty and incident that gives the raison d’être for decorative art. (Naylor, 1990, p. 104).

Morris’s belief in the democratisation of art was part of his wider campaign for social justice. That he failed to achieve this goal was, according to Pevsner (1991, p. 24), due to his rejection of ‘post-medieval methods of production in his workshops’ which made his products very expensive and inaccessible to the working classes. Morris’s dislike of modern methods of machine production was reflected among British art educationalists such as Walter Crane (1845-1915) who was a disciple of Morris. Crane also believed in the revival of artistic craftsmanship and was against industrial art. According to Pevsner (1991, p. 25) he considered ‘the true root and basis of Art lies in the handicrafts’. Failure to come to terms with the machine was a drawback of the Arts and Crafts Movement that allowed the initiative in architecture and design to pass to the ‘Continent and United States, and, after a short intermediate period, Germany’ which by 1914 ‘became the centre of progress’ (Pevsner,
Although the Arts and Crafts Movement failed in its aim to revive the medieval crafts in England, it did become an established part of British art education at all levels the twentieth century (Frayling, 1987, p. 71).

Art Nouveau

The character of Art Nouveau which Pevsner (1991, p. 96) refers to as ‘a short but very significant fashion in decoration’ was evident in the work of many artists, designers and architects in the 1890’s and early 1900’s. It was a radical movement within the decorative arts which developed spontaneously in most Western European countries and in the United States of America. In Britain the name given to the movement was the ‘Modern Style’, in Germany it was ‘Jugendstil’, in Italy, ‘Stile liberty’ ‘Stile floreale’ or ‘Stile Inglese’, in Austria ‘Sezessionstil’ and in France it was ‘Art Nouveau’. Gamer (1989) has claimed that:

it was in Britain that the greatest momentum was built up during the nineteenth century in preparing the path for this style. Certain critics have pinpointed William Blake’s drawings as the very first anticipatory signals. (p. 7).

In Britain the philosophy of the Arts and Crafts Movement which sought to break down arbitrary barriers between the fine and applied arts and the Art-Socialist theories of William Morris and Walter Crane, based upon the ideal medieval state as conceived by Pugin and Ruskin, were key elements in the evolution of Art Nouveau theory. Pevsner (1991, p. 107) has interpreted Art Nouveau with the Arts and Crafts Movement as ‘Transitional between Historicism and the Modern Movement’. But whereas the Arts and Crafts Movement in England was firmly based upon the teachings of William Morris, Art Nouveau was a short lived ‘outre’ style or fashion without a sociological base (Pevsner 1991, p. 110). This Movement lasted for about ten years and was at the height of its influence from about 1895-1905. Its characteristic style of flamboyant decoration, with flowing lines and surface decoration based on natural organic forms is evident in the work of Audrey Beardsley, Gustav Klimt, Walter Crane and Alphonse Mucha.
Nutt's Concept of the Artist-Craftsman

There is evidence in Nutt's writing (1913-1916) that she was influenced by the moral and artistic philosophy of the Arts and Crafts Movement. In the second half of the nineteenth century the policy of the British Government and Department of Science and Art regarding vocational elementary art education was to prepare children for their future role as artisans or workers in the factories. Their stated aim was to produce in children mental and manipulative accuracy through 'hand and eye' training, in policy that continued from 1852 right up to the First World War (1914-1918). In her publications Nutt advocated a broader concept of vocational art training which drew upon the philosophy of the Arts and Crafts Movement and reflected the doctrines of its major proponents Ruskin, Morris and Crane. Her concept differed from the official view of the Department of Education in that she applied aesthetic standards implicit in the concept of Fine Art to the work of craftsmen and women. In this connection she (1916) wrote:

mayhap by pursuing this true aspect of art teaching [the development of self-expression] we shall be instrumental in saving for England many a fine art worker as well as incidentally awakening minds to the meaning of life (p. 43)

Nutt shared with Ruskin the view that good art reflects a high moral purpose. She understood craftsmen and women as exemplary human beings and believed that the production of fine craftsmanship can raise the moral values of a general public. She considered that high public regard for their skills both influenced and encouraged craftsmen and women in the production of their work. Since a poorly art educated public has a detrimental effect on a designers' creativity, (a result of low expectations), she argued that a well educated public was needed to stimulate the artisans by their demand for well designed goods. She wrote (1916):

because these workers are very much influenced and supported by the thought of the rest of the population, and if this be mean and poor, the mighty impulse playing upon the worker is to a certain extent neutralized; he cannot, therefore, produce works of a lofty nature. (p. 6).

Nutt also shared with Ruskin the Romantic belief in the ethic of work and dignity of the working man. Her perception of farm labourers reflected a typical opinion of the prospering
Victorian middle class of the times who subscribed to the doctrines of self-help, work for the soul's sake and the dignity of labour. Her description of working men and their affinity with nature was very far from reality. She wrote (1935):

> We watch the harvester in his drab coloured trousers, and blue or grey-green lustreless shirt, with sleeves rolled above the elbow and open at the throat showing the rich tan of his sunburnt skin, as he moves among the corn; or the farm labourer as he hoes the turnips or gathers the cabbages for market; or the shepherd as he stands on the wide moorland, silhouetted against the blue sky, directing his dogs in their task of gathering the sheep; and in every case we see perfect harmony which prevails between man and his surroundings, between nature and man's unconscious thought, that causes him to array himself so perfectly in accord with his calling. Then we realise the secret of the charm of the pictures by Millet, the painter of the 'Angelus'.

(p. 76).

Nutt's glamorization of the working man in her publications reflected a romantic, religious philosophy of art and indicated her close affinity with the values and philosophy of the Arts and Crafts Movement and doctrines of its leading proponents Ruskin, Morris and Crane. She expressed an unrealistic romantic view of the working class typical of moralistic middle-class Victorian opinion. As an art educator her philosophy led her to advocate a broader art curriculum for teacher's in elementary schools which differed from the official policy of the Department of Science and Art in which she sought to promote the development of aesthetic standards of fine art and self-expression in place of the official 'hand and eye' training aimed at technical competence. Nutt (1916) wrote:

> 'Feeling' is a term often used in connection with a drawing, and the difference between a fine representation and a poor one lies in the expression of 'feeling' which appears in one and not the other...A mechanical drawing shows no sensitiveness on the Child's part to the upward-striving of the plant. (p.52).

**Nutt's Philosophy of the Artist-Worker**

One of Elizabeth Nutt's stated aims as principal of the Nova Scotia College of Art was to train men and women to become artist-workers. Her vocational training philosophy in Nova Scotia continued to reflect ideas expressed in her early writings in England which were derived from the Arts and Crafts Movement and its leading advocates Ruskin, Morris and Crane. Soucy (1988a) wrote:
Crane's concerns centred around historic ornament, architectural details, overall patterns, and stylized floral, geometric, and animal motifs. Many of these same concerns were to be found in the NSCA course descriptions. (p. 19).

Nutt's commitment to the ideals of this movement were reflected in her curriculum at the Victoria School of Art and Design. Soucy (1987) referred to the St Louis Exhibition of 1904 in the United States which included work by Nutt and by students from various countries. He maintained the art schools represented in this exhibition receiving the most attention were the ones in which students had learned through hands on experience in the production of crafts rather than through techniques in drawing exercises. Soucy wrote (1987):

Nutt adhered to this notion of art education through production. At the VSAD she required each student to study at least one craft because she believed the 'crafts alone can make a design a real thing' (p. 11).

Nutt's belief that understanding the design process necessitated first hand experience of 'hands on' production reflected the Arts and Crafts philosophy articulated by William Morris and Walter Crane in Britain in the 1880's and 1890's.

In 1919, Nutt became principal of what was known as the Victoria School of Art and Design. In 1925, when a legislative act elevated the institution's status to that of a College, the name was changed to the Nova Scotia College of Art (NSCA) Soucy (1988b) wrote:

Dropping 'Design' from the School's name was by no means an indication that design was also being dropped from the curriculum. On the contrary, it was an indication of just how important Nutt felt design to be... so important that, to her, the word 'art' itself implied design. To include the latter in the schools' name was now redundant. (p. 17).

Nutt continually looked for practical design projects for her students. According to Soucy (1988b, p.18) they created advertising posters, book covers, theatre sets and Christmas cards. Nonia Knitting Industry in Newfoundland commissioned original patterns from students but such opportunities were rare and few students found art-related employment upon graduation. However Nutt's aim of the creation of small design businesses was favourably received by the people of Nova Scotia since the period 1920-1930 saw an economic depression in the Province and a decline in the manufacturing industry. The
creation of a cottage industry or small design businesses was seen by some as a solution to economic chaos. The Local Council of Women in Halifax, supported Nutt in her aim of vocational training. The women students also believed the vocational and educational opportunities offered by the Nova Scotia College of Art would equip them with employable skills at a time of recession. However, Soucy (1988b, p. 20), claimed that Nutt, like Lismer before her, misjudged the situation because of a lack of understanding of local economic conditions. They both promised their students future employment as artist-workers when few such jobs existed.

**Sheffield School of Art 1843-1903**

The period between 1843 when Sheffield School of Art was established and the turn of the century when Nutt studied there coincided with the rise of the Arts and Crafts Movement, which reached its climax in England in the 1890s, the dissemination of its aesthetic philosophy and published works of its major proponents. For example Ruskin published his first major work *Modern Painters* in 1843 and Crane published his celebrated book *Line and Form* in 1900. Therefore, during this period the School of Art's drawing curriculum which sought first to train artisan as designers for industry and later to train teachers of drawing for the public elementary and Art Schools coexisted with a major nineteenth century art movement which was dedicated also to the training of artisans and designers. The Sheffield School of Design, renamed Sheffield School of Art in 1853, was one of the first design schools to be established in England. Significant aspects of its art curriculum developed in the 1850's were reflected in student work produced in the 1890's. The short historical profile of the school that follows was considered necessary to provide an historical contextual background to Nutt's studies there from 1897 to 1903.

The Sheffield School was recognised as a Provincial School of Design by the Board of Trade on 13th January 1843. This action followed a visit by William Dyce while he was Superintendent Professor of the Normal School of Design. According to Kirby (1987, p.
5), the Board of Trade awarded a grant of £500 to equip 'a school in Sheffield, with three further annual grants of £150.' The new school had an unfortunate beginning in the sense that the first two headmasters only retained their positions for short periods of time. The first master of Sheffield School of Design, Henry Durant, only retained his position for a year. He had been a pupil and protégé of William Dyce's and, on Dyce's resignation, Durant was removed by the new Headmaster of the Normal School of Design at Somerset House (appointed 2nd May 1843), Charles Heath Wilson. Henry Spratt, the former head of the morning school at Somerset House took over as master at Sheffield School of Design (1844) but, according to Kirby (1987, p. 7) his position was jeopardized by a financial scandal and, in 1846, he too resigned. Therefore when Young Mitchell was appointed Head Master of the Sheffield School of Design (1846), he was the third headmaster to be appointed within the space of three years.

Mitchell who was the recipient of an art education in both France and England was well qualified to lead the School of Design. He had a French atelier background and had studied for some years in the studio of the painter Ingres in Paris. On his return to England, he enrolled at the School of Design at Somerset House where he was fortunate to be taught by the famous draughtsman, sculptor and industrial designer Alfred Stevens with whom he later formed a friendship which lasted until Steven's death. According to Macdonald (1970, p.100) Alfred Stevens was an Italian trained designer and 'a teacher with technical and practical ability for industrial art'. After his resignation from Somerset House (1847), and through the influence of Mitchell, Stevens was appointed chief designer at Henry Hoole and Co., manufacturers of metal plate in Sheffield. The association between the two men benefited the newly formed School of Design in the sense that while Stevens remained with Hoole and Co., students at the School profited from his instruction. Kirby (1987) wrote of Stevens:

As a friend of Mitchell he spent many hours in the school helping the students and adding the influence of his Italian education to that of Mitchell's French background. (p. 11).
According to Kirby (1987, p. 8), within a few months of his appointment as Headmaster at Sheffield School of Design Mitchell announced plans for a new start in design education in the School defining its role ‘as a means of educating designers for industry.’ His art curriculum also included drawing from the nude. According to Macdonald (1970, p. 176) only one in eight Schools of Art in England held life drawing classes in 1863. The fact that Sheffield included them reflected Mitchell’s French design education in which drawing from the nude was considered an important part. There is evidence to suggest that study of the nude remained an important element in the design curriculum at Sheffield. For example drawings from the draped male nude (1895) and the female nude (undated) by Gertrude Glover Boswell, Nutt’s sister-in-law who attended the School of Art from 1886 to 1895 confirmed that women at the School were able to work from the nude from a fairly early date. There is also evidence that the work of the brilliant Italian educated designer Alfred Stevens also influenced the work of students in the 1890’s. For example a dish by Boswell (1895) closely resembled in appearance and design a dish produced by Stevens in about 1864 as may be seen in figures 14 and 15. According to Macdonald (1970, p. 168), Mitchell objected to the stress on geometrical drawing and the idea that art has ‘a mechanical foundation,’ a well established concept in many nineteenth century British art schools. He also claimed (p. 173) that Mitchell was ‘particularly successful at cultivating fine art.’ The success of Mitchell’s art curriculum was demonstrated by the School’s achievements in the Great Exhibition of 1851. Students from Sheffield School of Design gained recognition against international competition by winning a number of gold medals. No other British School of Design gained any medals at all. Mitchell retired from Sheffield School of Art in 1863, through ill health. He had guided the School for seventeen years and appeared to have established a more comprehensive fine art and industrial design curriculum at Sheffield than was available in many other provincial School of Design (1846-1867).

There followed a difficult time financially for the school. William Scones, the ensuing Headmaster inherited a considerable building debt for the new School of Art, started in 107
FIGURE 14. DISH DESIGNED BY ALFRED STEVENS ABOUT 1864.

FIGURE 15. DISH DESIGNED AND MADE BY GERTRUDE GLOVER BOSWELL AT SHEFFIELD SCHOOL OF ART IN 1895.
1854, which was not paid off until 1868. In 1881 John Cook was appointed Master of Sheffield School of Art and Henry Archer as Second Master. Kirby (1987, p. 22) described their appointments as significant in the sense that their combined talents as art educators revived 'the School after over twenty years in the doldrums.' He maintained that Cook, who was a painter, developed the fine art syllabus and proved a very competent administrator and that Archer, who was a practising designer with experience in the Sheffield trades, revitalized the industrial design curriculum originally established by Alfred Stevens and Young Mitchell. In 1900, following the Technical Instruction Act of 1889, the control of Sheffield School of Art passed to the Sheffield City Council and the school became known as the Technical School of Art expanding it's curriculum into the areas of wood carving, lithography, embroidery, bookbinding, painting and decorating and a wide range of metalworking. In developing the curriculum content in the areas of craft and trade instruction the School reflected the national involvement in the Arts and Crafts Movement.

In 1905 A. C. C. Jahn a designer and craftsman was appointed headmaster of the Sheffield Technical School of Art. Kirby (1987) described the period from 1881 to the outbreak of the First World War as a renaissance in the fortunes of the School. He wrote:

After many years of struggling to survive, suddenly the School had a spate of major successes to rival the best years of the School of Design. Students such as Jean Mitchell, Arthur Lismer, Frederick Varley, Omar Ramsden and Alwyn Carr, J. F. Horrabin, James Dowd, William Northend, David and Sargeant Jagger and many others went to London to achieve artistic success in the City and beyond. In many ways this period was the most fertile of the School's first hundred years. (p. 23).

There were three institutions in Sheffield where students from the School of Art could view Fine Art and Craft work. These were the Guild of St George and the City Museum, which opened in 1875 and the Mappin Art Gallery which opened in 1887. The annual prize-giving and display of student work from the school was held at the Mappin Art Gallery. Tooby (1991, p. 4) referred to this Gallery at the turn of the century as enshrined in 'late-Victorian bourgeois tastes, both in its permanent collection and its exhibition programme.' However students had access to other collections of Fine Art work. According to Tooby (1991, p. 5)
exhibitions of the ‘great late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century watercolourists, such as the travelling selections from the Turner Bequest’ came to Sheffield in the 1890’s and, until 1902, from holdings in the National Gallery. The Guild of St George which was housed in the Ruskin Museum, close to the lower middle class suburbs of Sheffield was also accessible to students from the School of Art. This museum contained many drawings and watercolours by Ruskin and his followers, such as F. Randal and Kate Greenaway, of landscapes and natural features. Accompanying texts offered the people of Sheffield a romantic religious explanation of the works and ways in which they should be viewed. This clarification was described by Tooby (1991, p. 6) as ‘the hand of God revealed in nature.’ Also in the collection were extracts from Ruskin’s romantic religious artistic writings which acknowledged that God is manifest in nature and landscape. The presence of the Ruskin Museum in Sheffield offered students at the School of Art a very different model of art from the one provided in the Course of Instruction in the applied arts. They saw examples of sublime romantic landscapes and watercolours of natural geological features which must have stimulated their visual awareness and fine art ambitions. Evidence of Ruskin’s influence upon Sheffield artists in the late nineteenth century was recorded by a local artist, Harry Allen. In a description of the background to the Sheffield art scene in 1934 he wrote: Certainly it can be said that if there is evidence of a definite Sheffield School during the latter part of the nineteenth century, Ruskin laid the foundations. (Tooby, 1991, p. 7).

**Sheffield School of Art 1900-1901**

The year 1900-1901 represented the midpoint in Nutt’s career as an art student at Sheffield School of Art (1897-1903). Analysis of the Fifty-Seventh Annual Report of the Sheffield School of Art (1901) in the Sheffield School of Art Reports 1881-1901 indicated that there had been little change in the educational philosophy and curriculum content of the institution over almost fifty years. The curriculum offered in the prospectus in the Fifty-Seventh Annual Report corresponded exactly with the arduous 23 stage National Course of Instruction introduced by Henry Cole in 1852 upon which all work in Schools of Art was
based until 1889. The first 21 stages of the curriculum were strictly imitative and consisted of a slow progression through the rigidly structured course of drawing, painting and modelling exercises in copying from the Flat or Round or Nature. According to Kirby (1987, p. 22) 'the most advanced students could study landscape painting and attend the life classes.' The two full-time art teachers in 1900 were J. T. Cook and Henry Archer, both of whom were named by Nutt as her teachers. Their teaching methods have been described by two of their students, Frederick Varley and Arthur Lismer. Varley graphically depicted the tedium of drawing under the tutorage of J. T. Cook (in Tooby 1990). He wrote:

> every morning [he] took me to a torso of Phidias or a slave or David - and made me feel their form with my hands, and every morning made me draw them until I could draw them from memory. (p. 3).

Lismer remembered Henry Archer as uninspiring and strict and described the instruction at the School of Art (in Tooby, 1990, p. 3) as 'arid, academic and devoid of inspiration.'

The Fifty-Seventh Annual Report of the Sheffield School of Art referred to the aims, methods, content and outcomes of the art curriculum at the School and of Nutt's involvement in the National Course of Instruction for Government School of Art in Britain. The Annual Report (1901) included the Prospectus of Sheffield School of Art, The Report of the School Council, the Headmaster's Report and the Proceedings at the Conversazione of the Sheffield School of Art held on Friday 19th April 1901. The Prospectus for the year 1900-1901 included provision for the annual national exams of the Department of Science and Art and details of prizes and scholarships, also a time table of classes, a list of the fees and the Course of Instruction. On entry to the School students' art educational needs and abilities were assessed individually. The prospectus in the Fifty-Seventh Annual Report (p. 5) specified that 'Art workmen especially' were 'at liberty' to follow a course most suited to their vocational needs. Examinations were held at Sheffield School of Art in May and June after which papers were sent to South Kensington to be marked. Certificates were awarded to those students who work satisfied the examiners and a small number of Queen's Prizes consisting of books were awarded to students who did best in the Elementary and Advanced
Examinations. A selection of art works produced during the year was also sent to South Kensington for the annual examination of works and for selection for the National Exhibition.

An important event at Sheffield School of Art was the annual distribution of prizes and scholarships. The prizes were offered by the City Council, local industry and the Department of Science and Art. The competitive awards and scholarships were eagerly contested and highly prized since they represented a substantial honour and financial reward. The list of prizes offered at Sheffield School of Art for the year 1900-1901 in the Fifty-Seventh Annual Report (p. 6) reflected the City's commitment to the training of designers and artisans for industry. Money prizes were offered both by the City Council and local industry. Local Council prizes in the form of Scholarships were offered in competition to advanced students between the ages of 18 and 30 studying the National Course of Instruction and were tenable for three or four years. Free studentships for 'youths of the artisan class' were offered to youths between the ages of thirteen and seventeen who intended to be apprenticed to a local trade or industry. These studentships were tenable at evening classes for up to seven years if the 'behaviour and progress' of a student was deemed satisfactory. The prize offered by William Hutton and Sons Limited was typical of the type of award made to the School by Local business men and industry. This prize valued at £25 in the Fifty-Seventh Annual Report of Sheffield School of Art (1901) was offered:

for a Design applicable to one of the Sheffield trades which best combines the artistic qualities of beauty and fitness with regard for the practical consideration of construction and cost. (p. 6).

The Alfred Chadburn prize in the Fifty-Seventh Annual Report (1901) was offered for 'the best Design of an article of Sheffield manufacture, to be specified each year' (p. 6). In 1900 the design specification was for the best designs 'for a Casket in Silver Gilt' suitable to contain the Freedom of the City of Sheffield. That year Elizabeth Nutt won the second prize of £7 for her entry of a gilt and enamel casket. Sheffield School of Art also offered local prizes for Technical work in chasing, engraving and wood carving. The City Council and
local industry showed a strong interest in and support for Sheffield School of Art as revealed by the number and content of the prizes they awarded.

Prizes were also offered by the Department of Science and Art at South Kensington. These were awarded to students studying the Elementary, Advanced or Technical Stages of the National Course of Instruction and were also open for competition to Art workmen. The prizes in the form of medals, books and scholarships were awarded for the best work sent to South Kensington, by all Schools of Art, which was chosen for display in the National Competition. The prospectus for Sheffield School of Art 1900-1901 forecast that about 12 gold, 60 silver and 100 bronze medals and additional book prizes and works of art would be awarded nationally by the Department of Science and Art. In the National Competition for the year 1900 in the Headmaster's Report, Sheffield School of Art won four Bronze medals and seven Book prizes. Although Elizabeth Nutt did not win a medal her work was 'commended' and she was awarded a Council prize value £1 for 'works selected for the National Competition' and success in an 'Advanced Examination,' also a Departmental prize of 10s for 'Works.' In the report of examinations held in May and June 1900 Elizabeth Nutt passed the Advanced Examinations in Drawing from Life, Drawing from the Antique, Modelling from the Antique, Perspective and Modelling Design. Works accepted by the Board of Education towards her Art Master's Certificate Group 1 were for stages 1c, 10a and 22b of the Course of Instruction.

'The Course of Study in Various Classes' advertised in the Sheffield School of Art Prospectus in the Fifty Seventh Annual Report 1900-1901 revealed a programme of classes similar in many ways to the one approved by Cole for Schools of Art in the 1852. With the exception of the China Painting Class, men and women were taught separately. The classes were divided into Ladies and Male Morning and Evening classes. These classes were devoted exclusively to the various elementary and advanced stages of the Course of Instruction. In 1900 a Ladies' Afternoon Class for drawing, painting and modelling the
human figure from life was also available. The Special Technical Department offered classes in wood carving, chasing, casting and engraving for 'copying ornament and figure from casts, and designing for carved wood work, chasing etc.' (p. 10).

The Prospectus of Sheffield School of Art for 1900-1901 in the Fifty-Seventh Annual Report also mentioned an art library for the use of 'both Male and Female students' which, the Prospectus stated:

contains many valuable books on Art, and includes a large number of the best illustrated books on Ornamental Art. There are also collections of photographs of the figure of celebrated examples of ornamental metal work (tankards, tazzas, shields, caskets, &c.). (p. 10).

A small museum of resources, many of which were on loan from South Kensington, was also available. Here Elizabeth Nutt obtained the source material for her studies of Historic Ornament with which she won The Lord Mayor's Prize in 1903 for the best set of studies showing the History of Ornament.

Finally, the Prospectus referred to the subject of student discipline. Macdonald (1970) described the atmosphere in the original School of Design set up in 1837 as that of a classroom. He wrote:

On entry the pupils went straight to their places with their drawing boards and paper, and then sat in rows behind the stands upon which their boards rested, while the master handed out diagrams of patterns or ornament on cards, or in books, so that they could copy 'from the flat'... The pupils were not allowed to talk, nor to move about, nor to touch any casts, so even their conception of the Round was Flat. (p. 75).

The code of discipline represented in the Sheffield School of Art Prospectus 1900-1901 was similar to that of the original Government School of Design. It stated:

Regularity of attendance is particularly enjoined upon all students, who are required also to attend punctually, and to sit down immediately in their proper places on coming into school.

No student, without permission, may leave the school before the time at which the class closes. (p. 11).
Analysis of the Sheffield School of Art Prospectus 1900-1901 showed that the philosophy and art curriculum content taught at the School at the turn of the century had changed little in almost fifty years from the time Henry Cole set up his national system of art education with 'cast-iron' thoroughness in 1852.

**Art Work by Elizabeth Nutt 1900-1903**

Three examples of examination art work completed by Elizabeth Nutt at Sheffield School of Art 1900-1903, Design for a Casket, Design for a Five O'clock Tea Service and Studies in Historic Ornament remain in the collection of her niece Dr. Ursula Clarke. All bear the official label of work sent to South Kensington to be judged in the National Graded Examinations in Art. Two of the examples, were also entered for Local Prizes. The work 'Design for a Casket' 1900 (see figure 16) was entered for the local Alfred Chadburn Prize. This prize, offered annually under the will of Alfred Chadburn Esq. was for the best design of an article of Sheffield manufacture to be specified each year. In 1900, the year in which Nutt won a second prize of £7 in the competition, the specification in the Fifty-Seventh Annual Report of the Sheffield School of Art requested:

> the best Designs for a Casket in Silver Gilt and suitable to contain the Freedom of The City of Sheffield. (p. 26).

The study in watercolour, pencil and ink on card presented a front elevation and plan of the casket which appeared to be rectangular in shape, raised on pedestal feet and covered with a lid. The decoration to the sides of the casket suggested elements of Art Nouveau design in silver gilt and enamel with fluid lines and applied surface decoration based on natural plant forms. Also applied to the sides of the casket in enamels of predominantly strong blues of deep ultramarine and turquoise were tableaux of winged, allegorical, mythological figures of cherubs and the figure Mercury. The lid, also in silver gilt and ultramarine enamel, was patterned with organic plant forms, curling ribbons and two flying eagles. This example of Elizabeth Nutt's design work reflects an Art Nouveau influence.
FIGURE 16. DESIGN FOR A CASKET BY E. S. NUTT, 1900.
Her design for a Five O'clock Tea Service was also carried out in watercolour, pencil and ink on card. It comprised seven items: a silver tea tray, a teapot, a milk jug, a sugar bowl and a teaspoon, represented as pencil drawings and a china cup and saucer presented in pencil, watercolour and ink (see figure 17). The silver and china items displayed different design influences. For example, in terms of its shape, design and applied ornamental decoration the teapot resembles English teapots designed in the 1850's while the china tea cup and saucer were simpler in both shape and applied design which was reminiscent of the Art Nouveau style. The tea cup and saucer were glazed in ultramarine blue, turquoise and gold and displayed stylized plant forms of bluebells against a gold background enclosed in curling ultramarine linear shapes. In the researchers' view this work lacked the quality and spontaneity of the 'Design for a Casket' in the sense that the design for the Five O'clock Tea Service appeared over decorated and the drawing was overworked. This suggested that Nutt spent many hours on its execution. In this sense the work could be described as retrogressive.

A third example of art work produced by Nutt while she was a student at Sheffield School of Art in 1903 was a sheet of eight mounted studies of Historic Ornament representative of Swedish Jewellery of the 16th, 18th and 19th centuries (see figure 18). The jewellery, part of a loans collection of source material, was sent from South Kensington for the use of students at Sheffield School of Art. Nutt was awarded a National Book Prize for this work and it was also entered for and won the local Lord Mayor's Prize with a value of £10 10s. The work was selected also by the Board of Education for the 1904 St. Louis Exhibition. In the Fifty-Seventh Annual Report of Sheffield School of Art the prize specification was:

for the best set of studies, showing the History of Ornament or for the best shaded Drawing and set of Studies of the Anatomy of the Human Figure, alternately. (p. 6).

The individual studies were executed in pencil, watercolour and ink on card. They were strictly representational and carefully detailed two dimensional reproductions of the jewellery. The studies consisted of three necklaces and five buckles or clasps which were
FIGURE 17. DESIGN FOR A FIVE O’CLOCK TEA SERVICE BY E. S. NUTT, 1903.

FIGURE 18. STUDIES OF HISTORIC ORNAMENT BY E. S. NUTT, 1903.
gold in colour, decorated with elaborate surface patterns and set with red and green stones similar to rubies and emeralds. In the researcher's view, of the three examples of design work produced by Nutt at Sheffield School of Art from 1900 to 1903, the 'Design for a Casket' appeared to be the most successful in terms of design construction, applied surface pattern and presentation because the approach to the design specification was more imaginative. The Design for a Five O'clock Tea Service and the example of Historic Ornament displayed technical accuracy and competency in drawing and use of watercolour painting but lacked the spontaneous quality of the earlier work, 'Design for a Casket.' These three examples of design work created by Nutt 1900-1903 are probably typical of the art work produced at Sheffield School of Art at the turn of the twentieth century by students studying the long and demanding National Course of Instruction.

Summary
Nutt was fortunate to attend Sheffield School of Art from 1897 to 1903 at a time of optimism for the School in terms of student achievement. Among her contemporaries in 1900 were a number of artists who later emigrated to Canada in the early twentieth century including Frederick Varley and Arthur Lismer. Among the student body in 1890-1910 were designers, such as Omar Ramsden and Alywin Carr and artists such as Charles Sargeant Jagger who continued their studies at the Royal College of Art and later gained national recognition for their work. It is probable that the presence at the School of a competitive and talented peer group and the quality of their work significantly influenced Nutt's artistic values and encouraged her to strive for success both in her studies in the applied arts and as a fine artist. It is difficult to estimate the extent to which Nutt's artistic views were influenced by her teachers J. T. Cook, Henry Archer and A. C. C. Jahn. She appeared to respond well to their instruction in the sense that her name appeared among major prize winners in the Sheffield School of Art Annual Reports (1900-1903). This fact indicated that she was well trained and skilled in the aims and methods of the Sheffield School of Art Course of Instruction in the applied arts which required many hours spent in repetitive copying from
the flat or from casts. Although, according to Pearse and Soucy (1987, p. 134), there is
evidence to suggest that Nutt's Canadian art educational aims and curriculum were based
upon a British model of art education, in her writing (1913-1916) she rejected these teachers’
drawing methods. Nutt (1916, p. 5) wrote, 'it is not "hand and eye" training we want, but
mind training.' This suggests that although Nutt's teachers at Sheffield School of Art guided
the development of her technical ability in the applied arts, it was other considerations such
as the art philosophy of the Arts and Crafts Movement that influenced her educational aims,
methods and values. During this period Nutt's artistic views may also have been influenced
by the presence in Sheffield of drawings and paintings by Ruskin exhibited in the Ruskin
Museum; also by his romantic religious philosophy of art expressed in his writings which
accompanied the exhibits.

Examples of examination work by Nutt (1900-1903), identified in the collection of Dr,
Ursula Clarke, demonstrated a mixture of styles. These reflected both the historical art
movements of the 1890's i.e. the Arts and Crafts Movement and Art Nouveau and the type
of work in applied art produced in the Schools of Art 1850-1900. In the latter, an excessive
amount of ornament was superimposed upon the surface of products without changing their
structural design. For example Nutt's 'Design for a Five O'clock Tea Service' showed items
of silverware to which various types of ornament had been arbitrarily applied in a manner of
applied art typical of 1850-1900. On the same design sheet, a tea cup and saucer appeared
simpler in shape and with applied design that suggested elements of Art Nouveau. The
extent to which Nutt's training in the applied arts at Sheffield School of Art influenced her
Canadian curriculum will be dealt with later in Chapter 6.

Nutt's philosophy of the artist-worker was based upon the beliefs and ideology of the Arts
and Crafts Movement and closely resembled the moral and artistic philosophy of the
movement's leading advocates Ruskin, Morris and Crane. Subsequently, the training of the
artist-worker formed a significant part of Nutt's Canadian art curriculum. A review of the
period in which Nutt trained at Sheffield School of Art (1897-1903), and evidence of her belief in the concept of the artist-worker as revealed in her Canadian Curriculum suggested that her philosophy of art, artistic values and methods were strongly influenced by both her long training in the applied arts at Sheffield and the moral and artistic philosophy of the Arts and Crafts Movement. Through immersion in the British education system, Nutt had developed her potential to the full. When she graduated from Sheffield School of Art in 1903 she was the recipient of a long and thorough art education and an Art Master's Certificate Group 1. She was highly trained and qualified, aware of the external developments in the Arts and Crafts Movement, and sustained by a strong religious Christian conviction (reported in Chapter 3), a combination of factors that enabled her to succeed confidently in her long career as an art educator.
1. The Modern Movement which integrated art and design with machine production was a twentieth century movement which developed in Europe and America. It is usually associated with the artistic doctrine of Functionalism. Although British designers such as Morris rejected the use of the machine in the artistic process because they believed machine products to be inferior to hand crafted ones the sources from which the Movement grew were British. Pevsner (1991, p.118) listed the sources as: William Morris and the Arts and Crafts Movement, Art Nouveau and the works of nineteenth-century engineers.

2. According to Macdonald (1970, p.313) Walter Crane had 'little interest in art schools' in the early 1890's because he believed the best training in the arts took place in the workshops. His interest in the teaching of design in art schools was aroused later in the decade as a result of the popularity of his books, The Bases of Design (1898) and Line and Form (1900), among art masters.

3. According to Upshall (1988) the first phase of the Industrial Revolution took place in Britain from the second half of the eighteenth century until 1830. In the second phase, from 1830 to the early twentieth century the Industrial Revolution spread to Europe, its colonies and to the U.S.A. He wrote:

the sudden acceleration of technical development...transferred the balance of political power from the landowner to the industrial capitalist and created an urban industrial working class. (p. 614).

4. Gothic was a style of architecture prevalent in Western Europe in the late 12th - 16th centuries characterized by pointed arches.

5. The South Kensington Circle were the officials of the Department of Science and Art at South Kensington which included Sir Henry Cole.

6. The seven qualities that Ruskin perceived in the Gothic style were:

it's sense of sacrifice or dedication, its truthfulness or lack of sham, its power, its beauty, its faithfulness to the past, its obedience to honourable rules and its life. (Ruskin, 1981, p. 18).

7. The Arts and Crafts Movement had considerable influence in Europe. In Austria it led to the establishment of the Werkstatte and in Germany it was the foundation for an aesthetic trend which led to inauguration of the Bauhaus (1919) where art education and machine production were integrated.

8. According to Macdonald (1970, p.286), the reputation of the Parisian ateliers (studios) as centres of art education originated in the seventeen-nineties from the atelier of David. There painters such as Ingres, Gros and Girodet drew and painted from the nude to an initiative formula derived from Greek statuary in the manner of David's severe Classicism. In 1825 Ingres opened his famous atelier in the Rue de Marais which Young Mitchell attended. There, according to Macdonald (1970, p.287), Ingres emphasized the 'principles of Raphael's ordered compositions' and set an outstanding example of drawing which raised the quality of art training in Paris.

9. According to Macdonald (1970, p.175) women were not allowed to draw from the nude in the Academy Schools until 1893, but after this date they were able to draw from a partially draped male nude. This practice became general for female students a few years later.
10. The Department of Science and Art was inaugurated in 1853. According to Kirby (1987, p.14) provincial Schools of Design were removed from the control of the Board of Trade and placed under the newly formed Department of Science and Art. The Schools of Design were renamed 'Schools of Art.'

11. Proposed changes in the function of Schools of Art, by Henry Cole (1853) from the education of designers for industry to the training of national teachers in elementary drawing in general education, strongly reinforced by an examination structure dependent upon a system of payment on results, necessitated the provision of larger and better equipped premises.

12. Details from the information form of the National Gallery of Canada 19.5.25, completed by Nutt disclosed that she studied under the artists John J. Cook, Henry Archer and A. A. C. Jahn at the Sheffield School of Art.

13. The Conversazione of the Sheffield School of Art was an annual social gathering held at the Mappin Art Gallery in Sheffield. It included an address by a local dignitary on an art topic and the distribution of Art Teaching Certificates and prizes awarded to students by the local City Council and the Department of Science and Art.

14. Other students awarded prizes in these groups in 1900 included H. V. Fanshaw who emigrated to Canada in 1911 where he pursued a career as a teacher and a printmaker and H. H. Stansfield who emigrated to Canada in 1919 where he taught at Ontario College of Art with Arthur Lismer.

15. Arthur Lismer, who was principal of the Victoria School of Art and Design Nova Scotia from 1916 to 1919, recommended Nutt to the directors as his successor.
CHAPTER 5: POSTGRADUATE ART EDUCATION 1903-1915

Introduction

Articles in the Canadian press (1928, 1939, 1946) indicated that after Sheffield School of Art, Nutt continued her art education with substantial postgraduate studies in London, Paris, Florence, Newlyn and Sheffield. It is likely therefore that the experiences she assimilated in the various institutions and countries she visited during her postgraduate studies subsequently influenced her educational aims and values. Evidence in support of this claim exists in her publications (1916, 1935) referred to previously and the curriculum she instituted at the Nova Scotia College of Art (1925-1931). Evaluation of these publications also led to the conclusion that the knowledge of painting she gained as a practising artist greatly contributed to her evolution as an art educator. Because of this a review of art movements, institutions and culture in some of the places she studied in the early 1900’s was carried out with the aim of investigating her personal growth and development as an artist. It was intended also to assess which individuals and educational establishments influenced and guided her artistic theory, practice and views at this time; which art historical movements were reflected in her work and art teaching publications and whether or not she experienced gender bias and discrimination during her postgraduate training. Primary source material for this chapter included the Sixtieth Annual Report of the Sheffield Technical School of Art (1904), Sheffield University student records (1910-1915), articles in the Studio (1894, 1904) and the Canadian press (1928, 1939, 1946), information from the National Gallery of Canada (1925) and a transcript of Nutt’s Radio Broadcast in (1935).

Although extensive inquiries were made during this part of the research the exact dates of Nutt’s early postgraduate art education are unknown. Searches of the archives of the Royal College of Art for example did not reveal any firm evidence of her attendance. Enquiries at the Tate Gallery Archive, Millbank, London which holds the Stanhope Forbes archives, the
British Library and the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts also failed to reveal student records from the Newlyn School of Painting she is said to have attended. Most of the records from the institutions she attended in the early 1900's, such as The Royal College of Art, the Newlyn School of Painting and Sheffield School of Art are either incomplete, have been lost or, in some cases, destroyed.\(^1\) This made a precise analysis of Nutt's postgraduate studies extremely difficult and necessitated a certain amount of speculation. Conflicting time scales for her postgraduate studies also emerged. For example reports in the Canadian Press suggested that Nutt devoted a period of three or four years to her early postgraduate studies, whereas surviving records in *The Sixtieth Annual report of the Sheffield Technical School of Art* (1904) and accounts in the *Sheffield Education Committee Handbook* (1906) suggested a period of one year.\(^2\) It appears, therefore, that some of these studies must have been either shorter in length than those described in the Canadian Press or must have taken place at a later date, possibly between 1905-1910. Although it proved impossible to confirm the exact dates of her early postgraduate studies, their existence was confirmed by her entry in the Information Form of the National Gallery of Canada (1925) as may be seen in figure 19. In this document Nutt annotated three different kinds of studies. First at Newlyn, England with Stanhope Forbes, R.A., second in Paris, France and third in Florence, Italy, with Professor Simi.\(^3\) Evidence of her early postgraduate studies recorded in the Canadian Press are as follows:

She then went to London where she took post-graduate work. Winning a travelling scholarship, she went to Paris and there studied for a year at the Sorbonne. Having already chosen art as a career, her mother then took her to Florence, where she studied for two years under the famous Professor Sini. (*The Montreal Standard* 18.2.39).

