CHANGING CONCEPTS IN ART AND ART EDUCATION IN ENGLAND SINCE 1956, AS VIEWED THROUGH THE INFLUENCE OF AMERICAN PAINTING

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ABSTRACT

This study traces the influence of American painting on art and art education in England. Beginning with the first successful showings of American paintings in England in the mid 1950's, the study traces the American influence through the artists immediately affected, through art movements: Abstract Expressionism; Pop Art, to students and eventually into art education. Important changes began to take place in the philosophy of art education during this period and this study attempts to link these changes with the advent of the acceptance of American painting. Finally, the change itself is concentrated upon, and an attempt is made to find a possible direction for any future change.

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INTRODUCTION

Statement of Purpose

The researcher will attempt, though a study of American influence on English painting since 1956,[1] to develop a possible direction for this change as it applies to the art educational system at the post-secondary level in England.

Significance

The investigator will, through the investigation of American painting influences on English painting, focus upon areas in art education where "inferiority feelings were deepened further by the awareness that England lagged behind . . . the United States . . . in applied arts. It needed only the American exhibition at the Tate Gallery in 1956 to bring English art teaching to its knees."[2] The exhibition made artists and art educators alike painfully aware that innovation, freshness and vitality were lagging in art and art education in England. Change was implemented. In 1957 the National Advisory Committee on Art Education recommended the introduction of a new diploma of higher standards, and by 1960 another

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[1] 1956 marked the date of the first "Abstract Expressionist" paintings, from the United States, that were seen in England in the Tate Gallery's showing of the Museum of Modern Art's touring exhibition "Modern Art in the United States."

[2] Denis Young, "Art in English Education Now," Studies in Art Education, Vol. 5, No. 2, Spring 1964, p. 36.

committee under Sir William Coldstream had framed the structure of this award to be called the Diploma in Art and Design (Dip.A.D.).[3]

Whether this move was a step in the right direction is not being questioned. This study will postulate that these and later American influences[4] had dramatic and far reaching effects on artists and educators, and inquiry into the phenomena is likely to have further implications for change.

The body of the study will obviously be concentrated on English painting and English art education, after American influences, but the concepts could have implications for educational situations in other countries.

Review of the Literature

Concentrating on the exhibition of American painting aspect of this study, and upon studying the critical viewpoints of Lawrence Alloway, Alan Bowness, Robert Melville, Bryan Robertson, John Russell, Suzi Gablik and John McHale, who all speak with some degree of authority on English painting, it becomes obvious that they concur with Martin Friedman's statement: "A stimulus that had never come to England from the other

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[3] First Report of the National Advisory Council on Art Education. William Coldstream, Chairman for Ministry of Education (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office. Revised with Addendum, 1966).

[4] 1957, Sam Francis exhibitions at Tooths and Gimples Galleries.
1958, Paintings by de Kooning, Kline, Pollock, Rothko and Still at the Institute of Contemporary Art (I.C.A.).
1958, Jackson Pollock retrospective at the Whitechapel Gallery.
1959, "New American Painting" show at the Tate Gallery.

side of the channel now spanned the Atlantic."[5]

John Russell uses another example:

> English painters remained English, but they felt about the American scene in the late 1950's and early 1960's as Goethe felt about Italy in 1786. "My passionate desire to see it with my own eyes had grown to such a point," Goethe wrote from Venice, "that if I had not taken the decision to come here I should have gone completely to pieces. . . ."
>
> In the early 1950's both technology and the mass media were very much more advanced in America than they were in England; and there was, then as now, a sense of limitless possibility about American life which does not exist in England, partly because our resources are so much smaller and partly because the events of the last twenty five years have put us temperamentally on the defensive. It was natural for the Independent Group to look to America, and for Alloway and McHale eventually to emigrate there, just as it was natural for the next generation of English painters to seize the opportunities of crossing the Atlantic which proliferated in the 1960's.[6]

To review the literature pertaining to Pop Art, and to study the phenomena itself from a social point of view, is to see clearly some of the basic difference between, not only English and American painting, but between the two societies. According to Alloway, a preliminary movement in the direction of Pop occurred in England from 1949-51, the period in which Francis Bacon began using photographs in his work.[7]

Lippard notes: "The real point of departure for Pop Art in New York was the work of Jasper Johns."[8] This study will not become overly concerned with the question which came first?, but will concentrate upon

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[5] Martin Friedman, London: The New Scene, (Minneapolis, Walker Art Centre 1965), p. 11.

[6] John Russell and Suzi Gablik, Pop Art Redefined, (London, Thames and Hudson, 1969), pp. 33-34.

[7] Lawrence Alloway, "The Development of British Pop," in Pop Art ed. by Lucy R. Lippard, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1966), p. 28.

[8] Lippard, op. cit., p. 69.

the basic differences between the two.

According to Gablik:

> The passion to take risks and to relinquish all the controlling factors of ones ego, which is the underlying dynamic of the most high powered American art - whether abstract or otherwise - runs counter to the basic English character, which is by nature cautious and self restraining.[9]

If English Pop was painterly, deliberately unfocused, anecdotal and to a certain extent humourous, then it is only the tip of the iceberg, only the merest hint of English character - an altogether gentler character, basically more easy going. Pop was meant as a cultural break and directed against the establishment in general, and the art establishment in particular.

American Pop was not meant as a cultural break, but a cultural continuity, non-associative images seen in isolation rather than juxtaposed. The direct experience of Pop culture and technology adapted and incorporated actual industrial processes and techniques into its production: Lichtenstein's commercial Ben-Day techniques from photojournalism; Rosenquist, a trained billboard artist; Warhol, after a brief period with painting, relying wholly on silk screening, never painting again - and therein lies the crucial difference.

Looking at an art educational aspect, it is interesting to cite David Hockney reflecting on his encounter with the Royal College of Art in London (he attended from 1959 to 1962):

> People were doing enormous paintings (a direct American influence)[10]

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[9] Russell and Gablik, op. cit., p. 18.

[10] This writer's addition: This fact can be traced back to the 1956 exhibition at the Tate Gallery "Modern Art in the United States."

> I remember, which the College didn't like . . . so they became rather antagonistic. . . . Eventually they threw out Allen Jones. They were trying I suppose to frighten people.
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> My main quarrel with College wasn't to do with the painting school at all really - it was to do with the General Studies Department. I'm still against them and in a way I still think it's a great waste of time.[11]

That a certain amount of change indeed took place, during the period under study, has previously been mentioned (Coldstream Report, 1960) and change was certainly investigated by the educational establishment: Robbins Committee 1963,[12] Summerson Report 1964.[13] One of the results of the Coldstream Report (1960) being the introduction of the Diploma in Art and Design (Dip.A.D.) to replace the National Diploma in Design (N.D.D.). Students attending Art Colleges during this period, however, showed their disapproval of this change at Hornsey in so far as it did not go far enough.[14] The unrest spread to a few other Colleges of Art; notably Guildford and Birmingham.[15] In the opinion of the staff

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[11] David Hockney, "The point is in actual fact . . ." Ark Journal of the Royal College of Art, No. 41, 1967, p. 44.

[12] In 1961 the Robbins Committee was appointed by the Prime Minister to review the pattern of full time higher education in Great Britain. The report stressed the elevation of the Royal College of Art to university status. A fact that came about in 1967.

[13] The Advisory Council recommended that an independent body should be established to administer the new award (Dip.A.D.), thus in 1961 the Minister of Education set up the National Council for Diplomas in Art and Design under the chairmanship of Sir John Summerson to ensure the courses were of the breadth envisaged in the Coldstream Report, and of a height above the existing N.D.D.

[14] Students and Staff, The Hornsey Affair, Penguin Books, Hammondsworth, Middlesex: The Penguin Press, 1969.

[15] Stuart MacDonald, The History and Philosophy of Art Education, (New York, Elsevier, 1970), p. 360.

and students of Hornsey College of Art the results of these reports, ". . . poured cold water on any hopes raised by the advice given to the Ministry in 1952 and 1957 which explicitly criticized the examination system rather than any particular exam."[16]

Data Collection

The majority of the data pertinent to this study is contained in examples cited in the review of the literature, such as: art and art educational magazines, journals, recent publications, government documents and the text that accompanies exhibition brochures and catalogues. A bulk of similar data was found in newspaper and magazine articles not especially devoted to art education per se., for example: The Times Educational Supplement (London). Illustrations that contribute another dimension, especially in the establishment of American influences, have been collected and included in conjunction with the text.

Data Analysis

The researcher will, by an analysis of available data, establish that a knowledge of the influence of American painting on artists and in turn on art education, in England, gives a greater understanding of the changes that occurred, and why they occurred in painting and in the restructuring of art education at the post-secondary level.

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[16] The Hornsey Affair, op. cit., p. 76.

CHAPTER I

THE AMERICAN INVASION: 1956

One of the first indications of the onslaught of American Abstract Expressionism on England was a show called "Opposing Forces" held at the Institute of Contemporary Arts (I.C.A.) in London, 1953. The exhibition, selected by Michel Tapie, a French dealer, was ostensibly an exhibition of Parisian action painting. Included was a nine by eighteen foot canvas by Jackson Pollock.

> All the same, it was a great pity that the I.C.A. lacked the funds to present an orderly account of new developments in American painting before exhibiting Tapie's group: the Pollock was put on show without an explanation, as though he were an isolated American phenomena, and we were not well enough informed at the time to realize that the Parisians "attracted by authentic adventures" were vulgarizing American action painting.[17]

In 1956, the Tate Gallery in London showed the Museum of Modern Art's touring exhibition "Modern Art in the United States." Most of the painting and sculpture did not arouse more than polite curiosity, but in the last gallery of the exhibition was the first sizable group of Abstract Expressionist pictures seen in England. Among them were: Jackson Pollock's "Number 1" of 1948, along with "She Wolf" of 1943, Willem de Kooning's "Woman 1" of 1950-52, Franz Kline's "Chief" of 1950, Clyfford Still's "Painting 1951", Robert Motherwell's "Granada" of 1949,

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[17] Robert Melville, "Action Painting: New York-Paris-London," ARK Journal of the Royal College of Art, No. 18, Nov. 1956, p. 30.

Mark Rothko's "Number 1" of 1949 and "Number 10" of 1950, and paintings by Gorky, Gaston and Tomlin.

Patrick Heron's reports from London published in Arts between 1955 and 1958 reflect in exceptionally revealing fashion the reason for an English artist and critics wholehearted conversion to American painting. He wrote of this 1956 Tate exhibition:

> At last we can see for ourselves what it is like to stand in a very very large room hung with very large canvasses by Jackson Pollock, Willem de Kooning, Mark Rothko, Clyfford Still, Franz Kline and others. I think it is true to say that the fame of these painters just managed to precede the arrival of their canvasses in London: in other words, the exhibition has come at "the psychological moment" - the moment when curiosity was keenest. . . . I was instantly elated by the size, energy, originality, economy and inventive daring of many of the paintings. Their creative emptiness represented a radical discovery, I felt, as did their flatness, or rather their spatial shallowness. I was fascinated by their consistent denial of illusionistic depth. . . . Also there was an absence of relish in the matiere as an end in itself. . . .[18]

In an important point relating to shifting influences, Heron states:

> . . . the idea that this new school of American painters has become an international force, capable, even, of exerting an influence on Paris - this idea has been gaining currency to such an extent that even The Times can explain, in its review of this exhibition, that the painters . . . have "gained for the United States an influence upon European art which it has never exerted before."[19]

Heron goes on to review the varied comments on the exhibition by the Sunday Times, Observer, Manchester Guardian, Spectator, New Statesman and Nation. Then concluding, "whatever their comments the exhibition was certainly 'the talk of the town'."[20]

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[18] Patrick Heron, "The Americans at the Tate Gallery," Arts, Vol. 30, No. 6, March 1956, pp. 15-16.

[19] Ibid, p. 15. [20] Ibid.

Two years later, in 1958, Heron stated of the 1956 exhibition: "I was exhilarated at the time by the originality and the sheer directness of these American painters,"[21] but goes on to be more critical in his judgement looking back at the "Modern Art in the United States" exhibition. But in his analysis of this 1958 exhibition, the E. J. Power Collection, at the I.C.A., in which five Americans showed their work: Jackson Pollock, Willem de Kooning, Franz Kline, Mark Rothko and Clyfford Still, Heron says: "Ones impressions are once again of the forthright daring of the attack; of the generous scale; of the purity of intention."[22] Such a statement tends to echo the comments of the 1956 exhibition, but taking up a more critical approach, Heron continues: "But this time I do not react with enthusiasm to the shallow space; nor to the overt speed of the muscular brushwork; nor to the harshly brittle paint; nor to the lack of subtle resonance in color."[23]

Apart from Heron's more critical statements concerning the later exhibition, the E. J. Power Collection at the I.C.A. in 1958, critical consensus of the period tended to concur with Martin Friedman's statement: "A stimulus that had never come to England from the other side of the channel now spanned the Atlantic."[24]

This recognition of an influence coming from the United States, and New York in particular, is significant. Never before had artists in England looked to New York for the lead in painting, and indeed some

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[21] Patrick Heron, "London," Arts, Vol. 32, No. 8, May 1958, p. 22.