Study in the old-world monasteries and in the art galleries of Italy followed and, after obtaining an art master's certificate, courses at the Royal College of Art, a travelling scholarship to Paris and courses in the Newlyn School were taken. (*MacLean's Magazine* 1.12.28).

Barraclough (1955) has defined history as:

The attempt to recreate the significant features of the past on the basis of imperfect and fragmentary evidence. (Marwick, 1989, p. 231).
**FIGURE 19. THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA INFORMATION FORM (1925) SHOWING DETAILS OF NUTT’S POSTGRADUATE STUDIES.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Name. (Christian names in full)</th>
<th>Elizabeth Stirling Nutt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Place of birth</td>
<td>Isle of Man, English, Ireland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Date of birth</td>
<td>September 1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. If resident in Canada, but not Canadian, by birth, date and place of settlement here</td>
<td>Dined March 1946 Resident</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Present address</td>
<td>Nova Scotia College of Art, Haliface, Nova Scotia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. If a member of any art societies or organizations, please state names and dates of election</td>
<td>Society of Art Masters, England (1904-1911)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nova Scotia Society of Artists (1912)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. If an officer, past or present, of any society or organization of artists, please state names of societies, titles of office and dates when such titles were held</td>
<td>Vice President of Nova Scotia Society of Artists (1922)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Newlyn - England, Stanhope Forbes RA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paris - France, Free Lens on Scholarship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Florence - Italy, Professor Sini</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The National Gallery
Ottawa

INFORMATION FORM
FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING A RECORD OF ARTISTS AND THEIR WORK

1. Name. (Christian names in full) ___________

2. Place of birth ___________

3. Date of birth ___________

4. If resident in Canada, but not Canadian by birth, date and place of settlement here ___________

5. Present address ___________

6. If a member of any art societies or organizations, please state names and dates of election ___________

7. If an officer, past or present, of any society or organization of artists, please state names of societies, titles of office and dates when such titles were held ___________

8. Where studied? Under what artists? and in what schools... ___________
Although few personal records of Nutt’s postgraduate studies remained and despite the ambiguous time-scales indicated by official British records and articles in the Canadian press a conclusion was drawn that Nutt’s personal specification of entry in the record of artists works (1925) and her education record listed in the staff register of the Sheffield Pupil Teachers’ Centre (1919) offered sufficient evidence that she did attend these institutions.

The Royal College of Art

In the Headmaster’s report in the Sixtieth Annual Report of the Sheffield Technical School of Art (1904) for the year ending July 1903 it was noted:

Five students were selected to attend a Short Course at South Kensington\(^4\) their expenses being paid by the Board of Education. This is one of the most important improvements of recent years, as students are enabled to come in personal contact with, and receive instruction from a number of the leading Designers and Art Workers in the Kingdom. (p. 13).

Recorded on the same page, together with accounts of major art awards to students at Sheffield School of Art for the year ending July 1903, was an announcement that:

Elizabeth S. Nutt has had her work in Historic Styles selected by the Board of Education for exhibition at St Louis next year. (p. 13).

Although the five students who attended the course at the Royal College of Art were unnamed it seems probable that Nutt was among them. According to records in The Sixtieth Annual Report of the Sheffield Technical School of Art (1904) she was among the most successful art students at the school that year in terms of examination achievements and prize awards. These included the Lord Mayor’s prize and a national Book prize awarded for her examination work (1903) in Historic Styles of Ornament which was selected by the Board of Education for display at the celebrated St. Louis Exhibition of 1904 in the U.S.A. Also a free studentship\(^5\) from the Board of Education, South Kensington. It is reasonable to presume that she was one of the five students mentioned in the Headmaster’s Report selected to attend the Royal College of Art. Unfortunately records of student attendance on short courses at the Royal College for this period (1900-1910) have not survived and so it was not
possible to confirm whether or not she participated in any other postgraduate courses at the
College as indicated in the Canadian Press.

At the time Nutt is said to have attended The Royal College of Art, Augustus Spencer was
Principal. He followed Walter Crane to become the first headmaster of the Royal College in
1899. Although Walter Crane's period as Principal of the College (from 1898-1899) was
very brief his influence was far reaching. He is credited with the formation of the Design
School at the College in 1901 and much of the reorganisation of the design curriculum.
Crane, in Macdonald (1970, p.296), described the design curriculum he inherited as
' mechanical and lifeless' and introduced into the Royal College lectures in design and
handicrafts. His expressed curriculum aims were:

  to expand the range of studies, especially in the direction of Design and
  Handicraft....to give students some insight into the relation between
  design and material. (Frayling, 1987, p. 66).

In 1900 the Board of Education formed the Council of Advice on Art to direct a national art
education policy. Four members were appointed all of whom belonged to the Art Workers
Guild. They were Sir William Richmond, for painting, Onslow Ford, for sculpture, T.
Graham Jackson for architecture and Walter Crane for Design. In 1901 the newly appointed
Council recommended the reorganisation of the Royal College of Art into four schools.
They were: Architecture, Painting, Sculpture and Design led by Professors Beresford,
Moira, Lanteri and Lethaby, who were all members of the Art Workers' Guild. Craft classes
were set up which included stained glass, pottery, metalwork, etching, engraving,
lithography, calligraphy, embroidery and wood-carving and were taught almost exclusively
by members of the Art Workers' Guild. Frayling (1987) referred to the Arts and Crafts
philosophy introduced into the Royal College of Art by the distinguished Guildsmen as
becoming:

  part of the 'mission' of the Royal College replacing the formal knowledge
  of the 'South Kensington' system with the informal knowledge of the
craftsman. (p. 68).
In the College’s Design School in the early 1900’s, craft classes became an essential part of the curriculum and reflected the ‘hands on’ philosophy of the Arts and Crafts Movement.

Where the Design School was concerned, the authors of the [College Council’s] memorandum felt strongly that ‘no student is capable of designing for any material with whose limitations and nature he is not personally acquainted’. (Frayling, 1987, p. 69)

It is probable that Nutt followed at least one such short course in the Design Department at the Royal College of Art possibly in the summer or second part of 1903 after she had been chosen as one of five students from Sheffield Technical School of Art for further training by the examiners at South Kensington.

Art educational opportunities and career prospects for women at the Royal College of Art 1890-1910 certainly appear biased and discriminatory today. Frayling (1987, p. 74) has described Professor Lanteri’s modelling class in the mid-1890’s as an exception. It produced a significant number of women artists such as the sculptors Margaret Giles, Ruby Levick, Esther Moore, Florence Steel and Gwendolen Williams who made successful careers as decorative artists or designers after leaving the College. Nevertheless he has pointed out that the number of women who managed to sustain a career in the subject they studied at the Royal College was ‘very small indeed.’ A detailed survey of the student destinations of those who had graduated from the Royal College between February 1901 and July 1909, published as part of the Report of the Departmental Committee on the Royal College of Art (1911), disclosed that of 140 female graduates who amounted to 30.4 percent of the student body during those years, only seventeen proceeded to teach in art schools, secondary schools or private academies. Frayling (1987) noted that all who completed the course were fully qualified art teachers and concluded:

that for one reason or another, the teaching posts were simply not open to them: for the total number of graduates who went into full or part-time teaching between 1901 and 1909 was one hundred and thirty-three (126 full time) - so the number of female teachers represents only 12.8 per cent of those employed in the profession. (p. 74)
Sylvia Pankhurst the suffragette was a famous National Scholar who studied at the Royal College of Art 1904-1906. She had studied at Manchester School of Art where she had won a National Silver Medal and also a travelling studentship which took her to Florence and Venice to study frescoes and mosaics at a similar time to Nutt. In 1904 Pankhurst won a scholarship to the Royal College of Art heading the list of competitors for the whole country. Tickner (1989) confirmed Frayling's (1987) assessment of bias against women art students at the Royal College in the early 1900's. With reference to Sylvia Pankhurst she wrote:

At the Royal College she encountered a level of discrimination against women students that disturbed her, and fighting it only increased the hostility she faced. (p. 28).

There is evidence that Elizabeth Nutt was also a suffragette. Although it has not been possible to obtain definite confirmation of her involvement in the Suffrage Campaign, Dr. Ursula Clarke (Nutt's surviving niece) firmly believed her aunt to have been a suffragette. When she was interviewed she said:

Oh yes, definitely she was. It used to be said in the family that she chained herself to the railings outside Parliament. I've no actual proof of that but that's what was always understood.9 (13.4.91).

It is probable that the art courses(s) Nutt studied at the Royal College would have been in the Design Department (as opposed to the Painting or Sculpture Departments). There the discrimination against female art students noted by Frayling (1987, p. 74) and Tickner (1989, p. 28) was less marked. However, it seems likely that as with Sylvia Pankhurst, (whom she may have met at the Royal College, in London or in Florence), she may have encountered or witnessed gender bias and discrimination against women art students. Such occurrences may have influenced and later contributed to the evolution of the aims and values of her art curriculum at the Nova Scotia College of Art. There is evidence from Canada that Nutt worked hard to create and increase vocational and educational opportunities for women through her art curriculum at Nova Scotia College of Art. Also that she received strong support from women of the province in her campaign to make the College financially secure. According to Pearse and Soucy (1987):

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Miss Nutt’s campaign did receive strong support from at least one sector: women and their organizations throughout the province. Since the early days of Leonowens and Kenny, the Art School and local women’s groups had given each other consistent mutual support. This involvement is exemplified by the fact that Miss Nutt’s home in Halifax was a big corner room on the first floor of the Local Council of Women House on Young Avenue and Inglis Street. (p. 165)

Although Nutt may only have attended course(s) at the Royal College of Art for a short period of time in the early 1900’s she would have gained substantially from her postgraduate studies there in terms of the development of her philosophy as a designer and an art educator. The curriculum at the Royal College at the turn of the century was substantially influenced by the Arts and Crafts philosophy of Walter Crane and his distinguished staff, many of whom were members of the Art Workers’ Guild. Postgraduate training in the Design Department would have reinforced Nutt’s philosophy of the artist-worker previously discussed in Chapter 4. The outcomes of this period of Nutt’s postgraduate training are apparent in the curriculum (1919-1925) she introduced into the Victoria School of Art and Design early in her appointment which required all students to take at least one course in the design department. For example Pearse and Soucy (1987, p. 137) have noted that ‘students were encouraged to engage in crafts, applied design, commercial art, and other forms of art for practical ends.’

Paris

According to Nutt’s personal entry in the Information Form of the National Gallery of Canada (1925) she studied in Paris, ‘free lance on [a] scholarship.’ As previously discussed reports in the Canadian press indicated that this course of study was taken at the Sorbonne University, for a period of one year, following postgraduate work at the Royal College of Art. This suggests that her education in Paris was typical of a pattern followed by English postgraduate art students in the early 1900’s. It is probable that attendance at the Sorbonne at this time was loose and informal offering students the opportunity to live in Paris and absorb the cultural milieu. She may have attended lectures in art history at the University perhaps following a course of independent study in the Parisian art galleries such as the...
Louvre. With her future career as an art educator in mind she would have had time to observe and consider the more flexible model of French art education admired by many English art students. According to Macdonald (1970, p. 284), in the second half of the nineteenth century many young artists from America and Europe were attracted to Paris because they considered the French ateliers offered a more comprehensive and advanced art education than could be obtained in their own countries.

Holland (1904) who contributed to the Studio magazine in the early 1900's described the continuing attraction that Paris held for female art students at that time as follows:

Paris has for many years been the Mecca of art students of both sexes. The reason for this is not far too seek. English schools of painting (with few exceptions) do not appear to encourage individuality of women, in art, however good the technical instruction given may be. Whether it be the glamour which has always enveloped Paris as an art centre or the attractiveness of life 'in the Quarter', it is difficult to say; but true it is, that lady art students of the present day are going to Paris in increasing numbers. (p.225)

Holland (1904) described the supposed exotic avant-garde existence of a female art student living in Paris in the early years of the twentieth century as something of a myth and as very different from the exciting bohemian life led by contemporary male students who could meet and mix freely in the art schools, ateliers and cafes. This facility which was denied to women afforded male students the opportunity to argue, discuss and develop theories about painting away from the disciplined atmosphere of the academy classrooms and the masters of the ateliers. In comparison female art students visiting Paris led far more isolated and restricted lives. Holland (1904), described the customary living conditions, the organisation and curricula of the academies and the necessary expenditure required by 'Lady Art Students' resident in Paris at that time as follows:

If she be very independent she will eschew the pension, run on more or less dull or English lines, in favour of an appartement au deuxième, or au troisième,... In this little appartement, which will in most cases be a bedroom, sitting-room and studio all in one, with a slip of a bathroom and kitchen, if she can afford it, she lives a solitary existence, varied only by the daily visit to the school or atelier to which she has attached herself, the incursions of artist friends (if she be emancipated these will be of both
sexes); the occasional visit to a place of amusement, when an escort is available; or the equally occasional dinner at a restaurant. (p. 226).

Nutt may also have had the opportunity to visit one of the Parisian ateliers, such as the Academie Julian, which had admitted and encouraged women artists since its foundation in 1868 by Adolphe Julian. According to Zimmerman (1989):

Julian always supported female students who were excluded from studying at the École des Beaux Arts, and he allowed them to compete with male students for prizes at his Academie. (p. 169).

Radycki (1982) has described the year 1903 as a landmark for French women artists. In that year female students attending the École des Beaux Arts in Paris won the right to compete for the Academy’s highest award, the Prix de Rome. According to Boime (1971) the Prix-de-Rome scholarship represented the highest possible honour awarded to a French art student. It took the form of higher education provided by the French Academy in Rome in which the students were encouraged to work freely on their own without the direction of a single professor. According to Boime (1971) the winner:

was permitted to study at leisure in Roman museums and churches, to travel to the outskirts and sketch landscapes and monuments. His sole obligations were the annual envois, or required examples of his Roman work that were sent to Paris and submitted to the Academy's judgement. (p. 20).

In France, as in England, new opportunities emerged for women art students at the beginning of the twentieth century. According to Radycki (1982) an École de Beaux Arts education was considered by French women artists, such as members of the Union des Femmes, founded in 1881, to offer the best possible art education. The painter Paula Modersohn-Becker who spent six months in Paris (in about, 1900) when she attended the Academie Colarossi, the Louvre, and the École des Beaux Arts wrote:

The marvellous instruction in anatomy (given free at the École des Beaux-Arts) will fill the gaps in my deficient anatomical knowledge. Yesterday the knee was explained to us with charts schematic blackboard drawings. We girls are offered something here as nowhere else. (Radycki, 1982, p. 12).
Holland (1904) writing for a British public, described the mixed life classes available in the Parisian ateliers as a situation that would not have been possible a few years earlier.

The stronger natures among the girl art students will probably decide upon attending one of the mixed classes, and there they will work shoulder to shoulder with their brother art students, drawing from the costume or the living model in a common spirit of studenthood and camaraderie. (p. 228).

He described a typical atelier as offering three painting sessions a day. The first was from 8.00 a.m. - 12.00 noon, the second from 1.00 p.m. - 5.00 p.m. and the third from 7.00 p.m. - 10.00 p.m. Holland suggested that 'enthusiastic' female students typically attended the morning and evening sessions and either rested or worked at their lodgings in the afternoon. He suggested that the curriculum practised in ateliers such as the Academie Julian was similar to that of an English Art School in that students proceeded from elementary drawing of casts, and classical antiques to the live model. However, with reference to life drawing classes, he wrote:

But for the study of anatomy and drawing from the living model the opportunities provided are far greater than in the average English Art Schools. Moreover, the individual talent and bent of each pupil is more carefully studied and fostered than with us. (p. 229).

Despite the restrictions placed upon women art students at the turn of the century it is clear that Paris in the early 1900's must have been a dynamic and exciting city. In the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, France was in the vanguard of modern European painting:

what had been achieved was so dazzling in its glory that every young artist in Europe and America turned towards Paris with unbearable longing. In the first ten years practically every artist who was to become a leader of new movements in the new century visited Paris, and many of them came to stay. (Read, 1991, p. 32).

Nutt (1935b) herself spoke of Paris with an enthusiasm that suggested her studies there were both successful and enjoyable. She described the city as representing to the world an image of 'magic and romance, revolutions and adventure' and she said:

Every art student looks with reverent glance towards Paris and from Paris to the rest of France. (p. 1).
As part of her freelance postgraduate studies she would have had the opportunity to visit major exhibitions in galleries in Paris such as the Louvre or at the annual Paris Salon and would have been well aware of the latest developments in European painting as is obvious from her Radio Broadcast *The Importance of Modern French Art to the World* (1935). In it she summarized the achievements and theories of Modern French art movements such as Realism, Impressionism, Pointilism, Neo-Impressionism, Cubism and Fauvism describing their development as ‘an absorbing theme.’ Nutt’s postgraduate studies in Paris at the Sorbonne probably also allowed her time to visit and observe, or experience first hand, an art curriculum in the more relaxed atmosphere of a French atelier. Because she had spent many years training in England for a career as an art educator she may have capitalised on the opportunity to experience and debate an alternative French art curriculum. This probably influenced and broadened her educational values and pedagogical approaches. She must have returned to England, a more knowledgeable student, well informed of the latest developments in French painting and more aware of alternative approaches to art education.

**Florence**

A number of reports in both the British and Canadian press referred to Nutt’s postgraduate work in Florence and the ‘enriching’ memories of her studies in Italy. Haviland (1939) wrote:

> Having already chosen art as a career her mother then took her to Florence, where she studied for two years under the famous Professor Sini.

MacLean (1928) also referred to Nutt’s Italian studies in ‘the old-world monasteries and in the art galleries of Italy.’ Despite the fact that no other records of Nutt’s studies in Florence appear to have survived it seems probable that her experiences there would have been similar, at least in part, to those of a contemporary French Prix-de-Rome student studying at the Academy of France in Rome as described in Biome (1971, p. 20). Although Nutt studied under the direction of the painter Professor Simi whereas a corresponding French student would have been able to work more freely without direction, it is probable that in
both cases their programmes would have included leisured study in the museums, art
galleries and churches. Her studies may also have included supervised outings to the
outskirts of the city to sketch landscapes and monuments. Nutt would have had the
opportunity to visit the major museums, art galleries, churches and monasteries in Florence
including the San Marco, the Uffizi, the Pitti Palace and the Brancacci Chapel of the Sta
Maria del Carmine which housed a wealth of Italian art treasures by such artists as Piero
della Francesca, Fra Angelico, Uccello, Masaccio, Michelangelo, Leonardo da Vinci and
Raphael. Nutt was privileged to continue her art education in a city so rich in Renaissance
art treasures and architecture which in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had been at the
centre of both the production and the academic teaching of art in Europe.

Nutt was a renowned, if sometimes inaccurate, storyteller10 and she began the Forward to
her first book Flower Drawing with the Children (1916) with two stories drawn from
Florentine art history. The first was a story told by the Renaissance writer and painter
Giorgio Vasari (1511-1576) concerning the artists Brunelleschi (1377-1446) and Donatello
(1386?-1466) and the second, an imaginative account of the circumstances that led Raphael
(1483-1520) to paint the Madonna Della Sedia displayed in the Pitti Palace in Florence. Both
stories reflect a knowledge of, affection for, and appreciation of Italian Renaissance art and
art history. Other references by Nutt (1935), suggest first hand knowledge of Florentine
Museums and their contents. She wrote of Masaccio for example that

He was the artist of the mural paintings on the walls of the Branacchi
Chapel of the Carmine Church in Florence, which chapel became the
school of art for all Italy and here Michael Angelo, Raphael and their
fellow students zealously studied. (p. 6).

By extending her studies to Florence, Nutt followed the example of many English art
students who undertook postgraduate work in Italy in the early years of the twentieth
century. Under the guidance of the painter Professor Simi she would have had time to
develop her painting skills and to extend her knowledge of Italian Renaissance painting and
art history which she later used to illustrate the content of her art lessons. For example Nutt (1935a) discussed the use of tone by the Italian artist Masaccio as an illustrative example to a lesson on the use of colour and tone as follows:

The artists of the middle ages, who were painters as well as architects, though they created the glorious churches and beautiful campaniles of Central Europe, and had solved all the principles of their construction, were yet unable to represent in their pictures the tone beneath the colour of nature. The discovery of this tone quality belongs to Massaccio, born in 1401. (p. 6).

Newlyn

Nutt chose to follow her postgraduate training in Europe with courses at the Newlyn School of Painting under the tutelage of the British artist Stanhope Forbes (1857-1947) who was a devoted disciple of the French painter Bastien-Lepage.\textsuperscript{11} It seems probable that her studies in the Parisian art galleries in the early 1900's which displayed many examples of work by Bastien-Lepage and the Juste-Milieu\textsuperscript{12} group of artists influenced her decision to attend painting courses at the Newlyn School of Painting in Cornwall. Paintings by Nutt, such as ‘Sunshine South Yorkshire’ (1923) and ‘By the Wayside’ (1925) reflect stylistic influences and a theory of painting analogous to the Newlyn School and in particular to Stanhope Forbes. Stylistic similarities between their work suggests that this period of Nutt's postgraduate training, the influences of the contemporary French art movement and its principal participants, and the art philosophy of the Newlyn School of Painting were important determinants in her development as a painter that required investigation as part of this research.

According to Fox and Greenacre (1985, pp, 8, 36) there were two groups of Newlyn Painters. An older generation who had arrived in Cornwall in the 1880's and a second generation who arrived in the early 1900's and remained in Cornwall for varying lengths of time until the outbreak of the First World War in 1914.\textsuperscript{13} Both generations were influenced by the emerging knowledge and understanding of developments in painting taking place in
France in the second half of the nineteenth century. The formalist Clive Bell (1915, p.177) wrote ‘About the middle of the nineteenth century art was nearly as dead as art can be.’

Stolnitz (1960), with reference to Bell's statement confirms that:

A great deal of such art was ‘academic’ in the bad sense, devoted to lifelike imitation of handsome people and attractive seascapes and landscapes. (p. 135).

In France Realism had emerged as the dominant art movement from about 1840-1880. Nochlin (1971) who took a broad view of Realist painting in the sense that she included in the category both the Realism of Courbet, Millet and Bastein-Lepage and the Realism of the Impressionists such as Monet and Degas, considered the aim of this movement as being:

to give a truthful objective and impartial representation of the real world, based on meticulous observation of contemporary life. (p. 13).

In the eighteen fifties, sixties and seventies in France Realist painters tried to create pictorial equivalents synonymous with and appropriate to the new social experiences of their time, such as, the 1848 Revolution. New egalitarian ideas in society inspired a wider approach to the subject matter of painting which had previously been reserved for the portrayal of kings and heroes. Ordinary people such as peasants and artisans, their work and the dignity of their labour were treated with a seriousness previously applied to history painting, as is demonstrated in Courbet's painting the Stone-breakers, (1849). Contemporaneity was a central issue in Realist painting in which the subject matter usually reflected an awareness of social inequalities and often made a political statement, as for example in the painting ‘The Execution of the Emperor Maximilian’ (1867) by Manet. Between 1874 and 1886, the dates of the first and last Impressionist Exhibitions (which included work by Degas, Morisot, Renoir and Cézanne) Monet and his circle of Impressionists exhibited their work in Paris. This work offered a new concept in painting in which the subject matter was less important that the expression of visual perception interpreted through the medium of paint in terms of colour, light and shadow. According to Nochlin (1971, p. 177), from about 1880 Impressionists such as Monet had reached the limits of Realism in the sense that they had abandoned the essential central elements of Realist painting, namely ‘contemporaneity and
concreteness' for values which were more 'timeless and more evanescent.' The association of the peasant with the soil and the image of the toiling labourer on the land symbolising 'the body of the people' was utilised by Realist artists to portray positive and compassionate images of rural life. Around 1880, in Paris, large rustic paintings of peasants influenced by the work of painters such as Jean-François Millet (1814-75) and Jules Bastien-Lepage (1848-84) were popular. In Britain Millet's imagery of rural labour became well known and was highly regarded not only through exhibition of his large oil paintings but also through the widespread distribution of his etchings and lithographs such as 'The Sower' (1851).

Although Impressionism as exemplified in the work of Monet and Cézanne's circle finally emerged as the dominant influence on late nineteenth century painting, Bastien-Lepage is considered by many to be the most influential French artist in Britain in the 1800's. According to Fox and Greenacre (1985, p. 16) he was elevated by the Newlyn Group as their figurehead. His large, rustic naturalist compositions such as 'Les Foins' ('The Hay Harvest,' 1878), which were exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery Exhibition (1880) were plein air paintings of rural peasants in their natural surroundings (see figure 20). His form of Realism was considered by his supporters at that time to combine all the best elements of contemporary Realist painting in a fresh accurate and challenging record of his subject. McConkey (1989) for example wrote:

With further controversial works such as Jeanne d'Arc ecouteant les Voix (Salon, 1880) he increased his hold upon young British painters then in regular training in Paris. His reputation was further consolidated by regular visits to London after 1879. (p. 156).

Members of the older generation of Newlyn painters who had studied in Paris and Brittany in the 1880's admired and associated themselves with his work. In Cornwall in the 1880's they developed a strand of Realism in their painting that was concerned with a subject matter painted out-of-doors and drawn from ordinary life and which most typically depicted lower class people situated in their every day surroundings. According to Fox and Greenacre (1985):
FIGURE 20. ‘LES FOINS’ BY JULES BASTIEN-LEPAGE, 1878, AN EXAMPLE OF NINETEENTH CENTURY REALISM PAINTED EN PLEIN AIR.
The painters of Newlyn were especially concerned with Lepage's sympathetic but impartial relationship with his subject and with the desire to 'Study the life of our time and people in their natural environments', as Stanhope Forbes put it. (p. 14).

The Newlyn painters worked out-of-doors often sitting under white sketching umbrellas. Their belief in the value of plein air painting was a guiding principle. The School began to gain recognition from British art critics when their members paintings were successfully displayed in the annual exhibitions of the Royal Academy. Forbes (1986) wrote 'The R.A. this year may best be described as the “triumph of Newlyn”' (Fox and Greenacre, 1985, p.8). From this time on the title 'Newlyn School' was regularly used by a number of British art critics and the public as representative of a distinct style of British painting strongly influenced by French techniques and methods of painting such as pleinairisme and their use of the square brush technique.

The simplest and commonest way of describing them was to refer to their French influence...The insularity of British art slowly gave way through the 1880's and Newlyn gained notoriety as the spearhead of foreign influence. (Fox and Greenacre 1985, p. 8).

However the conferral of the title Newlyn School was a matter of debate among some contemporary critics. Simpson (1894) wrote:

Now whether there ever was, or is, a school of Newlyn, there can be little doubt that the legend is chiefly derived from Mr Stanhope Forbes's work...For the 'school of Newlyn' is a misnomer. The 'school of Stanhope Forbes' would convey something definite to decry or to praise; but there were painters at Newlyn a half century ago, and today - if anyone should decide that certain brushwork and choice of subjects were the copyright of Newlyn - the list of infringers therewith would not be confined to Cornish painters, but must include many French, German, and American painters who are absolutely ignorant of the fishing village near Penzance. (p. 187).

In 1889, Stanhope Forbes married the Canadian painter Elizabeth Armstrong and, together they founded the Newlyn School of painting in 1899 (see figure 21). In the early 1900's Nutt was one of many students enrolled on their drawing and painting courses of varying lengths. According to Fox and Greenacre (1985, p.37), the Forbes' School of Painting was
NEWLYN
School of Painting.

A CLASS FOR DRAWING
AND
PAINTING FROM THE LIFE
IS NOW BEING HELD AT
The Meadow Studios, Newlyn,
UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
MR. and MRS. STANHOPE A. FORBES.

For full particulars apply to—
STANHOPE A. FORBES, R.A.,
HIGHER FAUCAN, NEWLYN, PENZANCE.

located in the centre of Newlyn in an area known as ‘The Meadow.’ It consisted of three wooden huts, or studios. The smallest of these was reserved for beginners who practised drawing from plaster casts, and the largest was used by students to draw from a living model, usually a local inhabitant of Newlyn, an elderly fisherman or a young girl. These models posed out of doors in the summer. In the third studio, or life room, students could work from professional nude models hired from London. Stanhope and Elizabeth Forbes advocated the merits of plein air painting and the need to work directly from nature. They also encouraged students to experiment and develop their personal idiosyncrasies in art. In addition to practical art courses the School of Painting in the Meadow Studios offered students a full social life. The Forbes’ old farmhouse at Higher Faugan was described by Simpson (1894) as follows:

On the high land above Newlyn, in a garden ablaze with flowers, and trees laden with fruit. (p. 192).

Musical evenings and dances were held here in the apparently idyllic Edwardian student years before the First World War.

Stanhope Forbes commanded great respect at the School. Similarities of style and approach in his paintings to those of Nutt suggest that her development as a painter may have been significantly influenced by him during her time at his school. Although she emigrated to Canada in 1919 to become Principal of Victoria School of Art and design she returned to England each summer during the College vacation primarily to see her Mother but also to paint in the area around Sheffield. Nutt’s work ‘By the Wayside’ (1925) painted on one such occasion can be described as typical of her style of painting in terms of its use of colour, tone, form and brush technique (see figure 22). It is an example of twentieth century British naturalism, concerned with accurate recording of local colour and subject matter. However the painting also displays elements of style and colour typical of both the first and second generations of Newlyn painters. It shows a carefully observed working-class woman in her natural environment, feeding her geese in bright sunshine in front of her
FIGURE 23. 'A STREET IN BRITTANY'
BY STANHOPE A. FORBES, R.A., 1881.

FIGURE 22. 'BY THE WAYSIDE' BY E. S. NUTT,
(1925). By permission of Sir Michael Carlisle.
Yorkshire cottage. Key elements in this painting such as the method (painted en plein air), the working-class subject matter and the carefully observed rustic realism are similar to those employed in paintings by Stanhope Forbes. His painting ‘A Street in Brittany’ (1881) also worked out of doors in strong sunlight, for example, shows a peasant girl standing outside a terraced cottage plaiting straw (see figure 23). In the natural surroundings of a steep, narrow Breton street other women are similarly occupied. Analogous elements in the composition of the two paintings suggest an affinity with Forbes’ work possibly acquired under his teaching and guidance at the Newlyn School. Both works demonstrate careful observation of colour, form, shape and the exploration of tonal effects created by strong sunlight. Both are worked out of doors and the subject matter is similar. The paint which is applied broadly across forms without surface detail is similar also. Neither painting attempted to convey the kind of social message which is more typical of the work of the first generation of Newlyn artists like Frank Bramley’s painting ‘A Hopeless Dawn’ (1888). Both Forbes and Nutt are more concerned with the effects of light upon the subject matter in their paintings.

According to Fox and Greenacre (1985, p. 26), in its own time the Newlyn School of artists was considered a pioneer and as the first important reflection in British art of late nineteenth French painting. This suggests that Nutt’s stay in Newlyn in the early 1900’s under the guidance of the British artist Stanhope Forbes was an important period of her postgraduate studies that significantly influenced the practical development of her painting.

**Sheffield University 1910-1915**

Following substantial early postgraduate work in Newlyn, London, Paris and Florence, Nutt continued her pedagogical studies at Sheffield University and the School of Art, obtaining her Art Master’s Diploma there in 1914 at the age of forty-four.

The scheme for the award of an Art Master’s Diploma was initiated by Sheffield University after consultation between the four Northern Universities. According to Chapman (1955):
An Art Master's Diploma was instituted in 1912-13 as the result of changes then taking place at the Royal College of Art London. (p. 219).

The scheme, which attempted to provide University Diplomas for students preparing to be art teachers, was short lived. Only four diplomas were ever awarded. Three in 1914, the year Nutt gained her qualification, and one in 1917. According to Chapman (1955, p.219) 'the scheme appeared over-weighed with pure scholarship and soon died.' The diploma was awarded in collaboration with Sheffield College of Art and the University's commitment to the course was that of teaching the 'literary and historical background and of giving some pedagogical training' (Chapman, 1955, p.219).

Nutt's student record obtained from Sheffield University confirmed her award of an Art Master's Diploma in June 1914 and also recorded courses attended and examination results gained during her period of study at the University. In the first year, 1912-1913, she studied ancient history, ancient art, education and French. These subjects were examined in June 1913 and, according to the record, she failed the French exam at the first attempt and had to retake it in September 1913 when she was successful. In the second year, Nutt studied French, Modern History, Aesthetics and Education. The records also showed that she had pursued some post-graduate studies in the Faculty of Arts at Sheffield University previously (1910-1911) attending a course on Greek Art, and subsequently (1914-1915) studying English and Classical Archaeology at evening classes. According to Kelly (1980):

she completed her Art Masters Diploma from the University of Sheffield, and became one of nine Fellows of the National Society of Art Masters of the U.K. for her thesis on the teaching of colour. (p. 3).

The previous qualifications she had gained, for example the Elementary Teacher's Certificate (1891) and the Art Master's Certificate, Group 1, (1903) which qualified her as a prospective head of an art school, together with her Art Master’s Diploma (1914) represent an impressive record of art teaching qualifications and indicate a wide art pedagogic training, understanding and experience.
Summary

Nutt followed a substantial period of further education at the Diocesan Training College, Oxford and Sheffield School of Art with extensive postgraduate studies in London, Paris, Florence, Newlyn and Sheffield. The publications and art curriculum she instituted at the Victoria School of Art and Design reflected many influences and experiences gained through contact with personalities, institutions and countries associated with her postgraduate studies. It appears likely that this period in her art education was a most important one in terms of her development as an artist and an art educator. As has been discussed in the previous chapter, for example, the influence of the Arts and Crafts philosophy and the notion of the artist-worker introduced into the Royal College of Art by Walter Crane and the staff of distinguished Art Workers' Guildsmen is evident in the curricula she introduced into the Victoria School of Art and Design in 1919. But the curriculum also endeavoured to improve vocational and art educational training and opportunities for women. It seems possible that she experienced gender bias and discrimination at the Royal College of Art. She is likely also to have met members of the suffragette movement at the College or in London, such as Sylvia Pankhurst. Such influences may have reinforced her own views or significantly guided her in her desire to establish a substantial career as an art educator and to help other women achieve success in the field of art and design or art education.

In 1912 Nutt however embarked upon further postgraduate study at Sheffield University where the curriculum included some pedagogical training. The training of art teachers also became an important element in her curriculum at the Victoria School of Art and Design. In extending her postgraduate studies to Paris and Florence she followed the example of many English art students in the early twentieth century. As discussed in this chapter her visits to these countries would have broadened her perception and knowledge of painting. For example the stories of Renaissance artists recounted in her publications reflect this period of her studies. Nutt was a practising, exhibiting painter and this aspect of her art activities was an important constituent element that underpinned her teaching practice. Evidence from her
publications suggests that she taught at least in part from a base of knowledge and confidence in her own artistic ability. Because of this her postgraduate studies in Paris, Florence and Newlyn and Cornwall appear likely to have been particularly valuable to her. They were substantial and clearly enhanced her abilities as an art educator in that they provided a framework for the development of an artistic theory, practice and understanding which she later utilized in her publications for art teachers (1916, 1935) and in her Canadian curriculum. When added to her already substantial art teaching qualifications her postgraduate art education must have successfully prepared her to take charge of the Firs Hill Branch School of Art in September 1904 on her return to Sheffield.
Notes

1. For example very many student records and minutes of meetings belonging to Sheffield School of Art were lost when on December 12th 1940 the School received a direct hit from an incendiary bomb on the first night of the Sheffield Blitz.

2. Nutt is included as a student in the Sixtieth Annual Report of the Sheffield Technical School of Art for the year ending June 1903. Her appointment as Mistress of Firs Hill Branch School of Art, September 1904 is confirmed in the Sheffield Education Committee Handbook (1906).

3. Two spellings of the name Professor Simi/Sini appeared in the Canadian Press. The most widely used was Sini. However I chose to use Simi because Nutt used this spelling in the Information Form of the National gallery of Canada (1925).

4. The courses at South Kensington took place at the Royal College of Art.

5. The free studentship was valued at £9.6s and was tenable for one year.

6. In 1896, The National Art training School was granted permission by Queen Victoria to change its name to the Royal College of Art and to grant its own diplomas. Spencer's title of Headmaster reverted to Principal in 1902.

7. The Art Workers Guild formed in 1884 was described in Macdonald (1970, p. 292) as the 'power house of the Arts and Crafts Movement in education.' Included among it's membership were leading figures from the field of art education such as Walter Crane, at that time Director of the Manchester School of Art and future Principal of the Royal College of Art, W. R. Lethaby, first Principal of the Central School, London and R. Catterson-Smith, headmaster of the Birmingham School of Art.

8. One other student, Constance Pott, remained at the Royal College and became assistant instructor in the etching class (1902).

9. According to Dr. S. Dunkley 1.3.92, Nutt's aunt Frances Styring was a constitutional suffragist, i.e. a member of the less militant branch of the Suffragette Movement. She was president of the Sheffield branch of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (1908-n.d.).

10. Soucy (1988a) described Nutt as 'an absorbing and extemporaneous raconteur.' He wrote:

    She usually distorted history depicting artists of the past as staunch strugglers for the artistic ideals and nebulous spiritual purposes that she herself espoused. (p. 16).

11. On hearing of Lepage's death (1884) Forbes wrote 'so, the greatest artist of our age is dead' (Fox and Greenacre, 1985, p. 13).

12. The Juste Milieu group of French artists were particularly influential in France and Britain in the 1880's Biome (1971) noted:

    The juste milieu group, and especially artists like Bastien-Lepage, Roll, Bernard and Carriere, represented to the world at large the last word in modernism, and many of the younger generation idolized their work. (p. 17).
13. Among the first generation of Newlyn painters were artists such as Walter Langley (1852-1922), Frank Bramley R.A. (1857-1915) and Stanhope Forbes R.A. (1874-1947). Among the second generation were Laura Knight R.A. (1877-1972), Harold Knight R.A. (1877-1972) and Sir Alfred Munnings P.R.A. (1878-1959).

14. Plein air painting (Open-air painting), was a method which had evolved gradually in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. According to Nochlin (1979, p. 138), artists such as Constable (1776-1837) in Britain and Corot (1796-1875) in France had painted from nature out-of-doors previously. However such paintings were regarded as preliminary sketches only and were ‘not to be considered as serious, permanent or final works of art.’ They were intended to serve as studies for a final painting which was produced later in the studio. In France in the middle of the nineteenth century, the practice of plein air painting implied more than a technique of sketching out in the open air. It represented a challenge to the very idea of what comprised a work of art.

The sketchy, out-of-doors painting - proclaimed as a valuable, completed work of art in its own right - constituted a serious challenge to traditional values both by being a statement of contemporary reality and by embodying a forceful, innovating viewpoint towards it. (Nochlin, 1971, p. 139).

15. The Newlyn School of painters was credited with the use of the 'square brush' technique which produced square brush marks by means of the use chisel-shaped brushes. It was considered a French technique by contemporary British art critics. According to Fox and Greenacre (1985).

The so-called square brush technique concentrated description upon tone. Outlines were blurred. The effect and purpose was to suggest a kind of atmospheric envelope. (p. 18).

16. The four Northern Universities referred to were Sheffield, Manchester, Liverpool and Leeds.

17. At this time the Royal College of Art was attempting to raise the general level of education of student entrants many of whom later became art teachers. According to Frayling (1987, p.79) the Board of Education set up a Departmental committee in 1910 to examine criticisms of course content and teaching methods at the College and its role in the National System of Art Education. In their findings The Committee expressed alarm about the deficiency in the general standards of education of students attending the Royal College and complained that the comparative illiteracy of students was ‘too frequently a real bar to the efficiency of their teaching.’ According to Frayling (1987) this was:

Because the art education system ran in parallel with the general education system, a very large number of the students - even those who intended to become teachers - had left Elementary School at the age of 13, in order to ‘devote themselves solely to drawing’ (p. 81).
CHAPTER 6: NUTT’S BRITISH CAREER AS AN ART EDUCATOR (1904-1919)

Introduction

Following substantial postgraduate studies Nutt returned to her home town of Sheffield. There, between 1904 and 1919, her successful career as an art educator, artist and art educational writer matured and flourished. In this chapter Nutt’s art teaching appointments in Sheffield, and the drawing curricula she taught to artisans and students preparing to become elementary art teachers are examined and compared with the art curriculum she introduced into the Victoria School of Art and Design, Nova Scotia from 1919 to 1925. Additionally her teaching personality as described in the Canadian press is considered and her social involvement in the Sheffield Technical School of Art and her development as an artist and educational writer between 1904 and 1919 are discussed in the context of the local cultural milieu. These factors were explored in order to find out what pedagogic qualities, expertise and other skills she took to Canada and to assess her reputation as an art educator in Britain prior to her emigration in 1919. It was anticipated that in researching this period of Nutt’s life and work answers would be found to a number of key research questions. For example it would determine which art historical movements were reflected in Nutt’s art work and art teaching publications and what art educational aims, methods, content and outcomes she considered important in formulating her Canadian art curricula and why and what kind of evaluation practices she recommended and why. The research also sought to determine how typical the content and outcomes of Nutt’s art curriculum were as proposed in her publications (1913-1916) of art education in English elementary schools? Were they the same and if not, in what way were they different? Also was there evidence in Nutt’s early teaching career to suggest that her personal qualities, artistic and literary achievements (1904-1919) contributed positively to her teaching career and reputation as an outstanding art educator? The primary source material used in this chapter was located at Sheffield School
of Art and Sheffield Education Committee archives, and consisted of contemporary published papers for example Rothenstein (1916), articles in the British and Canadian Press (1919-1946) and Nutt’s own publications, paintings and correspondence.

**Nutt’s Teaching Appointments in Sheffield (1904-1919)**

Elizabeth Nutt held a number of part-time appointments during her art teaching career in Sheffield between 1904 and 1919. In September 1904 she was designated Mistress of a Branch School of Art established in the Junior Department of the Firs Hill School, Sheffield.¹ This appointment was an important influence on her career in Canada because it offered a degree of responsibility, authority and independence.

Under the direction of the Headmaster, Sheffield School of Art maintained a number of Branch Schools in the City. The *Fifty-Seventh Annual Report of the Sheffield School of Art* (1901, p.7) revealed the existence of four such schools. According to the Sheffield Education Committee Handbook (1906, pp. 314-315) further Branch Schools of Art were established between 1903-1905 including Firs Hill, which opened on September 22nd 1904. A report in the *Sheffield Education Committee Minutes April 1904 to March 1905* described the decision to establish a Branch School of Art in the Junior department of the Firs Hill School on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday evenings for forty weeks per year. The Report also confirmed Nutt’s appointment as Mistress in Charge of this School in receipt of a salary initially of £42 per session of 40 weeks.

The Branch Schools of Art were located at various Sheffield Board Schools and classes took place in the evenings when the buildings were not in use in their capacity as Elementary Schools. The type of student attending the Branch School of Art evening classes included both artisans and those studying various stages of the Sheffield Technical School of Art Course of Instruction. According to Sadler (1903a, p. 37) the best students were encouraged to pass from the District Evening Classes to the Technical School Evening
Classes. In the Headmaster's Report in the Sixtieth Annual Report of the Sheffield Technical School of Art (1904) A. A. C. Jahn commented:

much of the work which bears directly on the manufacturers can only be appreciated by those who actually see the large numbers of Art Workmen who are studying in the classes in the evenings, after being employed in the various workshops during the day. (p. 10).

In Sheffield, Branch evening Art and Science Classes were open to both male and female Students. They followed a Course of Instruction prescribed in the Sheffield School of Art Prospectus. This consisted of preparation for the Elementary, Advanced and Technical stages of the Course of Instruction through copying from the flat, or round, or nature. It must have required a great deal of dedication by the artisan to continue his art studies at evening classes after a hard day's work. According to Macdonald (1970, p. 299), between 1900 and 1914 following the Technical Instruction Act of 1889 which released Schools of Art from the control of the Science and Art Department and placed them under the control of the local council, they changed radically in that they acquired 'the dual character of a school of art and a trade school.' In these years also the training of artisans improved through the provision of day technical classes. However in 1904, the year Nutt took up her appointment as Mistress of Firs Hill Branch School of Art, it appeared that the majority of art training provision for artisans in Sheffield took place in the evenings. The awards of local prizes recorded in the Sixtieth Annual Report of the Sheffield Technical School of Art (1904) offered Local Free Studentships to:

- youths of the artizan class, between the ages of 13 and 17, who are intended to be apprenticed to some of the staple trades of the town. These Free Studentships are tenable at Evening Classes for seven years, if the behaviour and progress of the students are satisfactory. (p. 6).

Macdonald (1970) commenting on an earlier period of British art education noted:

The failure to train youths of the artisan class was due to the refusal both of the Government and of the local manufacturers to provide scholarships for them to study in day classes. Art, especially Victorian Art, always was a time-consuming occupation and the tired artisan realized that he had no chance of covering the necessary ground in the evenings. (p. 176).
Since the Branch Schools of Art were directed by the Headmaster of Sheffield Technical School of Art it appeared that evening class training for artisans in Sheffield did not change greatly in the first decade of the twentieth century.

It seems that Nutt retained her part-time appointment at the Pupil Teachers’ Centre in Sheffield throughout her recorded British art teaching career. The staff register of the Pupil Teachers’ Centre recorded her appointment in 1898 and her date of leaving as 31.8.1919 as may be seen in figure 24. The Governor’s Report in the Sheffield Education Committee Minutes and Annual Report (April 1919 – March 1920) also confirmed the termination of her contract. It recorded that:

Miss Elizabeth S Nutt, Art Instructress has been appointed as Principal of the Victoria School of Art, Halifax, Nova Scotia, and has resigned her part-time appointment at the Pupil Teacher Centre, as from the 31st August 1919. (p. 236).

The stated aim of the Sheffield Pupil Teachers’ Centre was to prepare students for admission to the Training Colleges for Teachers. According to Sadler (1903b) the core curriculum at the Centre included English, Maths, History, Geography, Ancient and Modern Foreign Languages, Sciences, Scripture, Drawing and Needlework taught by a full-time staff. In Sadler’s Report on Secondary and Higher Education (1903b) prepared for the City of Sheffield Education Committee Nutt, was mentioned as one of three visiting teachers of Drawing employed by the centre for three hours per week. Sadler (1903) recorded the age of the pupil teachers as being between fourteen and nineteen and a half years. According to The Sheffield and Rotherham Red Book and Almanack (1913) art classes were carried out at the School of Art rather than at the Pupil Teachers’ Centre. The drawing curriculum Nutt initially taught to the pupil teachers would have been one of mechanical imitation intended to co-ordinate the hand and eye and would have included Free-hand drawing, geometrical drawing, perspective, drawing from solid models, drawing from natural forms and drawing objects from memory. The fact that Nutt maintained her appointment at the Pupil Teachers’ Centre for twenty one years suggested it was a position she particularly enjoyed, perhaps because she too had initially embarked upon her career as an art educator as a pupil teacher.
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| 5. Schools and Colleges at which educated, with dates. State names and types of institutions. | 6. Particulars of Public and University Examinations taken, and certificates and degrees obtained, with dates. |
| 6. Particulars of Public and University Examinations taken, and certificates and degrees obtained, with dates. |

- School of Art, Sheffield
  - Prof. Simon, Florence, Italy
  - Sandips Forbes, New York, Cornell
  - The schools for Art Education
- Oxford Training College, University of Sheffield
- Art Master's Certificate, 1st Aug. 1903
- University of Sheffield Diploma for Art Masters 1st Aug. 1913
- Full diploma 194

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<th>7. List of teaching posts held, with dates.</th>
<th>8. Particulars of training in teaching, if any, and certificates or diplomas obtained, with dates.</th>
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- 1898 Art. Ass. Teacher, Sheffield Art College
- 1903 Head Teacher, Sheffield Elm Hill Branch School of Art
- 1907 Art. Teacher, Sheffield Training College
- 1898-1. Oxford Training College
- 1899. Elm. Teachers' Certificate
- 1772-3 University of Sheffield. See in 1914
- Art Teacher's Diploma. Univ. of Sheffield

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<tr>
<th>10. Special subject or subjects.</th>
<th>11. State principal duties assigned, and subjects taken. (Any subsequent changes and their dates to be indicated in red ink.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

- Art. The Art instruction of pupil teachers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>12. Total annual emoluments.</th>
<th>13. Particulars of retiring allowance, if any.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

- Salary, with scale, if any. £40 (one day weekly)
- 20/- from 1st Aug. 1916
- 25/- from 1st Aug. 1918

| 14. Post, if any, taken up after leaving the School. | |

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**FIGURE 24. PAGE FROM THE STAFF REGISTER OF THE PUPIL TEACHERS' CENTRE, SHEFFIELD, 1919, SHOWING DETAILS OF NUTT'S TEACHING APPOINTMENTS IN SHEFFIELD.**

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The City of Sheffield Training College opened in 1905. According to the staff register of the Pupil Teachers' Centre Nutt was appointed as an art teacher at the College in 1907. Her name also appears on the College Roll of Tutors and Lecturers, 1905-1955 as a part-time lecturer in Millington (1955, p. 101) which records her date of leaving as 1919. Prior to 1905, responsibility for the training of elementary school teachers for the City had been undertaken by the University College, Sheffield. Under new powers given by the Education Act of 1902, Sheffield City Council established the City Training College for Teachers in 1905, the same year that the University College received its charter and became a University. Students wishing to become Elementary School teachers were transferred from the University to the new Training College. The University and Training College remained closely connected\(^1\) and students continued to receive some training there until 1911. Chapman (1955) described the collaboration between the two institutions as 'so close for a time it looks almost like an attempt at fusion' (p. 214).

Students were admitted to the New Training College in October 1905 and according to Millington (1955):

three part-time Art tutors were appointed, each to give specialist instruction; one to teach general Art, another to teacher Object drawing, and a third to teach plant drawing. (p. 27).

The drawing curriculum requirements set out by the Board of Education in the Code of 1904 (in Sutton, 1967, p.208) required Training College students to study in four different areas. First they were required to show competence in observation and drawing from simple geometrical models and common objects, such as a jug or a tea tray; also to demonstrate and explain their knowledge of the elementary principles of perspective as applied to the drawing of common objects and learned through the study of geometric models. Second particular emphasis was laid upon blackboard work because students were required to demonstrate the use of the blackboard in class teaching. They were expected to be able to reproduce examples of ornamental forms, plants, animals, scientific apparatus, maps etc. on the blackboard for the class to copy. According to Sutton (1967, p. 209) the aim of this section
of the code of 1904 was the achievement of 'rapidity of execution together with a full appreciation of the main characteristics of the subjects drawn.' Two further required areas of study were memory drawing and capability in making diagrams such as simple forms of ornamental design and natural forms such as flowers or animals for use in drawing lessons.

Nutt gained considerable experience as a lecturer in art education between 1904 and 1919 and established herself as a specialist in the field of Elementary art education. In December 1912 she was appointed as Teacher of Special Teachers' Classes at the Technical School of Art. According to the Education Committee Handbook 1919 she retained the position until she emigrated to Canada in 1919. The classes, recorded in the Education Committee Minutes April 1912 - March 1913, were held on Monday and Friday evenings at the Technical School of Art and consisted of a series of lecture demonstrations for Head and Assistant Teachers employed in Sheffield Elementary Schools. For these lectures Elizabeth Nutt was paid 10s for each one and a half hour demonstration.

Between 1904 and 1919, therefore, Nutt held a number of teaching appointments in Sheffield predominantly concerned with the training of Elementary School teachers. However all were part-time appointments and included evening class work. Previous published evidence has indicated her combined teaching hours, although relatively well paid in terms of remuneration per hour probably did not amount to more than fifteen to twenty hours per week. These facts suggest that although she was highly trained and qualified, Nutt either chose to teach on a part-time basis or was unable to obtain more substantial teaching appointments. There is evidence to suggest that she was dissatisfied with the lack of employment opportunities for well qualified women in the field. For example, in a letter to his wife Maud, May 3, 1918, Varley wrote of Nutt: 'she is fed up with teaching now. She wants to work for herself.' (Tooby, 1991).
Nutt’s Elementary Drawing Curriculum

Not surprisingly, the art educational methods, content and outcomes and some of the aims of Elizabeth Nutt’s British elementary drawing curriculum reflected contemporary art educational concepts circulating in Britain in the early 1900’s. They included notions put forward by educational bodies such as the British Board of Education and reflected theories discussed at events such as the London County Council Conference on the Teaching of Drawing (1908). For example in 1901 the Board of Education defined curriculum aims for drawing in the Circular on Primary Drawing in the following way:

The Board regard instruction in Drawing as an important means of cultivating in children a faculty of observing, comparing, recollecting, and thinking about all sorts of objects with a view to representing them in an intelligent and careful manner; and of developing a sense of beauty...
(Sutton, 1967, p. 204).

Nutt expressed similar ideas in a lecture to the Women’s Art Society reported in The Montreal Gazette 26.3.36. She said:

Care for your artistic children, cultivate fine arts in the schools. Through the medium of fine art a child learns how to think and how to describe beautiful things.

In the Circular on Primary Drawing (1901) the Board of Education also proposed the use of a wider variety of drawing materials such as chalks and brushes (flexible points) as opposed to the almost exclusive use of pencils (hard points). The Board recommended:

Hitherto, much primary training in drawing has been confined to working with a firm point such as that of a lead pencil...The use of pencils, chalks and brushes may very well be interchanged in a school course. (Sutton, 1967, pp. 204, 205).

Nutt also expressed a belief in the use of a greater range of drawing media. She wrote:

A lead pencil is an implement whose point is very narrow and inflexible ...the lead pencil is not a satisfactory instrument with which a child may record truthfully, and with pleasure to itself, its impression of an object. A brush is more flexible ... and by its means a large area may be quickly and easily covered. (1916, p. 9).

She preferred the use of soft pastels or crayons as drawing implements used lightly on grey or dark neutral tinted paper and wrote:
The crayon or pastel is by its nature soft and easily rubbed down to a broad implement wherewith a considerable area may be covered at once, or a fine and delicate drawing may be made by using the edge. (1916, p. 10).

In 1905 the Board of Education published the first edition of Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers and Others Concerned in the Work of Public Elementary Schools. According to Sutton (1967) this document exerted a strong influence on elementary school work in the following twenty years. In the section on the Teaching of Drawing the Board placed the child’s needs before technical skills. The document also proposed that:

The expression of form and colour in masses and in light and shade should be dealt with...The ideal plan would be to use no copies at all the work being done from real things. (p. 211).

Nutt’s publications (1913-1916) dealt with these areas in detail. She also advocated the practice of ‘self-expression’ in the drawing curriculum using the early twentieth century art educational interpretation of the word which indicated a ‘new way’ of working directly from objects rather than copying from the blackboard or the flat copy. She wrote (1916):

The old idea that the teacher must draw upon the blackboard a representation of a flower as a copy from which the children must make their painful drawing line by line as she directs, and of scaffolding every part with vertical and horizontal lines from fear that the intelligence of the child cannot rise to the appreciation of the relationships of the various parts, or that its intelligence may suddenly fail it, has completely given place to more rational teaching. (p. 15).

Nutt’s elementary art curriculum also reflected the kind of ideas proposed by delegates attending the London County Council Conference on the Teaching of Drawing (1908). The main findings of the Conference report described the purpose of teaching drawing as to train the eye and hand, to develop a faculty of clear and definite representation and to cultivate the appreciation of beauty of form, line, colour, and proportion. However, a number of more progressive ideas were also expressed. For example, the American Dr. Slaughter delivered a speech on ‘Drawing as a means of Expression’ in which he condemned all copying and formal exercises. He said:

It is safe to say that a curriculum which aims solely at skill has little educational value. (Sutton, 1967, p. 215).
Nutt came to reject hand and eye training in favour of the development of self expression both in the sense of working directly from objects and also in the sense of developing children's emotional feelings and thoughts towards objects. She wrote (1916):

if we begin with the emotion and interest, and hence thought, as uppermost in our minds, the mechanical will take care of itself, the mind will seek means whereby to express itself beautifully.

It is not 'hand and eye' training we want, but mind training, then the former will naturally follow. (p. 5).

Nutt's elementary art curriculum as presented in her publications (1913-1916) dealt almost exclusively with this kind of drawing. It did not contain any examples of mechanical or geometric drawing, handwork or occupations. Although some of Nutt's art philosophy, educational aims and values reflected nineteenth century romantic religious influences and vocabulary the method, content, and outcomes of her elementary drawing curriculum more closely reflected early twentieth century educational art theory of the type promoted by the Board of Education in the early 1900s and the more self-expressive pedagogy put forward by delegates to the London County Council Conference on Drawing (1908).

**A Comparison of Nutt's British and Canadian Curricula**

When Nutt arrived in Nova Scotia in October 1919 to take up her new appointment as Principal of Victoria School of Art and Design she found a College furnished with very few assets.

In the VSAD's dilapidated, century-old building Nutt found a half dozen or so books lying on a rickety old shelf, a few drawing boards, a couple of casts, several statues, Henry Rosenberg's etching press and handful of students. (Pearse and Soucy, 1987a, p. 130).

In the circumstances, the reconstruction and reorganization of the College must have appeared a daunting task but at least the situation allowed her the opportunity of establishing her own art curriculum, methods and practice. The curriculum Nutt introduced into the Victoria School of Art and Design (1919-1925) incorporated many of the features of the British art curriculum she had experienced as a student and taught at Sheffield between 1897 and 1919. For example she expanded the existing scholarship system which offered free
tuition to promising students and added a generous diploma system (Pearse and Soucy, 1987a, p. 131). Such measures reflected the well established British National System for public art education initiated by Cole and Redgrave (1852) which awarded free student scholarships and conferred certificates and medals as symbols of achievement.

The college curriculum which provided training for both artisans and teachers was organized into seven sections. They were the Teachers Course, The Preparatory Course, Commercial Art, Architectural Detail, Painting, Design and Mechanical Drawing, and Crafts. Evidence of Nutt’s long training in the applied arts at Sheffield School of Art was clearly reflected in her Canadian art curriculum. She encouraged her students to participate in craft, applied design and commercial art classes. According to Pearse and Soucy (1987a, p. 138), ‘Miss Nutt’s belief in the applied arts extended beyond craft into commercial art.’ She continually promoted the vocational element of these classes and maintained that the College was really an apprentice school. She claimed (1928):

this apprentice aspect of Fine Art has always been an ideal of the College, as it leads to the highest results in creating sound and confident craftsmen. (Pearse & Soucy, 1987a, p. 154).

A key aim of both her Canadian and British elementary teacher’s curricula was the creation of an art educated, discerning public capable of stimulating industry through their demand for well designed artefacts. Nutt (1916) wrote:

because we have, during the first nine years of school life, the entire moulding of the fine art craftsmen of our nation, the majority of whom come from the masses....these workers are very much influenced and supported by the thought of the rest of the population, and if this be mean and poor, the mighty impulse playing upon the worker is to a certain extent neutralized; he cannot, therefore, produce works of a lofty nature. (p. 6).

In Canada five years later, during an address at the Normal College Hall, Truro, Nova Scotia on the subject of ‘Art in Relation to Industry and to Life’ she said:

A mistaken idea prevails that in teaching elementary art the aim of it’s promoters is to produce artists and works of art. The fact is, on the contrary, that the chief end is the cultivation of taste. Without taste, a community will fail to rise to any considerable power of enjoyment of some of the most precious possessions of the human race. Without taste
widely diffused among our working people, industry cannot hope to proceed far beyond the production of raw materials - a point beyond which Nova Scotia has made little or no advance. (Halifax Chronicle N.S., 5.12.21).

Part I of the Teachers’ Course incorporated design, colour theory, drawing, art history, life painting, interior design, costume design and the history of design. Similarities between the British elementary art curriculum (1905) and Nutt’s Canadian curriculum (1919-1925) included a strong emphasis on blackboard teaching. According to Pearse and Soucy (1987a):

A main component of the teachers’ course was blackboard drawing, and for years the students were tested annually on the boards in Eva Pye’s classroom at the Acadian School. (p. 134).

As in the British elementary drawing curriculum (1905) blackboard drawing as subject illustration was related to other school subjects such as nature study, science, geography and history. Despite progressive influences filtering into the Province through magazines such as the School Arts magazine, a journal which circulated progressive art education theories, the deeply rooted habit of copying remained firmly entrenched in the content of the Halifax public school drawing curriculum as it did in Britain in the early 1900s. The Halifax public school drawing curriculum in the 1930’s consisted of copying either directly from texts or from the teachers’ blackboard copy of texts. According to Pearse and Soucy (1987a), these were to be found in publications such as the series of Prang Drawing Books or the Augsburg series originally published in 1901. As in Britain interpretation and practice of the public school drawing curriculum lagged behind contemporary art educational theory and official policy and guidelines.

The drawing and painting section of the College curriculum clearly reflected elements of Nutt's British art education in drawing and the applied arts gained at Sheffield School of Art from 1897 to 1903 and her personal practice as a painter. Pearse and Soucy (1987a) wrote:

Students in this section were also required to study applied design, and produce craft objects. The students drew from casts, memory, and
life....Miss Nutt was most confident when she was teaching landscape and still life.  

**Nutt’s Teaching Personality**

Nutt dedicated the largest part of her life to art teaching. Her long art training, practical teaching experience, and published articles established her as an outstanding art educator in the second decade of the twentieth century. Tooby (1991) wrote:

'Lismer seems to have considered her as an obvious choice for Halifax since he remembered her as an educator, not an artist. (p. 16).

Her reputation as an enthusiastic and dedicated art educator in Nova Scotia (see figure 25) was confirmed in the Canadian press which was generous in its praise of her pedagogic abilities.

But her greatest work has been in discovering and developing talent...Miss Nutt has her own original and striking methods of teaching which have brought decided results and the Art School of Halifax has become indeed a living and vital force. (MacLean’s Magazine 1.12.28).

The Halifax Mail (28.3.46) recounted that Nutt brought ‘dynamic energy and boundless enthusiasm’ to the development of Nova Scotia College of Art and described her as a ‘born teacher, endowed with the gift of inspiring others.’ The article continued:

'It may truly be said that the Nova Scotia College of Art is her monument. The amount of work she accomplished was prodigious. Side by side with her teaching she was constantly painting and writing and lecturing.

Pearse and Soucy (1987a) endorsed Canadian press opinion of Nutt’s enthusiastic and innovative teaching practice. But they suggested she employed her animated personality and innovative skills to disguise a lack of curriculum preparation. They wrote:

'She was usually dramatic and engrossing in her teaching style, and she was also innovative. For example, Adams recalls Miss Nutt having students sing to paintings in order to learn harmonic spacing.

It was this ability to innovate upon which Miss Nutt depended in her teaching. She was rarely prepared. She would decide on what she was going to teach just before she started to teach it. But she was an absorbing extemporaneous raconteur, and thought the slogans in her lectures were always the same, the stories were always different. (p. 139).
FIGURE 25. 'NUTT C BUS', C. 1921. PENCIL SKETCH BY ARTHUR LISMER OF NUTT IN CANADA, PERHAPS EXPLAINING AN ART THEORY. Sheffield City Art Galleries. Gift of Marjorie Lismer Bridges.
Sheffield’s Civic Interest in the Artist-Craftsmen

During the early years of Nutt’s teaching career from 1904 to 1919 her philosophy of the artist-worker was reinforced by the civic climate of interest in Sheffield in art and the function of the artist-craftsman. The City’s educational institutions such as the University and the Technical School of Art endeavoured to foster public interest in both art and the applied arts. In 1916 the artist William Rothenstein was invited by Sheffield Technical School of Art to lecture on the subject of ‘Arts and Crafts and Contemporary Thought’ Following his enthusiastic lecture given on November 8th 1916 and titled ‘A Plea for a Wider Use of Artists and Craftsmen’ Sheffield University created a Civic Chair of Art and appointed him as its first Professor. The Sheffield Daily Telegraph 28.4.1917 reported:

In establishing a Chair of Civic Art, the council of Sheffield University feel that great benefit would accrue to an industrial city like Sheffield by the development of its appreciation of the claims of art. There is no greater authority on matters pertaining to civic art than Professor Rothenstein. It is hoped that the establishment of this professorship will lead to substantial results in this great industrial district. (p. 8).

According to Frayling (1987, p.89) Rothenstein, who was principal of the Royal College of Art from 1920 to 1935, held strong views on what today would be called community arts. He had also become the champion of regional colleges of Art. In his lecture, Rothenstein (1916) appealed for closer co-operation between artists, craftsmen and civic authorities. He said:

Nothing would help to inspire the local students more than to see such practical work developing round them; and co-operation between these artists and the teachers in the schools would undoubtedly be of great help to these teachers in their work among students.

Our municipalities have been waiting in appreciation of the importance of all local creative spirit....What we want is more creative opportunity, in which as many people as possible should be allowed to share. (p. 22).

According to Chapman (1955) Rothenstein gave a short course of public lectures each year at Sheffield University on an art related subject; for example on the work of a particular artist or on applied art such decoration in private houses and public buildings. In view of Nutt’s
close involvement with the Technical School of Art it is probable that she would have attended and met William Rothenstein at the civic lectures. Correspondence between Nutt and Arthur Lismer\(^\text{10}\) suggested she was acquainted with Rothenstein. With reference to the possibility of sending students to the Royal College of Art from Nova Scotia she wrote:

S.K. [South Kensington] is very friendly towards us and Prof. Rothenstein will consider all students we send thither. (1921, p. 3).

It seemed probable that Rothenstein's influence in Sheffield upon the Technical School of Art, the University and civic interest in the applied arts may have further informed and reinforced Nutt's own concept of the artist-worker which occupied a key position in her Canadian curriculum.

**Nutt's Social Involvement in the Sheffield Technical School of Art (1904-1919)**

According to Tooby (1991) Sheffield School of Art in the early 1900's included a nucleus of a group of people who made a considerable contribution to the artistic life of the City. In particular there were two extra curricular activities that involved both staff and students at the College. These were productions by the School of Art Amateur Dramatic Society and exhibitions of paintings displayed in The Heeley Art Club and the Sheffield Society of Artists. Nutt is recorded as a member of the Sheffield Society of Artists which, according to Tooby (1991), formed 'the city's main grouping of professional and amateur artists.'

Students such as the future Canadian émigré artists Arthur Lismer and Frederick H. Varley who became dominant forces in Canadian Landscape painting, and others contributed to the Sheffield Art Societies extending the School of Art's influence on the community. As a member of staff Nutt was deeply involved in College activities. Archives\(^\text{11}\) recorded her membership of the Sheffield Technical School of Art Musical and Dramatic Club which performed at the Conversazione and Prize giving (1907) when Nutt played the role of Lyriope, the River Goddess, in a production of the Masque of Narcissus. Further evidence of her involvement in School of Art activities was demonstrated by her acceptance of the
editorship of the newly instigated Sheffield Technical School of Art Student’s Magazine 1918-19.

**Nutt’s Development as a Painter (1903-1919)**

As an artist post 1919 Elizabeth Nutt is remembered as a painter of landscapes depicting scenic views of areas in and around Sheffield, England\(^{12}\) and Halifax, Nova Scotia (see figures 26 and 27). The Halifax Mail 28.3.46 described her as an ‘outstanding artist’ and listed a number of international art galleries which had exhibited her work. These included the Royal Academy and the Tate Gallery London, The Paris Salon, and the Royal Canadian Academy. The Halifax Mail continued the list of venues where her work had been exhibited and reported:

> Since 1929 in all the important art shows in Canada and Newfoundland; and in the Women’s International Art Exhibition in Detroit. She also had pictures in travelling exhibitions which went as far as South Africa, New Zealand and Australia.

Existing work produced by Elizabeth Nutt between 1903 and 1919 revealed she was a capable miniature portrait painter. A number of miniatures remain, all individual portraits of family members, some and possibly all painted from photographs. The oval miniatures, in the possession of Sir Michael Carlisle, are approximately one and a half to two inches wide by two to three inches high. They are painted on ivory and mounted in gold coloured frames and are skilfully and accurately painted. They are successful portraits in the sense that they faithfully portray the facial features and personal characteristics of their subjects.

Inscriptions on the back of the miniatures suggest she may have developed an interest in miniature painting while at Sheffield School of Art. For example a portrait of her grandmother Mary Styring carries the official South Kensington stamp and date ‘03 suggesting she submitted it to the Royal College of Art as examination or prize work in 1903 while still at Sheffield School of Art (see figure 28). The inscription on the reverse of a miniature of her grandfather, Henry Styring, inscribed with the words ‘Portrait’ and
FIGURE 26. 'ICHABOD' PAINTED BY NUTT IN ENGLAND IN 1928. By permission of Sir Michael Carlisle.

FIGURE 27. 'THE NORTH WEST ARM, HALIFAX' PAINTED BY NUTT IN NOVA SCOTIA, 1926. By permission of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.
FIGURE 28. 'MARY STYRING': MINIATURE PORTRAIT BY E. S. NUTT, 1903. BY PERMISSION OF SIR MICHAEL CARLISLE.

FIGURE 29. 'HENRY STYRING': MINIATURE PORTRAIT BY E. S. NUTT, EARLY 1900S. BY PERMISSION OF SIR MICHAEL CARLISLE.
'Academy' suggested this work was the 'Portrait' accepted for the Summer Exhibition of the Royal Academy of Arts in 1909 and recorded in de Laperriere (1985) as may be seen in figure 29. Although undated, this painting is one of a pair, similar in style and presentation to the previously described work suggesting it was also painted in 1903. Other miniatures, such as a self-portrait dated 1910 and a painting of her great nephew Sir Michael Carlisle painted in about 1933, suggested miniature painting was an art form that continued to interest her throughout her life.

The years 1904 to 1919 witnessed the inauguration and development of the formalist art movement in Britain which was promoted through the writings of the art critics and theorists Clive Bell and Roger Fry. Nutt however expressed a dislike of formalist paintings which rejected representation in favour of abstraction and the organization and presentation of the visual elements of works of art such as colour, line, shape, form and pattern. She maintained the essence of true British painting lay in naturalism and that the typical English person was not inclined to appreciate abstract art. She said:

We don't want to sit before a mathematical problem at either breakfast or dinner, or when our friends are present. We British can't like it. (Montreal Gazette, Quebec, 26.3.36).

**Nutt's Development as a Writer (1910-1919)**

Between 1904 and 1919 Nutt continued to develop not just as a fine artist but also as a writer. She established a recognised position as a specialist author on the subject of the teaching of drawing to children. Referring to this period of her teaching career, MacLean's Magazine (1.12.28) reported that:

During these years also, she wielded the pen interchangeably with the brush and became a facile writer on art.

Besides making extensive contributions to the Schoolmistress magazine (1913-1916) she also contributed regularly to other publications such as the Children's Magazine. Her first article in this series of drawing lessons called 'Artists all of us', appeared in vol. iii, 1911,
In this publication the editor Arthur Mee welcomed Nutt as a new contributor to the magazine ‘who will contribute this new feature [i.e. drawing lessons] to our pages each month’ (p.288). Nutt also described herself an illustrator and ‘contributor to newspapers’. Further evidence of her status as an educational writer was provided by the painter Frederick H Varley (1881-1969) who was a contemporary of Nutt’s at Sheffield School of Art. Varley emigrated to Canada in 1911 where he became a member of the circle of painters known in Canada as the group of Seven. In a letter to his wife Maud he wrote of Nutt’s book *Flower Drawing with the Children* (1916):

> She’s written a book on teaching children drawing, which is a great success and is used in Universities and schools all over the kingdom. (Tooby, 1991).

The success of this publication was also confirmed by Blakeley (1967) who wrote that the book:

> was so highly regarded that Queen Mary arranged for a copy to be placed in every one of her guilds throughout England. (p. 37).

**Summary**

Nutt was fortunate to have lived and worked in Sheffield in the early 1900’s at a time when the city appeared to take a pride in its educational institutions. Establishments there such as the Technical School of Art and the University worked to promote a climate of civic interest in art and the artist-craftsman. The Technical School of Art with which she was closely involved comprised a group of people who also made a considerable contribution to the artistic life of the city. Within this group Nutt numbered among her friends and acquaintances Arthur Lismer, Frederick Varley and others who emigrated to Canada in the early 1900’s and achieved success there as artists and art educators. Therefore the social and professional environment in which she practised in Sheffield clearly offered a supportive framework within which her career as an artist and an art educator was able to develop.

In 1919, at the age of forty-nine, Nutt was offered the position of Principal of the Victoria School of Art and Design, Nova Scotia. The appointment, extended by the College
Directors on the advice of the incumbent Principal Arthur Lismer was readily accepted by her. According to Pearse and Soucy (1987a) Lismer:

knew his successor must not only be an artist and an educator, but also a person with strong will and unremitting stamina. He happened to know such a person, Elizabeth Styring Nutt. (p. 123).

Nutt appeared uniquely qualified to fill the position for a number of reasons. She was very well qualified as a result of her long and highly valued systematic art training in drawing and applied arts at Sheffield Technical School of Art (1897-1903). As a recipient of an Art Master’s Certificate, Group I (1903), Nutt was well qualified to take charge of a School of Art. Her previous elementary teacher training at the Oxford Diocesan Training College (1890-1891) and probable subsequent employment in the Sheffield Board Schools had provided valuable public elementary teaching practice. Her employment in Sheffield (1904-1919) as a lecturer and head of a Branch School of Art included a range of art teaching appointments and experience in higher education that involved the art training and preparation of artisans, pupil-teachers, training college students and practising elementary school teachers. Her Art Master’s Diploma gained at Sheffield University (1914) qualified her as one of a very small number of Art Masters of the United Kingdom; therefore in terms of training, qualifications and teaching experience in public art education at various levels Nutt must have been considered a professional and accomplished art educator. Moreover she was capable of offering and establishing the coveted British National System of Art education at the Victoria School of Art and Design, Nova Scotia. Secondly, during her fifteen years as an art educator in Sheffield (1904-1919) Nutt had continued to develop as a practising artist and educational writer. She achieved a reputation as an art education author in the field at national level through regular articles in the Schoolmistress. This was enhanced by the publication of her first textbook entitled, Flower Drawing with the Children (1916) and numerous art educational articles in national publications, such as the Children’s Magazine. She had also exhibited at the Royal Academy in London. Thirdly, she possessed a lively and innovative teaching persona and strength of character. As an unmarried woman she was able to devote all her considerable energy and enthusiasm to her chosen career.
Although Nutt secured a reputation as an art educator and art education author in the field in the early twentieth century and was highly qualified and experienced, she did not reach her full potential in Britain in the sense that she did not achieve a full-time prestigious appointment, such as the headship of a major School of Art. Whether from choice or lack of opportunity she remained a part-time lecturer in Sheffield. Nevertheless, her British career was a great personal achievement, particularly when examined in terms of the career fulfilment and realisation of attainment typical of female art educators in the early twentieth century. Commenting on her appointment as principal of the Victoria School of Art and Design the *Sheffield Telegraph* 3rd July 1919 observed:

> The appointment is almost unique for whilst lady art teachers are prominent in the profession the world over it is extremely rare for one to attain the position of principal of an important school of art. (p. 4).
Notes

1. Records in the Sheffield Education Committee Handbook (1915, p. 336) revealed the appointment of Joseph Cartwright as Teacher of the Firs Hill Branch School of Art in September 1913. Therefore, it appeared that Elizabeth Nutt held her position as Mistress in charge of the Branch School from 1904-1913.

2. Sadler (1903a, p. 37) recommended that the Sheffield Technical School of Art should provide teaching in silversmithing, enamelling, die-sinking, ivory carving, ornamental hammered iron work, fine casting in metals, architecture, stained glass, book-binding, painting and decorating, heraldry and art needlework. He also recommended that, as far as possible, these classes should be made available to evening class students.

3. The Canadian journal Maclean's Magazine of 1.12.28 recorded Elizabeth Nutt as an art tutor at Sheffield University. Other existing records did not confirm this, but it is possible that in the context of the close co-operation between the University and the Training College Nutt may have lectured to Training College students in the University where they continued to attend some courses until 1911.

4. Published evidence:
   Education Committee Hand Book 1915 (p. 335)
   Education Hand Book 1919 (p. 336)
   Education Committee Minutes April 1912 - March 1913 (p. 421)
   Education Committee Minutes April 1904 - March 1905
   Sadler (1903b) Appendix.

5. Nutt (1916) used the word 'mechanical' with reference to drawing produced without an emotional response to the subject matter as opposed to the contemporary use of the word which referred to technical drawing produced by the use of instruments such as rulers, set-squares etc.

6. Nutt appeared to use the word 'taste' in the eighteenth century sense as meaning discrimination.

7. According to Pearse and Soucy (1987a, p. 135) Nutt regularly subscribed to School Arts magazine in the early 1920's and her teaching reflected ideas found in the journal.

8. Arthur Wesley Dow, the influential American design education theorist circulated his design principles through School Arts magazine. Pearse and Soucy (1987a) suggested the publication of his ideas in this magazine, to which Nutt subscribed, may also have influenced the content of her art curriculum. They wrote:

   Through these publications the ideas of Dow....which may have inspired the late nineteenth century composition course at the Victoria School of Art and design....had at least an indirect effect on the design program at the Nova Scotia College of Art (p. 156).

9. Arthur Lismer was Principal of the Victoria School of Art and Design from 1916 to 1919.


11. Programme, The City of Sheffield Education Committee Technical School of Art Conversazione and Opening of the New Portion of the School, 23 January 1907.

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12. Following her emigration to Canada (1919) Elizabeth Nutt returned to England each summer to see her mother. During these visits she painted in and around Sheffield producing works such as 'By the Wayside' (1925) and 'Ichabod' (1928) exhibited in the Summer Exhibition at the Royal Academy (1937).


15. According to Tooby 1991, Arthur Lismer and Frederick Varley were artist members of The Canadian Group of Seven. The group's aim was to establish a uniquely Canadian form of art. They considered the landscape to be the distinctive feature of the country. They believed in order to achieve their aim they had to find a new form of expression of the landscape in their paintings. Nutt also expressed similar notions about the development of Canadian art. She said:

The art of Canada must be seen through Canadian consciousness, if not, it becomes only a copy. (Montreal Gazette, 24.3.36).