[22] Ibid, p. 23. [23] Ibid.

[24] Friedman, op. cit., p. 11.

of the older generation of painters in England at this time, Francis Bacon for example, "an implacable opponent of abstract painting, could hardly be expected to like the New York school."[25] Ben Nicholson was immediately sympathetic: "he saw action painting as a particularly healthy, free painting development, but was aware of the more traditional, less revolutionary (less "American") qualities of this painting."[26] Victor Pasmore, an extreme Constructivist in 1956, and leader of the England avant-garde in the early 1950's had temporarily abandoned painting in favour of reliefs, and was actively exploring possibilities of collaborations with architects, which was a widespread preoccupation in England at the time, eventually culminating in the "This is Tomorrow" exhibition at the Whitechapel Gallery in August 1956.

At the time of the 1956 Tate Gallery exhibition, the three English artists mentioned were well established in their own right and of a different generation to those that were immediately influenced by this initial invasion of American painting. The point arises; did the younger generation of English artists have an inferiority complex about the direction of English art in the mid 1950's?

Throughout history it is well recognized that an inferiority complex is a rare quality to an Englishman, the English say: "Whenever they see a handsome foreigner: he looks like an Englishman,"[27] and "I don't think

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[25] Alan Bowness, "Some Recent History," London: The New Scene, Ed. by Martin Friedman (Minneapolis, Walker Art Centre 1965), p. 53.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Nikolaus Pevsner, The Englishness of English Art, (London, Architectural Press, 1956, p. 19.

there is a people more prejudiced in its own favour than the British."[28]

Ogden Nash writes:

> Let us pause to consider the English
> Who when they pause to consider themselves they get all
> reticently thrilled and tinglish,
> Because every Englishman is convinced of one thing, viz:
> That to be an Englishman is to belong to the most exclusive
> club there is.[29]

Unfortunately, as soon as thoughts turn to art, these statements on English self confidence collapse. "None of the other nations of Europe has so abject an inferiority complex about its own aesthetic capabilities as England."[30]

An updated version of this inferiority complex about aesthetic capabilities comes from Bryan Robertson:

> . . . there is clear recognition in England of the fact that the expanded framework and references which English artists are exploring now are entirely due to the great revelation of American art in England in the mid 1950's. This trumpet blast was received warmly and generously as an exhilarating liberating catalyst and a new point of departure: but for some time many of us had to endure the embarrassing spectacle of either direct plagiarism from American sources or stridently undigested attempts to emulate its revolutionary splendour.[31]

What of the Americans themselves? The critics writing in the United States in the mid 1950's give a particular insight into the phenomena from the American side of the Atlantic.

Modern art business has been a Parisian monopoly for more than

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[28] Ibid.

[29] Ogden Nash, "England Expects . . .," The Face is Familiar, (Boston: Little Brown, 1940), pp. 217-218.

[30] Nikolaus Pevsner, op. cit.

[31] Bryan Robertson and Robert Melville, The English Eye, (New York, Marlborough, 1965), p. 6.

two centuries; many painters involved in it are repelled and bored by its shoddy if grand commercialism. The Americans, even the greatest of them, still are carefully avoided by our big collectors, sell their works rarely, and would be delighted with a chance to become disillusioned with material success.[32]

Clement Greenburgh makes an interesting comparison between English and American painting, and growing internationalism:

> American art has been able to establish its full independence not by turning away from Paris, but by assimilating her. The fate of British art, with its repeated relapses into provincialism in the course of its own effort over the last half century toward independence forms an instructive contrast. Americans have no longer had to retreat to Ryder, as the British to Palmer or Blake, in order to get free of Cezanne and Matisse. What has made an important part of this difference is that New York is second only to Paris as a home for artists born and brought up in other countries. And just as they became French in Paris, so they have become integrally American in New York. Thanks to Gorky, Graham, de Kooning, Hofman and other foreign-born and foreign-raised artists, American art has been able to make itself cosmopolitain without becoming any the less American thereby. Or to put it perhaps more accurately: international art, which is coterminous with major art, is beginning today to acquire American coloration.[33]

In an article describing the contemporary purchasing view of the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, Gordon Smith writes:

> . . . we have experienced a great burst of creative energy, especially in the work of the Abstract Expressionists, which is unprecedented and it is this unprecedented aspect that becomes important, because for the first time, America has become a leader, certainly in the field of painting.[34]

Another view of this great burst of creative energy:

> Just as world politics seem to be in a fast flux . . . with the

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[32] Thomas B Hess, "Mixed Pickings from Ten Fat Years," Art News, Vol. 54, No. 4, Summer 1955, p. 37.

[33] Clement Greenburg, "New York Painting only Yesterday," Art News, Vol. 56, No. 4, Summer 1956, p. 86.

[34] Gordon M. Smith, "The Brave Buffalo," Art News, Vol. 56, No. 3, May 1957, p. 32.

> patterns of authority and loyalty being constantly realized and an endless series of minor crises continually threatening precarious balances, so the world of American arts is permeated with varied and sprawling activity - energies extending in all directions, numerous schools (with a few members) forming and dissolving, practitioners gaining enthusiastic, but limited and often temporary, followings; so that the scene as a whole resembles, in contrast to the programmed production line around us, a primitive workshop where everyone is off in his own cubbyhole doing his own work. . In art, times of flux are times of ferment; and although any final evaluations should be held in abeyance, . . . the past six years of American art have witnessed an expansion of artistic possibility and of relations within that increased range, as well as numerous works of originality and substance. These years were considerably more fruitful than the preceding half dozen, and tentatively I would say that American culture was passing through a minor renaissance.[35]

Then in an effort to explain American art, in relation to other aspects of American society, Kostelanitz states:

> The origins of this risk-taking individualism probably lie in the singularities of the American experience - in the exploitation of the frontier, in our implicit belief that man is superior to natural materials and can, therefore, freely and successfully impose his will upon Nature, in an educational system that encourages individual initiative from an early age, in our related commitment to the irrelevance of paternal authority in our even more basic assumption that in America everything is possible.[36]

All the same, it is significant that Hess should point out as late as 1955 that the "Americans . . . sell their works rarely, and would be delighted with a chance to become disillusioned with material success."[37]

With the success of the 1956 and successive exhibitions, Americans certainly became aware of their influence on an international scale:

> The advanced abstract school in painting . . . is international, but some of its strongest exponents have been American. It was the first international movement in which the artists of the United

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[35] Richard Kostelanitz, "The New Arts in America," Ark, No. 38, Summer 1965, p. 11.

[36] Ibid, p. 6. [37] Hess, op. cit.

States not only participated on their home ground, but were in the vanguard.[38]

Jackson Pollock comments:

> The idea of an isolated American painting . . . seems absurd to me, just as the idea of creating a purely American mathematics or physics would seem absurd. . . . An American is an American and his paintings would naturally be qualified by that fact, whether he wills it or not. But the basic problems of contemporary painting are independent of any one country.[39]

The remainder of the American invasion, from its beginning in 1956, can be plotted with the dates of a few significant exhibitions: Mark Tobey at the I.C.A., in May 1955, Sam Francis at Tooths in January and at Gimples Galleries in May 1957; paintings by Willem de Kooning, Franz Kline, Jackson Pollock, Mark Rothko and Clyfford Still from the E. J. Power Collection at the I.C.A., in March 1958; the touring Jackson Pollock retrospective at the Whitechapel Gallery in November 1958, and this initial salvo of the invasion culminating with the "New American Painting" show at the Tate Gallery in 1959, thereby establishing a tradition of American Exhibitions in England that continued throughout the 1960's and into the 1970's.

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[38] Lloyd Goodrich, Three Centuries of American Art, (New York, Praeger, 1966), p. 104.

[39] Jackson Pollock, "The New American Painting," reprinted from Arts and Architecture, Feb. 1944, in Readings in American Art Since 1900, ed. by Barbara Rose, (New York, Praeger, 1968), p. 151.

CHAPTER II

THE ENGLISH REACTION I

I was alone I took a ride
I didn't know what I would find there
Another road where maybe I
Could see another kind of mind there[40]

English painters reacting to the American Invasion divided themselves according to generation into three distinct groupings:

The Older Painters

Those over forty five at the time of the 1956 exhibition were scarcly affected: "they were too set in their ways."[41] These include Francis Bacon, Ben Nicholson and Victor Pasmore.

The Middle Generation

This label is attributed to Patrick Heron,[42] and it expressed the painful awareness of painters aged between thirty and forty five in 1956 that they were no longer the young generation. They had been laboriously building something out of the remnants of modern art left in Europe after the second world war, and now they had to come to terms with American painting. Painters in this grouping include Heron himself, Frost, Hilton and Wynter, most of them associated with Cornwall which tended to

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[40] John Lennon, Paul McCartney, "Got to Get You into My Life," from Revolver, (Capitol Recording 1966) track 4, side 2.

[41] Bowness, op. cit., p. 52.

[42] Patrick Heron first used this term for an exhibition at Wadingtons Gallery in May, 1959.

be landscape based painting - whereas New York painting was not. "There was the exception of Alan Davie, who had already developed a powerful, personal style out of the early Pollocks he had seen at Peggy Guggenheim's in Venice in 1948. And here we find the first hint of an Anglo-American dialogue."[43]

The Younger Painters

These are painters that were under thirty in 1956, members of this grouping include: Joe Tilson, Harold Cohen, Bernard Cohen, Richard Smith and Robyn Denny. "To some extent they shunned their elders, who like any older generation, barred the way of their own progress. Because the younger men were less committed, it was much easier for them to change their points of view."[44]

One relatively immediate reaction was the desire by younger painters to see New York painting for themselves. "Paris no longer existed . . . in the autumn of that year (1959) Richard Smith and Harold Cohen both left for a two year stay in New York."[45] During this period, Lawrence Alloway, ". . . the leading British advocate of and apologist for American action painting,"[46] was busy organizing exhibitions of English painters: "Statements" at the Institute of Contemporary Arts in January 1956, "Dimensions" at the O'Hara Gallery in 1957, and "Situation: An Exhibition of British Abstract Painting" at the Royal Society of British Arts (R.B.A.) Galleries in London in September 1969. The "Middle Generation" Cornwall painters were deliberately excluded as being in-

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[43] Bowness, op. cit., p. 54. [44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid. [46] Ibid, p. 53.

sufficiently abstract from the "Situation" exhibition, and the younger English painters exhibited enormous American-type formal pictures.[47]

Alan Bowness implied in his blistering review of the "Situation" exhibition that it was largely an attempt to draw attention to a group of young abstract painters who "habitually work on a very large scale, and perhaps as a consequence have found it difficult to get their work shown."[48] Bowness quotes Roger Coleman's catalogue introduction to "Situation" as explaining that "During the 1950's American painting introduced, among other things, the concept of the large painting into British art."[49] But Bowness' own feelings come through clearly when he states: "One has the impression that, so far as painting today is concerned, the British Isles now lie off the coast of America and not off the continent of Europe."[50]

Bowness' statements are an example of the type of critical attack that British abstract art underwent in the late 1950's and early 1960's with no regard to some of the original innovations that were taking place at the time. Lawrence Alloway tended to defend the young abstract artists, he commented favourably on the size of their work: "Large abstract paintings were considered to be a way of cutting down aesthetic distance; a big picture meant a close-up not a step back."[51]

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[47] Ibid, p. 54.

[48] Alan Bowness, "London," Arts, Vol. 35, No. 2, November 1960, p. 22.

[49] Roger Coleman, Catalogue introduction to "Situation: An Exhibition of British Abstract Painting," reprinted by Alan Bowness in Arts, op. cit.

[50] Bowness, Arts, op. cit. [51] Alloway, op. cit., p. 46.