CHAPTER 7: TEXTUAL AND THEORETICAL ANALYSES OF NUTT'S ART TEXTBOOKS

Introduction

Nutt privately published three art textbooks called, *Flower Drawing with the Children* (1916), (reprinted under the title "Significance," or *Flower Drawing with the Children* in 1921), *The "Why" in the Drawing Lesson* (1929) and, *The World of Appearance Part II* (1935). The original articles that comprised the former publication, and the greater part of the latter, first appeared in serial form in the educational newspaper *The Schoolmistress*, from 1913 to 1916, under the title ‘The Teaching of Pastel Work’. The period from 1913 to 1935 when Nutt wrote and published her art texts, was a time of great social and economic change in Britain. It began just before the First World War (1914-1918), and ended approaching the Second (1939-1945). For many reasons, the two World Wars proved to be irreversible social and economic watersheds. For example, features of nineteenth century society such as the Victorian class system that was determined by rigid social barriers and which had appeared secure and unchanged in the early years of the twentieth century, declined rapidly following the First World War. Similarly, according to Efland (1990, p. 187), the period between the two World Wars although initially optimistic following the allied victory in Europe, ended in economic crisis and a depression in the 1930s which was precipitated by the Wall Street stock market crash of 1929.

The impact of the First World War also affected the social position of women. For example, according to Lawson and Silver (1973, p. 366), the suffragette movement as it existed before the First World War, had been the cause of much social unrest. However, this dissolved abruptly when England declared war on Germany on 4 August 1914 (Tickner, 1989, p. 229). At this time women abandoned their grievances against the
government and joined the war effort. During the war, the ‘pattern of work for men and women of different social classes’ gradually changed as more men were recruited for active service.

For the first time women took on such semi-skilled agricultural and industrial tasks as farm work, bus driving, chimney sweeping, train cleaning and work in engineering and munitions factories. (Tickner, 1989, p. 230)

Women’s war work was both important and visible and their service was rewarded on February 6, 1918, when The Representation of the People Act became law. The Act enfranchised all adult males, and ‘all women over thirty who were householders, the wives of householders, university graduates or occupiers of property worth £5 per year’ (Tickner, 1989, p. 236). However, women did not gain universal suffrage until a decade later in 1928.

Nineteenth and early twentieth century social, economic and intellectual changes were also reflected in general education. For example, according to Lawson and Silver (1973, p. 357), public opinion towards education altered. Attitudes of self-help, advocated in the mid-nineteenth century, changed to ones strongly emphasizing society’s responsibility to assist its members by the early 1900s. Also, according to Lawson and Silver (1973, p. 364), in the period up to the Second World War, ‘Education became more and more a public service governed by public policy’. In the late nineteenth century, scholarly interest in child study and child development instigated educational change. Subjects such as music, modern languages, crafts and physical education were introduced into the general school curriculum (p. 356). Art education, established as an important part of compulsory schooling since its introduction by Henry Cole in 1852, reflected these changes. For example, the strictly industrial utilitarian nineteenth century model of art education was replaced in the twentieth century with one that, according to Eiland (1990, p. 187), reflected scientific and expressive influences. These social, and intellectual influences were also reflected in the contemporary art education literature.
In the research reported in this chapter a more detailed and theoretical analysis of Nutt’s art textbooks than has previously been undertaken, in the context of other art education literature of the same period, was carried out for a number of reasons. First to determine more fully the educational aims, methods, content, outcomes and significance of her art curriculum. Second, to interpret her art educational writing in greater depth so as to establish her particular ‘vision’ of art education. Third, to evaluate her status as an art education author in the early twentieth century. Preliminary research into Nutt’s British elementary drawing curriculum and comparison of this with the one she published later in Canada, was reported in Chapter 6. However this investigation did not specifically determine her particular vision of art education, nor did it fully established the character of her British art curriculum, or resolve the enigma of her rightful place in English art education history.

The research so far, reported in Chapters 2-6 tended to be descriptive rather than interpretative or evaluative. It focused upon Nutt’s biography and presented a chronology of her British art education, teacher training, qualifications and teaching appointments, and in doing so incorporated some findings about the historical development of art education in general. The work reported in this chapter was more analytical and was intended to extend the previous preliminary discussion of her teaching. It was anticipated that, in researching the literal meanings of her early twentieth century texts and interpreting their underlying symbolic significance, it would be possible to add to and challenge, preliminary findings about Nutt’s art education philosophy and curriculum, and the values informing her stated art education aims. Additionally, the research in this chapter set out to determine her status as an art educator and author on art education in the early twentieth century. It was anticipated that following analysis of the theoretical underpinnings of Nutt’s art textbooks and comparison with others of the same period, answers might be forthcoming to a number of the key research questions already touched
upon, but not yet solved. These questions which emerged during the research for the previous chapters, which can be grouped into 'thematic clusters', will now be discussed.

The first cluster was directed to Nutt's overall art curriculum and teaching methods. Prominent among these were the questions what educational aims, methods, content and outcomes did she consider important in formulating her art curricula and why? Also, what kinds of teaching methods did she recommend in her publications for art teachers and why? The research to date had revealed that Nutt maintained a deeply religious/spiritual philosophy of art education and art throughout her life. Accordingly, a second set of questions with a religious/spiritual focus had emerged. These included, given that Nutt's art textbooks are primary source material for this study, what precisely were the nature of her religious beliefs as manifested in her curricula? How significant were they in the formation of her teaching ideas and how did they influence the educational values she preached? Finally, a third set of feminist questions focused on Nutt's status as a female writer on art education; and also upon possible gender difference in the textual presentation and content of her art textbooks from those written by men. In comparing Nutt's art textbooks with others written in the early twentieth century, predominantly by men, at this stage of the research I was anxious to draw firm conclusions about whether or not she should be awarded equal status on the quality of her work. With a view to evaluating their overall significance I asked how scholarly the textbooks were compared with others of the same period. What were the reasons for Nutt's successful career as an art education author and why were her textbooks so well received in the field? Additionally, given that they are likely to have encapsulated her personal educational philosophy, was this different in any significant way from that of men who were her colleagues and wrote textbooks at the same time?

The primary source material used in this chapter was located and gathered from many places and much of it was difficult to locate. Nutt's art textbooks, which will
subsequently be discussed in detail under separate headings, formed the main primary source material, and were assembled without difficulty from various sources. For example a copy of *Flower Drawing with the Children* (1916) was acquired from ‘Inch’s Book’s’ of York, a specialist firm, dealing in rare and out of print books. *The Why in the Drawing Lesson* (1929) was supplied through inter-library loan by Cambridge University Library, and a photocopy of the publication was donated by Donald Soucy of the University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, Canada. Nutt’s third publication, *The World of Appearance Part II*, was loaned by her great nephew, Sir Michael Carlisle.

Particularly gratifying was the discovery of a series of letters and telegrams sent by Nutt to her printers, J. W. Northend of Sheffield together with their records relating to the reprint of her first publication in 1921. These documents had remained held in the printer’s archive in Sheffield. A complete collection of *The Schoolmistress*, the original source of Nutt’s major publications, and its companion newspaper *The Schoolmaster*, dating from 1881 and 1872 respectively, was discovered at The British Newspaper Library in London, also without difficulty. Her textbooks were studied within the context of this publication. Consequently the *Schoolmistress*, a predominantly female publication, was reviewed and compared with the *Schoolmaster*, a companion newspaper of the same period, substantially written by and for men.

From the outset of this research, the content of Nutt’s art texts was difficult to understand and interpret for a number of reasons. Firstly, passages in the text, particularly those describing her vision of art education, were presented in esoteric nineteenth century phraseology that require an appreciation of the contemporary terminology. Secondly, the texts reveal an eclectic curriculum vision, that draws upon and intermingles a wide, metamorphic range of nineteenth and early twentieth century intellectual, artistic and art education philosophies. For this reason, a substantial and comprehensive investigation of art, aesthetics and education theory and practice, in this period was required to explain her curriculum and vision of art education. In order to
establish answers to the research questions, this part of the investigation set out to explore these supporting influences embodied in her texts and to compare and evaluate them with reference to a range of contemporary art education literature written between 1850 and 1950. However, in the event, establishing a representative range of contemporary art education textbooks required some ingenuity for a number of reasons. First, in the late twentieth century, as university libraries have expanded, early publications have been removed from their shelves and placed in stores available to a researcher only through catalogues. The Winifred Higson Collection, previously housed at the Leicester University School of Education, for example, which offers a unique resource of educational textbooks was no longer readily accessible. Secondly, although institutions, such as the London Metropolitan Archive, or the British Library, continue to improve their services, many old books and documents remain uncatalogued. Therefore, tracing and acquiring an appropriate range of nineteenth and early twentieth century art textbooks was a slow process. The collection was eventually achieved through a combination of sources. These included, specialist bookshops, library catalogues and subject indexes, such as the Subject Index of the Modern Books Acquired by the British Museum, advertisements in the contemporary literature and examples used in secondary sources such as Sutton (1967) and Efland (1990).

Key texts used in the analysis were a sequential selection of British art education textbooks, written by leading practitioners between 1890 and 1950 or educationalists recognized as significant in the hierarchy because they were college heads or senior officials, all of which were representative of the type used in elementary and secondary schools in that period. They included, Elementary Art Teaching (1890) written by E. Taylor, headmaster of Birmingham Municipal School of Art who was ‘a significant figure within one of the largest provincial schools’ (Swift, 1990, p.140); and Design for Schools (1907), by C. Holland who was art master at Cardiff Municipal Secondary School. Another key text was Nelson’s New Drawing Course (1907) written by J.
Vaughan, who was superintendent of drawing and manual instruction for the Glasgow School Board and art master for the London School Board. Later publications included *Art in Schools* (1928) by J. Littlejohns, *Object, Plant, and Memory Drawing* by A. Smith, an art master at Barnstaple Grammar School and School of Art, and *Drawing Lessons for Children* (1937), written by L. Doust. The contents of these art education textbooks will be discussed in another section of the chapter. Analogous writings in art education that were influential in Britain in the first half of the twentieth century and reflected recognition of Child Art, Continental methods of art education and 'New Art Teaching' methods were also researched to assist in determining the nature of Nutt’s art education philosophy and curriculum through comparison. This range of art education literature included primary source material such as *Children’s Coloured Paperwork* (1927), by F. Cizek, *Child Art* (1942), by W. Viola, and *Art and the Child* (1948) by M. Richardson.

Other primary texts utilized for comparative purposes included Board of Education codes, circulars and reports; for example, the *Code of Regulations for Public Elementary Schools* (1904), *Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers and others concerned in the work of Public Elementary Schools* (1905, 1927), and *The Education of the Adolescent* (“Hadow”) (1926). These documents which were reflected early twentieth century changes of attitude towards primary and secondary art education, were discovered at the University of London Institute of Education library. Additional primary source material used in this part of the research referred to notable conference reports that offered a range of contemporary discussion on the aims, methods, outcomes and educational value of drawing in the school curriculum, which are also held at the Institute of Education. These included London County Council conference reports, such as, *The Teaching of Drawing in Elementary and Secondary Schools* (1912), and items in relevant journals such as *The Journal of Education*. These papers and reports will be examined later on in the chapter under a separate heading. Additional primary sources referring to
conferences, such as some Reports on the International Congress on the Teaching of Drawing (1905) and information about Nutt was discovered at the National Society for Education in Art and Design headquarters in Corsham, Wiltshire. This organization, which originated as the Society of Art Masters and included Nutt among its members, holds a complete set of Society of Art Masters' publications dating from 1888.

Secondary sources on the history of art education, art theory and aesthetics were used to understand and explain the historical, theoretical and aesthetic underpinnings of Nutt's art textbooks. Art history publications that were particularly helpful were The History and Philosophy of Art Education by S. Macdonald (1970), and A History of Art Education by A. Efland (1990). The work of Macdonald (1970), and others such as Sutton (1968) on English art education, which cover the influences of continental art education also provided a sound background in the history and philosophy of the topic. Broader more international insights into historical intellectual and social currents in teaching and the visual arts, and their aesthetic and theoretical underpinning were offered by the North American art educator Arthur Efland. His book A History of Art Education (1990), uniquely explains relationships between historical, aesthetic and social movements and art education development. It proved especially valuable in helping to understand, contextualize and identify aspects of Nutt's curriculum; as did his revealing descriptions of the contributions to art education made by individuals such as Froebel, Cizek and Ruskin. These developments in art education will be discussed in the next section of this chapter. Additional secondary sources used to interpret the aesthetics and art theory underpinning Nutt's texts were, Aesthetics and Art Theory by H. Osborne (1968) and Aesthetics from Classical Greece to the Present (1977) by M. C. Beardsley (1977). The analysis of educational practices and curriculum development underpinning Nutt's curriculum was facilitated by The Educational Imagination (1985) written by E. W. Eisner.
Aesthetic and Scientific Influences

By the time her first art textbook appeared, in 1916, Nutt had been involved in elementary and higher art education for twenty-six years, over a period that spanned the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Both centuries witnessed the emergence of overlapping yet distinctive intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic movements. These were assimilated into the national culture where they found expression in the arts. They also influenced educational theory and practice and were reflected to varying degrees in art education. For example, at the end of the nineteenth century, a current of romantic idealism gave way to the influence of scientific rationalism. Early in the twentieth century, this scientific movement and the expressionist movement in art led to the discovery of child art and encouragement of free-expression in art education.

Eiland (1990, p. 115) has explained the influence of Romanticism upon education in the following way. He claims that ‘throughout the nineteenth century a stream of romantic idealism influenced educational theory and practice’ (p. 115) and says, ideas first debated by German idealist philosophers such as Kant (1724-1804) and Hegel (1770-1831) came to influence the arts in Europe and America through what eventually came to be known as the Romantic Movement. For example, the ‘Kantian notion of mind as active process was embodied in Froebel’s kindergarten and the concept of “Self-activity” in turn led to “self-expression” as a method of teaching the arts by the turn of the century’ (Eiland, 1990, p. 115). In Britain the influential social and art critic John Ruskin advanced romantic moral notions of art and art education that also had their origins in German idealist philosophy. His idea of artistic perception as a source of moral beauty and spiritual truth drew upon Hegel’s religious artistic philosophy that proposed that art reveals the Absolute or spiritual truth. As has already been discussed in Chapter 2, in the second half of the nineteenth century, art education in the public schools followed an industrial, utilitarian model and the curriculum was strictly prescribed and regulated by examinations. According to Macdonald (1970, p. 265), Ruskin’s ‘views had little
influence upon the official courses in Schools of Art and public day schools'. However, they were known to art educators, and by the end of the century, his artistic philosophy was widely disseminated among the Victorian British middle classes who found his style of writing "both informative and morally edifying" (Eiland, 1990, p. 134). By the time of his death, in January 1900, his notions of romantic idealism and equation of art with high moral purpose had also influenced the social role of women and of art education. According to Stankiewicz (1984, p. 4), 'Ruskin articulated the Victorian view that women were the guardians of higher culture with a special duty to transmit spiritual values to those around them'. Following the Elementary Education Act of 1870, the establishment of public elementary schools offered some women a professional career and, 'by the late 1890s, elementary school teaching as a woman's occupation had come of age' (Copelman, 1996, p. xviii). In Britain, as in America the 'common school had assumed the task of improving public morality.... By the 1890s, women were using art to teach morality' (Eiland, 1990, p. 142).

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the science of psychology which was 'greatly influenced by Darwin's theory of evolution' (Eiland, 1990, p.160), was disseminated by advocates such as the philosopher Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) and the educators James Sully (1842-1923) and Ebenezer Cooke (n.d.-1913). The discipline was instrumental in the development of child study, intelligence testing and the recognition of child art. A 'growth of interest in primitive art, and the appreciation of the characteristics of modern art' were also 'factors that contributed to the recognition of child art' (Macdonald, 1970, p.320).

In the early twentieth century the Austrian educator Franz Cizek (1865-1946), whose 'basic philosophy was near that of Rousseau, "that the first impulses of nature are always right" ' (Macdonald, 1970, p. 343), was one of the first to 'discover' Child Art. He recognised that children's art work was a legitimate form of art in its own right and
evolved a non-interventionist educational philosophy of self-activity and artistic free expression. This newer pedagogy, or non-pedagogy, became known as free-expression in Europe whereas in the United States 'it was called creative self-expression' (Efland, 1990, p. 195). In Britain, the art educator Marion Richardson (1892-1946) developed an expressive, child-centred method of art education, which like Cizek's, was based upon the premise that children are artists and that their work is intrinsically valuable in its own right. Her pedagogy involved the development of children's self-expression by teachers through stimulation of their imagination, and visualization. She encouraged her pupils 'to concentrate upon and give expression to mental images founded upon their own observations' (Richardson 1923, in Carline 1968). Her teaching methods, 'styled the "New Art Teaching" by contemporary teachers' in the 1930s (Macdonald, 1970, p. 349), became known through lecture tours and related children's art exhibitions organized throughout Britain, Europe and America. Within the context of these artistic, scientific and educational influences and movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as reflected in the contemporary art education literature, Nutt’s art textbooks and curriculum were compared with those of others of the same historical period, with the aim of evaluating the significance of her curriculum and assessing her importance to art education in general.

Related Art Education Literature 1850-1950

The investigation of selected art education literature between 1850-1950, specified above, was made for a number of reasons. Firstly, to establish an authentic description of the above material; second, to record the educational changes it reflected, and consider them in relation to the above mentioned nineteenth and twentieth century artistic and scientific movements, third to provide a conceptual framework for evaluating Nutt's art curriculum and interpreting her educational writing in more depth. As discussed earlier in this chapter, this part of the research investigated three types of contemporary art education literature. These included official literature, such as Board of Education codes, circulars,
reports and directives, a sequential range of textbooks, and articles in the periodical press; for example, the educational newspapers, the Schoolmistress and the Schoolmaster.

Official Literature

In the nineteenth century public art education, including elementary art, was strictly controlled by the Department of Science and Art. The detailed curriculum regulations known as the National Course of Instruction, published for the first time in 1853, was set out annually by the Department in its Reports. The document utilized for the purpose of this study, the Directory with Regulations for Establishing and Conducting Science and Art Schools and Classes (1889) was previously described in Chapter 2. This curriculum, remained in operation unchanged until the end of the century when the Department of Science and Art was replaced by a newly created Board of Education in 1900.

In place of the Reports of the Science and Art Department, the Board of Education commenced publishing its own annual reports in which art was treated as part of the general field of education. (Ashwin, 1975, p. 63).

The deep-rooted legacy of monotonous mechanical drawing, devised by the Science and Art Department, continued to influence the elementary art curriculum in the early 1900s. However, other nineteenth century influences, such as the child study movement and recognition of Child Art that eventually contributed to the practice of creative self-expression in the twentieth century, very slowly began to infiltrate the curriculum during this time and to be reflected in the official literature.

A directive published by the Board of Education in 1901 called a Circular on Primary Drawing, illustrates some early changes in attitude towards the drawing curriculum. For example, although repetitive hand and eye training based on copying remained predominant, it was suggested that, additionally, children should be encouraged to choose, observe and draw from common objects. The selection of materials was also extended. For example, the use of brushes (flexible points) not commonly utilized in
primary education, was advised and these were added to the existing range of pencils and chalks (firm points). The Circular also underlined the new Board's concern for education as follows:

The Board regard instruction in Drawing as an important means of cultivating in children a faculty of observing, comparing, recollecting and thinking about all sorts of objects with a view to representing them in an intelligent and careful manner; and of developing a sense of beauty...
(Sutton, 1967, p. 204).

In 1905 the Board of Education issued Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers and Others Concerned in the Work of Public Elementary Schools. According to Sutton (1969, p. 211), this document 'exerted a strong influence on elementary education for the next twenty years'. It was progressive in the sense that, for the first time in the public school drawing curriculum, children's needs were placed before the acquisition of technical skills and an 'aesthetic side of the scholars' nature was recognised. Although the suggested teaching methods set out in the appendix to the document remained basically the same as before, the notion that there was more to drawing than simply instruction, and that there was a place for art and art appreciation in the elementary curriculum was established as follows:

there is another aim in connection with the teaching of drawing, which should not be forgotten. It is the important aim of cultivating the aesthetic side of the scholars' nature. The scholar should be taught to perceive and appreciate beauty of form and colour. The feeling for beauty should be cherished, and treated as a serious matter; it cannot be left to chance or caprice. (Board of Education, 1905, p. 66).

Additionally, according to Swift (1990, p.141), the Handbook of Suggestions (1905) 're-opened national debate on the purpose of memory drawing'. It incorporated ideas about the 'uses of memory drawing' put forward by leading art educators, such as, T. R. Ablett (1848-1945) and Catterson-Smith, headmaster of Birmingham School of Arts and Crafts from 1903 to 1920. Catterson-Smith was a tutor to Marion Richardson, who attended his school from 1908 to 1912. Over the next two decades an increasing interest in memory drawing culminated in a conviction that it should be developed in order to
stimulate children’s imagination, thereby enabling them to express their ideas and 
emotions through art.

In the early 1900s, the argument for a more child-centred, self-expressive pedagogy for 
elementary drawing grew and was fostered by a number of educationalists. For example, 
in 1908 the London County Council held a conference on the teaching of drawing 
attended by leading designers, artists and educationalists such as Lewis Day and 
Ebenezer Cooke. Their views, set out in the conference majority and minority reports, 
and published four years later in a report titled The Teaching of Drawing in Elementary & 
Secondary Schools (London County Council, 1912) were divided and represented a 
spectrum of opinion. For example, the majority advocated conventional early twentieth 
century drawing goals, such as the development of hand and eye training, ‘clear and 
definite representation’ and ‘appreciation of beauty of form, line, colour and proportion’, 
(p. 11) but also conceded that that for ‘very young children... drawing should follow the 
course of the child’s natural development’ (p.11). By contrast, the minority view 
reflected an accelerating debate about the development of a more child-centred, self-
expressive approach at all levels of art education, as follows:

Drawing is primarily to both individual and race a language, a means 
of expression and of communication; neither child nor race draw directly 
from objects at first, but to express themselves...it is self-expression, 
the drawing out of inner power, that educates or develops. (London County 
Council, 1912, p. 25).

Although the progressive influence of the child study movement was gradually reflected 
in the official art education literature, as late as 1926, the nineteenth century approach of 
the Science and Art Department was still evident. According to Ashwin (1975, p. 65), 
the Report of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education titled The Education 
of the Adolescent published in 1926 (The Hadow Report), 8 ‘which introduced the 
concept of the “Modern” school’ (Sutton, 1967, p. 269), included a section relating to art 
education ‘significantly’ subtitled ‘Drawing and Applied Art’. However it also
recognised that drawing had 'two distinct aspects: - the artistic and the utilitarian' (p. 227). While the main subject divisions of the utilitarian curriculum (object, memory, geometrical and mechanical drawing and design) reflected nineteenth century educational thinking, the Report also acknowledged the 'artistic' value of drawing as follows:

On the artistic side, drawing and painting may be studied wholly for their own sake, as affording to the pupil a mode of self-expression and a means of interpreting his appreciation of what he sees in the world around him. (Board of Education, 1926, p. 227).

The Hadow Report also challenged the accepted division of crafts into male and female subject areas. For example, while accepting housecraft and needlework as the two 'most important branches of practical instruction for girls' it recommended:

... any girls who displayed special taste and aptitude for woodwork and metalwork might, with advantage, be allowed to take a short course in these branches of the handicraft. (Board of Education, 1926, p. 232).

In 1927, the Board of Education published a new guidebook in the series Handbook of Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers and Others Concerned in the Work of Public Elementary Schools. This manual reflected some of the changes in attitude to art education that had taken place since the beginning of the century. For example, the influence of the child study movement and the recognition of child art were reflected in the text as follows:

The great problems confronting the teacher of drawing still await solution: - How to increase the child's skill in drawing without destroying that natural desire to draw which is so evident in all young children; and how to develop the power of expression without injuring or destroying the child's eagerness and freshness of vision. (Board of Education, 1927, p. 273).

The guide book denounced the use of geometrical models as drawing subjects as 'ugly and entirely devoid of aesthetic interest' (p. 273), and expanded the range of materials for 'older scholars' to include water-colours, pastels, soft pencils and 'occasionally' charcoal and 'large pieces of cheap paper' (p. 283). A large section of the drawing component was devoted to colour work, which the Board described as 'the natural approach to drawing for young children' (p. 276). Interest in the development of visual memory, a
subject that had increasingly interested nineteenth and early twentieth century art educators, was also reflected in this document as follows:

Experience shows that children whose visual memories have been developed are ready to express graphically what is in their minds; either memories of something specially observed, or imaginations in which, memory, knowledge, and invention all take part. (Board of Education, 1927, p. 286).

The Board acknowledged a growing 'conviction' that training the visual memory was of the 'highest importance in Art' and attributed much of the 'widespread' approval for this approach:

the publication in 1911 of Luard's translation of "The Training of the Memory in Art" by Lecoq de Boisbaudran, followed in 1921 by R. Catterson-Smith's "Drawing from Memory and Mind Picturing" (Board of Education, 1927, p. 286).

The development and elevation of memory drawing, from a method for memorising and Remembering objects in the nineteenth century, to one that intended to release the imaginative memory and creative self-expression in the twentieth century, is an example of one way art education evolved in response to artistic and intellectual influences and movements in this period. These changes in society were reflected in the official literature.

Textbooks
Similarly, during the period 1850-1950, the content of art education textbooks reflected the influence of major scientific and artistic movements. For example, as previously discussed in Chapter 3, the Government approved Handbook of Pictorial Art (Tyrwhitt, 1875) which was a broadly-based, self-help manual intended to provide a course of instruction for amateurs, students or artisans, reflected the influence of Romanticism and in particular of Ruskin's romantic artistic-moral notions on art education. Textbooks specifically designed for elementary education before 1900, such as Elementary Art Teaching (1890), by E. R. Taylor, reflected the dominant influence of the Department of Science and Art on elementary art. This textbook, based upon the National Course of
Instruction, offered a utilitarian, vocational and imitative curriculum, designed to coordinate the hand and eye and to develop in children a capability for clear, definite and accurate representation. The mechanical drawing content included freehand, model, nature and memory drawing, colour, light and shade and design. Infant and lower standard work was based upon measuring and copying simple geometric forms from the flat (see figure 30). Higher standards progressed to drawing from simple models, such as cubes, vases (see figure 31), and simple casts, simple clay modelling from casts, nature drawing and brush work.

In the early 1900s, art textbooks intended for use in elementary education continued to strongly reflect the influence of the Science and Art Department. For example, Nelson's New Drawing Course, (1907) by J. Vaughan, offered a curriculum based upon accurate mechanical and free drawing. Although the language used in the text reflected the new concern for art as part of the general field of education, and although approximately one third of the content was devoted to handwork or manual occupations, accurate hand and eye training remained the major curriculum goal (see figure 32). However, in the 1920s a limited number of textbooks were published that reflected the influence of the child study movement. These texts, such as Art in Schools (1928) by J. Littlejohns were genuinely concerned with the development of drawing and art as a means of self-expression (see figures 33 and 34). Nevertheless, as late as 1935, the enduring nineteenth century influence of the Science and Art Department was evident in the publication of some textbooks. For example, Object, Plant and Memory Drawing by A. Smith, a teacher's manual for use in senior elementary, secondary and Art Schools, continued to present lessons in which accurate representation and modelling (light and shade) of spheres, cubes and simple objects remained a pre-eminent goal (see figure 35), even offering an example recommended by the Department's Report as far back as 1886.
FIGURE 30. DRAWING EXERCISE, STANDARD I, IN ELEMENTARY ART TEACHING (1890) BY E. R. TAYLOR.

FIGURE 31. DRAWING EXERCISE, STANDARD III, IN ELEMENTARY ART TEACHING (1890) BY E. R. TAYLOR.
FIGURE 32. EXERCISES IN FREEHAND OR FREEARM DRAWING, JUNIOR SECTION, IN NELSON'S NEW DRAWING COURSE (1907) BY J. VAUGHAN.
FIGURE 33. AN EXAMPLE OF AN 'IMAGINATION' DRAWING IN ART IN SCHOOLS (1928) BY J. LITTLEJOHNS.

FIGURE 34. AN EXAMPLE OF IMAGINATIVE COMPOSITION, SENIOR SECTION, IN ART IN SCHOOLS (1928) BY J. LITTLEJOHNS.
FIGURE 35. AN EXAMPLE OF EXERCISES IN THE APPLICATION OF ROUND BASIC MODELS TO DRAWING FROM OBJECTS IN OBJECT, PLANT AND MEMORY DRAWING (1935) BY A. SMITH.
Simultaneously, in the first half of the twentieth century, a number of art texts were published by outstanding art teachers such as Cizek and Richardson. These educators, who were the first to recognize Child Art, developed the expressionist practices that later led to a philosophy of creative self-expression and eventually revolutionized art teaching methods. Their work was disseminated through public exhibitions in Europe and North America, and through personal publications or those of their disciples. Children’s Coloured Paper Work (1927) by Cizek, for example, documented some of his students’ work from the Young People’s Course at the Kunstgewerbeschule (Industrial Art School), in Vienna. The sophisticated, decorative papercuts of patterns, flowers, butterflies, figures and landscapes it showed made by children aged 7-15 years (see figure 36), some dated as early as 1908, were initially received with much scepticism because of their technical excellence and a mistaken belief that they had been created without adult guidance.

It was hard to believe that children of 7-15, however highly endowed, could express with certainty, vividness and power, such individual and truly inspired conceptions. And when the methods of the teacher became known amazement gave way to incredulity. For the children were not in the usual sense of the word, taught at all! (Littlejohns, 1928, p. 38).

Theoretically, Cizek recommended lessons free from adult influence, but in practice, his teaching methods were firm and structured. He wrote, ‘a teacher must give his pupils strictly correct ideas, if they are to get a solid basis for their work’ (1927, p. 5). However, although it was the sophisticated examples of art work by Cizek’s gifted students that gained wide recognition, other examples by his students aged 3-14 years, illustrated in books by Viola (1942, pp. 193-203) and Tomlinson (1950, p. 55) published for the first time in 1934, included the more expressive images of figures and landscapes with which Child Art is now associated. Unlike the sophisticated and highly competent images of his talented students these small pen and ink drawings offered examples of unsophisticated imaginative art work by ordinary children (see figure 37).
FIGURE 36. 'MORNING' BY DORA FRIEDLAENDER IN CHILDREN'S COLOURED PAPERWORK (1927) BY F. CIZEK.

FIGURE 37. DRAWING BY A GIRL IN CIZEK'S SCHOOL IN VIENNA IN PICTURE AND PATTERN-MAKING BY CHILDREN (1950) BY R. R. TOMLINSON.
Macdonald, (1970, p. 345), has suggested that the widely held but mistaken belief that Cizek's teaching methods were undirected may have been created by enthusiastic supporters who were 'carried away by Cizek's philosophy of self-activity and free expression'. Foremost among his disciples was the Austrian educationalist Wilhelm Viola. His classic book, *Child Art* (1942), was written in response to the immense interest shown in his lecture tours of Britain in which he enthusiastically publicized Cizek's art teaching philosophy and methods. *Child Art*, reported on Cizek's 'discovery' of the phenomenon and explained its relationship to primitive art and psychogenesis. The greater part of the text was devoted to a selection of after lecture questions and answer sessions which took place from 1934-42, and to verbatim reports of Cizek's classes. According to Macdonald (1970, p. 343), this the publication was highly influential and inspirational to British teachers.

The revolutionary New Art teaching methods initiated by Marion Richardson, which were introduced in Britain and Canada in the 1930s, were described in her classic text *Art and the Child* (1948). This moving, autobiographical account of her life and work as an art educator of average children, published posthumously, 'was widely read in England and abroad' (Swift, 1990, p. 147). The book, which set out her educational philosophy, was written with the aim of encouraging other art teachers to continue her expressive curriculum aims and methods (see figure 38). *Picture and Pattern-Making by Children*, published in 1934 and in revised form in 1950, was written by R. R. Tomlinson. As a colleague and fellow London County Council inspector, he helped Richardson to initiate the new art teaching methods. This publication, was one of a number he wrote, that pioneered 'intelligent and artistically illustrated books on child art' according to Macdonald (1970, p. 352). It was intended to help teachers and parents understand and evaluate Child Art and to enable children to compare their work with others at the same developmental stage in other countries. The book documented the
FIGURE 38. 'READING IN BED' BY OLWEN JOHNSON, AGED 15 YEARS, IN ART AND THE CHILD (1948) BY M. RICHARDSON.

FIGURE 39. FINGER PAINTING BY JOAN SIMONYI, AGED 8, DALTON SCHOOL, NEW YORK, IN PICTURE AND PATTERN-MAKING BY CHILDREN (1950) BY R. R. TOMLINSON.
expressive art aims and methods practised in countries throughout the world with the help of many illustrations of Child Art (see figure 39).

Periodicals: The Schoolmistress and The Schoolmaster

As previously discussed, the articles that comprised Nutt's two major publications, *Flower Drawing with the Children* (1916), and *The World of Appearance: Part II* (1935), originally appeared in serial form in the educational newspaper *The Schoolmistress*, from 1913 to 1916, under the heading 'The Teaching of Pastel Work'. This weekly publication, circulated each Thursday, was established on December 1, 1881. Priced at one penny, and 'specially devoted to the interests of those engaged in female education' (p.1), the periodical was designed originally for women, mainly teaching and training in elementary education. Although *The Schoolmistress* (1881) was a Victorian publication, in her inaugural address, the editor advocated a determinedly feminist and egalitarian educational philosophy. The newspaper's stated aim was to advance teaching opportunities and facilities for its readership so as to enhance their professional expertise through teaching practice advice and knowledge of teaching materials, and to obtain fair pay and social recognition for their work as women teachers (p. 14). Fifty per cent of the content of the first edition was devoted to advertising, mostly of school textbooks. The main content of the education section featured articles on pupil teachers' examinations, educational news and reviews. Only five per cent was devoted to actual teaching methods and practice. However, additionally, the newspaper included articles on specifically female pre-occupations, such as, fashion, knitting, cookery and a lengthy romantic serial story about the experiences of a young Victorian schoolmistress. This gave the publication, in part, the character of a women's weekly magazine.

In 1916, the last year that Nutt contributed to *The Schoolmistress*, the publication's politics were described as 'neutral' in the *Newspaper Press Directory* (1916). The Directory also stated, 'This paper is published to assist teachers in their work' (p. 92).
By 1916 the newspaper had broadened its commitment ‘to the interests of all engaged in education’ (January 27, 1916, p. 353). This expansion of patronage to include both men and women among its readership suggests a move into mainstream educational opinion. The publication was more professional than its first edition of 1881 in the sense that a greater proportion of its content, (35% as opposed to 5% in the original edition), was devoted to discussion of hands on teaching methods and practice. Additionally, the newspaper reflected women teachers’ equalitarian aspirations by featuring professional support groups for women, such as teaching unions, and career and training opportunities. Although retaining some of the original, more academic features, such as, ‘Correspondence’ and ‘Provincial Notes’, the publication greatly reduced its non-educational content to two items on fashion and food. Instead, it offered opinions on and schemes of work for juniors and included a substantial supplement for infant teachers.

During World War 1, The Schoolmistress (1916, January 27) contained a number of patriotic articles such as ‘National Patriotism and How it May be Taught’ (p. 364). Nutt also contributed to its nationalistic sentiment at this time. Writing under her customary title ‘The Teaching of Pastel Work,’ she continued her series ‘The Flower Emblems of the Allies,’ with a lengthy illustrated lesson on ‘The Leek of Wales’ (p. xi-xii). The impact of the war on teaching as a career, and on women’s social and professional status within education is evident in the publication’s advertising content. At this time it included numerous advertisements for elementary posts which made up eleven per cent of the newspaper content. The abundant vacancies for head, assistant and supplementary teachers, were undoubtedly caused in part by the departure of so many men for the war and although some appointments were advertised for both ‘masters and mistresses’, the majority specifically requested female teachers. This suggests that there were many career opportunities for women practising in elementary education in 1916. The advertisements also reflected the growing career opportunities for women in the teaching profession. For example, in addition to six organizations offering correspondence
courses with teaching qualifications, compared with only one in 1881, there were vacancies at eight Training Colleges such as Goldsmiths’ College, and membership of five professional organizations such as the L. C. C. Women Teachers’ Union was offered. The newspaper therefore characterized women teachers as a financially independent social and professional group. It included advertisements for expensive fashion, jewellery and furniture items and the offer of credit to pay for them. All this suggests that, in the early twentieth century, elementary education increasingly offered women the opportunity of independence and a professional career incorporating training, qualifications and status.¹

The Schoolmaster was established on 6 January, 1872, approximately ten years before the Schoolmistress. It was a weekly newspaper, published each Saturday, and priced at 1p in 1916. The Newspaper Press Directory (1916, p 92), described the publication’s principles as ‘Independent’ and as ‘The Organ of the National Union of Teachers’ and stated that ‘It contains leading articles by eminent educationalists, intelligence of educational proceedings, and special information as to the progress of education at home and abroad’. In 1916 The Schoolmaster of January 29, and The Schoolmistress of January 27 were similar in format, i.e. in shape, size, print, arrangement of text and advertising space. However, as might be expected, The Schoolmaster which was an independent newspaper representing the National Union of Teachers, was a more militant publication in the sense that it was primarily dedicated to representing member’s trade union interests, conditions and welfare. The newspaper’s content was essentially concerned with political comment on the consequences of government and local authority educational directives, and dissemination of news and reports of educational meetings, union business, and union members.

The impact of World War I was strongly reflected in the content of an edition of The Schoolmaster of 1916, (January 29) which featured a number of war related articles.
These included an editorial, news articles, information on teachers who had gained war honours, a register of hospitalized teacher-soldiers, national area reports of teachers recruited to the war effort, and a financial account of the Union’s war aid fund. It advertised numerous local authority posts throughout the country, for both male and female teachers, which undoubtedly were the result of men volunteering for war service. Male insecurity about employment caused by the temporary absence of teacher-soldiers from the classroom, and the fear that their work would eventually be usurped by women hastily trained in their absence, featured in a number of articles. For example, in a leading article, titled ‘Undermining the Teaching Profession,’ the employment of ‘motherly women’ as ‘baby minders’ was offered as a preferable solution to a London County Council proposal that:

...for the period of the war the principle of employing in public elementary schools women who have received a good general education, and who have satisfactorily completed a short course of training for teaching young children, be approved for the purposes of instruction of children under five years of age, (p. 138).

Correspondingly, there was evidence that women teachers feared lack of recognition for their increased workload and responsibilities, particularly in financial terms. For example, in an article titled ‘A Question to be Answered,’ in the ‘Women’s Supplement’ of the Schoolmaster of January 29, 1916 a contributor stated:

Every month sees additional duties placed upon teachers, and in the Council schools of large towns women are asked to undertake the work of teacher-soldiers....Recently a Midland mayor presiding at a public meeting paid a high tribute of praise to teachers for voluntary services unstintingly rendered during the national need, but there was little recognition of this when the new scale of salaries appeared. (p. 144).

Unlike The Schoolmistress, neither the ‘Woman’s Supplement’, nor The Schoolmaster contained any curriculum projects or activities. In fact, aspects of the ‘Women’s Supplement’ were closer in content and presentation to the first edition of The Schoolmistress of 1881.10 All this suggests, that in terms of educational expertise and guidance, The Schoolmistress of 1916 (January 27), to which Nutt contributed, was a
more educationally informative and professional newspaper than *The Schoolmaster*, published in the same week.  

**Description and Analysis of Nutt’s Textbooks**

The following analysis of Nutt’s art textbooks is intended to provide, an holistic account of their structure and content. It also locates evidence upon which judgements could be made, about the precise nature and significance of her art curriculum and its literal and symbolic meaning. As previously discussed in this chapter, the majority of her texts originally appeared in serial form, in the educational newspaper *The Schoolmistress* from 1913 to 1916. She published her first book *Flower Drawing with the Children* (1916), privately in England, three years before she emigrated to Canada to become Principal of Nova Scotia College of Art in 1919. Following her emigration she reprinted her original work under the title “Significance,” or *Flower Drawing with the Children* in 1921, and subsequently published the textbooks, *The “Why” in the Drawing Lesson* in 1929, and *The World of Appearance: Part II* in 1935. These books were printed in Sheffield, England, and exported to Nova Scotia for distribution by her.

Nutt’s first art textbook, *Flower Drawing with the Children* (1916) was a teacher’s manual printed by J. W. Northend of West Street, Sheffield.  

It was predominantly concerned with teaching flower drawing to children at all levels of elementary education. There is sufficient evidence to suggest that the book had a sizeable circulation and, that it was distributed and used in British libraries, universities, schools and public institutions. As noted in Chapter 6, Varley (1918, in Tooby 1991, p. 16) referred to it as follows; ‘She’s written a book on teaching children drawing, which is a great success and is used in Universities and schools all over the kingdom’. Blakeley (1967, p. 37) also recorded that the book ‘was so highly regarded that Queen Mary arranged for a copy to be placed in every one of her guilds in England’.

Additionally, the book was enthusiastically reviewed in the *Journal of the National Society of Art Masters*, March 1918 (see figure...
makes some comments on the teaching of Still Life Painting (which he strongly advocates) in Schools of Art "for more than 50 years" and after condemning the method, though not the matter, concludes "that the brain power, if any, which lives in the production was supplied by the master or mistress." This, of course, raises the whole question of the influence of teachers upon taught, a subject much too complex to argue here, but we should be much surprised to find that the author's brain-power has not found strong reflection in his pupils' work. However, methods of teaching almost everything have changed much of late years, and that advocated by Mr. Rich, as his own practice, is eminently sound, and, moreover, lucidly explained.


Miss Nutt is well known to many of our members as a most enthusiastic teacher, and therefore this volume, which is a reprint of part of a series of articles on "The Teaching of Pastel Work" from The Schoolmistress, will be welcomed by those interested in the teaching of children. The main idea at the back of the work is that there is something above and beyond the teaching of more technical excellence, which is the function of the teaching of drawing to unfold, and to arouse an appreciation therefor in the minds of pupils from the very earliest stages. Miss Nutt calls this the "personality of the object," the "liver-nass" of the lion, the "spring-ness" of spring, etc., and says "We see the plant not as form or colour, or tone, or texture, but as grace, strength........ and when we have thus read its heart, we set ourselves to put the impression upon paper. That "feeling" is the artist's sympathy with the life struggles of the object." The book is a serious effort to help teachers to realise this aspect of the value of teaching drawing—as a means to an end, and not an end in itself—and as such should prove to be a great help and inspiration to those for whom it is written. The book is well printed, and the illustrations (some in colour) are excellent and well designed to enforce the points they illustrate.

PRACTICAL TOWN PLANNING, 2/- net; GARDEN, CITIES AND CANALS, 1/- net. J. S. NETTLEFOLD. St. Catherine Press.

Mr. Nettlefold is an authority on the subjects of Town Planning and Garden Cities, and these two new books from his pen will be read with great interest by all who are interested in the subjects, whether from the social or artistic points of view. This important subject was touched on by Mr. Ripper in his presidential address at Manchester, when he said:—"The housing question is already receiving serious attention, and better situated, more convenient, and healthy dwellings are demanded. Town planning, with extension of residential areas, and with cheap and quick facilities for getting into suburban districts, will revolutionise the housing conditions of our industrial community. When the study of art is properly established throughout the educational system it will play no small part in awakening a predisposition on the part of the masses of the people, rich and poor, for more of beauty, order and fitness in our public affairs." This is precisely the question that Mr. Nettlefold brings before the public in the above-named works. The subject is a very thorny one, and progress is checked by all manner of restrictions, and especially so in dealing with the older towns. But even where more freedom of action is possible, it is pointed out that "the hygienic, social, and artistic aspects have their own value.
40), and entered in the Subject Index of the Modern Books Acquired by the British Museum from the years 1921-1925, and The British Library General Catalogue of Printed Books up to 1975. There is evidence also that the reprinted edition of 1921 was well received in Nova Scotia. For example, in an undated letter to J. W. Northend, one of a series, written between October 1921 and May 1922, Nutt wrote; 'the book is already before the Council for acceptance as a school textbook & (sic) by the time you receive this it will be thro' '. Correspondence between the Fisher Bookbinding Co. (1912), Ltd. London, and the printers J. W. Northend in Sheffield and Nutt, who by this time had emigrated to Nova Scotia, and to J. W. Northend, also written between 1921 and 1922, held in the printer's archive, indicates that she placed an initial order with J. W. Northend for 1000 copies at a suggested cost to the Canadian public of $2.25 each.

The front cover of the hardback textbook which measures 7 x 9 3/4 x 1/2, displays the title, the author's full name and price of 3/6 net in black lettering on a dark green cloth background. This text is surrounded by two closely drawn black lines, 1/16" apart, and measuring 6/10" from the cover edge. The book incorporates eight preliminary and eighty two main content pages of writing and illustrations. Nutt dedicated this first publication to her Mother, who as already discussed, was a deeply religious woman, and laid out her 'religious' art educational aims in the preface as follows:

They are a plea for the rational appreciation of drawing as a most valuable means whereby we may aid in unfolding the God-like in our children. (Nutt 1916, p. v).

The text is divided into seventeen "lessons" or chapters. In these Nutt outlines her philosophy of art education, and offers practical curriculum advice to teachers. Some chapters deal exclusively with her philosophical aims, others with lesson content, for example, with the use of drawing materials. However, the majority feature individual lessons detailing goals, content, methods and expected outcomes. There is an emphasis
in the content of the lessons throughout on (i), flower drawing in pastel from nature with special attention to shape, tone, modelling, form, line and colour, and (ii), on memory drawing. The text also contains a preliminary discussion of Nutt's art education aims, two anecdotal short stories from Renaissance art history and a short section about art appreciation. In the latter, she reflects upon paintings by four 'old masters', namely Turner, Corot, Michael Angelo and Whistler. The written text, as a whole, is amply reinforced by examples of Nutt's personal art work which includes nine black and white full plate pencil drawings, five text drawings and three full colour plates. Two of these are examples of pastel work and the third depicts a flower painting in oils. The majority of illustrations denote common flowers of the type suggested by Holland in his handbook for teachers entitled Design for Schools (1907), such as the daffodil, tulip and iris. Others which are exercises in shape, tone and perspective represent animals and birds. (See figure 41).

Nutt's second art textbook, called The "Why" in the Drawing Lesson (1929), was also printed by J. W. Northend, ten years after her move to Canada. It consists of a compilation of articles based upon questions 'asked by teachers from all parts of the Province of Nova Scotia, concerning the teaching of drawing'. According to Nutt, the articles were originally written as handouts, 'mimeographed' and freely distributed to them' in 1923. They were reissued in textbook form in response to 'many requests for them' (Nutt, 1929. p. 6). This textbook, which is in hardback and measures 7 6/10" x 10 1/10", is bound in plain navy blue cloth and bears the title and author's name in gold lettering on the front cover. An indented line border is set 1/2" from the cover edge. The book, dedicated 'To my dear friends the public school teachers of Nova Scotia', has forty-one pages in total. These include six preliminary pages, thirty-five main text pages and eight full page illustrations. The book's distribution in England is not known.
NOTE THE SQUARENESS OF LINES EXPRESSING STRENGTH.

ROUNDER MORE FLOWING LINES - EXPRESSING GENTLENESS.

STRENGTH

GENTLENESS.

FLOWING CURVES GENTLENESS.

FIGURE 41. AN ILLUSTRATION FROM FLOWER DRAWING WITH THE CHILDREN (1916) BY E. S. NUTT.
The text of this book is divided into nine chapters or lessons. The first one is devoted to determining which materials are the most ‘suitable’ i.e. pencils, soft crayons or pastels and brushes for children’s work. The ones she discusses are of the type recommended by the British Board of Education in a Circular on Primary Drawing (1901) mentioned in Sutton (1967, p. 205) and their Handbook of Suggestions (1927, pp. 277-279). There are three chapters devoted to various aspects of representational drawing. One considers the composition of simple still life groups, the second explores the effect of light on different surfaces such as dull, glazed, metal and transparent surfaces, the third explains still life drawing theory and techniques such as the use of tone, perspective, texture, form and shape. Two further very detailed chapters, probably based upon Nutt’s Art Master’s thesis from Sheffield University, called The Teaching of Colour in Schools (1914), are devoted to explaining colour theory. In particular, they focus upon concepts of colour harmony and discord, and colour exercises in hue, value and chroma. There are three additional chapters. One of these explains ‘skeleton’, or Roman letters, another is devoted to imaginative and memory drawing and, the last recommends encouragement of expression.

Again the text is illustrated with examples by Nutt. However the drawings lack the quality and sensitivity of those displayed in the earlier publication. They consist of diagrammatic illustrations demonstrating principles of still life grouping (see figure 42), and exercises in tone and surface texture in representations of objects such as a basket, bottle or an apple. Some of these had also appeared in the Schoolmistress (1913-1916). Although in the final paragraph Nutt repeated her original religious aim to ‘unfold the God-like in our children’ (p. 41), this more utilitarian art textbook is devoted to basic early twentieth century school art theory and practice and displays little of the romantic religious art philosophy that characterised her first publication. The “Why” in the Drawing Lesson is a short publication. It is less well conceived than Flower Drawing with the Children in the sense that it is a collection of individual articles arbitrarily
INDIVIDUALITY MUST BE RESPECTED.

WRONG. ILLUSTRATING THE PRINCIPLE OF GROUPING.

RIGHT. EACH OBJECT STANDS ON ITS OWN GROUND.

FIGURE 42. AN ILLUSTRATION FROM THE "WHY" IN THE DRAWING LESSON (1929) BY E. S. NUTT.
combined. However, it achieved recognition ‘when the Department of Education / Nova Scotia/ recommended and distributed Miss Nutt’s second book’ (Soucy and Pearse, 1993, p. 104).

Nutt’s third art textbook, *The World of Appearance: Part II*, was published by herself and printed by Parker Brothers of Vicar Lane, Sheffield in 1935. She originally resolved to offer three separate publications from Parts I, II and III, but this intention was never realized. However, the proposed tables of contents relating to the unpublished manuals, *The World of Appearance: Parts I and III*, are displayed at the end of Part II. As has already been discussed, the greater part of this textbook also ‘originally appeared in serial form from 1913 to 1916 in the English educational journal, “The Schoolmistress,” ’ (Nutt, 1935, p. vii). Additionally, it included an article entitled What is Fine Art initially ‘written...for “Opinion” 1935’ (Nutt 1935, Errata). This book, which is in hardback and measures 7½"x 9½", is covered in dark green cloth and bears the title in gold lettering on the front cover. As with the others an indented line border is set 2½" from the cover edge. It combines twelve preliminary and one hundred and eleven main text pages, and has ten full page black and white illustrations and three diagrammatic text illustrations. The book is dedicated separately to her ‘Mother’ and ‘Sister’. Both dedications are accompanied by annotative poems written by Nutt.

The text is divided into eighteen chapters devoted to appreciation of beauty in nature, object drawing, memory drawing and representational drawing techniques. These cover manipulation of light and shade on plain and textured surfaces, form, tone and colour. Much of the drawing content is derivative of innovative British elementary art education philosophy in general approaching World War I. It is typical of the kind recommended in the London County Council Conference Reports of 1908, titled *The Teaching of Drawing in Elementary and Secondary Schools*, previously discussed in this chapter. In *The World of Appearance* (1935), Nutt focused predominantly upon representational
drawing from objects and an appreciation of beauty in nature. However, both *Flower Drawing with the Children* (1916) and *The World of Appearance* (1935) are composites of articles that appeared much earlier in the *Schoolmistress* (1913-1916). Although Nutt referred, only occasionally, to the need to develop artistic self-expression in the latter publication, she strongly advocated this educational goal in the former. Assessed together her books offer a curriculum similar to ones advanced in the London County Council Minority Report and proposed as follows:

Personal observation, drawing from objects, and from memory which the conference and its report are so wisely anxious to maintain and extend, are isolated portions of that sequence of interaction of man and nature which develops him, his art and his science. Observation is as essential to knowledge as knowledge is to observation but it is expression, the drawing out of the child's own self that completes the sequence, for that is an essential condition of development, and drawing is one of the primary means (London County Council 1912, p. 32)

Nutt's later publication appeared nineteen years after her first one, suggesting that her art teaching philosophy and practice may have become ossified and did not change over time. However, the lesson content, and text illustrations she proposed in *The World of Appearance* (1935) are similar to those recommended by the art educator Alan Smith, A.T.D., A.M.C. in his art textbook *Object, Plant, and Memory Drawing* published in the same year (see figure 43). The contents of this publication are similarly devoted to observational and memory drawing, principles of light and shade, texture, perspective and nature drawing. Both are illustrated by their respective authors with drawings of wheelbarrows, dog kennels, chimneys, shoes etc. All this indicates that Nutt was astute, both in the contemporary presentation of her third publication, and in the selection of its content from her earlier articles. Additionally, this suggests that Nutt's original educational articles, published from 1913 to 1916, were very progressive in the sense that this curriculum was comparable with ones published two decades later.
FIGURE 43. AN ILLUSTRATION FROM THE WORLD OF APPEARANCE (1935) BY E. S. NUTT.
Nutt's art texts were written to help elementary school teachers serving as a channel for communicating her curriculum and expertise to them. They were intended to offer lesson plans, ideas and suggestions for classroom use, and a firm theoretical and practical foundation for teaching practice. The numerous informative and clearly labelled illustrations were provided by Nutt as visual text paradigms. Some of these, such as her detailed colour chart, were offered as models for teachers to copy and to display to their pupils (see figure 44). Her curriculum was designed for the art education of girls and boys alike. This factor is emphasized throughout by her use of inclusive language such as 'all', 'children', and 'our scholars', and by her expressed opinion that 'true art training is needed by all children' and is 'the right of all' (Nutt, 1916, p. 5; 1935, p. 1).

Nutt's texts reflect a range of nineteenth and early twentieth century literary styles and terminology. The majority of her two main publications is written in polished poetic prose, reminiscent of the work of the English Romantic poets, such as Wordsworth (1770-1850), and Shelley (1792-1822). For example, her description of clouds moving across the summer countryside which is part of an introduction to a lesson about "the aesthetic or art value of glazed objects", resembles a similar account in "Summer and Winter", by Shelley as follows:

We see the gathering, onward moving, pale, grey-blue masses of shimmering light advance across the dark grey, yellowish green field. Wave after wave chases over the meadows, on and on until they are lost in the distance. (Nutt, 1935, p. 62).

When the north wind congregates in crowds
The floating mountains of silver clouds
From the horizon - and the stainless sky
Opens beyond them like eternity.

Additionally, the literary style she used to present her curriculum is typical of much Victorian and Edwardian educational writing, in the sense that, it combines a strong feeling of evangelical moral purpose with biblical resonance. For example, in a lesson about the effect of light on different metal surfaces, entitled Metal Objects, she
COLOUR.
SPECTRUM VALUES IN NATURAL ORDER.

FIGURE 44. NUTT’S COLOUR CHART IN THE “WHY” IN THE DRAWING LESSON (1929).
sermonizes about the spiritual strength to be gained from perception and expression of light on natural surfaces, such as “the summer’s sea,” in the following way:

Our eyes, like those of the wise men of old, as we travel through the dark night are fixed upon the stars, and they lead us, too, out of the mental wilderness into the wonderland of aspirations and calm strength. (Nutt, 1935, p. 87).

However, in presenting her artistic theories she also includes terminology fashionable in the early twentieth century. For example, she republished Flower Drawing with the Children (1916) under a new title, “Significance,” or Flower Drawing with the Children in 1921. This restyling reflects the impact of Formalist theory and the concept of ‘significant form’, introduced to many in Britain by the art critic Clive Bell (1881-1964) in his pioneering book Art, published in 1913. As discussed in Chapter 6, aesthetic theories concerning ‘significant form’ were widely debated in Sheffield at this time by influential individuals, such as, William Rothenstein, the first Professor of Civic Art at Sheffield University. For example, on November 8, 1916 in a lecture held at Sheffield University at the invitation of Sheffield Technical School of Art, he argued:

It is the artist’s instinctive faith in the deep significance of all form, his devotion to the beauty in which the hidden realities of life clothe themselves, which make the true value of his contribution to civilization. He ... concentrates upon the radiant and harmonious aspect of material form, and is able through his faith in this exterior beauty, to interpret something of the reality which underlies it. (Rothenstein, 1916, p. 8).

Although Nutt maintained a romantic religious philosophy of art, her aesthetic theories appear, in part, to anticipate or parallel those put forward by Bell and this tendency will be discussed further in a separate section of this chapter.

There can be no doubt about the scholarly nature of Nutt’s texts which demonstrate a broad, sound, philosophical understanding of aesthetics and education. As already discussed in Chapter 5, these two subjects formed part of the highly academic curriculum at Sheffield University where she gained her Art Master’s Diploma in 1914 and it was during this period that she began to contribute the articles that eventually formed her art texts to the Schoolmistress.
Nutt's Drawing Curriculum

Religious/Spiritual Curriculum Aims

The content of Nutt's art textbooks (1916, 1929 and 1935) confirms that her key aims for art in general education at primary level were spiritual and moral in the sense that she believed art was a medium for spiritual insight and moral purpose. For example, she wrote:

if the drawing lesson is to realize its great objective—i.e., is to be an educative instrument in the unfolding of the Godlike in our scholars...all true drawing has a spiritual impulse. (Nutt, 1916, p. 29).

It seems that her 'spiritual' concept of art education drew upon ideas about transcendental Idealism which were expressed by German idealists such as Kant, Hegel, Schelling and Schlegel, and on a nineteenth century philosophy of art exemplified by the art and writing of the social critic John Ruskin (1819-1900). According to Efland (1990, p. 146) it was the German idealist philosophers who were the first to voice arguments equating art with high moral purpose. They 'elevated beauty to the supernatural plane' (Osborne 1968, p.114), and proposed that through communication with beauty in nature, the Absolute could be sensuously understood.

Both philosophers and artists, said Schelling, penetrate to the essence of the universe and break through the barriers between the actual and the ideal: but the artist alone presents the Absolute concretely, visibly to perception.... 'Art' said Frederick Schlegel, 'is a visible appearance of God's Kingdom on earth. (Osborne, 1968, p. 114).

According to the American art education historian Stankiewicz (1984, p. 55), Ruskin became acquainted with German philosophy through the writings of Carlyle, Coleridge and other English poets and he too linked the spheres of natural science and morality. Efland (1990, p. 134), explained that 'Ruskin saw art as the imitation of nature' which becomes great art with the addition of moral purpose. 'This is realized when it praises God and his creations'. Describing his art philosophy, Efland (1990) stated that, for Ruskin:

the ultimate purpose of art is that of giving expression to the creating spirit of the universe. Thus all great art is at the same time religion, and
the true artist must perforce be religious....All art is based upon laws of
organic form derived from nature as created by God. This is the basis
for claiming that art is a source of spiritual insight and morality and thus
important to human progress.(p. 135).

Nutt extended the same romantic religious tenets to her art education writing and
teaching. She conceived of God as not only manifest in nature but also in mankind.
Consequently, as a teacher she envisaged art education as a spiritual tool engendered with
a capacity to lead children nearer to goodness and a realization of God, through
appreciation of the beauties of His work in the material world. She illustrated her
religious concept of art education in Chapter 1 of The World of Appearance.22 Quoting
from the poem 'King Arthur', by Alfred Tennyson (1809-1892), regarding the king’s
search for God, she wrote, 'I find Him in the shining of the stars, and see Him in the
flowering of the fields.' (Nutt, 1935, p. 1). Adding her own supplement to Tennyson’s
poem she wrote, 'I find Him also in the ways of men' (p. 2), and explained the
implications of this as follows:

With this extended vision, we rise masters of the universe and are entering
into the attitude of mind which the old Greek thinkers found to be the basis
of all power, viz:- “know thyself” i.e. to know the grand unity of the Spirit
of Life, Man and the Universe. Our one aim as teachers is that we may by
all means aid the children to the realisation of this “self,” this trinity in unity
... and every child who is deprived of intimate participation in the beauty
and glories of the world of appearance... is being sinned against most sorrily
(Nutt, 1935, p. 2).

According to Stankiewicz (1984, p.51), 'Ruskin’s writings both reflected and helped to
create a climate of opinion in which art education came to be considered as a kind of
moral education'. His romantic aesthetic theory that related art to nature, morality and
spiritual experience underpinned a belief among some educationalists that ‘emphasized
the value of art for the education of the morals’. These kinds of beliefs were not unusual
in Victorian primary education which was generally regarded by the public, clergy and
educational establishment as a source of public socialization. In this context, drawing
was viewed as a subject with great potential for raising public morals. As was previously
discussed in Chapter 3, the Anglican Diocesan Training college in Oxford, where Nutt
received her elementary teacher training (1890-1891), promoted strong moralistic educational values in student teachers. A moralistic interpretation of the function of art in support of the Victorian work ethic was effectively illustrated by the Rev. R. St. John Tyrwhitt in his art textbook, *A Handbook of Pictorial Art* (1875). Trywhitt, who may have been one of Nutt’s early teachers, was a former Diocesan College lecturer, committee member and associate of Ruskin, who said he ‘owed everything to his *Ruskin’s* writings and personal advice and teaching’ (p. v). He described the moral advantages of art education as follows;

all success must be won by hard and systematic exertion... I have no doubt that teaching children good drawing is practically inseparable from the process of teaching them to be good children. Those who believe man to be a moral agent will never be able to separate Art from morals. (Tyrwhitt, 1875, pp. 2, 371).

Within the general elementary school system, Nutt also conceived art education as a medium for promoting morality and improving society in a way that is representative of the Victorian Protestant work ethic. For example, she wrote:

Art is a term too limited in its accepted meaning... for everyone is an artist, and he betrays himself in every work performed. The lowliest occupation is a work of art, and its standing as such depends upon the spirit in which the worker has wrought. If it has been his true self then, be the work sweeping snow away, cleaning boots, working a problem in arithmetic, or painting a noble picture, or teaching a class, or representing an apple in pastel, or writing a poem, it is a true work of art; but if emotion, the pleasurable element, and interest, and hence thought, be absent...then the mechanical action necessary to do the work will be equally poor, so poor indeed that we forget to call it art at all.(Nutt, 1916, p. 5).

**Curriculum Goals**

Nutt’s art textbooks offered a course of instruction underpinned by clear curriculum goals. Key goals were appreciation of beauty in nature, and the development of self-expression in art.

As noted previously, the Hegelian romantic religious view of beauty in nature that connected morals, religion and aesthetics and incorporated them into art education was
exemplified in the nineteenth century by the writings of Ruskin and his disciples. For example, the Rev. R. St. John Tyrwhitt (1875, p. 6) described 'Art as a means of interpreting Nature', as did the American educator William Torrey Harris (1835-n.d.) who explained his goals for drawing as follows:

we teach drawing that we may be able to obtain keener perceptions of the beauties of nature, and that we may preserve what Mr. Ruskin calls true images of beautiful things that pass away, or which we ourselves must leave (Harris 1897, pp. 270-271 in Efland 1990, p. 132).

Nutt expressed similar sentiments when she wrote:

We not only learn to draw because of its utilitarian value, that is, for the attaining of power to represent an object, but chiefly because we joy in beauty and its application in the forms and decoration of the things with which we surround ourselves. (Nutt, 1935, p. 32).

Like Ruskin, her mentor, Nutt believed that perception of beauty in nature led one closer to God and morality. Consequently, she considered the development of an appreciation of beauty in nature a key curriculum goal and advised teachers to emphasize drawing from nature, like flowers or standard classroom items, such as, bottles or stools which are endowed with 'aesthetic value' by Nature's 'sovereign light'. She also believed that a critical appreciation of natural beauty in art, as depicted in the works of artists like Turner and Corot, empowered children to recognize the spiritual meaning expressed in all great works of art. Stankiewicz (1984, p. 53), has explained that Ruskin believed 'learning to understand the moral truths embodied in masterpieces of art and to appreciate the fine character of the great artist was a first step toward improving ones own moral faculty'.

Like Ruskin, Nutt thought that critics, as well as artists, were capable of perceiving the spiritual content of an artist's work. Therefore she judged, both the development of an appreciation of the beauty in nature, and a critical appreciation of natural beauty in art, to be a goals with great potential for the improvement of children's moral faculties. These art goals could be described as instrumental in the sense that she used them to underpin and advance her general religious aim of "unfolding the God-like in our children".

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In addition to her art education philosophy, an appreciation of natural beauty was a central concept in Nutt’s personal aesthetic. As a practising artist she responded strongly to the beauty of the English landscape which served as a source of inspiration for her painting in which she explored the lyrical effect of God’s ‘sovereign light’ on the landscape. In this sense, her artistic practice informed her art education philosophy and effectively contributed to the formation of her curriculum goals. Nutt often related practical drawing lessons to the appreciation of beauty and light in nature. Typically she introduced a practical lesson about the effect of light and shade on a sphere and a wheelbarrow, entitled ‘Light, shade and Shadow’, with a description of natural beauty in the winter landscape in the following way:

In the winter time nature has not left us desolate, though she has stripped the leaves from most of her trees, yet she has left us her highly polished evergreens, and the grass, though sere, is heavy with raindrops, and roads are scarcely ever free from puddles. Now water reflects the light as strongly as do polished surfaces, and so we are still bathed in life-giving, healing light. (Nutt, 1935, p. 12).

As already discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, Nutt’s artistic practice continued throughout her life. Through her painting she endeavoured to express her deep emotion and feelings for the beauty of the English and Canadian landscape (see figures 45 and 46). Similarly, as an artist-teacher she believed the development of self-expression in art to be a key curriculum goal. For example, she wrote: ‘We must never forget that the cultivation of self-expression is the object of the drawing lesson’ (Nutt, 1916, p. 38). Within the prescriptive, mechanical, elementary drawing curriculum Nutt wanted to develop in her pupils a capacity for artistic self-expression. She wanted them to be able to create drawings that expressed their feelings for emotions about the subject of their art work. For example, she wrote:

“Feeling” is a term often used in connection with a drawing, and the difference between a fine representation and a poor one lies in the expression of “feeling,” which appears in one and is absent from the other (Nutt, 1916, p. 52).
FIGURE 45. E. S. NUTT PAINTING IN ECCLESALL WOODS, NEAR SHEFFIELD, MID-TO-LATE 1920S. By permission of Sir Michael Carlisle.

FIGURE 46. ‘WINTER, NORTH WEST ARM, HALIFAX’, 1927, BY E. S. NUTT. Collection of the Art Gallery of Nova Scotia.
Additionally, her texts show that she valued evidence of self-expression in children's art work above accurate representational or mechanical drawing. For example, she wrote:

we see that the perfection of the mechanical, i.e., the mere manipulation or hand-work, the so-called "drawing" is dependent entirely upon the thought which is endeavouring to find expression. But if we begin by insisting upon the mechanical, and seek perfection by its means primarily, we are beginning at the end, and it is impossible for there to be any satisfactory result. For here is no true self-expression because there is no demand for expression, there is nothing to express, but if we begin with emotion and interest, and hence thought as uppermost in our minds, the mechanical will take care of itself, the mind will seek means where by to express itself beautifully. (Nutt, 1916, p. 5).

Nutt also advised teachers that children should be taught to recognize and appreciate examples of self-expression displayed 'in the works of the greatest artists'. As previously discussed, those she recommended for study included Turner, Corot and Michael Angelo, whose work she believed embodied profound emotional expression (Nutt, 1916, pp. 41, 42). She also believed that women were capable of becoming great artists and of achieving spiritual and emotional expression in their work. The Victorian women artists whose work she recommended for study, particularly by teachers, included the English painters Lucy Kemp Welch and Maud Earl, and the French artist Rosa Bonheur. For example she wrote:

it would be well if each teacher would observe carefully the paintings of great animal painters, who, by the way, are chiefly women, as Lucy Kemp Welch, Maud Earl, and Rosa Bonheur, the premier French painter of the nineteenth century. (Nutt, 1916, p. 37).

According to Osborne (1968, p. 134), the idea that 'the artist expresses his own feelings or emotional nature or whatever through the art work as a whole and not by identification with this or that figure depicted in the art work', is a Romantic conception embedded in current theories of Expression and Communication. He wrote:

Theories of this class regard art as a 'language' of the emotions and usually draw upon analogy between artistic and linguistic communication (Osborne, 1968, p. 135).
Nutt's texts convey a Romantic conception of self-expression. For example, she referred to drawing as 'a language in itself', and stated 'by its means we may communicate thoughts to one another' (Nutt 1916, p. 7). She also wrote:

Art implies an Emotion followed by a Thinking, and completed by a Doing. Music is an Emotion so powerful that it demands expression, followed by a Thinking, and must be rounded out by a Doing. (Nutt 1935, p. 33).

According to Stolnitz (1960, p. 159), the 'conception of art as a record of man's emotion and a vehicle for communicating it to others,' is characteristic of the Romantic Movement and the creative work of its early nineteenth century leaders. Among them were the poets Wordsworth and Shelley, composers such as Beethoven and Schubert, and the painters Géricault and Delacroix.

Although it rooted in the Romantic movement, the philosophy of art as self-expression, and as an instrument of emotional communication combined with spiritual connotations, was common in the period approaching and during World War 1. Concepts of self-expression similar to Nutt's were expressed by other scholars in the early twentieth century. For example, using language similar to Nutt, Edmond Holmes, writing in 1911, compared 'mechanical obedience' (learning) adversely with 'self-realisation'. Writing about art in a utopian elementary school, he described his curriculum goals as follows:

Give him pencil and paper, give him chalk, charcoal, a paint-box, and other suitable materials, and he will set to work of his own accord to depict what he sees or has seen, either with his outward or his inward eye. Give him a lump of clay, and he will try to mould it into the likeness of something that has either attracted his attention, or presented itself to his imagination. In all these attempts he is trying, unknown to himself, to express his perception of, and delight in, the visible beauty of nature. This instinct will expand in the fullness of time, into a strong and subtle feeling for visible beauty, and into a restless desire to give expression to that feeling (Holmes, 1911, p. 166).

As discussed earlier in this chapter, aspects of Nutt's romantic religious theories of art appear to anticipate or parallel formalist theories of art, such as, those introduced by Clive
Bell in his book Art (1915). For example, although she described beauty as a manifestation of Divine harmony, she also defined it as a “juxtaposition of form against form, of varying shapes, and degrees of tones and colours” (Nutt, 1935, p. 1). This definition is close to Bell’s aesthetic hypothesis of significant form in which he stated that ‘lines and colours combined in a particular way, certain forms and relations of forms, stir our aesthetic emotions’ (Bell, 1915, p. 8). Both authors share a spiritual interpretation of art and demonstrate a profound understanding of the relationship between man, religion and the universe. For example, Bell wrote:

Religion as I understand it, is an expression of the individual’s sense of the emotional significance of the universe; I should not be surprised to find that art was an expression of the same thing.... Art and religion belong to the same world (Bell, 1915, p. 82).

Nutt’s perception and interpretation of art is similar to Bell’s. For example, when describing the bones of a hand and their relationship to each other as an ‘an example of perfect creation’ and as an ‘illustration of the eternal law of growth, and of mobility’ she wrote:

Now this exquisite relationship underlying all form, and its mobility, from the minutest particle to the poise of the whole structure of every creation - of every bird, and beast, tree, flower and cloud, in fact of all creation; this same relationship between the component parts of the whole universe makes the harmony... and is of the essence of life... and whose conscious recognition and conscious expression by man is called Fine Art. (Nutt, 1935, p. 34).

Pupil Outcomes

The main outcomes Nutt anticipated her students would derive after experiencing her curriculum were, an ability to draw flowers and objects from direct observation and from memory, and a capacity to relate to subject matter, in the sense of an appreciation of, and facility to record expressively, a subject’s unique and aesthetic characteristics. She wanted students also to gain some knowledge of art history and art appreciation.
Nutt's objectives could be described as 'expressive outcomes' in Eisner's sense (1985, p. 120) because the consequences of her curriculum activities were planned so as to provide a degree of personal originality and experience. They contrasted strongly with what would now be recognized as the behavioural objectives typically recommended in nineteenth and early twentieth century mainstream textbooks by authors like Taylor (1890) and Vaughan (1907). These texts, which were described earlier in this chapter, were strictly behavioural (see Eisner, 1985, p. 112) because they proposed specifically preplanned and identically realized objectives and made no allowance for personal originality or innovation. It was anticipated that elementary curriculum goals, of coordinating the hand and eye and developing a capability for clear, definite and accurate representation, would be achieved through a precise statement of aims and behavioural routines. An exercise from Vaughan (1907), referring to the production of a short vertical line and aptly named a 'drill' exercise, for example was accompanied by strict behaviourist instructions as follows:

draw two horizontal lines about 1 1/2 to 2 inches apart. See that the pencil is properly held: place the hand with the fingers running between the parallel lines, and the pencil pointing at right angles to the line to be drawn. Then with one steady movement of the fingers, lightly draw a stroke from the top line to the bottom line. (p. 30).

Although Nutt included some behavioural objectives in her curriculum, for lessons involving construction of skeleton letters for example (Nutt, 1929, p. 37), her main curriculum objective was to provide expressive drawing activities and experiences that offered opportunities for originality. In this regard, she wrote:

All we may do, therefore, is to direct the child's attention to the external mechanical arrangements and suggest to it how it may find its way to seeing and realizing of the essential heart and soul or life of the plant, for here each must explore for himself (Nutt 1916, p. 15).

As previously noted, Nutt remained a practising painter throughout her teaching career concerned with interpretation and expression of the English and Canadian landscape. Undoubtedly, this factor, together with her romantic concept of self-expression,
contributed to the provision in her curriculum of activities that allowed for expressive outcomes. These contrasted strongly with the kinds of specific behavioural objectives that continued to dominate public elementary art education in the early twentieth century, despite determined efforts by the Board of Education to the contrary. It is in this context that Nutt's curriculum outcomes could be described as both expressive and progressive for the period, and located in the vanguard of art education philosophy when they were first published in 1916.

Curriculum Content: Components

The content of Nutt's curriculum included the following elements; drawing from nature, drawing from objects, memory drawing, colour theory, art history and art appreciation. However, nature and object drawing were the major focus. These content areas were featured separately in her two major publications, Flower Drawing with the Children (1916) and The World of Appearance (1935).

Nutt's first textbook was predominantly concerned with drawing from nature in the form of flowers. Single practical lessons focused upon developing in children an appreciation of natural beauty and personal self-expression, through careful study of individual flowers drawn from direct observation. She gave precise instructions to teachers for her practical art lessons. Teachers had to arrange individual flowering bulbs, or flowers placed in fresh water in medicine bottles, in front of a neutral background constructed from tinted paper pinned to stiff cardboard erected 'upon the front framework of the desks' (p. 18). The range of flowers to be supplied by the children included tulips, daffodils and roses. The materials she recommended for flower drawing were soft pastels and dark neutral, tinted unglazed paper. The lessons were organized into a sequence of learning opportunities that built upon each other. Initially pupils were asked to observe the flower's natural beauty and to make a personal appraisal of emotive qualities suggested to them by the plant, such as 'strength, calm, peace, expectation, joy,
and so on' (p. 16). Sometimes they should be asked to record their observations at the side of their paper. Following a talk by the teacher describing the natural structure of the flower, children should be instructed to make unaided drawings, not only representing the plant’s structure and form accurately, but also recording its ‘emotive qualities’. For example, she wrote:

...it is to the living thing alone that our true selves respond... We require the children to record at the side of their paper their thought about the sturdy, steadfast, and open-hearted flower...when we have directed attention to the mechanical aspect of the flower, we must eliminate ourselves as much as possible and let the flower speak in its own way to the mind of the child. (1916, pp. 16, 71).

Teachers should direct children to make their flower drawings by first recording the general shape, and then the tonal qualities, as shapes or masses of light and dark. During drawing sessions, Nutt recommended individual criticism of the work by the teacher. The first exercise was followed by a short memory drawing of about ten minutes for which the flower was removed. Pupils should be instructed to reproduce their original drawing faithfully, from memory, on the unused side of the paper. The memory drawing should then be compared with the original drawing and the flower.

Nutt also included art history and appreciation in her curriculum. As noted previously her art history took the form of moralistic, romantic religious short stories drawn from the Italian Renaissance. Art appreciation, focused upon artists whose work she judged as embodying self-expression. Among those she recommended as the ‘greatest artists’ for study are Turner, Michael Angelo, Corot and Whistler (pp. 41-42).

As previously discussed in this chapter, Nutt’s second book, called The Why in the Drawing Lesson (1929), comprises an arbitrary selection of individual articles. In this context the content represents a wider selection of curriculum activities. For example, it includes drawing from objects, memory drawing, colour theory and lettering. Object drawing is the subject of her third book which will be discussed later. However, in her
second publication, she offered a comprehensive list of the required subject matter for art lessons as follows:

1. Form or shape and the laws of perspective which govern it.
2. Tone or depth of darkness of its areas or planes.
3. Aerial perspective or that which gives the sense of distance to its parts.
4. Surface appearance as to whether it is dull, or glazed, or polished metal, or transparent.
5. Inherent textures, or the material of which it is made, as wood, stone, or wool or cotton, and so on.
6. Colour with its hue, value and chroma. (p. 33).

Nutt's colour course is both theoretical and practical. She offers detailed instructions to teachers on colour mixing, the preparation of a colour wheel and colour concepts. Children are to be introduced to terminology such as harmony, discord, hue, value and chroma through the study of colour charts made by the teacher and observation of coloured objects. They should be asked to observe objects, for example, flowers, ribbons, caps and books and to classify and record them in colour lists, under headings such as red or yellow. Additionally, they should be asked to identify colours within a specific range, for example, by comparing 'a scarlet geranium...with the spectrum red on the chart' (p. 30). This is typical of colour teaching practised early in the twentieth century as described in the Board of Education Handbook of Suggestions (1927).

Nutt included the construction of skeleton or Roman letters in her curriculum. Instruction in lettering, which included the Roman alphabet and manuscript writing, was standard practice in elementary drawing in the first half of the twentieth century. The acquisition of lettering skills was regarded as instrumental in achieving general handwriting proficiency and presentational expertise as for example, in the production of neat exercise books and clearly labelled diagrams. In this regard the Board of Education (1927) advised:

All children should acquire a good style of plain, legible and beautiful lettering.... They should also learn to draw the Roman alphabet (capital letters) in its pure and undebased form as found on the Trajan column. .... The pupils can then practice the designing of notices, posters,
(Handbook of Suggestions, p. 304).

Nutt (1929), also argued:

It is essential that scholars be early initiated into the principles underlying lettering. Their note books will become a joy to them when all the sketches made to illustrate their notes are described neatly with printing that has a value in itself outside the information which the words are to convey.... Skeleton letters are the simplest form of printing... and is the type used by all students for the description of diagrams. (p. 37).

In Nutt’s curriculum, letters were practised by drawing two parallel lines a quarter to two thirds of an inch apart followed by a third line constructed midway between them. First children drew the letters of the alphabet between the lines. Later, they practise writing using place names, such as Halifax, or Nova Scotia, before graduating to verses, such as the Canadian national anthem. Nutt advised that ‘when used in actual work the skeleton letters should seldom be more than one-eighth of an inch in height’ (p. 38).