A less involved, and therefore perhaps a clearer analysis of the phenomena comes from Sir Herbert Read:

> The real impact did not I believe, begin until 1958 with the circulation of the Museum of Modern Arts "New American Painting" show and the Pollock exhibition. However since that time it has been over-whelming. Certainly the younger British painters have been swept off their feet by the discovery of what is really happening in the United States. I remember visiting the "New American Painting" exhibition at the Tate Gallery and seeing the great numbers of young people, obviously artists, standing or sitting absolutely quietly before the canvasses.[52]

Another comment on the "Situation" exhibition comes from John Russell who certainly was more involved than Read and in this instance takes a directly opposite view to Bowness: "Yet the general impression was not all that of a committee of copyists: and in the very large collages of Gwyther Irwin and oils of Harold Cohen . . . two painters were seen to earn their size, if one may put it so, with no cross reference to American models."[53]

In a more sympathetic vein Bryan Robertson comments that he has:

> . . . intense admiration for the best of what they (the artists) have done on the teeth of English ignorance and indifference, and vexation at the enervating background of an English attitude to art that has always, historically and persistently, tried to confine painting and sculpture to topography, which could include mild-mannered portraiture, cartography or topiary. Art outside these prescribed limits tends to alarm or vex the English, though the receptive mental climate is improving tremendously.[54]

From the same exhibition catalogue introduction Robert Melville comments on an aspect of English in relation to American art:

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[52] Sir Herbert Read, "Dialogue on Modern United States Painting," Art News, Vol. 59, No. 3, May 1960, p. 33.

[53] John Russell, "Art News from London," Art News, Vol. 59, No. 6, October 1960, p. 49.

[54] Robertson and Melville, op. cit., p. 5.

> I suppose that to a great extent we have to rely on others to tell us what's English about English art, and I've been particularly impressed by a remark about one of our younger abstractionists made by the American critic Gene Baro, who spends much of his time in London. "A few years ago," he writes, "I thought Paul Huxley one of the most promising of the younger British painters. I suppose I meant by this that his work connected with some of the good things that were being done in the States."[55]

These reactions, by artists and critics, sometimes opposing, sometimes praising, are echoed again and again through the period after the 1956 exhibition up to the "New American Paiting" show in 1959. It is not important to divide critics and artists into "camps"; some for, some against; it is important to realize that this situation existed, generally in a fluctuating way. One concrete element that emerged among a percentage of artists and critics was the growing need to establish a viable English abstract painting tradition. As the American exhibitions succeeded each other in the prominent London Galleries, and thinking artists and critics flocked to keep up with them, so this need of assertion grew. Abstract Expressionism had been assimilated into the English art world and by the time the Tate Gallery showed the "New American Painting" exhibition in 1959, English artists had already begun to paint English style Abstract Expressionist paintings and indeed simply English Abstract Painting, with its roots clearly embedded in the large abstract paintings from the United States. Exhibitions that are testimony to this fact are: "British Art Today" (1962) that toured San Francisco, Dallas and Santa Barbara, "The English Eye" (1965), that offered a New York public a selection of English abstract art and was a follow-up show to "The American Vision" held at the Marlborough Gallery in London, and "London: The

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[55] Ibid, pp. 8-9.

New Scene," that toured Minneapolis, Washington D.C., Boston, Seattle, Vancouver, Toronto and Ottawa from 1965 to 1966.

In a catalogue introduction for another touring exhibition "Aspects of New British Art," Jasia Reichardt comments on a growing individualism among British artists:

> If expressionism was the inevitable ingredient of action painting, which in England was very short-lived, the main trends of the late fifties and early sixties, whether figuration or abstraction, were characterized by a certain detachment. . . . It would be true to say that a British style, or any overall tendency, or set of theories which are universally subscribed to, simply do not exist. The work of the seventeen artists in this exhibition constitutes nothing less than seventeen individual approaches to the function and process of painting. . .[56]

Therefore by the early 1960's American Abstract Expressionism had been, not only assimilated by English artists, but certainly the large abstract canvasses had been personalized and the "individual style" of the artists had to a certain extent survived the American influence, and a personal style began to emerge and be maintained. Commenting on a positive factor of American Abstract influences Reichardt continues:

> American art was an eye opener . . . and an important factor in the total awareness of the physical as well as idealogical possibilities in relation to art. Perhaps the notion that the expression of art can be realized in any form, with any subject matter, and in any media. . . . If this is a liberating factor, it is also on that makes greater demands on the artist himself, and his own inner resources.[57]

There exists a definite blurring of distinct beginnings and endings when the Abstract Expressionist movement began to give way to

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[56] Jasia Reichardt, "Aspects of New British Art," catalogue introduction, 1966.

[57] Ibid.

the new movement of the late 1950's and early 1960's, Pop Art. English artists found themselves in somewhat of a dilemna, the habit of looking to New York had been built up during the previous few years, but at the same time Pop Art was developing separately and quite distinctly in England.

CHAPTER III

THE ENGLISH REACTION II - POP ART AND BEYOND

A significant phenomena happened between the time of the declining movement of Abstract Expressionism and the burgeoning Pop Art movement. The time itself is difficult to define, the question in reality: When Abstract Expressionism ended and Pop began is not exactly relevant in this context. What is relevant is the absorption of an influence, which was not static, and the increasingly diverse development of artists and art. The fact that important developments were being made in the field of Pop Art when Abstract Expressionism was at its peak in England is interesting enough, but the fact that Pop Art developed separately in England and in the United States, at the time when great influences were being asserted by the United States is even more interesting. The Pop Art movement tended to illustrate some of the basic differences, and at the same time similarities between the two social structures. It is also important to realize, at this point, that the established influence of United States painting did not expire with the onset of Pop Art; nor were the ramifications initiated by the influence limited to one particular art movement.

As has been mentioned, Pop Art developed separately in England and in the United States. The roots of Pop could be traced back, depending on ones source of reference or ones concept of "Pop," to Picassos painting "Plate with Wafers" (1914), which showed clearly the printing on the wafers, or to the various cubist collages. Kurt Schwitters produced

one of the most convincing Pop prototypes in 1947 with his "For Kate" collages, which featured comic-strip images. But this is incidental; numerous roots could be established that indicated the advent of Pop Art. For purposes of this study, it is the direction that Pop Art eventually took and the tracing of an influence that wove in and around Pop Art through artists in colleges, the effects of which eventually influenced the direction that art education would take.

The term "Pop Art" itself is credited to Lawrence Alloway, by Jasia Reichardt, who claimed Alloway used the term as early as 1954. But Alloway credits English artist Francis Bacon for making a preliminary move in the direction of Pop between 1949 to 1951, the period when the artist began using photographs in his work."[58] "The artists who contributed to its development in England, Paolozzi and Hamilton especially, are still going strong. . . . A second generation of Pop artists and Pop affiliated artists came on the scene with the sixties . . . Richard Smith, Peter Phillips and Peter Blake."[59]

It is, perhaps, difficult in retrospect, to remember the impact of the "sameness" of Pop artists as they emerged. A kind of obligatory reassessment is made in this reference:

> This kind of obligatory reassessment is not unique to Pop Art. It has applied to all modern movements. André Breton quotes a letter from Paul Valéry which demonstrates the same process in operation. After visiting a Cubist exhibition Valéry wrote plaintively, "How is one to distinguish Cubist A from Cubist B or Cubist C?" The answer is . . . give it time.

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[58] Alloway, "The Development of British Pop," in Pop Art, ed. by Lucy R. Lippard, op. cit., pp. 27-28.

[59] Lawrence Alloway, "Popular Culture and Pop Art," Studio International, Vol. 178, No. 913, July/August 1969, p. 21.

> For Pop Art too time has already done its work. No one in any way informed is likely to equate Hamilton's cool if affectionate intelligence with Blake's warm academic sentimentality, or to confuse the thinking behind Kitaj's hermetic anarchism with Hockney's celebration of American west coast bathing pool culture. It's clear now that Caulfield's use of 30's Kitsch as a quarry for building materials of a new formalism has little in common with Allen Jones' nagging obsessions with 40's leg and shoe fetishism. Yet in the early days of Pop it was quite easy if you weren't at the centre to confuse "Pop artist A with Pop artist B or C."[60]

This initial English Pop, although originating from some of the same sources as Pop in the United States, was of a distinctly different character. "Peter Blake was using Pop images as early as 1954, fabricating a series of "walls" and "doors". . . . He employed such devices as the repetition of a topical photograph considerably before the technique was associated with Andy Warhol."[61]

To perhaps illustrate this distinct character of English Pop, Peter Blake is a good example when verbalizing about his work;[62] he uses phrases such as: "never never land; nostalgic; intrigued by the way a picture or sign mellows, rusts or browns through weathering and age; gentle irony; Victorian and Edwardian kitsch; old brewery letters; hotel door numbers; souvenirs that whimsically evoke a sentimental past; completely sympathetic to the subject I paint; surrounded by badges, door knobs and other bits of arcane insignia; a painting of a post card or the portrait of a pin-up girl; Elvis Presley; The Beatles; cinema starlets and wrestlers."

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[60] George Melley, Revolt into Style, (London, Penguin Books, 1972) p. 129.

[61] Friedman, op. cit., p. 12.

[62] Ibid. Blake's comments on himself and his work are the result of direct correspondence between himself and Friedman, which is partially published by Friedman in this reference.

These words of Blake's evoke a lyrical feeling, which can be paralleled when viewing his work. It is Pop, but the essence, the very soul of his work is rooted in lyricism, nostalgia, very strong personal feeling, and even intuitive qualities when he collects the elements that inspire his paintings.

Apart from Blake, this "different feeling" (as compared to American) for subject-matter, and the world in general, transcends the obvious involvement with the motif. It really comes down to the basic difference in the national character. David Hockney is another example of an English "Pop" artist that is distinctly different from any American artist, or any American treatment and involvement with subject-matter. Gene Baro, an American critic writes of Hockney:

> . . . the subject of Hockney's paintings is relationship among images, arbitrarily stated but sometimes needing to seem casual or accidental. Frequently, the paintings court an air of innocence. Sometimes, they appear to spoof art itself. The association with Pop Art is obvious, but the proper antecedents are the British figurative tradition, subject to a witty and whimsical imagination.[63]

The "wit" in Hockney's work is paralleled in examples of titles of his paintings, which also tend to the literary: "Man Who Stood in Front of His House with Rain Descending" (1962), "Seated Woman Drinking Tea Served by a Standing Companion" (1963) and "Man Taking a Shower in Beverly Hills" (1964).

These examples of a type of English thinking sharply contrasts with some of Andy Warhol's titles, for example: "Marilyn Monroe" (1962), "12.88" (1962), "Flowers" (1964), "Brillo Boxes" (1964), "Jackie" (1964)

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[63] Gene Baro, "The British Scene: Hockney and Kitaj," Arts, Vol. 38, Nos. 8 and 9, May/June, 1964, p. 96.

and "Electric Chair" (1965).

This feeling, this Englishness, exists to a certain extent in the work of other English Pop artists: Richard Hamilton, Jon Thompson, Richard Smith, R.B. Kitaj (insofar as Kitaj was an American and living and working in England), Derek Boshier, Allen Jones and Joe Tilson.

John Coplans echoes comments of a number of critics when he links the end of Abstract Expressionism to the beginning of Pop, particularly from an American point of view:

> This new art can be seen as a continuation of the earlier confrontation by the Abstract Expressionist painters with the problems of bringing forth a distinctly American style of painting, divorced from the stylistic influences and aesthetic concerns of a tradition of European art, which has lain like a frigid wife in the bed of an American art since the Armoury Show.[64] If, during the last decade, Abstract Expressionism has been thought of - at least in this country - as finally having solved the problems of the creation of a distinctly American art, here is a whole new generation which has engendered widespread confusion by thinking otherwise. Seen from this point of view, the painters of the soup can, the dollar bill, the comic strip, have in common not some moral attitude towards their subject matter that some say is positive and others say is negative, but a series of painting devices which derive their force in good measure from the fact that they have virtually no association with a European tradition.[65]

Again, by the way of a contrast with Blake and Hockney, this fundamental difference between English and American Pop is evident when compared to the comments of Claes Oldenburg:

> I am for the blinking arts, lighting up the night.
> I am for falling, splashing, wiggling, jumping, going on and off.

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[64] In the interests of clarity, the Armoury Show was held in a regimented armoury in New York in 1913. This exhibition was the principal means of introducing "modern," i.e. post impressionist art to the United States.

[65] John Coplans, Pop Art USA, catalogue, (Oakland Art Museum, 1963), p. 10.