In addition to memory drawing from simple objects such as stools, baskets or wheelbarrows, Nutt also recommended memory drawing from objects observed outside school such as buildings, and from imagination. For example, she suggested children should listen to poems, such as ‘The Little Grey House in the West’ or ‘I remember, I remember’ by Thomas Hood (1799-1845), and illustrate them from memory. She believed that linking ‘literature and visual experience’ helped children to listen carefully and to pay more attention to the verse. She also proposed that drawing, as illustration, should be related to other lessons such as science, history and geography (p. 11). This is typical of memory drawing content recommended by the Board of Education in the late 1920s, as for example, in their Report of the Consultative Committee on The Education of the Adolescent (1926, p. 228) and in The Handbook of Suggestions (1927, p. 286).

The drawing materials Nutt (1929) recommended for her curriculum included unglazed yellowish grey cartridge paper for pencil drawing and, ‘for crayon work, grey or brown
or dark green paper such as the “Greyhound” paper sold by Messrs. Reeves of London, England’ (p.7). She advised the use of ‘soft and friable’ crayons (pastels), and soft pencils, ranging from B.B. to 6B., for ‘the sketching of common objects and for ordinary work’ (p.8). For painting, she suggested the use of sable brushes, but did not specify a particular type of paint. In her first publication, Flower Drawing with the Children (1916), she denounced the recommended medium of water colours as ‘a difficult medium for children to master’ from which ‘very disappointing results are obtained’. (Nutt, 1916, p. 9).

The content of Nutt’s third book, The World of Appearance: Part II (1935), focused upon drawing single objects from observation and memory and on principles of light and shade, texture, perspective and colour. Most of the lessons were related to an appreciation of beauty in nature and concentrated upon the ‘aesthetic effects’ of ‘Nature’s lighting’ on the textured surfaces of individual items. The objects she selected were the type traditionally used for this kind of art work, such as cubes, stools, wheelbarrows, glazed and unglazed jugs, polished brass lamps and glass bottles. The lesson content outlined in Chapter VI called ‘The Practical Value of Light and Dark’ (p. 39) was characteristic of many in the book because it focused upon the effect of light and shade on a three dimensional object. First, children are instructed to create their own objects from which to draw. This involves modelling a simple form with surfaces ‘arranged at different angles’, such as a dog-kennel in plasticine, or clay. Next they are asked to observe their model, and record ‘the order of the lightness of the planes’ in writing at the side of their paper. Finally, they make their three-dimensional tonal drawings in white chalk on brown paper. Nutt linked this part of the lesson to the art movement of Cubism. She suggested the exercise could be repeated using a square paper basket ‘placed before the whole class’. After drawing the object in graded tones of white chalk, coloured pastel could be added. She encouraged children to draw independently at home. For example, she proposed they make drawings of the skyline seen from their windows and record the
tones of shadows on the form of buildings at different times of the day. Finally, she related this project to an appreciation of the ‘beauty of the old-world towns of England...and the old Gothic towns of the Continent of Europe’. She suggested their beauty lay in the many and varied skyline shapes, enhanced and emphasised by the effect of sunlight and shadow on ‘gables and roofs, towers, turrets and spires’ (p. 43).

Curriculum Content: Organization

Nutt believed there was a specific body of content that children should learn that would reinforce her curriculum aims and goals and urged teachers to provide heuristic projects and activities of the kind that would facilitate personal interaction with their pupils. As already discussed, she valued evidence of self-expression in their drawing above mechanical accuracy. Therefore, although her practical lessons in flower and object drawing were structured, they also offered opportunities for individual experience and relatively diverse outcomes. In this regard she wrote:

... we realize that each will see the flower from a different standpoint; that it will say something slightly different to each; therefore, if we, out of false kindness, do the thinking for them, the flower, like Browning’s “Star,” will "shut," and they will be left gazing at a few petals which cannot show to them their soul, and, therefore, be loved. (Nutt, 1916, p: 70).

Although Nutt organized the content of her lessons into a series of sequential steps that built upon preceding activities, the overall organization of her curriculum content contrasted strongly with the exceptionally rigid, nineteenth century methods generally practised in elementary schools in the early 1900s as demonstrated in Vaughan (1907). This standard approach, which often reflected the actual conditions prevailing in schools up until World War I, was well defined, mechanical and strictly predetermined. By contrast, Nutt advised teachers to organize their curriculum content in a more flexible, child-centred way that would facilitate children developing ‘their own innate powers’ and artistic individuality. This concept reflects the more progressive views put forward by the Board of Education and leading art educators in this period, such as, Ebenezer Cooke, who placed the educational needs of the child before the acquisition of technical
skills. Once again, within the context of the period when her texts were originally written (1916), Nutt’s curriculum organization could be described as very progressive.

**Curriculum Evaluation**

Nutt maintained that children’s direct drawing from flowers and objects should be evaluated firstly for their expressive qualities and secondly for accuracy of personal observation. She advised teachers to pass around the classroom at the end of each drawing session so as to make a rapid assessment of the overall work and follow this with constructive criticism to individual children. For example, she wrote:

> When we pass round to criticize we must avoid such statements as “This is wrong; it should be so,” but rather let us keep the whole attitude of the flower in mind. “Is your flower like the original?” “Where is it different?” (Nutt 1916, p. 73).

The teacher should point out inaccuracies, and praise ‘sincere’ drawings and the best should be selected and ‘afterwards exhibited’ (Nutt, 1935, p. 84).

Nutt urged teachers to evaluate memory drawing using the criteria of accuracy of personal observation, evidence of perception, expression of knowledge and self-expression. She recommended that memory drawings of flowers, or standard items such as wheelbarrows, should be compared for accuracy with their original drawings and with the objects by the children. Differences between the objects and the children’s drawings should also be identified by the teacher who should pointed out faults and commend those who had “recorded correctly”. In this regard she wrote:

> After the memory exercises, the children should compare the result of their effort with the object; and here again we must direct their attention to the parts wherein the general mistake was made, or else their comparison of the two will be of little value. (Nutt, 1916, p. 46).

These evaluation methods are characteristic of conventional early twentieth century methods as reflected, for example, in the majority report of the London County Council Conference on the Teaching of Drawing in 1908. However, Nutt also included the
criterion of self-expression in her evaluation procedures. For example, she wrote, ‘With memory drawing the compulsion for self-expression is with us’ (Nutt, 1916, p. 45). This sentiment is more in keeping with the self-expressive principles advanced in the conference minority report.

Nutt advised teachers to evaluate visualization of familiar objects, such as houses, or poems on evidence of ‘imaginative content’ and ‘accurate representation’. On the theme of imaginative memory drawing of houses, she wrote:

Then let them draw their choice from memory in the drawing lesson. Let the drawings be exhibited on the blackboard and commented on. Those without gardens compared with those having gardens. Those floating in the air with those firmly standing upon recognized ground. (Nutt, 1929, p. 9).

Nutt referred to imaginative memory drawing from poems as giving ‘scope for the exercise of the imagination’ (p. 10). These methods for evaluating visual memory, included in The “Why” in the Drawing Lesson (1929), are typical of Board of Education methods offered in the late 1920s as recommended, for example, in the Report of the Consultative Committee on the Education of the Adolescent (The Hadow Report, 1926, p. 228) and in the Handbook of Suggestions (1927, p. 286).

Eisner (1985, p. 200) has suggested, that in addition to ‘the curriculum itself, the teaching that is provided and the outcomes that are realized’ are the major subject matters of educational evaluation. He raised the question of the extent to which the personal qualities of a teacher, such as their interests or attitudes, might be transferred to their pupils over an extended period of time, particularly at elementary school level and suggested that some student outcomes are ‘represented by those that flow from what the teacher teaches about him- or herself’ (p. 207). Nutt could be described as an exceptional teacher, in the sense that, her curriculum reflected unusually extensive personal artistic and art education expertise. As already discussed, these attributes included an exceptional amount of teacher training and experience in elementary and further
education. For example, she completed an exacting elementary teacher training course in Oxford, before embarking upon the long and rigorous art teacher training course at Sheffield School of Art. She also had a sound knowledge of art history and an appreciation of art, reinforced through study in France and Italy and at Sheffield University. Additionally, she was a practising artist who regularly exhibited her paintings in Sheffield and London and, in later life internationally. Experience of this wealth of artistic and educational expertise and of her compelling, ‘romantic’ teaching style would undoubtedly have enhanced the realization of her pupil outcomes.

**Summary**

The period from 1913 to 1935, when Nutt wrote and published her art texts, was a time of great social and economic change in Britain. At the beginning of the twentieth century an exciting blend of spiritual, aesthetic and scientific ideas and influences was absorbed into the national culture. This mixture which was reflected in the professional literature and practice of art education, also found expression in Nutt’s publications. But, the comparison of her textbooks with others revealed an individualistic and eclectic concept of art education that combined a wider range of nineteenth and early twentieth century spiritual, aesthetic and scientific influences than was typical.

Nutt’s art texts suggest that she was a deeply religious, Christian woman whose key aims for art in general education at primary level were spiritual and moral. In addition to her religious family background, her curriculum aims drew upon a philosophy of romantic religious idealism that connected religion and morality with the aesthetic. This philosophy originated in the writings of the early German idealist philosophers, such as Hegel and Schelling and found expression in the arts through the romantic movement. It was exemplified in the work of English artists, such as Turner, and poets such as Wordsworth and Shelley, and the art and social critic John Ruskin, all of whom were referenced in her texts. Ruskin’s writings were enormously influential at the time and
helped to create a climate of general opinion in which art education was regarded by some educationalists as a medium for raising public morals. Like Ruskin Nutt believed that God was imminent in nature and that art became religion when it gave expression to God's greatest creation, nature, and as a teacher she envisaged art education as a spiritual tool, engendered with a capacity to lead children nearer to goodness and a realization of God. These kinds of beliefs were not unusual in Victorian primary education which was generally regarded by the clergy and educational establishment as a source of public socialization. As noted previously, a moralistic interpretation of the function of art in support of the Victorian work ethic was strongly promoted by the Anglican Diocesan Training College attended by Nutt in the early 1890s. The college was directly associated with Ruskin's ideas through one of its lecturers and committee members, the Rev. R. St. John Tyrwhitt.

Nutt's curriculum was underpinned by clear goals. Key among them were, an appreciation of beauty in nature and the development of self-expression in art. Both these goals were romantic in essence and instrumental in the sense that they supported her general religious aim to unfold 'the God-like in our scholars' (Nutt, 1916, p. 29). She believed that an appreciation of the beauty of God's greatest creation, nature, and the development of an ability to express that beauty emotionally through art would enable children to achieve religious unanimity and morality. Additionally, the romantic appreciation of beauty in nature was central to Nutt's own aesthetic. As a practising artist, she responded strongly to the beauty of the English landscape which served as an inspiration for her paintings. In them she explored the effect of light and shadow on the landscape and endeavoured to express her emotive feelings for it. As an artist-teacher her artistic practice informed her educational philosophy and she tried to develop similar kinds of artistic perception and expression in her pupils.
Undoubtedly Nutt's experience as a practising artist contributed to the provision in her curriculum of activities that allowed for expressive outcomes. Her texts show that she valued evidence of self-expression above accurate representation in drawing and provided curriculum activities that offered genuine opportunities for the development of originality and personal experience. In this sense, her curriculum outcomes can be described as expressive in comparison with the strict behavioural, utilitarian objectives proposed in contemporary art textbooks, such as *Nelson's New Drawing Course* by Vaughan (1907).

The content of Nutt's curriculum included observational drawing from nature, objects and memory, colour theory, art history, art appreciation and lettering. However drawing from nature and objects represented the major focus of her art texts. Although it was permeated with a nineteenth century romantic religious aesthetic, much of the content of her curriculum is characteristic of innovative early twentieth century art education theory and practice approaching World War I. Nevertheless, it reflects theory and practice from earlier and later periods, together with her personal experience as an artist. For example, the emphasis on light and shade in drawing reflects the legacy of her Department of Science and Art and Art School training, as does the inclusion of flower drawing, a subject that was characteristically employed in many nineteenth and early twentieth century art education textbooks such as, *Design for Schools* (1907) by C. Holland. However Nutt's interest in flower drawing is also a manifestation of her nineteenth century aesthetic philosophy and position as a romantic artist. Conversely, although much of the content on memory drawing, published between 1913 and 1916 in *The Schoolmistress*, is typical of very early twentieth century art education theory and practice, a later publication (Nutt, 1929) included imaginative visualization from poems and subjects in the outside world characteristic of art education theory in the 1920s. The findings above suggest that the content she selected for her curriculum was eclectic and included an unusually wide range of nineteenth and early twentieth century educational theories and practices.
The organization of Nutt’s curriculum could be described as progressive, when compared with the very highly structured content generally practised in elementary art education in the early 1900s. Although her drawing lessons were structured, and organized as a series of activities that built upon each other, they facilitated individuality and relatively diverse outcomes. It was her stated belief that all children were artists in their own right and she evaluated their drawing from flowers and objects firstly for the expressive quality of their work and secondly for accuracy of personal observation. Although some aspects of her evaluation procedures, such as her criteria for evaluating memory drawing, are characteristic of conventional early twentieth century art education practice, she also included the criterion of self-expression. In this sense she can be included among those artist-teachers in England who contributed to the development of the expressionist practices for which creative self-expression became renowned.

Nutt published a total of three art textbooks. The evaluation of the quality of two of her major publications in comparison with similar early twentieth century publications written by men suggests she should be awarded equal status and recognition for the following reasons. Firstly, the extent and depth of practical expertise and experience they reveal unquestionably requires that her work should be placed on an equal footing with similar undertakings by men. Secondly, there can be no doubt that these texts are scholarly when compared with others written by men, in the sense that they demonstrated at least an equal if not a more profound philosophical understanding of concepts and ideas of aesthetics and art education than was typical of mainstream elementary art textbooks. Thirdly, the calibre of her writing was unusually stimulating. The texts were well written in polished, poetic prose, reminiscent of the work of the English romantic poets, such as, Wordsworth and Shelley, unlike the strictly practical rather dry language used in standard texts by men such as, Nelson’s New Drawing Course Vaughan (1907). In addition to their literary merits, Nutt’s texts in their original form also made a positive contribution to the development of British art education in the sense that her articles in the
Schoolmistress offered elementary school teachers theoretical and practical help on a national and regular basis. Yet despite the quality and value of her work she is not referred to in standard British art education histories, a fact that confirms the existence of sexism referred to previously in the discipline's construction.

Nutt's reputation as an author and specialist writer on the subject of teaching drawing to children was securely established by 1916. Acknowledgement of her scholarship, educational expertise and stimulating literary style were reasons for her evident success in the field and for the positive reception of her textbooks. This is illustrated by the demand for her articles which appeared frequently in The Schoolmistress from 1913 to 1916 and by academic recognition of her textbooks. The research found that her first publication entitled Flower Drawing with the Children (1916) was highly regarded in terms of artistic educational and literary merit. As previously noted it was distributed and used in British libraries, universities, schools and institutions and accorded royal recognition by Queen Mary. It was also acquired by institutions, such as the British Museum and appears in major catalogues such as The British Library Catalogue of Printed Books up to 1975. Additionally her publications were well received because she was 'well known', well-liked and professionally respected 'as a most enthusiastic teacher' according to the Journal of the Society of Art Masters (1918, p. 204).

The educational philosophy encapsulated in Nutt's writing differed from that of the men writing similar textbooks at the same time. Although her aims and goals reflected nineteenth century spiritual and moral values, they offered a broader, more child-centred, self-expressive educational philosophy than was usual in elementary education. They reflected not only her experience as a practising artist, but also her knowledge and understanding of the artistic and educational needs of children gained through an extensive teacher education which, exceptionally, included training in both elementary and higher education, in addition to experience as a teacher trainer. The development of
her educational philosophy in the early twentieth century coincided with and was underpinned by a growing recognition in society in general of the need for a more child-centred, self-expressive approach in education.

As previously mentioned Nutt’s texts were intended to help elementary school teachers who were predominantly female. Her texts included a feminine consciousness in that they acknowledged female artistic equality and, in some circumstances, superiority with men. She also recommended the work of women artists such as Lucy Kemp Welch, Maud Earl and Rosa Bonheur (Nutt, 1916, p. 37). Although her educational philosophy did not appear to change over time, when they were first published, in the years between 1913 and 1916, these texts, which were based upon extensive artistic, aesthetic and educational expertise, can be understood as both inspiring and progressive to teachers at the time.
Notes

1. According to the librarian, the London Metropolitan Archive, previously known as the Greater London Record Office, accommodates approximately 35 miles of books and documents including thousands of flies. These have to be retrieved by hand by an archivist, and a proportion remain uncatalogued. (Telephone conversation 21.3.97).

2. Nutt began her initial elementary teacher training at the Oxford Anglican Diocesan Training College in 1890.


In his final estimate, Hegel makes Art, along with Religion and Philosophy, one of the three modes of apprehension of the Absolute, one of the three self-revelations of the Absolute idea.

According to Osborne (1968, p. 115), Hegel ‘pictured the gradual process by which he Cosmic Spirit, the Absolute, incarnates itself in sensuous being through the history of man’s artistic achievement’. Beardsley, similarly explained Hegel’s theory as follows:

since in every work...there is always sensuous and spiritual content, three basic relations can be distinguished between these two aspects. In Symbolic art, characteristic of early Oriental culture, the Idea is overwhelmed by the medium, which strains in vain to express it. In Classical art the idea and the medium are in perfect equilibrium. In Romantic art the Idea dominates the medium and spiritualization is complete. (1988, p. 238).


The concept that art education for the child should differ from that for adolescents and adults stemmed from Rousseau’s scheme of education in *Emile* (1762)...Rousseau’s faith in the divine endowment of nature was later to be completely adopted by Cizek and Viola, who were both very concerned with preserving natural child art from any adult influence (Macdonald, 1970, p. 320).

5. The paradox in Cizek’s teaching methods lay in the fact that although he advocated self-activity and free expression, his teaching methods were firm and authoritative. For example, Cizek wrote (in Sutton, 1967, p. 266), ‘An artist is free to create his own laws, but a teacher must give his pupils strictly correct ideas, if they are to get a solid basis for their work’. However, Eiland (1990, p. 198) has argued that it would be wrong to deny Cizek his title of the ‘father of free expression’ because ‘freedom is a relative term, and compared to the standards of his day in the Viennese schools, his was a comparatively free pedagogy’.

6. According to Ashwin, (1975, p. 63). ‘Under the terms of the Board of Education Act (1899) the Education Department was merged with the Science and Art Department to form the Board of Education, which came into being on 1 April 1900’.

7. The concept of a ‘word-picture’, later successfully developed by Marion Richardson as imaginative mind-pictures, is also foreshadowed by the Board of Education in its
Suggestions for Teachers (1905) as follows:

From time to time the scholar should be encouraged to depict with brush, pencil, or chalk, some word-picture or idea. (p. 67).

8. According to Ashwin (1975), the principal general recommendation of The Hadow Report, on the education of the adolescent (1926) was:

that there should be universal secondary schooling after the age of 11, and that secondary provision should be differentiated into a number of types, the most common being the 'grammar' school for the academically inclined and the 'modern secondary' for those with a more practical bias. (p. 65).

This Report was 'concerned with the establishment of Modern Schools with a leaving age of fifteen' (Macdonald, 1970, p. 308).

9. The Schoolmistress continued to be published as a newspaper for infant and junior school teachers until September 4, 1935, when it combined with the Teachers World, a newspaper for teachers of seniors. The new publication was known as The Teachers World and Schoolmistress.

10. As already discussed, The Schoolmaster (1916, January 29), and The Schoolmistress (1916, January 27) were similar in terms of shape, size, print and arrangement. This suggests that the format of the original edition of the Schoolmistress (1881, December 1), was based upon The Schoolmaster which was first published on January 6, 1872.

11. The Schoolmaster continued publication under it's original name until January 16 1925, when it amalgamated with The Woman Teacher's Chronicle and was designated The Schoolmaster and Woman Teacher's Chronicle. The publication continued in that form until January 4 1963, when it was renamed The Teacher. According to Willings Press Guide (1995, p. 1174), it is currently published in the form of eight issues per annum, free of charge to members of the National Union of Teachers.

12. Nutt had connections with this printing firm through her association with William Northend, J. W. Northend's son. Although seventeen years younger than Nutt, William Northend (born 1810.1887) attended Sheffield School of Art from 1898-1903 and from 1907-1909 (Millington 1989, p. 19).

13. Guilds were originally formed in the Middle ages as associations of craftsmen or merchants. Allen (1990) describes a guild as an 'association of people for mutual aid or the pursuit of a common goal'.


16. Letter from Nutt, to J. W. Northend, Sheffield (18.2.22).

17. There are variations in the front cover design. For example, an alternative layout affords a beige background with black lettering. The book title appears at the top of the cover and the author's name at the bottom. Slightly off centre and filling about 3/4
of the cover area, measuring 5 6/10" x 6 2/10" and surrounded by a thick line border (1/10") there is a reproduction of an oil painting by Nutt. This illustration, repeated as one of three book colour illustrations, denotes a clump of yellow Alpine primroses against an unpainted brown, canvas background. The book spine matches the canvas.

18. According to The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1990, p. 753) a mimeograph is 'a duplicating machine which produces copies from a stencil'.

19. At least one other binding exists for this textbook. The hardback book colour unknown but with black lettering bears the title on the front cover. Below this, is a small motif which is an example of historic ornament; and, below this there is the author's full name. In the bottom left hand corner, surrounded by a black line, is the inscription, 'In answer to Questions asked by the Public School Teachers of Nova Scotia'. All is surrounded by a black line set 1/2" from the cover edge.

20. Nutt was familiar with the work of both Wordsworth and Shelley. For example, she quoted from part of a poem by Wordsworth to illustrate the inferior quality of a mechanical drawing compared with one that displayed self-expression (Nutt, 1916, p.29). She quoted from 'To a Skylark' by Shelley to illustrate the emotive image of that bird (Nutt, 1916, p. 37).

21. According to Efland (1990, pp. 116, 146), the Kantian 'idea that the mind could receive intuitive knowledge that transcended the limits of perception' explains how our ideas of morality arise in the sense that our knowledge 'of the sensory world cannot explain the existence of the moral law, that such understandings are intuitive'.

22. Nutt perceived God as manifest not only in the landscape and natural objects, but also in artefacts such as a simple jug or a cup. The sum total of these elements she termed 'the world of appearance' (Nutt 1935, p. 2). This concept underpins the title of her third textbook, The World of Appearance.

23. According to Efland (1990, pp. 130, 147), Harris who was born in Connecticut was appointed Commissioner of Education for the United States from 1889 until his retirement in 1906. Originally a transcendentalist he later adopted the absolute idealism of Hegel. His Hegelian philosophy 'provided a profoundly conservative argument for art, music and literature in general education as sources of moral teaching and as defenders of social institutions'.

1 According to Boller (1974, in Efland, 1990, p.115), North American Transcendentalism 'was a religious, philosophical, and literary movement in the history of American thought. In religion it was post-Unitarian; its philosophy was Kantian; and its literature was both romantic and individualistic'.

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CHAPTER 8: A RE-EVALUATION OF NUTT'S CAREER AND STATUS AS AN ART EDUCATOR

Introduction

As stated in the introduction to this thesis, the research as a whole set out to investigate Nutt’s early life and career in Britain with the aim of establishing her status as an art educator in the twentieth century and identifying reasons why she is not recorded in the history of art education in Britain. A decision was taken at the start to focus the research around three main concerns. These were (i) the lack of knowledge about Nutt’s early biography, from her birth in 1870 to her emigration to Canada in 1919 and the formative influences that shaped her British and Canadian careers; (ii) her teaching philosophy and educational aims, methods, content and outcomes as evidenced in her art textbooks, and (iii) her status as a female art educator in British art education history. Additionally, her career was investigated within the context of nineteenth and early twentieth century provision for British primary, secondary and higher education in general (Chapter 2), and European and British art movements which may have influenced her art.

The first stage of research collected and analysed data pertaining to her British biography from her birth in 1870 until 1919 when she emigrated to Canada to become principal of Nova Scotia College of Art and Design. This necessitated an investigation of her early family history and elementary teacher training from 1870 to 1891 as reported in Chapter 3. An investigation into her art teacher training at Sheffield School of Art between 1897 and 1903 was reported in Chapter 4 and postgraduate education from 1903 until 1915 was reported in Chapter 5. An examination of her professional career as an art educator, artist and art education author from 1904 to 1919 was reported in Chapter 6.
This biographical part of the research was shaped by a desire to find out which factors significantly influenced her philosophy of art and art education and contributed to her professional expertise. It endeavoured to determine which personal historical events and educational achievements shaped her formative childhood and adolescent years. Given her strong religious and artistic views, it seemed important to establish which individuals in this period of her life helped to form or significantly influence them. In this regard it was important also to discover which educational establishments influenced and guided her early religious beliefs and artistic theory and practice and to investigate the aims, methods, content and outcomes of the teacher training courses in which she enrolled as a student.

Likewise the research into her art teacher training at Sheffield School of Art, from 1897 to 1903, was underpinned by a desire to discover which formative factors and/or individuals associated with this School might have significantly influenced her art education philosophy and artistic practice, or contributed to her later distinguished career. It also sought to establish which art historical movements were reflected in her own student work, the extent of her involvement in the National Course of Instruction for Government Schools of Art and its influences on her Canadian curriculum.

Additionally it was necessary to investigate her extensive postgraduate art education between 1903 and 1915 in London, Paris, Florence and Sheffield. An attempt was made to determine which individuals and educational establishments had most influenced and guided her artistic theory and practice and views and which art historical movements were reflected in her artwork at this time.

The research into the development of Nutt’s professional career as an art educator, artist and art education author in Britain from 1904 to 1919 sought to identify and define what teaching appointments and pedagogic, artistic and literary abilities and expertise she had
acquired at the time and took with her to Canada. It was also directed towards determining the content, nature and outcomes of her elementary drawing curriculum as proposed in her publications originally serialized in the educational newspaper The Schoolmistress from 1913 to 1916.

The completed chronological account of Nutt’s biography set out in chapters 3 to 6 is more descriptive than interpretative and evaluative. In the second stage of the research, a decision was made to undertake a more detailed textual and theoretical analysis of her art textbooks in the context of others of the same historical period. This was reported in Chapter 7. It was carried out with the aim of extending the previous knowledge and understanding of her art teaching and curriculum acquired from the biography and of evaluating her status as a female writer on art education.

The data accumulated from Nutt’s biography and the textual and theoretical analysis of her art textbooks all point to the existence of an exceptional female art educator. The final stage in the research therefore, reported in Chapter 8, was to consider the data from the perspective of a researcher who is influenced by feminist concerns and values while doing the research. An attempt was made to determine Nutt’s status as an art educator in Britain in the twentieth century and explain why she is not yet recorded in the history of British art education. Issues of class and gender pertaining to the social position of women teachers and art educators in this period of British art education history and the apparent historical lack of female scholarship from the field were considered in this stage of the research. Additionally, it was motivated by the desire to explore alternative ways of understanding art education history that are fairer to women and which redress its present androcentric nature.

This concluding chapter is divided into four parts. The first part summarises the findings from the extended biography in the context of British education and art education from
1835 to 1920 and presents the textual and theoretical analysis of Nutt’s art textbooks. The second discusses these findings and draws conclusions regarding Nutt’s status as an art educator in Britain in the early twentieth century and about the effects of gender roles in Victorian society on her career. Additionally, conclusions are drawn concerning the androcentric nature of art education history. The third part offers suggestions for future research on Nutt and other women art educators. Finally the implications of this particular investigation both for future research and researchers in the history of British art education are reviewed.

Nutt’s Professional Career

British Education and Art Education 1835-1920

Elizabeth Nutt experienced an extensive Victorian education and teacher and art teacher training before establishing a professional career as an art educator in Sheffield in the early 1900s. The analysis of the history of the field in this research confirms that the second half of the nineteenth century was a time of unprecedented development in the provision of both general and art education in Britain. By the turn of the century, the provision of universal elementary education since 1870 and the growth of secondary education throughout the period had greatly expanded the number and variety of schools and education was offered to children of all social classes. However the system that comprised Elementary, Endowed, Private and Public Schools was governed by issues of gender and social class and did not offer equality of educational opportunity.

General educational opportunities for women were limited in the mid nineteenth century. Before the late 1840s there was no established pattern of general schooling for girls in that their education was considered an upper class activity and confined to the home. Upper and middle-class girls were trained to become good wives and mothers. Education for working-class girls before 1870 which was administered through charity or Sunday schools was scant and rudimentary. For the very poor, instruction other than in
morals and good habits was considered unnecessary. However, from the late 1850s, changes both in the perception and provision of women’s education at all levels slowly took place. These were accelerated by women’s social emancipation which advanced from the 1870s and reached its climax in the Suffragette Movement. The provision of Endowed, Private and Proprietary schools for middle class girls from the 1850s and especially the establishment of the Elementary Schools after 1870 offered some women employment as schoolmistresses and the prospect of a respectable professional career.

The nineteenth century also saw a rapid growth of art institutions and in art education in general in Britain. During this period, the first Schools of Design were established from 1837 with a view to producing designers for British industry. The narrow vocational art curriculum they practised was concerned almost exclusively with methods and techniques in applied rather than fine art. In 1852, Henry Cole, a pioneer in art education, became head of the Central School of Design. He introduced a national system of art education which included the National Course of Instruction, provision for art teacher training and the organization of drawing in the public day schools as an important part of the general school curriculum. This innovation changed the original and central aim of the Schools of Design from training artisans to training art teachers. The National Course of Instruction established by Cole, which was compulsory for those studying with the intention of gaining an art teaching certificate, was a rigorous art curriculum which could be adapted to different types of schools and requirements. It was divided into twenty-three stages of which the first twenty-one were strictly imitative. Uniformity and standardization were characteristics of this utilitarian and austerely practical curriculum which was regulated by strict rules. The same course was practised in Schools of Art until the turn of the century and continued to influence child education until the second world war. It is significant for this research that working and middle-class women who studied applied art at the Schools of Design with a view to finding employment as art teachers, or in industry, received a more equitable art education with men than middle and
upper-class women studying at fine art academies. Equality of training and the opportunity to participate in higher education and gain qualifications opened up the possibility of socially acceptable professional paid work for some women. The findings about Nutt's life and professional career in Britain in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries need to be assessed in the context of these exceptional developments in society, education, art education and of accelerated female participation in the field.

**Nutt’s Early Life and Family Background**

Elizabeth Nutt was born at Onchan in the Isle of Man on September 5, 1870. At the time of her birth her family occupied a large farm house called Onchan Grange, where her father Thomas Hardwood Nutt farmed and bred racehorses. Thomas Nutt, who had also previously farmed at Beeston in Nottinghamshire, had been raised as a gentleman by an aunt. Unfortunately, he was not trained to follow a trade or profession and within a few years the farm failed. There followed a period of hardship for the family in which he attempted to establish a butchers business. However, when this enterprise also failed, he set sail for Australia with a view to making his fortune there. Following his departure for the colonies, in the late 1870s, the family returned to the mainland and settled in Sheffield where his wife, Elizabeth Crabtree Nutt had family connections. After a number of years in Australia and Tasmania where he travelled, farmed sheep and prospected for silver, Thomas Nutt eventually achieved occupational success when, on August 19, 1884, he staked a claim in the Broken Hill Silver Mine. It had always been his intention to establish a home in Australia and, soon after, he set out to fetch his family. Tragically, on his way to the Australian coast he became very ill and died from pneumonia on May 18, 1886. It is probable that the exploits of her father, whom she regarded as a role model, influenced Nutt in the sense that she too was adventurous and eventually achieved a successful career in the colonies.
Thomas Nutt's death left his wife a widow at the age of forty-four with five children and little money. Evidence from the 1881 Census for the Municipal Park ward of Sheffield indicates that she established herself as a glass and china dealer and together with four of her five children lived at 16, South Street, an inner city area of Sheffield at this time. The change in family lifestyle from living in the small-scale, rural surroundings of the Isle of Man to the city of Sheffield, which had become greatly enlarged during the Industrial Revolution, together with their altered financial circumstances must have been devastating. But, Elizabeth Crabtree Nutt was sustained by an exceptionally strong religious faith and was therefore able to provide for her children a stable, loving and Christian family background (Nutt, 1932, pp. 2, 3). The research into her early life suggests that Nutt's strongly held religious views were rooted in this family background and significantly influenced by her mother in particular, to whom she was devoted.

Additional findings from the early biography are that Nutt's early religious beliefs were further reinforced, influenced and guided by the educational establishments she attended as a child and adolescent all of which embodied the faith of the established Anglican Church. They also point to the fact that she was gifted academically and, as a result, received an enlightened and superior education for a girl in the 1880's which prepared her for higher education and teacher training. In 1883, at the age of twelve and a half years, Nutt was fortunate to be selected from the local Park Board School to attend Sheffield's prestigious Central School. Opened three years earlier, in 1880, this was the first Higher-grade Board School in the country. It offered an exceptionally wide range of academic subjects to pupils, irrespective of gender and social class. Special attention was given to the training of those intending to become pupil teachers and financial support in the form of scholarships was provided where merited (Bunker, 1972, p. 180). It is probable that Nutt remained at the Central School as a pupil teacher until she enrolled at the Oxford Diocesan Training College for schoolmistresses in 1890, as a Queen's Scholar.
At the Oxford Training College, Nutt continued to experience a substantial and progressive education for a young woman in the 1890's. In addition to the comprehensive Training College syllabus, it offered an extended 'range of training and experience beyond the limits of the syllabus prescribed by the Department' (Education Department 1891, p. 82). This included, for example, instruction by lecturers from Oxford University, the Teachers' Guild and Association for the Education of Women. The curriculum also included preparation for the elementary school teacher's drawing certificate 'D', regulated by the Department of Science and Art which, at this time, consisted largely of repetitive mechanical imitative exercises designed to co-ordinate the hand and eye.

As might be expected of an Anglican College, this research established it had strong moralistic educational values and interpreted the function of art moralistically. This view of art is typified in the writings of the Rev. R. St. John Tyrwhitt, author of the government approved textbook *A Handbook of Pictorial Art* (1875). Tyrwhitt was an occasional lecturer and committee member of the college and his perception of women as intellectually and artistically inferior to men was typical of nineteenth century men in this kind of position. As demonstrated in a lecture given by him to students at the Oxford Training College and recorded in his book he believed they were better suited to a career in elementary rather than secondary education (Tyrwhitt, 1875, pp. 371, 376). However, the college did provide some positive role models for women in the form of dedicated, unmarried female lecturers and governesses.

The discovery during this research that Nutt's elementary teacher training took place at the Oxford Training College is important because it fills a previously unknown gap in her personal history and helps to explain her special interest in this level of art education. Her interest is clearly manifest in the choices she made in her British career which included a decision to specialize in the field of elementary drawing and teacher training.
and to write art textbooks for elementary school teachers. It is probable that, on completing her elementary teacher training at Oxford in 1891, Nutt returned to her home town of Sheffield. To date, the research has not definitively established whether or not she taught in one of the city’s elementary board schools for the next six years.

Sheffield School of Art

Nutt enrolled as a student at Sheffield School of Art from 1897 to 1903, possibly influenced by the example of her sister-in-law Gertrude Glover Nutt who had attended the School from 1886 to 1895. The research established that the period in which Nutt attended this School is the key to understanding her art education philosophy and practice which was significantly influenced by its ethos. Particularly influential were the rigorous curriculum, the teachers and students she studied with and the influence of the Arts and Crafts Movement, on her studies there.

The research established that the institution’s educational philosophy and curriculum content remained static for fifty years. The curriculum Nutt experienced as set out in the Fifty-seventh Annual Report of Sheffield School of Art (1901) corresponded with the rigorous imitative National Course of Instruction introduced by Henry Cole in 1852. Design sheets presented by Nutt for examination in the years 1900 and 1903 and held in the private collection of her niece, predominantly reflect the aims of the National Course of Instruction which was concerned with pedagogy rather than art. For example, they showed images of artefacts heavily overlaid with surface ornament, such as a tea service decorated with natural plant forms, a casket embellished with mythological figures and coloured drawings of antique Swedish jewellery in the Loan Collection of the South Kensington Museum. Although this is typical of the kind of work produced by students studying for government art examinations in nineteenth century Schools of Art, other artistic influences were detected. The inclusion of flowing lines in Nutt’s design for a
casket (1900) together with a rich colour combination of blues and turquoise suggested the influence of Art Nouveau which was at its height from about 1895 to 1905.

The instruction at Sheffield School of Art was described by Arthur Lismer as ‘arid, academic and devoid of inspiration’ (Tooby 1991, p. 3). However, there were a number of distinguished teachers and a talented and artistically successful peer group whose presence must have significantly influenced Nutt’s art education philosophy and artistic practice. For example, J. T. Cook, who was appointed Master in 1881 and was a fine artist, was one of her teachers. Likewise, she named Henry Archer, a practising designer designated Second Master in the same year and A. C. C. Jahn, a designer and craftsman appointed as headmaster in 1905, as her tutors (Information the National Gallery of Canada). The research also revealed that the known period when Nutt attended, from 1897 to 1903, was one of optimism and success for the School in terms of student achievement. Among the student body between 1890 and 1910 were outstanding designers such as Omar Ramsden and Alywin Carr and artists, such as Charles Sargeant Jagger, who continued their studies at the Royal College of Art and gained national recognition. Also, among her contemporaries there were students who later emigrated to Canada where they too gained recognition as artists and art educators in the early twentieth century. These included Arthur Lismer, Frederick Varley and H. H. Stansfield.

According to Soucy (1987, p. 11) a significant part of Nutt’s Canadian curriculum was committed to the training of the artist-worker and to the concept of ‘art education through production’. A finding of this research was that her concept of the artist-worker was formed during her period of study at Sheffield School of Art and derived mainly from two sources. It was influenced first by her long training in the applied arts and secondly by the artistic and moral philosophy of the Arts and Crafts Movement to which she was introduced during this period of her teacher training. The education of prospective art
workers was a fundamental aim of the teacher training course at Sheffield and as a specialist teacher of art and future art master, she was prepared in the instruction of artisans, designers and specialist and elementary teachers of drawing. However, her publications (e.g. Nutt, 1916, p. 6) suggest a broader concept of vocational art education than that prescribed by the established National Government curriculum. Her concept of the artist-worker drew upon the philosophy of the Arts and Crafts Movement and the doctrines of its major proponents Ruskin, Morris and Crane. The Movement, which was both moralistic and aesthetic in intent brought about a revival of traditional craftsmanship (Pevsner, 1991; Naylor, 1990). It originated in Britain towards the end of the nineteenth century and reached its climax there in the 1890s.

The research found that, at the beginning of the twentieth century, Sheffield School of Art reflected the national interest in the Arts and Crafts Movement as demonstrated by the appointment of A. C. C. Jahn as headmaster in 1905. It also found that Nutt had a strong affinity for the romantic moral and artistic philosophy of John Ruskin who advocated ‘the joy of craftsmanship’ previously found in the Middle Ages. In his book entitled the Seven Lamps of Architecture (1849) Ruskin argued that making artefacts by hand, as medieval craftsmen had done, was an honourable occupation synonymous with ‘making with joy’ (Pevsner, 1990, p. 23). Examples of his art work and teachings were exhibited in the Ruskin Museum in Sheffield where, at the turn of the century, they offered students like Nutt an alternative vision of art to the one prescribed by the rather utilitarian curriculum at Sheffield School of Art. Canadian research has established parallels between Nutt’s and Crane’s notions of the artist-worker (Soucy and Pearse, 1993, p. 101). Crane’s educational philosophy, which advocated an understanding of the design process through ‘hands on’ production, introduced the Arts and Crafts Movement into public art education. Additionally, his publications and design theories were influential in the Schools of Art in the 1890s and the early twentieth century, especially in manufacturing regions of England such as Sheffield. Overall, the research
found that Nutt’s concept of the artist-worker was based upon her training in the applied arts at Sheffield School of Art, the beliefs and ideology of the Arts and Crafts Movement, and the ideas of two of its leading advocates John Ruskin and Walter Crane.

Nutt’s Postgraduate Education

The research found that following a lengthy period of higher education at the Oxford Diocesan Training College and Sheffield School of Art, Nutt undertook yet more studies in London, Paris, Florence, Newlyn and Sheffield. A conclusion was drawn that these studies also played an important part in her subsequent development both as a painter and an art educator in the following ways.

The Royal College of Art

Following her graduation as an Art Master from Sheffield School of Art in 1903, Nutt attended a short course at the Royal College of Art (MacLean’s Magazine, 1928), most probably organized in the Design Department which was newly formed in 1901. In the early 1900s, this department strongly reflected the ‘hands on’ philosophy of the Arts and Crafts Movement and the ideology of the artist-craftsman. The latter was introduced into the curriculum by Walter Crane who was briefly the College’s headmaster from 1898 to 1899 and the staff included distinguished craftsmen many of whom were members of the Art Workers Guild. A finding of the research is that the period Nutt spent at the Royal College of Art was significant in the sense that it undoubtedly strengthened and extended her philosophy of the artist-worker which was central to her Canadian curriculum at Nova Scotia College of Art.

The research established that it is likely that Nutt experienced gender bias and discrimination during this short course. For example, Tickner (1989, p.28) noted that Sylvia Pankhurst, the famous suffragette and leading campaigner for women’s suffrage, who was a National Scholar and studied at the Royal College of Art from 1904 to 1906
encountered a level of discrimination against women students that disturbed her'. It is also likely that as a suffragette, Nutt encountered other members of this movement at the Royal College of Art. Additionally, the research found that although women received equal training opportunities with men at the RCA they experienced postgraduate discrimination in employment. According to Frayling (1987, p.74) very few women graduates sustained 'a career in the subject or subjects they had studied at the RCA' or found employment in the 'art schools, secondary schools or private academies' even though a substantial proportion 'were fully qualified art teachers' and highly trained. It is possible that Nutt's experience of gender bias and increased self-confidence gained through association with national designers at the Royal College of Art reinforced a desire to establish a substantial career of her own as an art educator and help other women achieve gainful employment this way. At Nova Scotia College of Art and Design for example she worked hard to create and increase vocational and educational opportunities for women through her curriculum.

Paris

Following her art teacher training at Sheffield School of Art and the short course at the Royal College of Art, Nutt was awarded a freelance travelling scholarship, tenable for one year, which she undertook in Paris from 1903 to 1904. This form of postgraduate education was typical of the pattern followed by successful English art students in the early 1900s. In Paris, Nutt attended the Sorbonne University (Montreal Standard 2.18.39). It is probable that at this time, attendance at courses at the Sorbonne was loose and informal offering students the opportunity to live in Paris and absorb the cultural milieu. Nutt may have attended lectures in art history or have followed a course of independent study in Parisian galleries, such as the Louvre. She may also have had the opportunity to visit one of the ateliers, such as the Academie Julian which admitted and encouraged women artists (Zimmerman, 1989, p. 169), or the Paris Salon where she later exhibited paintings (Halifax Mail, 3.28.46). As a female art student studying
abroad, Nutt would have led a more solitary and restricted life than her male counterparts, probably confined to daily educational visits to the Sorbonne or to art galleries and occasional escorted excursions to places of amusement or to a restaurant (Holland, 1904, p226). The facility to mix freely in the art schools, ateliers and cafes enjoyed by men would have been denied to her thereby inhibiting her ability to discuss and develop theories about painting in more congenial surroundings away from the academic confines of the colleges. However, despite the restrictions placed upon women students at the turn of the century, Paris was a dynamic and exciting city and the capital of a country in the vanguard of European painting. The period of Nutt’s postgraduate study there is likely to have broadened her pedagogic approach and increased her understanding of art historical movements such as, Realism, Impressionism, Pointillism, Neo-Impressionism and Fauvism. Nutt described them enthusiastically in a National Council of Education radio broadcast she delivered in Canada entitled, The Importance of Modern French Art to the World on March, 4, 1935.

Florence

Although this investigation has not identified the exact dates of Nutt’s postgraduate studies in Florence, Italy it is probable that they took place either in the early to mid 1890s, after she had completed her elementary teacher training in Oxford but before she attended Sheffield School of Art; or they may have occurred in the early 1900s following her time in Paris, France. According to records from the Pupil Teacher Centre in Sheffield, her personal testimony set out in the Information Form of the National Gallery of Canada and from contemporary articles in the Canadian Press, Nutt studied painting in Florence with the Italian artist Professor Simi for a period of ‘two years’ (Haviland, 1939). It is likely that her studies resembled those undertaken by Prix de Rome students at the French Academy in Rome. In addition to studio work she probably engaged in supervised outings to the outskirts of the city to sketch landscapes or monuments. During this time, she also studied Renaissance painting and art history in the Florentine
monasteries and art galleries (MacLean's Magazine Dec. 1, 1928). Her knowledge and appreciation of this art historical movement are reflected in her publications in the form of imaginative short stories about Renaissance figures, such as, the Florentine sculptor Donatello and the architect and sculptor Brunelleschi (Nutt, 1916, pp. 1-4). Nutt later employed her knowledge of Renaissance painting to illustrate the content of her lessons on subjects such as tone and perspective (Nutt, 1935a, p. 6).

Newlyn

Following her postgraduate work in Europe, Nutt continued her art education with further study at the Newlyn School of Painting under the tutelage of the British artist Stanhope Forbes R. A., a leading first generation painter in the Newlyn School. This circle was originally formed by a group of artists who worked in the fishing village of Newlyn in Cornwall in the late 1880s and 1890s. The school was influenced by emerging knowledge and understanding of developments in painting taking place in France in the second half of the nineteenth century and by Realism, the dominant art movement. The work of the French artist Bastien-Lepage, of whom Forbes was a devoted disciple, was typical of the form of Realism popular in France and Britain during that time. It depicted ordinary people, such as peasants and artisans in their natural surroundings and stressed the harshness of their daily work. In the mid 1880s, the Newlyn School gained critical acclaim as pioneers in British painting and for their distinctive strand of Realism. Their work featured detailed portrayals of working-class people and was particularly concerned with the aesthetic effects of composition and tone. It reflected French painting techniques and methods, such as plein air painting (open-air painting) and the use of a square brush.

In the early 1900s, Nutt was one of many students who enrolled in drawing and painting courses at the Newlyn School of Painting founded by Elizabeth and Stanhope Forbes in 1899. At this school students worked from casts in the Meadow Studios. Additionally,
they painted and drew from clothed models who were typically local villagers such as fishermen who posed for them outside in good weather. They also painted from the nude. The school offered a full social life in the apparently idyllic Edwardian years before the First World War. A comparison of two paintings by Forbes and Nutt (see Chapter 5, p. 25) revealed marked similarities of style and approach. For example, both paintings were worked in the open air, featured broad brush strokes and portrayed working-class women in their natural environments. Furthermore, both paintings demonstrated careful observation of colour, form, shape and an exploration of tonal values created by strong sunlight. This suggested that Nutt’s development as a painter was strongly influenced by Forbes’ teaching and the Realist art movement as a whole. The influence of Realism on her early twentieth century English paintings such as in ‘By the Wayside’ (1925) may also have been reinforced by her experience of postgraduate studies in Paris in the early 1900s where paintings by Bastien-Lepage and the Juste-Milieu group were extensively displayed.

Sheffield University 1910-1915.

After completing a part-time course in Greek Art at Sheffield University from 1910 to 1911, Nutt enrolled upon an Art Master’s Diploma Course at Sheffield University from 1912 to 1914. The scheme for the award of an Art Master’s Diploma was initiated by the University after consultation with three other northern universities; namely, Manchester, Liverpool and Leeds and the course was intended to provide university diplomas for students preparing to become art teachers. In Sheffield, the two year course in ancient and modern history, ancient art, French, aesthetics and education was administered by the university in collaboration with the School of Art. However, according to Chapman (1955, p.219) this intensely academic course was ‘over-weighed with pure scholarship’ and soon collapsed.
In 1914, Nutt was one of only four Sheffield students ever to complete and gain an Art Master’s Diploma from the university. In the same year, she was awarded a Fellowship from the British National Society of Art Masters for her thesis on the Teaching of Colour in Schools (Schroder, 1914, p. 105). The award of an Art Master’s Diploma from Sheffield University, together with an Elementary Teachers’ Certificate and an Art Master’s Certificate, Group 1 from Sheffield School of Art, afforded Nutt a professional status enjoyed by few, if any women art educators in the UK. That she successfully completed the arduous diploma course which conferred university degree status upon her, is testimony to her scholastic abilities. Following the course, Nutt continued her postgraduate studies with evening classes in English and classical archaeology from 1914 to 1915. In combining a lengthy and demanding period of study with a career, therefore, Nutt demonstrated not only commitment to art education but also stamina and a personal will to succeed professionally.

Nutt’s extensive postgraduate studies in London, Paris, Florence, Newlyn and Sheffield undoubtedly broadened her previous subject and pedagogical knowledge including her understanding of artistic movements such as the Renaissance, Realism and the Arts and Crafts Movement. They underpinned her later development as an artist, art educator and art education author. The analyses of the textbooks suggest that Nutt taught from an exceptionally strong base of subject knowledge and had confidence in her own artistic ability. Additionally it is a finding of this research that she had outstanding scholastic abilities and writing skills as evidenced in her studies at Sheffield University which probably contributed to her success as a writer on the subject of art education.

**Nutt’s Professional Career 1904-1919**

The research into Nutt’s professional career between 1904 and 1919 established that she developed her pedagogic, artistic and literary skills to the full in this period achieving a
successful career in Sheffield as an art educator and artist and national distinction as an art education author.

During this period, she gained experience as a lecturer in higher education and established herself nationally as a specialist in the field of elementary drawing. In 1904 she was selected as the first Mistress in Charge of the newly opened Firs Hill Branch School of Art. This institution, which was an extension of Sheffield School of Art, provided evening classes for artisans and teachers studying the various stages of the School of Art Course of Instruction. She also taught drawing at the Sheffield Pupil Teacher Centre from 1898 to 1919 and at the Sheffield Training College from 1907 to 1919. In 1912 she was appointed Teacher of Special Teachers' Classes at Sheffield School of Art. Her appointment to this position, which she also held until 1919 and which necessitated her making lecture demonstrations to head and assistant teachers employed in Sheffield elementary schools, suggests that she was widely regarded as an exemplary teacher. However, her teaching appointments were all part-time, included evening class work and probably did not amount to more than a total of fifteen to twenty hours per week. A review of City of Sheffield Education Committee Handbooks of Information for the years 1906-1919 found that, although she was highly trained, qualified and experienced, she did not secure a prestigious full-time appointment in a city in which all the senior positions in the School of Art were held by men.

It was a finding from the research into this phase of her professional career that in addition to her teaching commitments Nutt involved herself fully in the social life at Sheffield School of Art. In particular, she was a member of the School's Amateur Dramatic Society and editor of the Sheffield Technical School of Art Students Magazine from 1918 to 1919. Research into her social involvement in the School also established that, in the early 1900s, Sheffield School of Art was comprised of a group of people who made a considerable contribution to the artistic life of the city through their involvement in
local societies, such as, the Heeley Art Club and the Sheffield Society of Art. The group included Nutt and future Canadian émigré artists and art educators, such as Arthur Lismer and Frederick Varley. At the turn of the century, Sheffield took great pride in educational institutions, such as the School of Art and Sheffield University, and worked hard to promote a climate of civic interest in art and the concept of the artist-craftsman. A conclusion, therefore, of this research is that Nutt's career in England was strongly influenced and supported by the local and professional environment of Sheffield in which she practised.

Throughout her entire teaching career Nutt remained a practising artist and exhibited her work internationally in prestigious galleries such as, the Royal Academy and Tate Galleries in London, the Paris Salon in France and the Royal Canadian Academy and National Gallery of Canada. A finding of the research into her artistic development is that, post 1919, she is remembered predominantly as a painter of landscapes depicting scenic views of areas in and around Sheffield, England and Halifax Nova Scotia. Her Realist paintings like 'By the Wayside' (1925), completed in Britain between 1922 and 1928, were executed in a style of rustic naturalism reminiscent of British Impressionism at the turn of the century. Her Canadian works, such as 'Winter, North West Arm, Halifax' (1927) painted in the same period, however, emphasise the scale and beauty of the Canadian landscape. The research also found that she practised as a miniature portrait painter. Examples of this work, painted on ivory between 1903 and 1933, include faithful representations of individual family members, all of which were skilfully and accurately painted and were probably copied from photographs. Additionally, she exhibited a miniature of her grandfather, Henry Styring, at the Royal Academy in 1909 (de Laperriere, 1985).

Nutt developed her skills as a specialist writer on the subject of teaching drawing to children between 1910 and 1919. She contributed regularly to publications in the
periodical press, such as, the Children's Magazine and the weekly educational newspaper The Schoolmistress from 1911 to 1916. Articles which appeared in serial form in this magazine formed the source material for her art textbooks. They were written as a resource for elementary school teachers and served as a channel to communicate her curriculum and expertise to this audience. Findings about Nutt's British curriculum are discussed in the next section of this chapter which reports on the textual and theoretical analysis of her textbooks.

By the second decade of the twentieth century, Nutt had established a professional reputation in Britain as an art educator at both local and national levels. The research established that this reputation was founded upon the pedagogic expertise she had gained through her extensive teacher training and postgraduate education, her wide experience of teaching in primary and higher education and her prominence as a Fellow of the National Society of Art Masters. Among its members she was regarded as 'a most enthusiastic teacher' (Journal Society of Art Masters 1918, p.204), a view later shared by an article in the Canadian Press that described her as 'a born teacher, endowed with a gift of inspiring others' (Halifax Mail, 283.46). Her reputation in England pre 1919 was further strengthened by her local standing in Sheffield as a landscape and miniature painter. It was also enhanced by her national prominence as an art education author and, in particular, by the publication of her first textbook entitled Flower Drawing with the Children, in 1916.

In 1919, at the age of forty-nine, Nutt was invited to become Principal of the Victoria School of Art and Design, Nova Scotia on the recommendation of the incumbent head, her former student friend, Arthur Lismer. The comparison of her British and Canadian curricula undertaken in this research suggested that the curriculum she first set up in Canada was based upon the British national system of art education. It reflected her long training in the applied arts at Sheffield School of Art, the influence of the Arts and Crafts
Movement, her concept of the artist-worker and personal practice as a painter. It was
underpinned by a system of scholarships and certificates she instigated and set out to
provide vocational training for both artisans and teachers. Additionally, the drawing
component she devised was influential in the public schools of Halifax, Nova Scotia
where instruction, based upon copying simple shapes or objects from texts or from the
blackboard, was supervised by staff at the School of Art (Pearse and Soucy, 1993, pp.
86-88).

This research into Nutt’s professional career in Britain from 1904 to 1919 found that she
was unique among women in terms of her qualifications. It established that she was an
exceptionally able, experienced and enthusiastic teacher of art and design. Additionally it
determined that she achieved a reputation in Britain as an art education author and
distinction in Sheffield as an artist. Nevertheless her talents were not fully recognized or
rewarded in her home country. She never secured a senior position in the profession
which, in 1918, she contemplated leaving in order to pursue her own work (Varley, in
Tooby 1991, n.p.). However, as already discussed, she was invited to become Principal
of the Victoria School of Art and Design in 1919, an opportunity which she accepted
unhesitatingly and which led to the realization of an outstandingly successful late career
as an art educator in Nova Scotia, Canada.

Nutt’s Art Textbooks
In the early 1900s, prior to her emigration to Canada, Nutt developed her professional
skills as a specialist writer on the subject of teaching children to draw. This research into
her art texts found that the articles she published between 1913 and 1916, in serial form
in The Schoolmistress, helped to establish her reputation as an art education writer in
Britain, in particular among elementary school teachers. Additionally, the investigation
found that she compiled a selection of articles from this journal to form the content of her
first textbook entitled, Flower Drawing with the Children published in 1916. Publication
of this work both reinforced and enhanced her standing in the field as an art educator and
art education author. Altogether she privately published three art textbooks called Flower
Drawing with the Children (1916), (reprinted under the title "Significance, "or Flower
Drawing with the Children in 1921), The "Why" in the Drawing Lesson (1929), and The
World of Appearance Part II (1935). The greater part of the latter publication also first
appeared in serial form in The Schoolmistress.

This research has shown that the period from 1913 to 1935, when Nutt wrote and
published her art texts, was one of great social and economic change in Britain,
precipitated principally by the impact of the 1914-18 First World War. It has also
determined that an exciting blend of spiritual, aesthetic and scientific ideas and influences,
such as Romanticism and the scientific development of psychology, were absorbed into
British national culture at the beginning of the twentieth century. Many of these
influences and ideas were reflected in the professional literature and practice of art
education and found expression in Nutt’s publications. However, the analysis of her art
textbooks revealed an eclectic conception of art education that combined a wider range of
nineteenth and twentieth century spiritual, aesthetic and scientific influences than is usual
in other textbooks of this period. They incorporated a nineteenth century philosophy of
romantic religious idealism, innovative early twentieth century art education theory and
practice and post first World War expressionist practices associated with creative self-
expression.

The investigation into Nutt’s texts found that her aims for art education at primary level
were spiritual and moral and reflected deeply held religious values and beliefs. Her
philosophy of art education was underpinned by a strong Christian faith and drew upon
romantic religious ideals that connected aesthetics, religion and morality. This
philosophy was first voiced by German idealists, such as Hegel, Schelling and Schlegel
and found expression in the arts through the Romantic Movement. Romanticism in art
was epitomized in Britain in the writings of the influential social and art critic John Ruskin who believed that God was imminent in nature and that art became religion when it gave expression to His greatest creation, nature. He helped to create a climate of opinion in which art education was generally regarded by the public, clergy and educational establishment as a medium for raising public morals and as a source of public socialization. This research found that Nutt was strongly influenced by Ruskin. In her texts she professed the same romantic religious beliefs concerning God’s presence in nature, and referred to art education as a tool of spiritual and moral learning (Nutt, 1935, pp. 1-2).

The research established that Nutt’s curriculum had two main goals. The first was to instil in children an appreciation of beauty in nature and the second was to develop their self-expression through art. Both these goals were romantic in essence and instrumental in the sense that they supported her stated aim to unfold ‘the God-like in our scholars’ (Nutt, 1916, p. 29). But, although her aims and goals were rooted in nineteenth century artistic and educational ideals, her curriculum content was characteristic of innovative early twentieth century art education theory and practice approaching World War I in that it focused mainly upon drawing from nature, objects and memory. Of particular significance is the fact that her curriculum organization and outcomes were deliberately designed to allow a degree of personal experience and originality. In the context of the historical period concerned this was innovative in comparison to the highly structured outcomes and organization recommended by other art education textbooks, such as Nelson’s New Drawing Course by J. Vaughan (1907). Moreover, her approach to evaluation which emphasized both self-expression and accuracy of personal observation was very ‘progressive’ at the time she first published her texts between 1913 and 1916.

Additionally, Nutt’s artistic practice strongly influenced her curriculum. Like Cizek and Richardson she regarded children as artists in their own right and tried to develop in them
some of the principles she adhered to in her own artistic practice. The romantic religious appreciation of beauty in nature which was central to Nutt’s personal aesthetic for example was translated in her curriculum aims and goals. Additionally, the concern with emotive renderings of feelings for the English landscape evident in her artwork undoubtedly contributed to the formulation of her goal of self-expression in art education and her emphasis on expressive outcomes. Consequently, this inquiry has concluded that Nutt should be acknowledged as one of the first British artist-teachers to contribute to the development of the expressionist practises in art education which later became known as creative self-expression.

Nutt’s original texts were written to assist elementary and, in particular, infant school teachers in their work. It is a key finding of this part of the inquiry that they merit equal status with other textbooks written by men in terms of their quality, for a number of reasons. First, when compared with similar early twentieth century publications written by men, her two major publications Flower Drawing with the Children (1916) and The World of Appearance Part II (1935) demonstrate an equivalent depth of subject knowledge and professional experience and expertise. Second, her texts are as scholarly as those of the same period written by men, in the sense that they display an equal if not more profound understanding of aesthetics and art education than was usually the case with mainstream elementary art textbooks. Third, the quality of her writing was stimulating. Her texts were written in polished poetic prose, reminiscent of the English romantic poets, such as Wordsworth and Shelly, unlike the practical rather dry language used in standard texts by men. Nutt’s scholarship, educational expertise and stimulating literary style, together with her reputed commitment to art education is readily apparent in her texts and undoubtedly contributed to her success as an author and the positive reception to her books.
Research into possible gender differences in the content of Nutt’s art texts established that the educational philosophy they encapsulated was different from that of the men writing similar textbooks in the sense that it offered a broader, more child centred educational approach, that included the criterion of self-expression, than was usual in elementary education in the early twentieth century. Moreover, it found that although the texts were predominantly gender neutral, on occasion they demonstrated a cognizant feminine consciousness in the sense that they recommended the work of women painters and advocated female artistic equality and, in some cases, artistic superiority with men. The research found that Nutt’s educational philosophy did not change over time. But it concluded that her texts were based upon extensive artistic, aesthetic and educational expertise and that, when they were first published in the years between 1913 and 1916, they were both inspiring and progressive.

Gender Bias in Art Education

Nutt’s Status as an Art Educator in Britain

Nutt is recognized as a key figure in art education in Nova Scotia and as a leader of the field, yet despite her obvious ability and exceptional amount of teacher training and expertise she failed to secure a senior position in the profession in Britain. This suggests that gender distinctions and discrimination against women in British institutional structures may have prevented her gaining a prominent position in the profession, not a lack of scholarship or educational expertise. A tentative conclusion is that in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries patriarchal control and administration of the profession’s institutions, such as the Schools of Art probably made it very difficult, if not impossible, for women to achieve professional success in art education on the same footing as men. However, further research into academic records across the nation, for example into Education Committee Handbooks which document details of appointments, positions and annual salaries together with comparisons with other women art educators are needed to establish if this claim is true. The dominant male point of view, which
interpreted women’s position in the profession as inferior and regarded them as better suited to child caring than high office, was probably accepted as part of the established ‘natural’ order and determined the preconditions for vocational status and success. A typical male perspective of women’s professional status at the time is illustrated by a statement in the Art-Journal of 1872 that: ‘doubtless many of the classes in schools may be taught by women, but, if so, only in subordinate positions’ (March, p.65).

Nutt did not reach the peak of her professional potential in Britain. Despite her extensive pedagogic, artistic and scholastic achievements she remained a college lecturer and did not achieve headship of a status institution like Sheffield School of Art. Nevertheless, within the institutional structures that governed the profession she did achieve a leadership role, particularly among elementary school teachers, at both local and national level. In Sheffield she was distinguished as a specialist art teacher trainer on the staff of all the major higher education colleges in the city, achieving ‘marked popularity among elementary school teachers’ for the development of a ‘post-certificate course’ at Sheffield School of Art (Sheffield Daily Telegraph, July 3, 1919, p. 4). At a national level she extended her curriculum and vision of art education to them through weekly articles circulated in The Schoolmistress and through her first art textbook entitled Flower Drawing with the Children (1916). Although this book had a limited circulation and was published privately, it was used in British universities and schools and enhanced her status as a scholar and art educator in Britain.

The research has found that Nutt contributed to the child centred debate which emerged in the 1890s and advocated a self-expressive approach to art education in her curriculum, newspaper articles and publications. Although she proposed a distinctive approach, her curriculum was ambiguous in the way that it combined nineteenth century romantic religious and expressionist art education theory and practice. In the spiritual and religious atmosphere approaching World War I it was well received within the field, but revisited a
previous age for inspiration. A conclusion, therefore, is that although it can be understood as progressive in the sense that it offered a broader, more expressive educational philosophy than was typical in elementary education at the time, she cannot be credited with initiating a major innovation equivalent to that of the 'New Art Teaching' pioneered by Marion Richardson.

Nutt's status in the field in Britain was strengthened through membership of the prestigious National Society of Art Masters, one of the leading authorities on art and design education. When she first joined this select society in 1904 its membership was confined to 'Headmasters of Schools of Art or those qualified to occupy the position by possession of the Art Masters Certificate' (Sutton, 1967, p. 231). It was an overwhelmingly male dominated association as is illustrated by the report of the Society's Proceedings at the Sixteenth Annual Meeting (Society of Art Masters 1904) July 27 and 28. With the exception of the treasurer, all executive and honorary positions were held by men who set the conference agenda. The records of meetings show that women did not verbally participate in the proceedings and all discursive contributions to the Society's business were made by men. Male predominance was also reflected in the composition of the Society's membership. For example, Nutt's name was recorded in a list of 249 subscribing members for the year 1904 of which 19 were women (p.41). In 1914 she was awarded a fellowship by the society for her thesis on the Teaching of Colour in Schools (Schroder, 1914, p. 105). As one of only nine conferred in Britain the award is evidence of her active participation in this major British art education organization. Moreover it demonstrates not only scholastic achievement but also a degree of professional recognition of her status in a highly competitive and male dominated field.

Nutt established a professional career in Britain but never achieved a headship. It is possible to argue that had equal opportunity existed at the time she would have attained control of a major school of art, such as Sheffield or Birmingham and her professional
capabilities would have been recognized and reflected in levels of promotion and salary. Because she did not achieve this kind of post her name has not been included in standard art education history books together with those of A. C. C. Jahn who was headmaster of Sheffield School of Art from 1905 to 1924 or R. Catterson-Smith who was headmaster of Birmingham School of Arts and Crafts from 1903 to 1920. In Britain at this time a well established and generative system of public art education produced a plentiful supply of male graduates amply able to fill positions of leadership in the profession, a factor which debatably negated the need to utilize female talent. In the less regulated and competitive colonial provinces of Canada, which lacked a national system for art education, there were pioneering opportunities for British art educators who were able to deliver the coveted South Kensington system of art education. In that context, Nutt achieved the professional success and status denied her in Britain.

Feminism and Art Education History.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, gender and class distinctions which were unquestioned shaped and formed the way in which women were viewed. Accordingly to Purvis (1991, pp. 4-5) although ‘different ideals of femininity were espoused for women in different social classes’, overall, the middle-class notion of ‘separate spheres for the sexes was pervasive’. The ‘separate spheres’ model which was employed by the Victorian bourgeoisie to interpret gender relations isolated men and women in separate worlds which were divided into male and female characteristics and vocations. Men were associated with the public domain of paid work while women were believed to be inferior to men and were identified with the private sphere of the home and attributes of service. Women’s lives were constructed around ideas of their biological difference from men and the importance attributed to their reproductive and nurturing roles.

For middle and upper-class women the only occupational goal approved by society was marriage, a situation universally acclaimed as ‘women’s happiest vocation’.
Journal (1872, p. 103). However, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the achievement of that ideal proved impossible for an escalating number of unmarried women who were perceived by the Victorian public as a growing social problem. Within the highly stratified Victorian society their need to engage in paid work represented a threat to the established social order. This dilemma was reflected and comprehensively discussed in the Victorian periodical press. For example, Pearson (1894, p. 561) wrote 'there are two, and we might almost say only two, great problems of modern social life - they are the problem of women and the problem of labour'.

According to Keegan (1999, p. 9), the number of women in work at the beginning of the twentieth century stood at 13 million and exceeded that of men at 10 million. Despite the preoccupation with the marital status of middle-class women at the time in the press, in reality, whether as spinsters forced to support themselves or as married lower-middle or working-class women who were obliged to supplement the family income, the majority of Victorian women were employed in the labour force. In addition many working-class women were employed in very poorly paid 'home-based sweated work (such as sewing)'. Although they were recompensed for their labour, they 'were primarily seen as “housewives”' (Purvis, 1991, p.5). The majority of working-class women employed outside the home worked in low paid menial occupations such as in the textile industry or domestic service.

The teaching profession has historically provided training and career opportunities for women. In the mid nineteenth century some middle-class women who were unmarried and, therefore, financially impoverished found employment as governesses (Callen, 1979, p.25). According to Cherry (1993, p. 157) they occupied an ambivalent social position in the sense that they were considered educated and usually belonged to the same social group as their employers and they assumed the amateur status of a lady. In this regard 'the essence of the lady-teacher's role was in fact quite simply to be a lady'.
However, as a wage earner with no male support, their social status was closer to that of a working-class domestic servant. This uneasy and contradictory class position often consigned them to a lonely, dependent and socially isolated life (Callen, 1970, p. 24). Art education was considered an appropriate female occupation in the sense that it could be interpreted as a natural continuation of traditional female accomplishments. From the 1840s and 1850s ‘many middle-class women attended art classes with a view to increasing their desirability as governesses’ and ‘flooded’ classes originally designed for working-class women and artisans (Callen, 1979, pp. 24-25).

The provision of middle-class endowed, private and propriety schools from the 1850s and, in particular, the establishment of elementary schools after 1870 offered some women the prospect of a professional career as a schoolmistress. Additionally, some women, such as Nutt, practised as specialist art teachers in the government Art Schools. However, following the Education Act of 1870, which enabled free and compulsory elementary education, the majority of women working in the teaching profession in Britain were employed in elementary schools designed to cater for lower class children (Lawson and Silver, 1973, p. 314, 318).

Copelman (1996, p. xv) suggested that, from the late nineteenth century, women teachers experienced a ‘different process of gender formation’ from that of other women. She explained that elementary teachers, who taught art as an important part of the school curriculum, were selected from comfortable working-class and lower-middle-class ‘families who did not rigidly divide the world into male and female spheres...and in general did not consider paid work inappropriate for women’. Women such as Nutt, therefore, who trained both as an elementary and specialist art teacher, were able to participate in higher education and professional paid work and enjoy an independent lifestyle that was considered both respectable and socially acceptable.
When the Elementary Education Act was passed in 1870 women constituted about half the active teaching force. However, by 1895, their number had increased to around three-fifths (Lawson and Silver, 1973, p. 332). As this research has suggested although women were numerically dominant in elementary education, men continued to control its institutions and occupy senior administrative and teaching positions. One example, as Copelman (1996, p. 50) has pointed out, is that 'elementary schools were divided into three departments - infants, girls and boys'. Whereas the first two divisions were staffed by women the last, which was regarded as professionally more prestigious and as offering greater career potential, was taught by men. That this situation was regarded as 'normal' was made clear by Tyrwhitt in a lecture to the students at the Oxford Training College when he said: 'as your pupils go on to higher instruction...so...they pass into men's hands (1875, p. 370). Women were also accorded fewer career opportunities than men and in some cases were denied them altogether.

While the lofty ranks of government inspectorships were reserved for Oxbridge graduates, male elementary school teachers could hope to rise to government assistant or sub-inspectors, and they could aspire to work for local education authorities. Women, on the other hand, could hope, like men, for headships or to teach in a training college; inspectorships and other positions were closed to them unless they were linked to a gender-specific aspect of elementary education, such as needlework or cooking. (Copelman, 1996, p. 50).

In addition to unequal career opportunities women's subordinate position in the profession was reflected in separate pay scales for men and women. For example, in 1885 the national average wage for a certificated assistant master in elementary education was £119 per annum compared to a national average of £72 for a certificated assistant mistress (Copelman, 1996, p. 76). Although there was financial inequality within the profession, compared with other recognized female occupations such as nursing, women teachers earned enough money to support an independent lifestyle. For example, the weekly educational newspaper The Schoolmistress (January 27, 1916) to which Nutt
regularly contributed articles on the specialist subject of teaching children to draw, characterized them as a financially independent social and professional group. This publication, which was targeted at elementary school teachers, contained advertisements for expensive fashion, jewellery and furniture items and offered credit to pay for them. However, in reality, although women teachers were able to support themselves financially they often encountered problems of poor housing, economic austerity and loneliness. Women like Nutt often lived at home and were expected to contributed to the family income. Many others lived independently in cheap rented lodgings, sometimes with a friend, or in hostel accommodation where they endeavoured 'to present a decent appearance on the meagre salaries grudgingly paid' (Yoxall, 1916, p. 144).

Although there was no national legislation forbidding married women from entering the teaching profession Davies notes there was a strong climate of opinion, which determined their accepted role in Victorian and Edwardian society and dictated that they should 'give up their business on entering that other business of marriage' (Davies, 1910, p.14). While some married women teachers did continue to work, generally they were expected either to resign upon marriage or to remain single and dedicated to their profession³. 'Invested with a strong moral force, spinsterhood and celibacy were advocated as the grounds on which women participated in the public world' (Cherry, 1993, p. 45). However, spinsterhood held some advantages. Although they were often lonely and impoverished unlike their married counterparts, some spinsters were able to develop professional careers and have complete control over the money they earned. This seems to have been the case with Nutt.

Women teachers must have needed to be both mentally and physically strong in order to cope with their work load. In elementary education this often included poor working conditions in dilapidated and over-crowded classrooms, extensive administrative duties and sometimes long journeys to and from home. Even in the Edwardian period classes
accommodated fifty or sixty children' (Vaughan, 1907, p. 42). In addition to their teaching commitments they also had to complete large amounts of paper work for their School Board, for His Majesty's Inspectors and 'local inspectors, questionnaires and forms from the Board of Education...as well as their in-class registers, punishment books and class logs' (Copelman, 1996, p. 105). It is not surprising, therefore, that some advertisements placed in The Schoolmistress by organizations such as the Teacher's Provident Society January 27, 1916 (p. 361) offered women insurance against 'the stress and strain of the present day' and 'breakdown'. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the majority of women teachers were employed in elementary education. This research has concluded that although women were perceived of as inferior to men within the hierarchical structure of Victorian and Edwardian elementary education they were often highly trained, dedicated professionals. Since they comprised the greater part of the workforce they contributed more to the field therefore than is historically acknowledged.

Women drawn from the middle-classes who trained as specialist art teachers in the Schools of Art experienced similar education and career opportunities to those engaged in elementary education, in the sense that they were also able to participate in higher education and socially acceptable professional paid work. They received equitable teacher training with men in the Schools of Art and shared 'almost equal access to grants and aid with tuition' (Callen, 1979, p. 34). Of the twenty-six students at Sheffield School of Art, including Nutt, who 'applied for and obtained Free Studentships from the Board of Education' in 1903, eleven were women (Sheffield Education Committee, 1904, p. 29). However, the case of Nutt suggests that gender discrimination at postgraduate level was considerable in the field of higher education in areas of employment and pay. Although women were encouraged to train as art teachers, were successful in the rigorous National Course of Instruction and performed well in the National Competition and National Art Examinations⁴, very few subsequently found
employment in the Schools of Art. Analysis of articles in the Victorian periodical press, like *The Art-Journal* and documents such as Sheffield Education Committee Handbooks and School of Art Reports published between 1901 and 1919, indicated that, with the exception of single sex institutions such as the Female School of Design, all senior full-time positions in the field were held by men. For example, *The Art-Journal* of March 1872 noted:

> In Great Britain are 117 Art-schools, where 20,133 pupils receive instruction. Of these *three* only are superintended by ladies: one in Queen Square, London, one in Edinburgh, and the Queen's Institute, Dublin. Out of 338 Art night-classes, where the attendance numbers 10,000, *five* are taught by women (p. 65).

Thirty-four years later, out of a staff of eighteen practising at Sheffield School of Art only three were women (Sheffield Education Committee, 1906, p.313). Of these, Mrs M. Stretton taught the gender specific subject of needlework, another, Jean Mitchell was appointed as an assistant mistress and the third, Ethel Fordham, was a pupil teacher. All full-time positions of responsibility, such as that of Headmaster, or department head, were held by men. The most senior female position was that of assistant mistress held by Jean Mitchell. The failure of women in art education to achieve responsible positions in the field resulted in a wide discrepancy between men’s and women’s salaries. For example, in 1906 A. C. C. Jahn, the Head Master of Sheffield School of Art earned an annual income of £500 pounds. John Duffield his Design Master earned £235 per annum, while Jean Mitchell, the most highly paid female employee only earned £80 yearly. In the same year, although her salary was marginally augmented by additional fees, Nutt earned £45 per annum as Head Teacher in charge of the Firs Hill Branch School of Art which provided evening classes for artisans and art teachers (Sheffield Education Committee, 1906, pp. 313 and 314).

All these factors, together with previously mentioned evidence of Nutt’s dissatisfaction with the teaching profession, imply that institutionalized gender bias in late nineteenth
and twentieth century Britain prevented women like her from achieving senior positions in the field. Research into archives at Sheffield School of Art between 1904 and 1919 suggests that women occupied a lower status position in a professional hierarchy dominated by men in an art education climate which was informed by a prevailing perception of female inferiority and mediocrity in society in general. Consequently, with the exception of Marion Richardson’s outstanding contribution to British art education (Richardson, 1948; Macdonald, 1970; Swift 1990) minimal historical reference has been made to the achievements of women art educators giving the false impression that scholarly individuals have been lacking from the field. However this research has established that women like Nutt did and could achieve more in art education than is generally historically acknowledged. Many women trained and successfully graduated from British Schools of Art, undertook substantial postgraduate work and travelled independently to countries, such as France and Italy. They also maintained professional careers at a time when the majority of women were employed in low paid unqualified work. Women like Nutt, who were unrecorded in art education history, did make substantial contributions to the field in the localities where they worked. Nutt, for example, had considerable input into art teacher training in Sheffield where, in addition to artisans, she instructed pupil teachers, teacher training college students and art students training to become teachers, qualified elementary school teachers and head teachers. She enhanced her pedagogic expertise with advanced postgraduate studies and effectively developed her skills as an artist and as a writer on the specialist subject of teaching drawing to children.

With regard to the question ‘Are there other ways of understanding art education history that are fairer to women?’, the majority of comprehensive histories of art education written in the 1970s which are still in use in Britain at this time are androcentric and tend to overemphasize male contributions to the field. The research found that in Nutt’s case their reportage of art education history perpetuates a social construction of sexual
difference which sustains taken-for-granted assumptions about 'natural' male superiority and a lack of female scholarship in the field. Although scholarly and informative, neither the leading British mainstream text by Macdonald called The History and Philosophy of Art Education (1970), nor a more recent American history by Efland entitled, A History of Art Education (1990) make more than occasional reference to women art educators. They concentrate on male achievements and theories in the field thereby creating a male definition of art education history that contributes to the production of a gender hierarchy. This research suggests that lack of reference to the achievements and contributions of scholarly and dedicated women like Nutt in art education historiography not only perpetuates masculinity in the discipline, it also assimilates it into the literature thereby determining what is understood and accepted as true.