I am for the art of fat truck-tires and black eyes.
I am for Kool Art, &-UP Art, Pepsi Art, Sunshine Art, Dro-bomp Art, Vam Art, Panryl Art, San-o-Med Art, 39 cents Art and 9.99 Art.
I am for an art that embroils itself with everyday crap and still comes out on top.
I am for an art that spills out of an old man's purse when he is bounced off a passing fender.
I am for the art out of a doggy's mouth, falling five stories from the roof.
I am for the art of ice-cream cones dropped on concrete.
I am for the white art of refrigerators and their muscular openings and closings.
I am for the art of punching and skinned knees and sat-on bananas.
I am for the art of bar-babble, tooth picking, beerdrinking, egg salting, in-sulting.
I am for the art of falling off a barstool.[66]

Not only does Oldenburg capture to some extent the essence of American Pop, but his comments lean heavily on a certain type of humour, which is definitely American.

For more of the essence of American Pop, in this context - especially cutting are the remarks of Robert Rosenblum as he severs the ties with the Abstract Expressionists:

> . . . the real Pop artist not only likes the fact of his commonplace objects, but more important exults in their commonplace look, which is no longer viewed through the blurred kaleidoscope lenses of Abstract Expressionism, but through magnifying glasses of factory precision. When Roy Lichtenstein paints enlarged Ben-Day dots, raw primary colors, and printers ink contours inspired by the crassest techniques of commercial illustration, he is exploring a pictorial vocabulary that would efface the handicraft refinements of chromatic nuance, calligraphic brushwork, and swift gesture pursued in the 1950's. When Andy Warhol claims he likes monotony, and proceeds to demonstrate this by painting ten times twenty cans of Campbell's soup, he uses the potential freshness of overt tedium as an assault upon the proven staleness of the de Kooning epigones' inherited compositional complexity. When James Rosenquist becomes infatuated with the color of Franco-American spaghetti or a slick magazine photograph of a Florida

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[66] Claes Oldenburg, "I am for an Art . . ." reprinted from "Store Days" in Pop Art Redefined, John Russell and Suzi Gablik, (London, Thames and Hudson, 1969), pp. 97-98.

> orange he employs these bilious commercial hues as tonics to the thinning blood of chromatic preciosity among belated admirers of Guston or Rothko. And when Robert Indiana salutes the heraldic symmetry, the cold and evenly sprayed colors of road signs, he is similarly opposing the academy of second-hand sensibility that inevitably followed the crushing authority of the greatest Abstract Expressionists.[67]

This feeling of needing to break with the past, or the need for newness in the United States, is echoed by Robert Fraser: "American Pop is a more deeply rooted thing, born of desperation with painting and with life, which gave it an intensity the European equivalent lacks. But English Pop is more playful and affectionate . . ."[68]

In response to the question "Is Pop Art American?"[69] Roy Lichtenstein answers:

> Everybody has called Pop Art "American" painting, but it is actually industrial painting. America was hit by industrialism and capitalism harder and sooner and its values seem more askew. . . . I think the meaning of my work is that it's industrial, it's what all the world will soon become. Europe will be the same way, soon, so it won't be American; it will be universal.

Robert Indiana answers the question: "Is Pop America?" "Yes, America is very much at the core of every Pop work. . . British Pop, the first born, came about due to the influence of America."

The effects of this "industrialization" and capitalism", mentioned by Lichtenstein, are evident in the work of American Pop artists, also

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[67] Robert Rosenblum, "Pop Art and Non-Pop Art", in Pop Art Redefined, op. cit., p. 54.

[68] Robert Fraser, "Protagonists of Pop," in "Five interviews conducted by Suzi Gablik," Studio International, Vol. 178, No. 913, July/August 1969, p. 12.

[69] Gene Swenson, "What is Pop Art" (Part I), Art News, Vol. 62, No. 7, Nov. 1963, p. 63. Lichtenstein and Indiana are interviewed, among other Pop artists, in this article and asked the questions "Is Pop Art American?" and "Is Pop America?"

the extent to which their paintings are a reflection of their lives. Indiana's involvement with the symbols in his painting "USA 666" is a relevant example. Every sign and symbol in this painting has not only a personal meaning for Indiana - but they form a part of his life - he actually grew up with them - for example the Philips '66' sign is the sign of the gasoline company his father worked for, and the single six represents June, the month of his father's birth - hence 666.[70]

The same involvement between art and life is evident when Andy Warhol answers the question "Why did you start painting soup cans?", "Because I used to drink it. I used to have the same lunch every day, for twenty years, I guess, the same thing over and over again."[71]

This represents two different painters' views, but for both the same involvement exists between art and life, and it is this involvement that is an important characteristic of American Pop. John Russell clarifies the train of thought when he states:

> . . . what I mean by the difference between English and American Pop: it is the difference between the thing chosen, as an act of the intelligence, and the thing lived. American Pop Art is neither a freak, nor a provocation, nor a perversion, nor a betrayal. It is a natural art, and one that is continuous with American life and continuous with American painting. Roy Lichtenstein stands for Pop - indeed, is Pop - for thousands of people who have never looked at his source - material or bothered to study his own career in any detail. Roy Lichtenstein is penetrated by Americana, thought of nothing else for years, and made the move to pure Pop material without any fundamental shift of interest . . .[72]

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[70] An excellent explanation of Indiana's sources for this painting appears in the text Pop Art Redefined, op. cit., pp. 36-37. Indiana goes into detail on this painting and describes the fine line between signs, symbols, influences, and their involvement with his life.

[71] Swenson, op. cit., p. 62.

[72] Russell and Gablik, Pop Art Redefined, op. cit., p. 37.

Then commenting on an aspect of the "industrialization" mentioned by Lichtenstein, in reference to the availability of consumer goods, Russell states:

> The members of the Independent Group had grown up at a time when it was about as easy to see a new copy of Life Magazine as it was to pick up a First Folio at W. H. Smiths. Even those that were there at the time have forgotten how limited were supplies of literally everything: food, books, magazines, pictures, air tickets, foreign currency. First hand knowledge of life outside England, was very difficult to come by, and I see no reason to think that John McHale exaggerates when he describes the impact of the consignment of American magazines which he brought back with him in 1955.[73]

Lawrence Alloway takes up the same point when he writes:

> It is true that English Pop artists used to be accused of pro-Americanism but the nature of the interest can be defined more sharply than that. American pop culture was valued because it was the product of an economy more fully industrialized than Europe's. We looked to the United States as our expected future form, the country at a level of industrialism to which all countries were headed, though at various speeds. This outlook had a mood of optimism that is not in accord with present feelings, but the point remains that Pop Art is the art of industrialism and not of America as such.[74]

Alloway continues, perhaps apologetically, to give some interesting insights into Pop Art in England, as it declined:

> English pop culture has prospered (music and clothes) but English Pop Art has not. The painters, aside from the exceptions noted (Richard Smith, Peter Phillips and Peter Blake) have not been able to take advantage of getting for once, an early start. New York, on the other hand, which seemed a bit slow to me compared to London at first, has produced a vast body of work, and so have Los Angeles and Chicago. The reason for the disappointing record in England may, perhaps, be found in the particular character of artists as a group in London.[75]

Alloway highlights some differences between artists in London and

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[73] Ibid, p. 33.

[74] Alloway, "Popular Culture and Pop Art," op. cit., p. 21.

[75] Ibid.

New York, which he poses as reasons Pop continued to prosper in New York:

> Here (in the United States)[76] there is almost no professionalism among the artists, by which I mean a level of interpersonal contact which is sustained and open to newcomers. In London no artist seems to know enough other artists: there will be a few others, of his own generation probably, and some of these will probably teach in the same art school with him. The art scene is broken into small groups who have only occasional and suspicious contact with each other. An artists best audience is other artists who know, from the inside, what he is doing while it is new, and this is the best function of the professional art world in New York. In London, on the other hand, artists work with an audience that is usually too small and either too friendly or too hostile to provide coherent reactions to current work. One needs more than friends and rivals.[77]

These differences between American and English Pop ranging from the obvious to the subtle, could be investigated much more exhaustively than was attempted here. But, paralleling the origins of Pop, it is not the purpose of this inquiry to pursue this end. Indeed, Alloway when speaking of artists teaching in the same schools as others gives a preliminary indication that the direction this study now takes. An Abstract Expressionist influence has been established. The many and varied qualities that differentiate English from American Pop have been, if not dealt with fully, at least dwelt upon to a certain extent.

The next direction this study now takes is into the field of education. Not education per se, but specifically art education, located in time after 1956. Artists, many of whom were mentioned previously, will serve as a link between the prior established influences and the coming changes in art education.

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[76] This writer's addition. Alloway, after being in the vanguard of all authoritative writing on Art and Art Movements in England during the 1950's and early 1960's, accepted the position of curator at the Guggenheim Museum of Art in New York in 1960.

[77] Alloway, op. cit.

CHAPTER IV

TENSION AND CHANGE IN ENGLISH ART EDUCATION

> . . . I used to get mad at my school
> The teachers that taught me weren't cool
> Your holding me down, turning me round
> Filling me up with your rules . . .[78]

David Hockney serves as an excellent link from the preceding chapters to the present. During the 1960's Hockney was one of England's best known younger artists, and the reason he "belongs" so well at this point is that he also attended the Royal College of Art from 1959 to 1962. The fact that Hockney was a student during this period serves as a link to the educational aspect of this study, but the actual time he was there, serves as link to effectively illustrate American influences directly and indirectly upon artists and students, and the effect of these influences, in this particular case, on the Royal College of Art.

In the interests of clarification, it would be useful at this point to explain that at the Royal College of Art Hockney followed a course of study that divided work into two disciplines - general studies and studio, of which the studio section formed the major part. A student needed to be successful in both areas of study before he would be awarded a graduating diploma. Hockney failed the general studies course. He

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[78] John Lennon and Paul McCartney, "Getting Better," from Sergeant Peppers Lonely Hearts Club Band, (Capitol Recording 1967), side 1, track 4. Peter Blake and his wife, Jann Haworth, designed the cover of this record.

admits:

> I simply ignored them (General Studies). I never did anything. I think perhaps I did half an essay for them. It simply finally resulted that in the final year they said "You have FAILED AT THE GENERAL STUDIES COURSE." which in a way was perfectly right. It was obvious I had because I hadn't done it.[79]

The college suggested that he do extra work to become eligible for the diploma, a suggestion he ignored. "But of course what happened in the end was they passed me."[80]

A sub-committee of the Academic Board examined the marks of all students, as a result of a representation by the students who failed the final examination. Following their report the Board took the view that deviations had occurred in the computation of the numbers of this examination. It therefore ruled that all results be set aside and that all the students, including David Hockney were adjudged to have passed the examination.[81]

An interesting point relating to this matter, in the students' attitude, is that the students involved (six other people failed the course in the same year) did not seem to care if they were awarded the diploma or not. "Nobody seemed to worry part from them" (General Studies).[82] This attitude gives an indication of the students view of art education's direction, in this case at the RCA, at this time: 1962. This theme, in part, will be taken up by other students at Hornsey College of Art in 1968.

To return to an American influence, in this context, Hockney himself explains the situation that existed at the time:

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[79] Hockney, op. cit., p. 44. [80] Ibid.

[81] Ibid. This fact is published in this reference by the Royal College of Art registrar, J. R. P. Moon.

[82] Ibid, p. 44.

> People were doing enormous paintings I remember, which the College didn't like. They just didn't like you doing enormous paintings . . . so they became rather antagonistic. People put their backs up. Eventually they threw out Allen Jones. They were trying I suppose to frighten people.[83]

This comment of Hockney's was describing the period of time when he first attended the Collge in 1959. He himself at this time was doing ". . . just drawings of skeletons. I spent a whole term drawing them."[84] The fact that the College did not like large paintings is important. They, the administrators and faculty, were reacting to large paintings in much the same way that the older generation of English painters, previously mentioned, reacted, including the critic Patrick Heron. To dwell on an aspect of American painting it becomes necessary to quote from Patrick Heron, and use his critical comments and a retaliation by Hilton Kramer, as a link between art and art education in England, versus the same in the United States.

Heron, an artist and critic sympathetic to American influences during the middle 1950's, reverses his position completely in this relatively recent critical attack,[85] in which he decries almost everything American about painting, and exhaults everything English. In this article, "Two Cultures," he accuses the American "Madison Avenue techniques of publicity and Wall Street financial resources"[86] combining in an all out effort like a gigantic steam roller to establish the United States as

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[83] Ibid. [84] Ibid.

[85] Patrick Heron, "Two Cultures," Studio International, Vol. 180, No. 925, Dec. 1970, pp. 240-249.

[86] Ibid, p. 242.

global leaders in the world of art. Singled out for critical annihilation are de Kooning and Frank Stella.