In an overview of feminist art criticism, Hagaman (1990, p. 31) has suggested that 'what the world is depends upon how it is represented, and such representation inevitably both constructs and reflects what it is to be female or male within a given culture'. A concrete example of gender bias in art education historiography can be illustrated with reference to Macdonald (1970, opp. p.96). He describes an engraving from a painting by the Victorian artist Emily Mary Osborne (1834-1884) depicting a young woman attempting to negotiate the sale of a painting as representing 'a gentlewoman reduced to dependence upon her brother's art' (see figure 47). However, this is a masculine twentieth century interpretation of the work which is at variance with a description of the same engraving featured in a contemporary nineteenth century article about Osborne in The Art-Journal (1864, p. 261). The latter records the significance of the work as follows: 'a young orphan girl, an artist, offers to a dealer a picture she has painted' (Dafforne, 1864, p. 261). Macdonald’s reconstruction of the meaning invested in the engraving, which assumes that artists are male, represents the kind of construction of knowledge that shapes and reinforces gender bias in art education history.
FIGURE 47. 'NAMELESS AND FRIENDLESS'. AN ENGRAVING FROM A PAINTING BY MARY OSBORNE WHICH APPEARED IN THE ART JOURNAL, VOL. III, SEPTEMBER, 1864.
In 1988 Pollock wrote: 'demanding that women be considered not only changes what is studied and what becomes relevant to investigate but it changes the existing disciplines politically' (p.1). This research has shown that there are alternative ways of investigating and understanding art education history that may be fairer to women. If broader criteria were applied in estimating women's contribution to the field, for example the value of their day-to-day teaching commitment, and if the discipline was situated within a social and ideological framework which consciously explored issues of gender, class and power, a paradigm might be created which would be fairer to women in terms of the role they have played.

**Avenues for Further Inquiry**

The research used an interdisciplinary methodology for investigating art education history that drew together three kinds of insights. As previously stated it drew on biographical history and theory and history of art education. It was also informed by feminist values and concerns. It was anticipated that their combined strengths would contribute to a broader understanding of art education history than is presently found in mainstream British art education texts. On reflection, the first part of the investigation would have benefited from a more direct application of feminist theory to Nutt’s early life and career in Britain that focused more specifically on issues of gender power and the sexual division of labour in nineteenth and early twentieth century educational/art educational institutions and practices. A more penetrating and deconstructionist feminist analysis of her biography that explored patriarchal practices of power and domination in the history of the field in greater depth might have resulted in a fuller understanding of the reasons why she failed to gain the status and success in England that she achieved in Canada, and why she is excluded from art education history. The application of such strategies to British art education historiography offers new and exciting directions for future developments in historical research in the field.
Substantial evidence of Nutt's early history and teaching career in Britain has been recovered through this investigation. However, there are unretrieved documents and unresearched periods in her life and work that remain and warrant further investigation in order to complete her British biography. These include an unreported interval of six years between 1891 when she qualified as an elementary school teacher at the Diocesan Training College in Oxford and 1897 when she enrolled as a student at Sheffield School of Art. Sources investigated to date, such as Sheffield school registers or information forms have not resolved the question as to whether or not she engaged in elementary education at this time. Therefore, questions remain about this period in her personal history. Did she practice as an elementary school teacher in Sheffield or elsewhere at this time? If so in which school? Also, if she chose not to practice after qualifying as an elementary teacher in 1891, what were the likely reasons for this decision and what other activities, professional or otherwise did she engage in during this period?

Additionally, the research established that while studying at Sheffield University between 1910 and 1915 Nutt submitted a thesis on the Teaching of Colour in Schools (Soucy and Pearse, 1993, p. 81). For this work she was awarded an Art Masters Diploma by the University and fellowship of The National Society of Art Masters in 1914 (Schroder, 1914, p.105). It is anticipated that this document, at present unlocated, would contribute valuable information about her teaching aims and methods and therefore, its recovery is called for.

New questions about women art educators arising from the findings of the completed research invite further investigation. For example, how many women became heads of art schools in Britain in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries? How many other women became heads of art schools in the colonies at this time? Was Nutt the first woman to become principal of a colonial school of art? Given that Nutt achieved success
as an art educator in Canada, what personal characteristics or professional expertise did she share with other women who went to the colonies?

Other avenues that invite investigation include the publication of a full and unified account of Nutt’s history, educational philosophy and achievements in the form of a biography that is joint testimony of both her British and Canadian life and work. Such a record would help to establish her as an international art educator and a leader in the field.

To conclude therefore, the research on Nutt contributes new knowledge to British art education history. It illuminates a formative and significant period in the development of the field that witnessed unparalleled growth in the provision of public art education. But art education history amounts to more than a record of artistic institutions, theories and movements, it is also about the people, students, teachers and other professionals, both men and women, who participated in and subsequently shaped the profession. Accounts of involvement and struggles, like those of Nutt, enrich our understanding of the history of the field and of the period.

Hopefully the interdisciplinary approach to historical research in this thesis will open the way for other British researchers to investigate seminal female figures in the development of art education in general with particular reference to issues of gender. Hopefully it will enable future historians of art education in Britain to develop alternative ways of doing and understanding art education history that are fairer to women and more relevant to women historians and art educators. A final recommendation, therefore, is that in future the history of British art education should develop a more inclusive and democratic conceptual framework that takes into account the gender relations that have shaped both professional power structures and male domination of the field.
Notes: Chapter 8

1. Following her emigration to Canada in 1919 Nutt returned to England each summer to visit her mother in Sheffield. During these periods she produced some of the paintings for which she is now remembered; for example, 'Ichabod', painted in 1928 and exhibited at the Royal Academy in London in 1937.

2. In 1851 the Journal of Design and Manufactures (Vol. VI, p. 31) noted 'a preponderance of half a million of the female sex'. Twenty-one years later the Art Journal reported:

As a matter of fact, we find women in Britain outnumbering men by nearly a million; and we find also, in the face of the marriage theory, that three out of six million adult English women support themselves and relatives dependent on them. (1872, p. 103).

3. According to Copelman (1996, p. 90) a ban was imposed on married teachers working in London between 1923 and 1934.

4. Many women were successful in the National Competition and National Art Examinations and in gaining scholarships. One is, Sylvia Pankhurst, the famous suffragette, who had studied first at Manchester School of Art:

where in 1902 she won a National Silver Medal for mosaic designs, a Primrose Medal and Proctor Travelling Studentship.... In 1904 she won a scholarship to the Royal College of Art, heading the list of competitors for the whole country....External scholarships were conducted anonymously (Tickner, 1989, p. 27).

5. As previously noted in a letter to his wife Maud Varley, May 3, 1918, Frederick Varley recorded Nutt's dissatisfaction with the teaching profession as follows: 'she is fed up with teaching now. She wants to work for herself.' (Tooby, 1991, n. p.).
POSTSCRIPT: REFLECTION ON RESEARCH METHOD

This Postscript is being included in order to provide the reader with some consideration of the limitations and perceptions of the method employed in the research and of the data sources. It is presented in five sections. First, general conclusions are drawn concerning the value of historical method. Second, the strengths and weaknesses of the method used in this research are examined. Third, the importance of research questions in framing and illuminating the investigation is reflected upon. Forth, analysis of primary sources is undertaken and their significance in answering key questions considered. Finally, the value of secondary source data is explored.

Historical Method

In the introduction to this thesis, theories about the nature of history, its objects, methods and values put forward by eminent historians such as, Collingwood (1986), Marwick (1991) and Johnson (1978) were discussed. Both Marwick and Johnson supported Collingwood's (1986, p.10) hypothesis that a major value of historical inquiry is its ability to offer irreplaceable evidence of the actions of men and women in the past. It was argued that this testimony defines our present human and personal identity, in the sense that, teaching what men and women have done and are capable of doing, also determines what they are. Reflection upon the historical method applied in this inquiry after the event, confirms that it has great potential for the provision of human and personal understanding and self-knowledge. Also, that it provides a framework of understanding within which individual teacher-researchers can situate themselves in order to reflect upon, clarify and interpret events and ideas in the profession that is significant to them.

From the view that there is a continuing and interactive link between the past and the present, it follows that awareness of the pervasive and formative past is significant because it empowers insights into human heritage and can help individuals to make sense of their present lives. For example, Marwick (1991, p. 1) has described past legacies,
such as systems of government, political ideas, beliefs about art and culture and educational practices, as profoundly important in the sense that as products of the past, whether recent or remote, they underpin our present and future lives.

Educationalists, such as Cohen and Manion (1989) and Freedman and Popkewitz (1985), have also concluded that historical method is a valuable professional tool that creates a framework within which educators can situate themselves in order to reflect upon their own practices. Cohen and Manion (1989, p.49) listed among the strengths of historical research a capacity not only for increasing understanding about the way present educational theories and practices develop, but also enabling ‘educationalists to use former practices to evaluate newer, emerging ones.’

Within the specialist field of art education, scholars, such as Erickson (1979b) and Korzenik (1984, 1989), have also confirmed that historical method provides a framework for understanding and self-examination which both art students and educators can use to reflect upon, clarify and interpret their current aesthetic experiences and professional practices. Substantial claims have been made therefore that historical method is a valuable tool that can be employed by both art teachers and students in their professional and artistic practice. These claims will be discussed later on in the next section of this postscript.

Cohen and Manion (1989, p. 49) have also drawn attention to the value of historical research in allowing ‘revaluation of data in relation to selected hypotheses, theories and generalisations that are presently held about the past’. This suggests that previous research into the history of art education could, and should be reassessed through the application of feminist ideas with the aim of re-evaluating women’s contributions to the field.
**Strengths and Weaknesses**

The method in this research was predominantly qualitative and essentially involved the collection, evaluation, synthesis, and interpretation of evidence. Throughout the investigation, the business of tracking down and establishing evidence proved to be an intriguing, stimulating and satisfying activity that introduced me, the researcher, to a variety of unique institutions, people and localities. Establishing contact with the Sheffield Local Studies Library in Sheffield, the Public Record Office at Kew or Nova Scotia College of Art in Canada, for example, not only revealed evidence about Nutt’s early life and career, but enabled networking with many learned and engaging people. Contacts with individuals such as Nutt’s relatives or Sheffield people who had information about her, was thought-provoking because they had interesting family histories to share and demonstrated civic pride in the history of education in their city.

The uniqueness of primary source material and its tangible affinity with the past was a strength of the method. Tuchman (1982, p. 19 in Erickson 1984, p. 121) has written that ‘nothing can compare with the fascination of examining material in the very paper and ink of original issue’ and this proved to be the case for me. From time to time, the identification of treasures hidden away in archives, such as a detailed contract for Pupil Teachers’ Duties issued to Archer Lynn Elliott on September 21, 1899 in the Sheffield School of Art archives, or a complete folder of drawings, owned by Nutt’s niece and prepared by Nutt’s sister-in-law for the National Graded Examinations in Art between 1886 and 1895, brought this historical research to life in exciting and intriguing ways.

Historical method also called for skills of imagination both in the collection and interpretation of evidence. Although some of the primary sources for this research were traced through common sense reasoning and recovered without difficulty from central archives, such as the Sheffield Local Studies Library, the location of other data proved more elusive. Unearthng it required not only imaginative deduction but also intuition.
and luck. It necessitated historical and imaginative reflection about where evidence might be located and why. For example, the staff register belonging to the Pupil Teachers’ Centre in Sheffield, referred to in Chapter 3, which revealed important new evidence of Nutt’s elementary teacher training in Oxford from 1890 to 1891, was discovered through a combination of these elements. The study of previous school records and educational qualifications led to the intuition that Nutt initially trained as a pupil teacher, imaginative deduction helped to establish the present location of the centre, now the City School, Sheffield and luck ensured that the register had remained in the school office since the early 1900s. In this research an ability to empathize with and put oneself into the position of the subject under investigation proved to be an important methodological principle as did the truism that much evidence is to be found in obvious places.

Having uncovered sufficient primary source material to embark upon Nutt’s biography, imagination was needed to interpret the evidence and create an accurate narrative of her early life and career in Britain. Connections had to be made between formative circumstances and events. It was necessary to think oneself into those situations and empathize with Nutt in order to understand the past as it really was. In addition to the scrutiny of evidence, it was necessary to hypothesise the consequences of specific actions or incidents in her life, such as her father’s departure for Australia and the effect of his subsequent death on the family lifestyle. Having established the facts and in order to construct an authentic account of this episode, imagination was needed to evaluate its significance for her likely childhood experiences, aspirations and future career. Erickson (1979b, p.86) wrote, ‘to be able to imagine is an essential skill in both aesthetic education and in historical thinking’ because imaginative skills are needed ‘to give form to an idea or image.’ As a practising artist and art educator concerned with the exercise of imagination throughout my professional career, I am familiar with the concept of creative thinking and found the use of historical imagination to vivify and make sense of evidence in this research satisfying personally and a particular strength of the method.
From the very beginning I considered the potential ability of historical research to create a framework of understanding within which personal, artistic and professional concerns can be explored a major strength. The research into Nutt’s early life and career encouraged me to reflect historically upon my own life and early memories, and prompted insights into formative influences and experiences that had shaped my personal development. The use of biography as a research tool enabled interesting comparisons and resonance’s between Nutt’s life and my own and stimulated a process of self-enquiry and reflection on past and present circumstances and events. The discipline of applying impartiality and evaluative skills required of historical investigation also proved to be a strength of the method, in the sense that they promoted a more objective self-analysis.

Korzenik (1984, p. 128) has suggested that ‘by distancing ourselves into the past, we separate ourselves from our immediate pressures and may feel free to think’. The historical method used in this research provided distance and an alternative framework of understanding from that experienced in the reality of everyday life that assisted me in interpreting my own professional practices and aesthetic experiences. As previously discussed, Nutt’s aesthetic values were derived from the tradition of English romantic painting, as are my own. Consequently, research into her artistic practice and the art movements that underpinned it, including her romantic view of self-expression and the Romantic movement, enabled understanding of concepts and movements that underpinned my own artistic practice. In researching her artistic philosophy and practice and distancing myself from my own, I gained a clearer perspective of my own art work.

Korzenik (1984, p. 128) has proposed that distancing ourselves into the past or thinking historically ‘meets a critical professional need of any educator’. In this inquiry the use of an historical methodology enabled personal insights into the history of my profession. This is relevant to my everyday activity as an art educator in the sense that it helps me to
appreciate how and why the current curriculum has evolved historically. From a distance it also allows me to reflect upon and question current art education theory and practice. For example, understanding and interrelating the social and political intentions of past educational policies and their aims and methods, such as the nineteenth century vocational National Course of Instruction, has enabled comparisons with the present 'National Curriculum' for schools. Subsequently, this has helped me to make sense of my present teaching practice in adult education. Recently in this field, in 1994, a prescribed system of levels, stages, accreditation and accountability, underpinned by external funding, has been introduced into the art curriculum which has parallels with Victorian educational policies and practices.

Additionally, the historical framework within which this research was situated allowed me to reflect on feminist concerns that are relevant to my current practice and professional understanding. These include, for example, the question of the androcentric nature of art education, about how gender in the profession and art education history have been constructed and perpetuated and about taken-for-granted assumptions about the lack of female scholarship in the field.

Historical research has resulted in a reconstruction of Nutt's early life and British career. It has enabled a realization of her completed biography and a re-evaluation of her significance to art education. Additionally, it has facilitated a greater understanding of the professional and everyday difficulties experienced by previous women art educators. Purvis (1988, p.201) suggested that 'feminist research is essentially a reflexive process where by one's consciousness may provide insights into the experience of women in the past and vice versa.' Following her research into the education of working-class women in nineteenth century England, she described her increased awareness of 'the change and continuity between past and present, of the gains and struggles of women living a century ago and of women living today' and the sense of personal involvement this
consciousness created. Likewise, historical method allowed me to embrace feminist concerns and begin to evaluate the experiences of women art teachers in the past. This has increased my awareness of past and present issues of class and gender in art education in general. This kind of consciousness sustained my interest in the research and proved to be one of the method's greatest strengths.

Weaknesses, or drawbacks, of the methodology relate mainly to the volume of data and amount of time required by historical investigation and problems of missing evidence and bias. In order to contextualize Nutt's career, extensive research into the history and philosophy of art education in Britain between 1835 and 1935 was needed. This covered not only the establishment of the Schools of Design and the national system of public art education but also the creation of the British public elementary school system and art curriculum. Additionally, the provision of art education for women between 1840 and 1910 and their involvement in the teaching profession from 1870 to 1920 was studied. Before it was possible to effect a textual and theoretical analysis of Nutt's art texts, an investigation of nineteenth and early twentieth century social and intellectual theoretical trends and ideologies, such as Romanticism and the Child Study Movement and their impact on art education literature between 1850 and 1950 had to be carried out. Official literature such as Board of Education codes, circulars and reports, assembly and a selection of art education textbooks and study of articles in the periodical press, such as The Schoolmistress all had to be examined.

Marwick (1991, p. 236) wrote; 'the actual writing of history is in fact a challenging task' that imposes 'heavy burdens' because the methodology necessitates so many different kinds of activities. He identified these as follows: finding sources, applying existing expertise to the background of the subject being studied, exercising techniques of source criticism to establish authenticity and accuracy, interpretation and finally communication of this interpretation in a written form in a way that demands creativity, objectivity and
analytical skills. Although the acquisition of historical knowledge and understanding and
the skills required to interpret the evidence of Nutt's early life and British career is a
strength of the method, I now understand the sheer volume of research and amount of
writing demanded in pursuing this objective as problematic at least in terms of the time
frame specified for PhD research.

The failure to track down some primary source material, whether as a result of
destruction, loss, or inability, was a weakness of this research. Access to the archives
held by Sheffield School of Art for example would have added substance to an account of
the School's history and detail to Nutt's progress there. Unfortunately they were lost in
World War II when an incendiary bomb demolished the main building in 1940.
Although the research has established important new information about Nutt's early life
and career in Britain, and confirmed that she trained as an elementary school teacher at the
Oxford Diocesan Training College from 1890 to 1891, data pertaining to her early years
remains scarce. No personal accounts of her formative experiences or relationships in the
form of letters or diaries were located. It is not clear if such data still exists or has been
irrevocably lost. Later on, when Nutt became successful in her career as an artist, her
extended family valued and retained examples of her work. These included a series of
miniatures of family members painted between 1903 and 1935, landscape paintings and
editions of her publications, all of which were symbols of her success. Perhaps because
she did not marry and, therefore, had no immediate offspring, data in the form of
personal items that would allow a more intimate interpretation of her character and private
life was not forthcoming. The failure to locate the more easily disposable source
materials such as diaries or correspondence that might have revealed valuable testimony
of personal or professional relationships, aspirations or dissatisfactions was
disappointing, in the sense that it prohibited a full interpretation of her early life and
career in Britain.

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Research bias was another methodological issue that proved problematic. Although care was taken to establish the authenticity of data, personal identification with the subject encouraged sympathetic interpretations. At times it was difficult not to allow empathetic attitudes or personal experiences of and assumptions about gender issues in art and education to inform the explanations of Nutt’s artistic, professional and literary achievements. Initially the evaluation of the overall significance of Nutt’s textbooks in comparison with others of the same period tended towards overestimation. Later, reflection on and analysis of her texts prompted a more impartial and critical appraisal of their literary worth. As a result I concluded that an historical researcher needs to be aware of and to minimize personal bias towards the subject and controversial social issues such as gender, class, race, religion and politics. In particular a researcher needs to guard against taken-for-granted assumptions about the subject’s history or the institutions and structures of power within which they lived and worked and ensure that interpretation of primary sources is thorough, objective and unbiased.

**Research Questions**

As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, key research questions were developed at the start pertaining to Nutt’s biography, textbooks and status as a female art educator in England prior to her emigration to Canada in 1919. The questions were useful for a number of reasons. First, they enabled a clear frame of reference for the conduct of the research. Second they underpinned the inquiry in the sense that they were carefully constructed and formulated with a view to providing wanted answers to gaps in previous research. Their investigative character helped to illuminate the inquiry and facilitated a fuller understanding and interpretation of Nutt’s early life and career. Researching answers to questions such as, what educational aims, methods, content and outcomes did she consider in formulating her art curriculum and why? prompted new insights into her art education philosophy during detailed analysis of her texts.
This research combined historical biography with art education history and was underpinned by my interest in issues of class and gender. This meant that the questions covered a wide range of issues. In determining their answers it became evident that different skills and analyses were called for. For example, answering questions about Nutt’s biography involved imaginative and investigative historical skills, whereas the textual and theoretical analysis of her art texts called for more interpretative and evaluative expertise. Additionally there was a tension between the skills and analyses required to explore the feminist and historical concerns. For example, questions relating to Nutt’s biography and art education career were directed towards the construction and realization of as complete an historical narrative as possible. My feminist concerns necessitated my reflecting on hidden agendas of power and control in the field of art education during the historical period concerned.

Over all, the experience of doing this research was personally and professionally illuminating. In particular, the methodology enabled a greater depth of personal understanding and self-knowledge. It created a valuable conceptual framework in which to situate myself in order to reflect upon, clarify and interpret my own artistic and professional practice. Additionally, the inquiry enhanced my appreciation of art education history and the way theory and practice has developed in the field.

The research has enabled a re-evaluation of Nutt’s contribution to British art education and offered concrete evidence of female scholarship in the profession. My feminist concerns led me to question stereotypical assumptions about female scholarship and the role of women in the field. Consequently the research increased my understanding of gender related problems experienced by present and past women art educators. It also suggested alternative ways of understanding British art education history that may be fairer to women and more relevant to those in the profession today, who represent a large
proportion of the workforce. A conclusion therefore, is that the application of feminist theory to the study of British art education history in the future would challenge its present androcentric nature and strengthen the discipline.

**Primary Sources**

Sufficient primary and secondary source material was located during the research on Nutt to enable answers to all the key questions. Primary sources included documents of record, works of reference, artistic and media sources and oral history. Examples of documents of record were central government, local and other formal records. Works of reference included educational manuals and Board of Education codes, circulars and reports. Artistic sources covered paintings and design work. Newspaper cuttings and radio transcripts were examples of media sources and illustrations of oral history included taped interviews and personal reminiscences.

Local records provided much data. For example, a parish record taken from the Register of Baptisms in the Parish of Onchan in the Isle of Man, where Nutt was born, established her date of baptism, parental names, address and father's occupation. Census returns found in the local studies libraries of Sheffield and Oxford recorded her addresses in those cities together with the occupations of family members and their places of birth. Education records, such as elementary school registers, higher education records, education committee reports, minutes and handbooks which set out her academic and career profile, including the Sheffield School of Art Annual Reports or Sheffield Education Committee Handbooks located in the Sheffield Local Studies Library helped to resolve queries about her early background. Information gained from these sources helped to answer the questions about which educational establishments influenced and guided her early religious beliefs and artistic theory and practice.
Central government sources included, The Education Department Training Colleges Reports for the Years 1887 and 1891 and the Directory with Regulations for Establishing and Conducting Science and Art Schools and Classes 1889 in the Great Britain House of Commons Parliamentary Papers 1801-1900. These were discovered in the Leicester University School of Education Library and the British Document Supply Centre at Boston Spa, Yorkshire. They enabled answers to questions concerning Nutt's elementary and art teacher training.

Visual sources provided evidence of Nutt's student and professional performance. They included copies of landscape paintings and school of art examination work. Nutt's paintings, such as 'Ichabod' (1928) exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1937 and retained by a family member, or 'Winter, North West Arm, Halifax' (1927) held in the collection of the Art Gallery of Nova Scotia were located in an exhibition held at the Mappin Art Gallery, Sheffield from 2.3.91 to 10.4.91 entitled, Our Home and Native Land. The School of Art examination work was held in the private collection of her niece. These sources helped me to answer questions about Nutt's artistic practice.

Works of reference and, in particular, Nutt's art textbooks, represented an important portion of primary source material for this study. They comprised three volumes namely, Flower Drawing with the Children (1916), The "Why in the Drawing Lesson (1929) and The World of Appearance Part II (1935). Flower Drawing with the Children (1916) was acquired through personal purchase. The "Why" in the Drawing Lesson (1929) was supplied through inter-library loan by Cambridge University Library and, The World of Appearance Part II (1935) was obtained from a family member. The textual and theoretical analysis of these works enabled answers to questions about her overall art curriculum and teaching methods. It also enabled answers to questions about her religious/spiritual philosophy of art education.
The comparison of Nutt’s textbooks with a selection of British art education textbooks written by men between 1850 and 1950 helped to answer questions about her status as a female writer on art education and about possible gender difference in their content.

Media and communication sources included newspaper articles in the Canadian press, transcripts of her Canadian radio broadcasts and articles in the periodical press. Newspaper articles which appeared in the Canadian press, such as ‘Art’s Place in the Community’ which featured in the *Halifax Chronicle* (December 5, 1921) and explored Nutt’s assessment of the relationship between art, industry and life were found in the private collection of her niece. Transcripts of Nutt’s Canadian radio broadcasts, such as ‘Canadian Art’ transmitted on November 20, 1934, which discussed an evolving style of Canadian art and its historical background, were located in the same collection. These sources helped to answer questions about her artistic and educational philosophy. Articles in the British periodical press, such as *The Schoolmistress* (1916, January 27) were found in the British Newspaper Library in London. Interpretation of this data source helped in particular to answer questions about social class and gender issues concerning women teachers.

Oral history sources included taped and written records of interviews. The interviews were recorded on May 4, 1991; May 13, 1991 and July 31, 1991 with Nutt’s niece Dr. Ursula Clarke and with her great nephew Sir Michael Carlisle on May 31, 1991. These contributed valuable evidence of Nutt’s family and educational history and helped to answer questions about her early background.

**Secondary Sources**

Secondary sources that helped to answer key questions were predominantly works of reference. They were found in university libraries including those at De Montfort University and the School of Education at Leicester University. Some material was
located in mainstream writings on the history of art, education, art education and aesthetics, feminist literature on art history and education and in history books, textbooks and articles in the periodical press such as *Studies in Art Education*. *A History of Art Education* (1990) written by the American educator Arthur Efland was one of a number of art education history books that played a key role in answering questions about the historical, theoretical and aesthetic underpinning of Nutt's art textbooks. It was helpful because it explored western intellectual and social currents in teaching the visual arts in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Efland's interpretation of the relationships between historical, aesthetic and social movements and art education development in that period informed answers to the research questions about the nature of Nutt's religious educational convictions and their influence on her educational beliefs.

Feminist sources on the history of education included *London's Women Teachers* (1996) by Dina Copelman. This book examined issues of class and gender in elementary education from 1970 to 1930. Feminist art history sources such as *Women, Art, and Power and Other Essays* (1989) by the American art historian Linda Nochlin were useful also because they explored the relationship between women and women artists and ideology. These kinds of publications informed the answers to the research questions about art and art education history.

The reproductions of Nutt's paintings also helped to answer the questions about her artistic practice and the historical movements it reflected. Reproductions in catalogues such as, *Elizabeth S. Nutt: Heart and Head and Hand*, which accompanied an exhibition of her paintings at the Dalhousie Art Gallery of Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada from November 27, 1980, to January 4, 1981 were important because they provided additional evidence of her artwork.
APPENDIX I. THE NATIONAL COURSE OF INSTRUCTION FOR GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS OF ART IN BRITAIN, 1889.

CHAPTER III.

REGULATIONS SPECIAL TO ART.

PART I.

SCHOOLS OF ART AND ART CLASSES.

Aid is given towards instruction in the branches of Art named below, which, for convenience of reference, are divided into stages, as shown; and there are three grades of examination in Art—

(a) the First Grade for elementary schools only; see p. 82;
(b) the Second Grade, of a more advanced character, see Syllabus at p. 243; and
(c) the Third Grade, of a still higher standard in the subjects stated at p. 246.

Stage 1. Linear Drawing by Aid of Instruments.
   a. Linear Geometry.
   b. Mechanical and Machine drawing (from the flat, from the blackboard lessons, or from the elementary solids or details of machinery and building construction).
   c. Linear Perspective.
   d. Details of Architecture from copies.
   e. Technical Diagrams.

Stage 2. Freehand Outline Drawing of Rigid Forms from Flat Examples.
   a. Objects.
   b. Ornament (showing elementary principles of design).

Stage 3. Freehand Outline Drawing from the "Round."
   a. Models and objects.
   b. Ornament.

Stage 4. Shading from Flat Examples.
   a. Models and objects.
   b. Ornament.

Stage 5. Shading from the "Round" or Solid Forms.
   a. Models and objects.
   b. Ornament.
   c. Drapery.
   d. Time sketching and sketching from memory.

Stage 6. Drawing the Human Figure, and Animal Forms, from Flat Examples.
   a. In outline.
   b. Shaded.

Stage 7. Drawing Flowers, Foliage, and Objects of Natural History, from Flat Examples.
   a. In outline.
   b. Shaded.

Stage 8. Drawing the Human Figure, or Animal Forms, from the "Round" or Nature.
   a. In outline from cast.
ART.

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Stage 9. ANATOMICAL STUDIES.

a. Of the human figure.

b. Of animal forms.

Stage 10. DRAWING FLOWERS, FOLIAGE, LANDSCAPE DETAILS, AND OBJECTS OF NATURAL HISTORY, FROM NATURE.

a. In outline.

b. Shaded.

Stage 11. PAINTING ORNAMENT FROM FLAT EXAMPLES.

a. In monochrome, either in water-colour, tempera, or oil.

Stage 12. PAINTING ORNAMENT FROM THE CAST, &c.

a. In monochrome, either in water-colour, oil, or tempera.

Stage 13. PAINTING FROM FLAT EXAMPLES FLOWERS, STILL-LIFE, &c.

a. Flowers or natural objects, in water-colour, in oil, or in tempera.

b. Landscapes, or views of buildings.

Stage 14. PAINTING DIRECT FROM NATURE.

a. Flowers, or still-life, in water-colour, oil, or tempera without backgrounds.

b. Landscapes, or views of buildings.

c. Drapery.

Stage 15. PAINTING (FROM NATURE) GROUPS OF STILL-LIFE, FLOWERS, &c., AS COMPOSITIONS OF COLOUR.

a. In oil colour.

b. In water-colour or tempera.

Stage 16. PAINTING THE HUMAN FIGURE OR ANIMALS IN MONOCHROME FROM CASTS.

a. In oil, water-colour, or tempera.

Stage 17. PAINTING THE HUMAN FIGURE OR ANIMALS IN COLOUR.

a. From the flat, or copies.

b. The Head from nature, or draped figure.

c. The nude figure from nature.

d. Time sketches.

Stage 18. MODELLING ORNAMENT.

a. Elementary, from details, such as single ornamental devices, scrolls, &c.

b. Advanced, from casts of ornamental compositions for pilasters, friezes, &c.

c. From drawings or photographs.

d. Time sketches from examples.

e. Modelling from memory.

Stage 19. MODELLING THE HUMAN FIGURE OR ANIMALS.

a. Elementary, from casts of hands, feet, &c.

b. Advanced, from casts of heads or masks from the antique in the round or relief.

c. Advanced, from the antique figure in the round or relief.

d. From drawings.

e. The head from nature.

f. Drapery from actual stuffs and not from casts.

g. Time sketches.

h. Modelling from memory.

Stage 20. MODELLING FRUITS, FLOWERS, FOLIAGE, AND OBJECTS OF NATURAL HISTORY, FROM NATURE.

Stage 21. TIME SKETCHES IN CLAY OF THE HUMAN FIGURE, OR ANIMALS, FROM NATURE.
ART.

Stage 22. Elementary Design.

a. Studies treating natural objects ornamentally.

b. Ornamental arrangements to fill given spaces in outline, monochrome, or modelled.

c. Ornamental arrangements to fill given spaces in colour.

d. Studies of historic styles of ornament drawn or modelled.

Stage 23. Applied Designs, Technical, or Miscellaneous Studies.


b. Architectural design.

c. Ornamental design as applied to decorative or industrial art.

d. Figure composition; and ornamental design with figures, as applied to decorative or industrial art.

e. and f. The same as 23c and 23d, but in relief.

PREMISES, FITTINGS, APPARATUS, AND EXAMPLES.

Premises.

2. A School of Art must be held in rooms approved by the Department, and wholly devoted to elementary, and advanced instruction in Art. The school must be adequately supplied with apparatus and examples (see Form Nos. 30 and 30a), and be always open for study and the inspection of the Art examples.

Detailed information in respect of new Schools of Art or of old Schools of Art approved to new premises must be sent to the Department in Form No. 527.

3. An Art Class may be held in a Mechanics' Institute, School, or other Public Institution, but it must be adequately supplied with apparatus and examples for instruction. An Art Class formed of the scholars in Elementary Schools cannot be recognised (see p. 82).

Building Grants (see § XIV).

4. Particulars as to the mode of application for a grant to build or adapt a building as a School of Art, are given at p. 103.

Grants for Fittings, Apparatus, and Examples (see § XV).

5. The conditions on which grants are made towards the cost of fittings and apparatus requiring special construction are given on Form No. 652, on which application must be made.

The examples, books, models, instruments, &c., towards the purchase of which aid is given, are enumerated in Form No. 30 and the cost of ornament, the figure, &c., in Form No. 30a. Application for these grants must be made on Form No. 49 before the goods are obtained.

Aid is also given towards the purchase of works of reference or examples not included in Forms Nos. 30 and 30a, which must be approved by the Department before they are ordered. Application must be made on Form No. 662, and for the payment of the grant after the purchase has been made on Form No. 663.
APPENDIX II. WORK BY GERTRUDE GLOVER NUTT, NÉE BOSWELL, UNDERTAKEN AT SHEFFIELD SCHOOLS OF ART FROM 1889 TO 1895 FOR THE NATIONAL GRADED EXAMINATIONS.

Drawing from the cast: signed Gertrude G. Boswell, 1889, E.S.K.
Stage 1. Linear Drawing by aid of instruments. c. Linear perspective.

Stage 5. Shading from the "round" or solid forms. a. models and objects.
Stage 5. Shading from the “round” or solid forms. b. Ornament. Prize work for A.C. T. Certificate 1890.
Stage 8. Drawing the human figure, or animal forms, from the "round" or nature. b. Shaded (details).

Work for Art Certificate Group II 1893. ‘Work not accepted for Certificate.’ E.S.K.
Stage 8. Drawing the human figure, or animal forms, from the "round" or nature.
b. Shaded (whole figures).

d. Studies of drapery arranged on figure from antique or on the living model.
Stage 8c: Studies of the human figure from nude model.

Stage 8b: Shaded (whole figures).
Stage 8. Drawing the human figure, or animal forms, from the “round” or nature.

c2. Studies of the human figure from nude model.
APPENDIX III. PUPIL TEACHERS' DUTIES, SHEFFIELD SCHOOL OF ART, 1897.

Pupil Teachers' Duties.

To attend three evenings each week punctually at 6.30 and to remain in the class room until the students have all left, also on Saturday from November to the following March, in the afternoon.

To see that all the models & other appliances are placed properly for the use of the students, & that they are returned to their places either by the students or themselves before leaving.

To teach the students to the utmost of their ability, what they know of the subjects they are asked to teach.

To keep strict order & discipline.

To see the Head master in his room each Friday evening after the class so as to talk over with him, or the other teachers any matters connected with the school.

To assist in sending the work to London on Saturday afternoons.

To send to London each year one or more drawings in competition for Certificates or, when the Council the salary paid them for the year they have failed to do this.

Pupil Teachers' Privileges.

The pupil-teachers will be allowed to attend any of the classes in the school, which are being held at times when they are not teaching, without payment of fees.
The remuneration in addition to
the above, providing they fulfil their
duties, will be fifteen pounds per
annum, paid quarterly.

Archer Lenn Elliott
Sept. 21st, 1894.

Papal Letters

Archer L. Elliott
Sept. 1894


APPENDIX IV. ELEMENTS OF FREE AND MECHANICAL DRAWING
PRACTISED IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN BRITAIN IN THE EARLY
1900S.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STAGE I</th>
<th>STAGE II</th>
<th>STAGE III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vertical, horizontal, and oblique lines.</td>
<td>Simple curves.</td>
<td>The square, oblong, and triangle (from base and altitude).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curves of ellipse and oval. Double curves.</td>
<td>The equilateral triangle, rhombus, and trapezium.</td>
<td>The hexagon and octagon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellipses, oval, and ample spiral.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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APPENDIX V. EXAMPLES OF MANUAL OCCUPATIONS PRACTISED IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN BRITAIN IN THE EARLY 1900s. 
a) CLAY MODELLING, b) BRUSH DRAWING, c) COLOUR WORK AND d) PAPER CUTTING AND MOUNTING.

PLATE X.

Stage II. CLAY MODELLING. [First Period]
Stage 1. PAPER CUTTING AND MOUNTING. [Complete Course.]
APPENDIX VI. SHEFFIELD UNIVERSITY EXAMINATION RECORD OF RESULTS GAINED BY NUTT FROM 1913 TO 1914.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>EXAMINATION</th>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>RESULTS</th>
<th>REMARKS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>June 1913</td>
<td>Faculty of Arts</td>
<td>Anc: History &amp; Anc: Art</td>
<td>Pass</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1st Yr.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 1913</td>
<td>1st Yr. French</td>
<td>Fail</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1914</td>
<td>2nd Yr. French, 1st Yr. French</td>
<td>Pass</td>
<td>Awarded Diploma</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX VII. SHEFFIELD UNIVERSITY POSTGRADUATE RECORD OF NUTT'S STUDIES FROM 1910 TO 1915.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SESSION</th>
<th>COURSES ATTENDED</th>
<th>SCHOLARSHIPS</th>
<th>AWARDS</th>
<th>REMARKS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1910-1911</td>
<td>Faculty of Arts -</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Greek Art</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1912-1913</td>
<td>Faculty of Arts -</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Art Teachers' Diploma - 1st Yr.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Greek - Hist. of Art.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>French, Anc: History, Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>1913-1914</td>
<td>Faculty of Arts</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1914-1915</td>
<td>Faculty of Arts (Evening)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Classical Archaeology.</td>
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NUTT, Elizabeth Styring.
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Publisher</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BELL, C.</td>
<td>Art.</td>
<td>1915</td>
<td>Chatto and Windus</td>
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<td>BLACK, F. and WELBY, R.</td>
<td>Reports on the International Congress of Drawing: Berne, August 2-6, 1904</td>
<td>1905</td>
<td>Society of Art Masters</td>
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<tr>
<td>BOARD of EDUCATION</td>
<td>Circular on Primary Drawing</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>His Majesty's Stationary Office</td>
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<td>BOARD of EDUCATION</td>
<td>Code of Regulations for Public Elementary Schools</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>National Union of Teachers</td>
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<tr>
<td>BOARD of EDUCATION</td>
<td>Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers and Others Concerned in the Work of Public Elementary Schools</td>
<td>1905</td>
<td>His Majesty’s Stationary Office</td>
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<tr>
<td>BOARD of EDUCATION</td>
<td>The Education of the Adolescent (The Hadow Report)</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>His Majesty's Stationary Office</td>
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<tr>
<td>BOARD of EDUCATION</td>
<td>Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers and Others Concerned in the Work of Public Elementary Schools</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>His Majesty’s Stationary Office</td>
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<tr>
<td>CRANE, W.</td>
<td>The Bases of Design</td>
<td>1898</td>
<td>G. Bell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRANE, W.</td>
<td>Line and Form</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>G. Bell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CURTIS, L. S.</td>
<td>The History of Broken Hill, its Rise and Progress</td>
<td>1908</td>
<td>Freasons Printing House</td>
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<td>DAVIES, E.</td>
<td>Thoughts on Some Questions Relating to Women</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>Bowes and Bowes</td>
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<tr>
<td>EDUCATION DEPARTMENT</td>
<td>Training Colleges Reports for the Year 1887</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td>Her Majesty's Stationery Office</td>
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<tr>
<td>EDUCATION DEPARTMENT</td>
<td>Training Colleges Reports for the Year 1891</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>Her Majesty's Stationery Office</td>
</tr>
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<td>HOLLAND, C.</td>
<td>Design for Schools</td>
<td>1907</td>
<td>Macmillan &amp; Co. Ltd</td>
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<td>HOLMES, E.</td>
<td>What Is and What Might Be</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Constable &amp; Co. Ltd</td>
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<tr>
<td>LITTLEJOHNS, J.</td>
<td>Art in Schools</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td>University of London Press Ltd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Newspapers

British


Exhibition Catalogues


Unpublished Papers