As vastly superior to de Kooning, Heron suggests the late English artist, Peter Lanyon,[87] of whom Heron implies far from being an imitator of de Kooning, as critics judged Lanyons memorial retrospective at the Tate Gallery, "half of Lanyon's Tate show was painted before Lanyon or anyone else in Europe had even heard of de Kooning . . ."[88]

Heron then goes on to suggest that in all probability the influence was in fact the reverse as:

> . . .de Kooning did not seriously turn to landscapes until immediately after Lanyon's first major one-man show in New York - and even then he (de Kooning) at first used Lanyon's colors of the period, i.e. dirty green, dirty white and dirty Cornish cerulean - so that I once thought, in New York, that I had come across some rather over-relaxed Lanyons, when I was in fact looking at some new de Koonings.[89]

Then instead of English artists and critics "falling flat on their faces in front of Stella,"[90] Heron suggests English artist Trevor Bell as considerably further advanced, and more deserving of English praise and admiration. Of Bell's exhibition at the Mappin Art Gallery, Sheffield, Heron states: ". . . proved to me . . . Trevor Bell achieved a major breakthrough in the field of the shaped canvas and is an infinitely greater painter in every way than Frank Stella."[91] Heron accuses Stella of relying on symmetry and any unit that relies on symmetry is "boring"

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[87] Lanyon was also a contemporary of Herons, both being associated with the Cornish school of landscape-based painting, which enjoyed a certain amount of popularity before the advent of American painting into England in 1956.

[88] Heron, op. cit., p. 241.

[89] Ibid. [90] Ibid, p. 240. [91] Ibid.

and gives the work a "spuriously powerful presence," that he judges to be "crude." Then taking a sideswipe at size itself Heron mentions more of this " . . . same crudeness, which we unfortunately identify with America, as that which asserts that "bigger is better."[92]

In a retaliatory article Hilton Kramer acknowledges Heron's "virtual declaration of war on American art and on American domination of the British art scene."[93] Then continues to initially laud Heron with praise for past critical accomplishments:

> This attack comes from an artist and critic whom 15 years ago, was one of a tiny majority in the London art world in providing American painting with an intelligent and sympathetic critical reception. I can speak with some authority in this matter because it was I, as editor of an American art journal (Arts) who commissioned and published Mr. Heron's writings on this subject. Mr. Heron was then one of the very few critics in London from whom one could expect an informed, disinterested, aesthetic analysis of painting. American or otherwise. I considered him then the best art critic to have emerged in London since Roger Fry, and I think his writings of the period, the nineteen fifties, still make his claim to that position unassailable.[94]

Kramer continues to say, however, that Heron's attacks are "explicitly political" and "overstated," and concluding that Heron: "Sounds alarmingly like an apologist for everything British. How ironic it would be if the American steamroller ultimately succeeded in flattening this gifted critic into just another two-dimensional idealogue."[95]

To take Kramer's "apologist for everything British" view of Heron's

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[92] Ibid, p. 246.

[93] Hilton Kramer, "The American Juggernaut," Studio International Vol. 181, No. 930, Feb. 1971, p. 44. Originally published by the New York Times, copyrighted 1971.

[94] Ibid. [95] Ibid, p. 45.

tergiversate opinions, and broaden its scope to include inferiority feelings about everything British, supplies an excellent vehicle to an art educational viewpoint when Denis Young states:

> As the fifties progressed, inferiority feelings were deepened further by the awareness that England lagged behind . . . the United States . . . in applied arts. It needed only the American exhibition at the Tate Gallery in 1956 to bring English art teaching to its knees.[96]

Heron's feelings about painting, it seems, are shared by this art educator about art education. Following the American exhibition Young continues:

> What was to be done? Certain art schools responded with attempts to reorganize teaching programs around aesthetic fundamentalism of the twenties, and their doctrinaire intensity became a focus of health giving controversy . . . one realization became clear: the National Diploma in Design (N.D.D.), to which all art school courses led, was not framed adequately to meet the changing situation. The central issue soon became whether this diploma should be replaced.[97]

In 1957 the National Advisory Council on Art Education recommended the introduction of a new diploma of higher standards, and by 1960 another committee under the chairmanship of Sir William Coldstream had framed the structure of this award to be called the Diploma in Art and Design (Dip.A.D.)[98]

The Advisory Council also recommended that an independent body should be established to administer the new award, to be responsible for approval of the courses "from the academic point of view," and for examination arrangements: thus in March 1961 the Minister of Education

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[96] Young, op. cit., p. 36.

[97] Ibid.

[98] First Report of the National Advisory Council on Art Education, William Coldstream, Chairman for Ministry of Education, op. cit.

set up the National Council for Diplomas in Art and Design under the chairman-ship of Sir John Summerson to ensure that the new courses were of the breadth envisaged in the Coldstream Report, and of a height above the existing N.D.D.

In 1961, another committee, the Robbins Committee, was appointed by the Prime Minister to review the pattern of full time higher education in Great Britain. Because of the current Coldstream and Summerson committees, the Robbins report published in 1963 paid little attention to the position of local art colleges, and one of its major recommendations was that the Royal College of Art be brought within the ambits of the University Grants Commission, elevating it to university status. This fact came about in 1967. The Robbins Committee also expressed the hope that Colleges of Education would be federated in university schools of education, and would provide four year courses leading to the university degree of Bachelor of Education. This offered a unique opportunity for students to take art together with education and other academic subjects, and by 1966 several of the more progressive universities had approved such courses.

This therefore presented a unique situation, as all art courses in the past (N.D.D.), that were given at Colleges of Art, together with the Art Teachers Diploma (A.T.D.) were recognized as a degree equivalent. Whereas, before the Robbins Committee recommendations, any art courses taken in a College of Education were inferior to the equivalent art college courses, insomuch as the latter was not recognized as a degree equivalent, more of a teaching diploma.

The discontent with the art educational system, shown by David

Hockney and the six other students who failed their general studies course in 1962, and the "inferiority feelings" voiced by the educator, Denis Young - "Art in English Education Now" 1964, reached a peak in 1968 when the students and staff of Hornsey College of Art, in London, clearly showed their dissatisfaction with the art educational establishment with a sit-in, a take-over of the telephone exchange and by forcing the principal, H. H. Shelton, to leave the premises. The students target becomes extremely clear in this extract from the book that was written by the students and staff to publish their actions and the reasons for them: The Hornsey Affair: "If we follow sequentially the educational reforms of the last ten years, we can see how each new injection into the system of art education triggered off a new set of discontents and contradictions to ameliorate which yet another injection had to be administered. These "antibiotics" usually took the form of exams."[99]

As far back as 1952, the National Advisory Council on Art Education (N.A.C.A.E.) had said what the students and staff at Hornsey repeated in May 1968: "Of all forms of education, art education is the least susceptible to examination." In 1957, this same council proposed that the examination system should be scrapped and that colleges should assess their own students work. They advised that a national council should be set up to maintain the standard of art education in the colleges. The dismantling of the impersonal national examination system and the replacement of it by the obviously more personal college assessment presented a new danger - how were arbitrary and personal biases to be minimized? Again the obvious

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[99] The Hornsey Affair, op. cit., pp. 75-76.

presented itself to the N.A.C.A.E.: set up another national body - the Coldstream and Summerson Councils - this time to inspect the art colleges and not their inmates.

While the students had control over the college, they produced a number of documents, the first of which said:

Hornsey College of Art, Students Action Committee

> The students now control the College, and will continue to do so.
> The College authorities and administrators have no power.
> Negotiations and confrontations are not necessary.
> Future Action: Seminars on the basis of hand-outs.[100]

The documents that followed this initial communication were mostly the records of the decisions or majority views arrived at in these seminars. All the documents are not reproduced in this reference, but referred to as the principal subjects that dominated all the education debates namely:

1. Conditions of entry into the art sphere of higher education.
2. The problem of beginning studies, and by implication of art education in schools.
3. The question of specialization (the old structure was largely ruled by rigid specialization).
4. The outdated distinction between "diploma and vocational" courses in art education
5. The conception of an "open-ended" type of education with more freedom and flexibility built into it than the old one that was in the process of rejection.[101]

As the writers, in retrospect, pointed out, that to some observers this overwhelming concern with educational questions seemed a narrowness, a weakness. Why should revolutionaries be so preoccupied with their own thing, and so indifferent to the deeper and wider implications of what

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[100] Ibid, p. 106. [101] Ibid.

they were doing? To others, it looked like a reassuring strength. Hornsey rebels concentrated on what mattered to them and other students, changing their own scene rather than the world! Yet to the students there seemed some truth in both contrasting judgements. Perhaps, they surmized, they were too narrow, in a very British way, too little concerned with the philosophy and meaning for their actions. Yet it seemed no less true that by such limitations they achieved a great amount that would otherwise have been impossible: the rapid diffusion of the movement to other colleges.[102] The great wave of public opinion and support, the wide consensus that they achieved victory, retained by the student body - none of these could have been won by a more "political" movement in sharper conflict with British ways.[103]

The G.C.E. Problem

As has been established previously, a minimum of five 'O' level G.C.E.'s are an entrance requirement to a College of Art. This became an important point to which the students at Hornsey gave some attention and pointed out that the question of selection was a leading one in the educational debates of the French student movement of 1968, and that the emphasis was broadly the same as in this instance: towards openness and against an academic structure which is in effect a class structure in disguise.

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[102] MacDonald, op. cit., p. 360. "The unrest spread to a few other Colleges of Art, notably, Guildford and Birmingham, and some principals awaited the coming session with anxiety."

[103] The Hornsey Affair, op. cit., pp. 106-107.

The students therefore proposed three ways of alleviating the problem: One would be to install a selection scheme, make the predictions, then for a year or two let everyone in, or let in a random sample. This would allow for a comparison of the proportion of successful students in each of the two categories - those students who would have been admitted and those who would not. The students concede, however, that this proposal does not have a high likelihood of acceptance as it may entail turning away a student who may appear particularly promising.

The second way is to have some method of following up rejected students. This could be a profitable exercise for the art colleges, and is facilitated by the fact that many art college students apply to more than one college. Relevant information could be obtained, it is pointed out, by comparing the progress of at least some of the rejected students to those of accepted students.

The third way is to admit half the students using the Colleges' usual procedure and the other half using a scheme which is thought to make some improvement. The proportion of good and poor students admitted under each scheme can be compared. It is recognized, however, that this gives no information about how many good students would be turned away.[104]

In practice, the students also recognize that a combination of this method and a follow-up of all rejected students is probably the most acceptable, although they assume the first method is probably the best from a technical point of view.

Lending credibility to their thesis that the G.C.E. is inadequately

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[104] Ibid, pp. 110-111.

framed as an admittance requirement for art colleges, the students quote extensively from various educational sources including a research project at Penn State University on the relation of intelligence to art ability, in a doctoral dissertation, Robert C. Burkhart says:

> In particular this research raises doubts about the relatedness of measures such as academic achievements on I.Q. to measures of creative expression. According to this study, these measures are not measuring creative ability. . . . Achievement in art is evidently then the result of intelligence factors other than those measured by standardized tests. It may be that some kind of intelligence not measured by the usual I.Q. test is involved in creative performance.[105]

The controversial proposed abolition of the G.C.E. drew flak from other educational sources:

> It is clear from Document No. 11 of the Hornsey students' action committee, and from the resolutions and actions at Birmingham, that some students doubt the need for any serious academic studies either in their school-days or at a College of Art. They not only demand the abolition of G.C.E. entrance requirements, but the elimination at art college of compulsory examinations based on academic study.[106]

MacDonald quotes the students at Hornsey as saying that an art student should not necessarily be "particularly fluent with the pen," then goes on to suggest that a "mere five 'O' levels does not demand 'particular' fluency at anything," and continues that this minimum requirement merely ensures a minimum level of intelligence, and even cites the Coldstream reports' "loophole" that allows for students of particular promise to enter art colleges, and that the G.C.E. restrictions be waived in such cases. Although, "There are not many such admissions; thirty six were

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[105] Robert C. Burkhart, "The Relation of Intelligence to Art Ability," in Readings in Art Education, ed. by D. W. Ecker and E. N. Eisner, (Waltham, Mass.: Blaisdell 1966) p. 161.

[106] MacDonald, op. cit., p. 360.

allowed in 1967, for example."[107] MacDonald recognizes that the most intense opposition to the entrance requirements and the need for academic studies comes from the students on vocational courses, who started hopefully in Pre-Diploma courses, and complete their courses with no diploma in design recognized at a national level and who complain that in the second Coldstream Report,[108] vocational courses were defined as low level semi-apprenticeships. He concludes, however, that "some of the objections raised by students are by no means unreasonable."[109]

Another source that recognized the students' situation was The Times Educational Supplement: "Students revolt echoes from the newspaper headlines, sit-ins, boycotts and free universities spread like a red stain across the campuses of Britain, and all beneath one banner. Bearing the device - Student Power . . . students aim is to get a voice in the organization of universities.[110]

In another article in the same issue, Paul Medlicott stated:

> Students from fourteen Colleges of Art met at the Royal College of Art in London . . . to discuss plans and grievances.
>
> A statement issued after the meeting called for the elimination of G.C.E. as an entry qualification, the elimination of the distinction between diploma and vocational courses and for flexibility between Colleges of Art. . . . There was an attack on the National Union of Students (N.U.S.) which said that the students "deplored the attitude

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[107] Ibid, p. 361.

[108] Second Report of the National Advisory Council on Art Education, Vocational Courses in Colleges and Schools of Art. William Coldstream, Chairman for Ministry of Education, (London, H.M.S.O. 1962).

[109] MacDonald, op. cit.

[110] Geoffrey Wansell, "Student Power: Progressive Report," The Times Educational Supplement, Friday, June 14th, 1968, p. 1974.

of the N.U.S. executive, and in particular the president, Mr. Trevor Frisk, regarding student action at Hornsey Art College and elsewhere claiming it was irresponsible and misdirected."[111]

In a later issue that month, while the student activity was at its peak, The Times Educational Supplement sums up the issue from both sides particularly well in this extract:

> Art students are in open rebellion against the old order in their colleges. They are protesting against unrealistic and restrictive entrance requirements, illiberal curricular, and out of date teaching. They indict the system of art education as too concerned with academic ability and too little interested in creativity. The movement started at Hornsey College of Art in North London, where the students formed their own miniature sorbonne, even to taking over the telephone exchange. . . .
>
> That this is another aspect of student revolt is an over simplification. Art education in this country is still in the process of reforming after the Coldstream Reports. New courses still have their troubles, and the new-found freedom of the art colleges does not always operate in the students' favour. Indeed as one college principal told us: "It takes a long time to get over the habits of twenty years, and we have not quite got used to it yet."
>
> The students case for more flexibility in the administration of courses would probably find considerable support among teaching staff, as would their insistence that talented individuals should be allowed to participate in art courses whatever their academic qualifications But it does not seem likely that the academic quality of the Dip.A.D. courses will alter in the future - if only because there has been a long and hard struggle to get it recognized as a degree. That gain will not be sacrificed without a fight.[112]

To begin to update the proceeding, and perhaps take a less involved look at the situation, Norbert Lynton begins an article by putting down some of the ideals held at Hornsey, using the cover of the book The Hornsey Affair which ". . . shows manacled hands desperately

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[111] Paul Medlicott, "Art College Grievances," The Times Educational Supplement, Friday, June 14th, 1968, p. 1974.

[112] Peter Scott and Geoffrey Wansell, "What is wrong in the Art Colleges," The Times Educational Supplement, Friday, June 21st, 1968, p. 2048.

reaching up to the white bird of liberty. This just shows how ludicrous the whole business has got."[113]

Then attempting to look dispassionately at the situation. Lynton offers this analysis:

> I hesitate to say the Coldstream system is good. What I know is that it has hardly been tried. From personal experience I know that, compared with the N.D.D. system that preceded it, it is liberal optimistic, non-authoritarian. The better Dip. A.D. schools in this country, meaning those not overly burdened with self imposed fears, are the most open-minded, open ended places in the world (ask anyone who has studied art on the Continent or in America: compare notes with people in other sorts of educational institutions). They take the few limitations of the Dip. A.D. system in their stride; they have their own ambitions and standards, their own character; they pick external assessors who are going to be equally open-minded; they go ahead with what they want to do, and lo! the Summerson Council's blessing goes with them.[114]

Lynton recognizes that there are limitations, and that the Coldstream system had to be sold to people who had little thought of needing art schools, or of supplying funds for improved building facilities, and a favourable student/staff ratio. Therefore ". . . it had to include a few educational symbols which they would recognize."[115]

While Lynton's main concern is with an art history discipline,[116] he voices apprehension in waiting for the educational establishment's official reaction to the events of 1968. He perceives one reaction as: "Some local authorities . . . are now proposing more cumbersome boards of

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[113] Norbert Lynton, "Waiting for Coldstream," Studio International, Vol. 178, No. 914, Sept. 1969, p. 58.

[114] Ibid. [115] Ibid.

[116] At the time this article was published, Sept. 1969, Lynton was head of the Art History Department at Chelsea School of Art and expressed the fear that ". . . if art history ceases to be an obligatory course in art schools it will wilt and die."

governors, involving staff and students, as a way of seeming to encourage democratic methods and of actually forstalling future protest movements."[117]

He concludes this train of thought by noting that in fact governors can do very little.

Lynton openly speculates whether Foundation Courses should or should not be integrated with Dip. A. D. courses, noting that the existing situation is odd and wasteful, but that the principle of a course in visual studies preceding specialization still holds good. Also he speculates whether the marriage of art and design has failed, noting that influential designers should like to see design taught in separate institutions, talking of wanting links with technology rather than with art.[118]

In a later article Lynton gives his impressions of the later Coldstream Report which envisages "a more fluid system in which students may, if appropriate, pursue a broader range of studies which cross or overlap the boundaries of chief studies."[119] "So much," adds Lynton, "for innocent dreams of an individually operated network structure. Everything will depend on a school's resources and attitudes, as before."[120]

Lynton hints that his pessimism might be excessive. Not believing that the events of 1968 and the more general pressures of doubts

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[117] Lynton, op. cit., p. 59. [118] Ibid.

[119] The Structure of Art and Design Education in the Further Education Sector. Report of a joint committee of the National Advisory Council on Art Education and the National Council for Diplomas in Art and Design, William Coldstream, Chairman for Ministry of Education (London, H.M.S.O., 1970).

[120] Norbert Lynton, "Coldstream 1970," Studio International, Vol. 180, No. 925, Nov. 1970, p. 168.

about knowledge, about teaching and learning, about social pattern, about art and design within that pattern, have deprived the art school world of the impetus that had so impressively transformed it during the preceding years. "The new Report lets schools drift back into something very like the N.D.D. system to which the first Report had been a reaction."[121]

A major recommendation of this report was the development of two distinct course structures. The first of these structures labelled Group A courses - would be provided by the continued operation of courses similar in form to the present three year Dip. A. D. but "modified to permit a greater flexibility of approach."[122] Courses need not necessarily be confined to any of the four areas of study, "Wherever practicable within the areas, any rigid concept of chief studies should be eliminated."[123]

The second course structure - Group B - would consist of a range of courses directed more specifically towards certain categories of industrial and professional design practice.

Some serious studies in the history of art and design must form a part of each students' course (such work must be assessed). The study of fine art is not now regarded as necessarily central to all diploma studies in the design field.[124]

Apart from this 1970 Coldstream Report and Sproule's interpretation of it, Lynton's pessimism is obvious. To counteract it with optimism, a particularly timely optimism in this case - as this was written by an

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[121] Ibid.

[122] Anna Sproule, "Coldstream Report: Two Course Structures." The Times Educational Supplement, Friday, Sept. 11th, 1970, p. 8.

[123] Ibid. [124] Ibid.

American, about an English Art College (Leeds) and only one year after the events at Hornsey and elsewhere in 1968.

Meryle Secrest is a writer for the Arts page of the Washington Post, and describes himself as ". . . (An) American observer visiting the fine art department of Leeds College of Art."[125] and the students as having a creative attitude towards their work themselves and their lives:

> What is being attempted here is a way of putting the student back in touch with those wellsprings of his creative being which Robin Page[126] asserts, we all had once, but which are bound to be damned up in a society where conformity and emotional control are the values of which are prized.
>
> Everything depends on how well this goal is achieved and very little on what comes out of the process; a point of view which runs counter to traditional art education thinking in Britain and the United States. The countries are alike in their pragmatic concern with output, results and productivity.[127]

Secrest notes that a response to the question, "What does a student need to know in order to graduate?" is met with polite amusement. The concept that students should be judged by the techniques they have learned has been abandoned by the Leeds staff since the mid-nineteen fifties, when Harry Thurbron first formulated his theories of art education there.[128]

"The students," Secrest observes, "can't be mistaken for anyone else. You spot them coming a mile away, since everybody else in this

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[125] Meryle Secrest, "An American at Leeds," Studio International, Vol. 177, No. 911, May 1969, p. 206.

[126] Robin Page is a faculty member at Leeds College of Art and is quoted in this reference along with other faculty members: The Principal, Eric Taylor, Department of Fine Art Head, Eric Atkinson, Miles McAlinden and Roy Slade.

[127] Secrest, op. cit. [128] Ibid.

working-class town looks solid and respectable."[129]

A number of creative people have been pulled into the orbit of the College. Secrest cites: Cornelius Cardew, George Brecht, an American, Walter De Maria, Richard Hamilton, Yoko Ono, Alan Davie, John Tilbury, Terry Frost, Bruce-Lacey, Victor Pasmore, Jasia Reichardt, George Melly, Pat Heron and Jeff Nutall.

The principal of the College, Eric Taylor, is quoted as saying: ". . . : they are trying to find out what the individual can achieve on the theory that the assimilation of knowledge comes through self discovery."[130] and Eric Atkinson, the head of the Department of Fine Art: "We have had five years in which to interpret the Summerson Report and I think that this has been done with success. In this country, science is the great mystique; it's legalized witchcraft. There was a great need to balance this with an interest in the humanities."[131]

Atkinson points out that in the previous ways of training, a person never had his own identity, he studied under six different tutors and learned six different ways of painting, this training of the eyes and hand was misguiding when it's the brain that allows you to see. He also says that he would like to make a student's major subjects those which are the centre of his interest, and gives an example of a student whose interests are a cross between wireless, theatre and computers - the

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[129] Ibid. [130] Ibid.

[131] This theme is currently being investigated by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (M.I.T.). Gyorgy Kepes is amalgamating science and art there by working in light sculpture. Under the direction of M.I.T. president, Jerome B. Wiesner, an attempt is being made to impart in scientists and "those that will shape the future with a sensitivity they haven't known." "M.I.T.: Beyond Technology," Time, Feb. 26th, 1973, pp. 37-38.

teaching staff helps the student to discover this, but at the moment, he concedes, he has to give such a person a diploma in painting.[132]

The two men most responsible for the success of the first year course at Leeds, according to Secrest, are Robin Page and Miles McAlinden, who are convinced that the approach must be open-ended and enquiring, an attitude rather than a method, built on a generous concern for the whole man. They encourage students to make mistakes on the assumption that this is an essential part of the learning process.

Another staff member, Roy Slade, points out that because British society cannot adequately support those artists it has now, the colleges which are not product-oriented may be an expensive luxury and one which the society may decide it cannot afford. He offers a possible future direction for Art Colleges if they can shift their emphasis to the development of the creative individual, he believes that the possible benefits to society will become much greater.[133]

A possible indication of that direction is found in Secrest's concluding comments on his visit to Leeds:

> There is, on the face of it, something outrageous about an Art College that doesn't care whether its students ever paint; that cares less about the eternal riddles posed by art than the development of the human potential. But on examination, the concept is not as far fetched as it might appear.
>
> The days when art could be defined only in terms of sculpture and painting, or even as the unique works of one man's hands, have disappeared.
>
> One needs only to tour the New York galleries or follow the work of artists, engineers and scientists working in collaboration through Experiments in Art and Technology to see that the rules have changed

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[132] Ibid, p. 207. [133] Ibid.

> at the moment when the artist looked at a plastic advertising sign with a contemplative eye; first mentally re-arranged the images on a color television screen; first played idly with the idea of producing a picture through a computer, and first envisioned the possible sculptural uses of laser beams.
>
> The old definition of art as an object to look at in a gallery has been abandoned by these men, who have no single approach to their work, but who share the impulse to re-define the human condition, create a total environment and place their humanistic imprint on the fabric of an increasingly de-humanized society. . . . The avant-garde theatre being developed by the Living Theatre in the United States and France, the musical environments created by Cornelius Cardew, the experiments in sensory perception being conducted at the Esalen Institute in Big Sur, California, and the experiments at Leeds, seem . . . to share similar goals: to bring about changes in human behaviour.
>
> There is a common recognition running through these experiments, however varied a method, that unless we become more self-aware we are ultimately bound to destroy ourselves; because no system of government can finally succeed until human beings have learned the art of self-knowledge.[134]

A more recent development, that tends to reinforce previous developments are the exhibits by students of Leeds, displayed at the Institute of Contemporary Arts (I.C.A.) in London: "In May (1972) 110 of the 130 students . . . displayed exhibits for two weeks at the I.C.A. in London, indicating that the unconventional methods adopted by the department are deeply respected in certain quarters."[135]

Apprehension, however, is voiced by Kenneth Rowat, a senior lecturer in the Department of Fine Arts at Leeds, now incorporated in a polytechnical college, that the policies of an "emphasis on creativity" and the philosophy of the department "which thrives on the unexpected"

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[134] Ibid.

[135] Roger Grinyer, "Art 'vulnerable' to C.N.A.A. takeover," The Times Higher Education Supplement, No. 41, July 21st, 1972, p. 5.

could become vulnerable if the Council for National Academic Awards (C.N.A.A.) takes over from the National Council for the Awards of Diplomas of Art and Design (N.C.A.D.A.D.). According to Rowat:

> In other colleges, students are expected to paint and are looked at askance if they do not do that. They are a bit afraid of what is happening at Leeds. Here a student is encouraged to examine his notions, and nobody tells him what he should do. We hope in fact for the unexpected. Students find out who they are and then operate in a medium which is appropriate to their own identity . . . if a student was painting at the end of three years, it would be the result of having found his identity.[136]

The exhibition at the I.C.A. tended to support Rowat's statements - an exhibit which attracted most interest was an old Ford car whose inside had been replaced by sheet metal that could be heated up to 600 degrees Fahrenheit by special burners. It baked bread. A student had just been awarded his Dip. A.D. because of his fire-eating act[137] - both certainly fitting into the "unexpected" category of the department's philosophy.

A student commenting on Leeds, in this reference says: "The course. Difficult to detect, difficult to recognize. Difficult to imagine. Probably not provably existent. Impossible to fault. Impossible to even criticize. On can only criticize onself."[138]

These latter documented changes seem distantly removed from the original American Invasion. The origins of these changes, it must be emphasized, emanated from the influences that came from the United States. Without the original influences, the impetus and direction of art education could have been entirely different.

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[136] Ibid. [137] Ibid. [138] Ibid.

To name a particular aspect of influence that necessitated any specific change is difficult. The point remains that certain aspects of influence: size and dynamism of painting, and the international momentum of the abstract expressionist movement had certain seminal effects at the time, and immediately before new policies were being formulated and decisions made concerning the future of art education.

It may have been that the successful exhibitions from the United States, helped build an "awareness" of the United States in art and educational circles that previously did not exist. This "awareness" would be synonymous with success and excitement, and tended to exist at the same time that the United States was exerting influences in many areas of society. The United States rapidly became "the place to look to" for those facets of society that were "ripe" for change. It was also at this time that the United States was becoming internationally recognized as a world leader, and any new development that originated there was almost guaranteed a receptive welcome in England and other countries. The American Invasion may well have been in fact a synthesis of a multitude of varying and diverse United States phenomena.

> . . . I used to get mad at my school
> The teachers that taught me weren't cool
> Your holding me down, turning me round
> Filling me up with your rules
> I've got to admit it's getting better
> A little better all the time[139]

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[139] Lennon and McCartney, op. cit.

CHAPTER V

OBSERVATIONS ON THE NATURE OF CHANGE - CONCLUSIONS

At the basis of cultural change lies innovation. Innovation appears to be the process by which we put together existing things differently than we did before. Some people seem to innovate more significantly than others; and certain societies; cultures and times appear to create an environment that is more conducive to individual innovations than others.

A point seems to have been reached when a certain readiness manifested itself, a readiness to look elsewhere than the traditional sources for innovation. The influence from the United States on artists tended to override any other influence that existed. This influence is seen as a part of a much wider social and cultural influence. The United States was seen as a world leader in technological advancements and as the place where important and exciting things were happening. It could be described as a kind of "swept away" feeling; the influences from the United States swept away any other influences that might have existed at the time.

From a United States point of view, this was an interesting phenomena. Previously, paintings could have been readily identifiable as Hudson River painting, or West Coast painting, but never before had a painting stood for "America" as these abstract expressionist paintings tended to. To people in other countries viewing Jackson Pollock's

large canvasses, they were looking not only at an American artist or an artist from a particular part of the United States; but they were looking at a representation of America. The fact it was a Pollock, and the fact it was large, meant it was America to the people that saw these paintings.

To artists in the United States, the size of painting could be looked upon as a natural inheritance, reflecting the size and importance of the country. As the country was large in every respect internationally, so painting kept pace with advancements in other fields, and began to reflect the size and importance of the country as a whole. The abstract expressionist movement, exciting and dynamic in itself, verified this importance by becoming a movement, an American movement, that had significant impact on an international level.

To artists in England, it would have been all too easy to be influenced by size of painting alone, and to incorporate this aspect into their own paintings without understanding the implications of that size. This would have tended to be an obvious change at a superficial level.

The more fundamental interpretation of what change in size implied was understood by certain artists in England. The "most important" and "advanced" country in the world was influencing every other country, in many aspects of society. Paintings were produced by artists in that country of a certain style and size that reflected that advancement and importance. The influences that were being felt in a vast number of fields opened up many possibilities in those fields. The size of painting was seen in England as a chance to break away from a slow moving tradition; to be a liberating factor, to become part of a wider "swept away" feeling that other elements of society were experiencing. In paintings of an

expanded size, an opportunity was seen to open up and expand the horizons and possibilities of painting in England. This actual change in size of painting that younger artists rapidly embraced, facilitated some interesting reactions from the established order.

The establishment, in this instance established or older artists and established art education, reacted to this particular change with considerable reluctance. In all probability, they assumed that what was happening was an exposure to a new experience, which set a precedent in that it originated in the United States. In this totally new situation, a likelihood exists that students were viewed as "copyists," and the establishment had to face the fact that they had a tendency to be prejudiced; to be pro-European rather than anti-American. Equilibrium was disturbed, that required considerable energy to construct a new relationship that would take into account the new evidence.

Reacting to pressure from students, and possibly from American art, an attempt was made by the established order to assimilate the new experience, but because of its bureacratic and predictably slow-moving qualities the real and rapid assimilation was carried out by the younger artists. The establishment had made an attempt at flexibility in the light of a changing situation; but the younger artists and students had recognized the possibilities of creating their own "culture" out of the phenomena. The American influence was seen as a basis on which new standards could be built, standards that would be different to the existing ones.

This can be interpreted as an example of a new generation critical of its predecessors, creating its own culture, basing it on a phenomena

that was dynamic and exciting and that offered possibilities that previously did not exist.

Reacting to this situation, the establishment initiated change within itself. An attempt was made to come up with a new philosophy to deal with the situation. This was documented as being a new diploma, an attempted change from the old order. This could be interpreted as an attempt at flexibility, or appeasement, initiated by the establishment.

To the younger artists, and especially students, this attempt by the establishment fell short of their expectations and the students initiated change themselves, with a tool that seemed the only alternative - revolution. This radical attitude predictably alienated the establishment. Revolution inherently conjures up images of violent change, explosive action and even subversion. This tended to be the nature of change at this point. Student involvement is important, as students had never been involved with change to this extent before. Decisions were being made by students, with regard to the future of art education as they saw it.

Some of the results that came out of the students' involvement and decision-making was a reactivated interest in creativity, a need for more individuality, a realization of the importance of humaness and freedom, which led to an interest in self-discovery. They were saying in fact - should not these: creativity, individuality, freedom and self discovery be the goals and ideals of art education now?

These ideas tended to disseminate from their revolutionary origins and take root in the liberal thinking art educational establishments throughout the country.

What type of social change could be expected to result from such beginnings? Would any future social change be limited to an "art world" environment? Could the change transcend this barrier and infiltrate into other spheres of society? Even returning to the original stimulus or influence: what effect, if any, did the society that originated the influence, have on the society that was responsive to it?

This of course could have implications outside the society and culture concentrated upon in this study; art in Canada, for example, and in Quebec in particular, were affected by the same influences from the United States that had a profound effect on art and art education in England. What the long term effect these influences have on a "Quebec Art" culture could prove to be a fascinating area for study.

When considering these and more global questions, this researcher has clearly concentrated on only a small aspect of response to a stimulus, and he suggests that other inquiries could "take up" more global implications.

APPENDIX A

AN EXPLANATORY GUIDE TO TERMS USED IN ART EDUCATION IN ENGLAND

The following serves as an explanation of terms that were used in the preceding chapters. They are primarily intended for North American readers, unfamiliar with terms and abbreviations used in art education in England. This list is arranged in chronological order, the way in which a student going through the educational system would come into contact with them, beginning with a pre-high school level, rather than alphabetically, which would tend to be too arbitrary.

1. 11+ (11 plus).
2. G.C.E. (General Certificate of Education).
3. College and University.
4. N.D.D. (National Diploma in Design).
5. Dip. A.D. (Diploma in Art and Design).
6. A.T.D./A.T.C. (Art Teachers Diploma, Art Teachers Certificate).
7. R.C.A. (Royal College of Art).
8. I.C.A. (Institute of Contemporary Arts).

1. 11+ (11 plus).

A student completing Junior School (Junior High School) would write the Eleven Plus Examination in order to go to Grammar School (High School that is college oriented). A student failing this examination would be directed to a Secondary Modern School, in which trades and

and vocations are emphasized, rather than college.

It is only fair to say that the system has changed rapidly to the extent that the 11 plus examination is almost defunct. The 11 plus is in the process of being phased out and all Junior High School students attend a comprehensive education system after the age of eleven, therefore eliminating the need for this examination. In a comprehensive system, all students, if they so desire, and have the ability, may direct their aims towards a college education.

The 11 plus is mentioned in this context because the period under study begins in 1956 when the examination was in full employment.

2. G.C.E. (General Certificate of Education).

This has its North American equivalent in the High School Leaving Certificate. The G.C.E. is separated, however, into two categories, 'O' level and 'A' level.

The 'O' level (Ordinary level) is the certificate generally awarded the grammar school and comprehensive school leaver, and is used as a prerequisite for admittance to a college or university.

The 'A' level (Advanced level) is self explanatory. Both levels may be taken concurrently, but this level is usually taken after gaining a number of 'O' levels, and is approximately equivalent to a North American Junior College level of education.

For a practical example, in the field of art education, before a student can be admitted to an Art College, except in very exceptional cases (the "Coldstream loophole" previously mentioned) he must have a minimum of five 'O' level passes in G.C.E.

3. College and University.

The word "College" tends to have a different connotation depending on which side of the Atlantic it originates; whereas "University" translates with a certain amount of propinquity.

The words "College and University" imply a hierarchical order in North America, that does not exist to the same extent in England. A concrete example being the Royal College of Art in London. The College was granted University status in 1967, after the recommendation of the Robbins Committee in 1963, but in its one hundred and thirty year history, up to its new status in 1967, it was generally recognized as being the leading graduate art centre in the country, the fact it was a "College" notwithstanding. The title "Royal College of Art" was retained, even after its University status was achieved. Therefore, if the University was a consanguineous offspring of the College, it certainly had a proud parent.

4. N.D.D. (National Diploma in Design).

This diploma was granted to students who successfully completed a four year program in an art college.

Instituted in 1946, the N.D.D. had been intended, in the fine art section, to break with the old Beaux Arts regime of anatomy and perspective, and test simply drawing and painting from life and figure composition. In other words, tests which contained mainly objectively measurable elements were eliminated and those retained where the criterion of excellence would rest in the examiner's sensitivity.

The four years were divided in two sections, the first two years a student spent becoming acquainted with a variety of studio areas, then

after passing an intermediate examination, spent the remaining two years specializing on a chosen studio area. This diploma was phased out in 1963 with the advent of the Dip. A.D.

5. Dip. A.D. (Diploma in Art and Design).

This diploma was the direct result of the First Report of the National Advisory Council on Art Education (1960) under the chairmanship of William Coldstream, which stated: "It is the Minister's policy that the new diploma is to be of a higher standard than the present National Diploma in Design." Then concerning the principles on which the courses were to be constructed:

(i) The courses are to approximate in quality and standard of achievement to a university course of the same length and leading to a first degree.

(ii) The courses are to last three years full time.

(iii) Entrants to the courses should have a good standard in general education before they are admitted.

(iv) Entrants must have produced evidence of ability in art.

(v) All students should receive some fine art training as the basis for any later specialization.

(vi) Students should not specialize too narrowly.

(vii) The new system should be based on a relatively small number of grouped courses rather than numerous single subject courses of the kind now accepted for the National Diploma in Design.

These outlines are directed towards pre-diploma students, a post-diploma report suggested that the pre-diploma course: "must be

a qualification in itself and not merely the first part of a qualification, and that: "post diploma work will build upon the foundation laid by the Dip. A.D. by a process of specialization."

The Dip. A.D., therefore, named four broad areas of specialization: fine art, graphic design, textiles and fashion, and three dimensional design, including product design.

Under these headings all the various courses of the old N.D.D. have been regrouped, so that where, before, the student studied only one or two narrowly extended features, he will now range over approximately half a dozen. Furthermore, his specialist study will stem from experience in fine art, whatever course he takes, and fifteen per cent of his time will be taken up with a general course in complementary studies. North Americans, for whom general study quotas amount to fifty per cent, should realize that a similar amount will be impracticable in English art schools until they become integrated with universities.

6. A.T.C./A.T.D. (Art Teachers Certificate/Art Teachers Diploma).

Upon completion of any of the prior courses (N.D.D., Dip.A.D.) a student is eligible to teach art, but many elect to take a one year course of formal teacher training, which has art courses only as a secondary requirement. The only difference between A.T.D. and A.T.C. is that the college that grants the latter, would be affiliated with a university, hence certificate, while the former would not, hence diploma.

7. R.C.A. (Royal College of Art).

Previously cited in term number three: "College and University". The Royal College of Art offered a three year graduate program (up to

1967) resulting in the awards of Associate of the Royal College of Art (A.R.C.A.) and Designer of the Royal College of Art (D.R.C.A.). Since its university status was achieved in 1967 it now awards: Master of Art, designated M.Art (R.C.A.) and Master of Design designated M.Des. (R.C.A.).

Until its university status in 1967 the former degrees were regarded, popularly, though not academically, as higher degrees and its influence has been seminal to the changing scene in higher art education over the last decade.

8. I.C.A. (Institute of Contemporary Arts).

Lawrence Alloway was deputy director of the London based I.C.A., throughout the 1950's. He headed a team of self appointed pioneer thinkers who called themselves the "Independents"; and who became concerned with validating pop-art iconographies as early as 1952.

Much of the credit for the vitality of British Art must go to Alloway and the I.C.A. He was the first critic to welcome United States painting to Britain, and through his writing and personal contact, to graft it on to the Royal College of Art. Alloway's leaving the I.C.A. and appointment as curator of the Guggenheim Museum in New York has considerably depressed the London art world.

APPENDIX B

A PHOTOGRAPHIC STATEMENT OF UNITED STATES PAINTING

The paintings depicted span the period of time from 1947 to 1960, when the most important and influential paintings pertaining to this study were exhibited. The dates following the titles indicate the date the painting was completed.

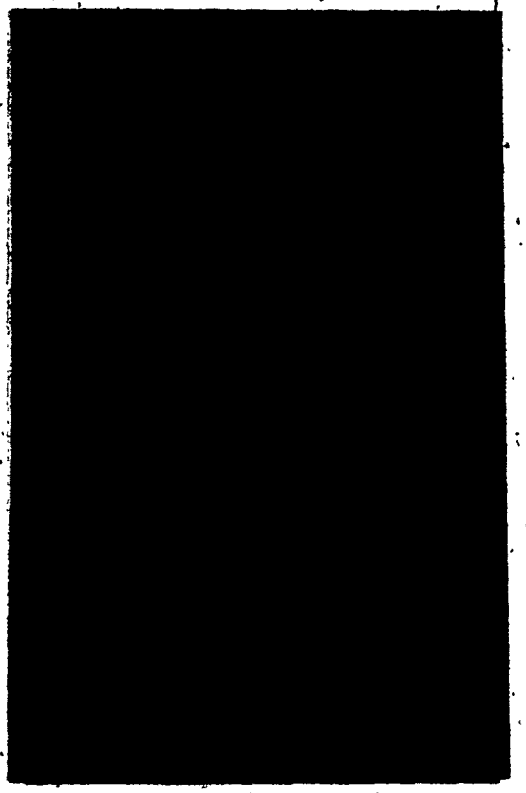
Jackson Pollock:	"Number T" 1948.
Jackson Pollock:	"Number 8" 1949.
Arshile Gorky:	"Agony" 1947.
Franz Kline:	"Chief" 1950.
Mark Rothko:	"Number 10" 1950.
Mark Rothko:	"Sketch for Mural No. 6" 1958.
Sam Francis:	"Big Red" 1953.
Philip Guston:	"Beggar Joys" 1954-5.
Willem de Kooning:	"Marilyn Monroe" 1954.
Willem de Kooning:	"Door to the River" 1960.
Robert Motherwell:	"Elegy to the Spanish Republic XXXIV 1954.
Adolph Gottlieb:	"Exclamations" 1958.

Jackson Pollock: "Number 1" 1948

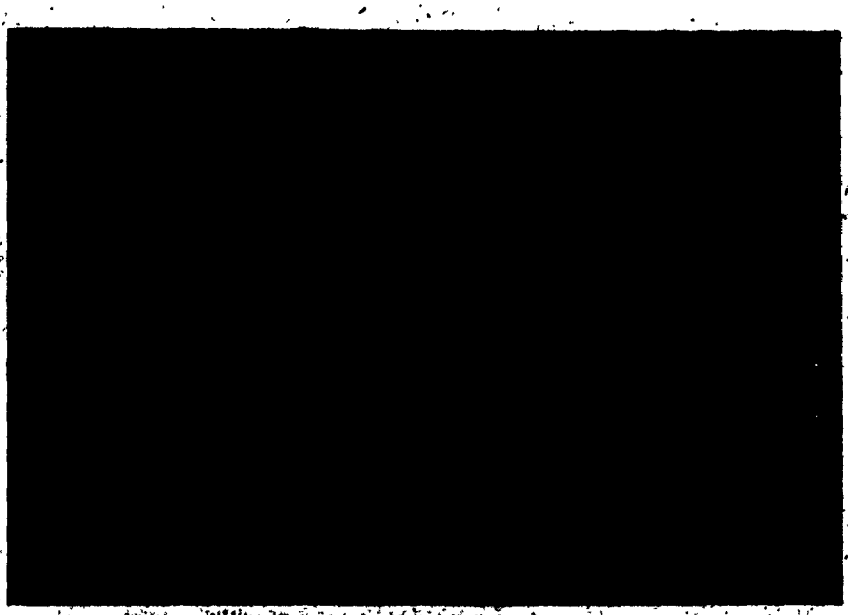
Jackson Pollock: "Number 8" 1949

Arshile Gorky: "Agony" 1947

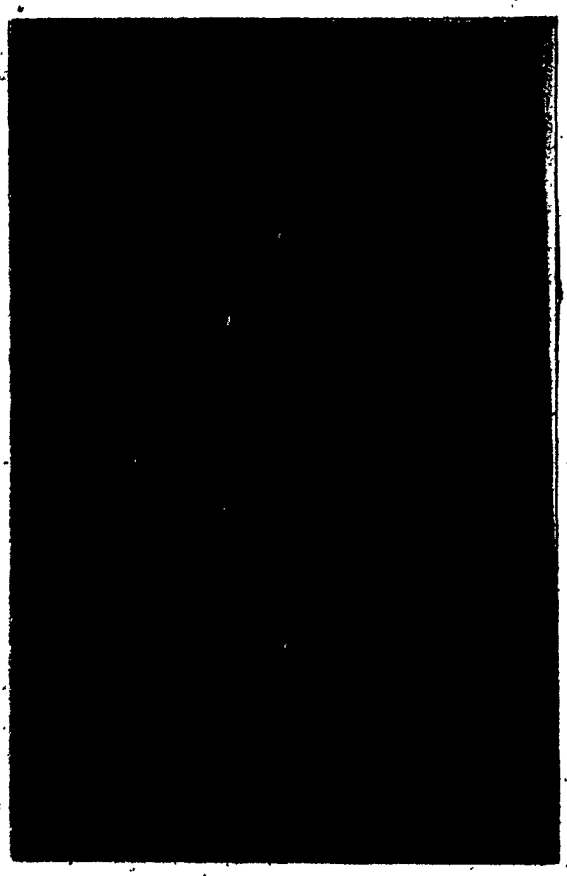
Franz Kline: "Chief" 1950



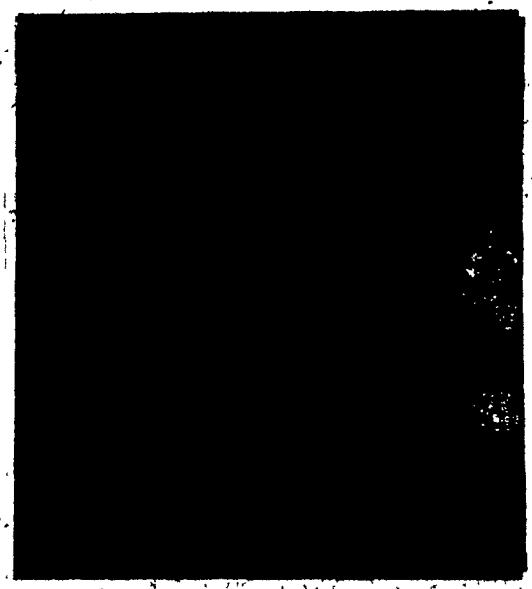
Mark Rothko: "Number 10" 1950



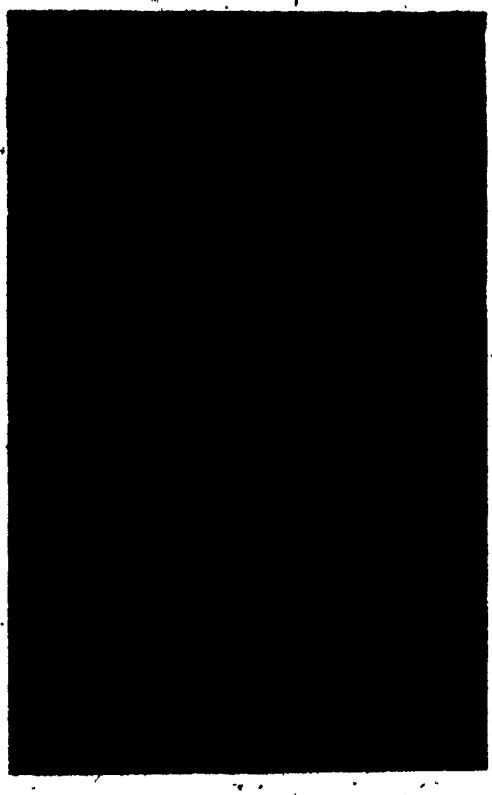
Mark Rothko: "Sketch for Mural No. 6" 1958



Sam Francis: "Big Red" 1953

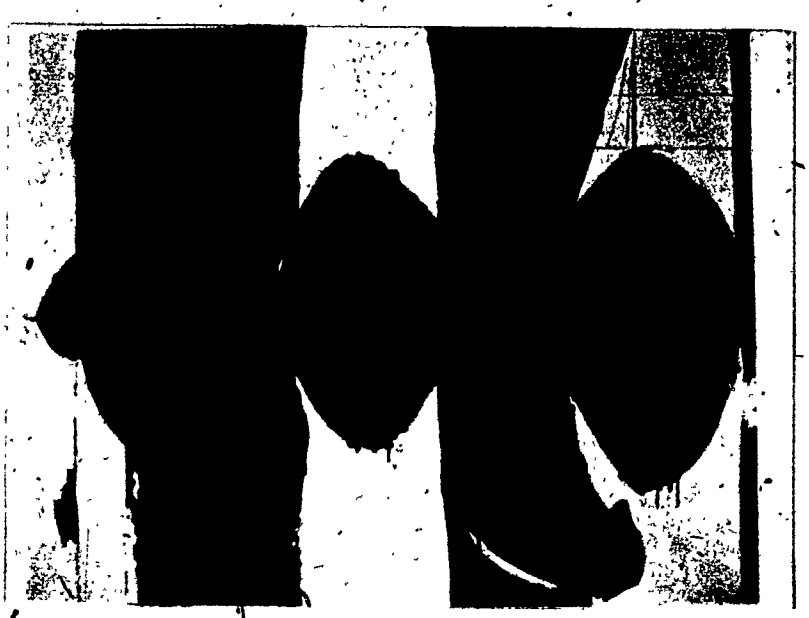


Phtlip Guston: "Beggars Joys" 1954-5



Willem de Kooning: "Marilyn Monroe" 1954

Willem de Kooning: "Door to the River" 1960



Robert Motherwell: "Elegy to the Spanish Republic XXXIV" 1954

Adolph Gottlieb: "Exclamations" 1958

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