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The Architectural Association and the Architectural Atelier

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In 1919, the University of Melbourne opened its Architectural Atelier, which was unique amongst the offerings in architectural education in Australia for much of its existence. It specialised in offering training in architectural design, a deliberate extension to basic training in architecture. It was aimed at those students of architecture who had already completed their articles, in other words, a kind of post-qualification or post-diploma training. The establishment of the Atelier came at the cusp of significant change in architectural education in Australia, as it shifted from articulated to institutionalized instruction.

The origins and models for the Architectural Atelier are often nominated as the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and the Royal Academy, based on the Atelier's own declarations, but this paper argues that it was the Architectural Association Schools in London that provided a much more direct model for the Atelier. Through a serendipitous set of events that saw the New Zealand and Australian governments support demobilized military personnel at the end of World War One who were architects or students of architecture prior to war service for study at the Architectural Association, a very specific network and transfer point of architectural knowledge was established which was of importance in the development of Australian architecture.

The Architectural Association thus had a profound influence over a generation of young architects in Australia and New Zealand. One such attendee was Leighton Irwin, who became Deputy Director, and then Director, of the University of Melbourne Architectural Atelier. The Architectural Association's influence as a means by which an architectural network was created amongst ex-servicemen and a particular group of London architects has been suggested in recent research, but its curriculum as a model for architectural education in Australia has, hitherto, been relatively unexplored, yet may demonstrate an even greater importance of the AA to the development of the Australian architectural profession.



The architectural network—those architects who have knowledge of and contact with other architects outside their usual milieu—is an important mechanism by which architectural knowledge is transferred and communicated. In the first half of the twentieth century, such networks of exchange between individual architects were at least as important as the other means of information transfer that have been identified, being travel, exhibition, publication, education and migration.¹ Networks are arguably the glue between many of the other modes, for it is introductions and pre-existing connections that often encourage or enable things like travel, education and exhibition.

1. Philip Goad, "Modernism and Australian Architecture: Part of the Critical Filter," *DOCOMOMO Journal* 29 (September 2003): 61-68.

This paper examines the importance of one aspect of an architectural network that was developed as an unintended result of an official program that saw young Australian and New Zealand architects attending, albeit briefly, the Architectural Association in London in 1919, after demobilization from war service. The network that developed amongst that 1919 cohort is yet to be explored in full, but it did foster important transfer of knowledge into the newly emerging institutional base of architectural education in Australia, in particular through the University of Melbourne Architectural Atelier.

The Formation of the University of Melbourne Architectural Atelier

In early 1919, the University of Melbourne opened the doors of the Architectural Atelier (MUAA), the first of its kind in Australia. The Atelier offered dedicated instruction in architectural design and composition to those who had already completed their basic training in architecture, either through articles or the completion of a diploma and, as such, was Australia's first "post-graduate" offering in architectural studies.

It was an important moment for architectural education in Australia, in that there was significant emphasis on institutionally-based architectural education at that point with Leslie Wilkinson's arrival at the University of Sydney, the revival of long-dormant diploma courses at a number of institutions and the general push towards the professionalization of architecture in Australia, another dimension of which would be the passing of Architects' Registrations acts in New South Wales, Western Australia and Victoria in the early 1920s. The Atelier itself

became a gathering point for young architects in Melbourne and beyond (with students joining it from around the country) because of its focus on design training at the post-graduate or post-qualification level. It might also have been a very strategic moment as well, coming as it did immediately after the end of World War One, when de-mobbed service personnel were beginning to return to civilian life and re-engaging with professions set aside during wartime.

For the Atelier, its commencement in early 1919, so soon after the end of the War, was serendipitous: its existence had been proposed a year earlier by architect Rodney Alsop (1881-1932), who had recently been appointed Acting Lecturer in Architecture at the University of Melbourne in charge of the three-year Diploma of Architecture course. It was the success of the Diploma with its burgeoning enrolments, from which the first awardee, Edward Fielder Billson, had graduated in 1915 (and was followed by another in 1917)² that encouraged the establishment of the Atelier. Alsop saw that:

the formation of an Atelier or Architectural Studio, such as is adopted in all the principal European Countries and very extensively in the United States of America. These Ateliers are for the encouragement and advancement of the younger Architects, Draftsmen and Senior Students, who have attained proficiency in the draftsmanship [sic] and Building Construction and who wish to turn their attention to the finer problems of design, composition and rendering, in competition with their fellow members, and under criticism and assistance from the Instructor in charge, and from leading practitioners, who support the atelier.³

The initiative, supported by both the Faculty of Engineering (of which the School of Architecture was then a part) and the Royal Victorian Institute of Architects, saw it supported by the University Council within months of Alsop's suggestion.⁴

The very early history of the opening of the Atelier remains relatively unknown: more research is needed to see what records might be discoverable. The separate—or semi-autonomous—nature of the Atelier from its University host is apparent in its earliest years, such as the practice of not recording the results of student work completed under the auspices of the Atelier in the University's records until 1922.⁵ The best extant record of the early Atelier is the short prospectus published under the date of

2. See *University of Melbourne Calendar*, 1918, 785.

3. Rodney Alsop, "The University of Melbourne Architectural Atelier," c.1918, in Miles Lewis, "The Development of Architectural Teaching in the University of Melbourne," unpublished report held Faculty of Architecture, Building & Planning, University of Melbourne, 1970, 66.

4. See Julie Willis, "Conscious design: the Melbourne University Architectural Atelier 1919-1947," *Fabrications* 13, no. 2 (May 2004): 43-62.

5. Annual Examinations Results, 1922-23, 88, held University of Melbourne Archives.



1921 (for those seeking entry in 1921), which included the reproduction of a graded piece of student work, and the prospectuses that followed on an annual basis.

The Prospectus gave a general description of the Atelier across various parts. Under “Objects,” it stated: “The Architectural Atelier was established in 1919 having for its objects the advancement of Architectural Design by the promotion of the study of the principles of composition and design which aim at the development of logical and imaginative Architecture.” Under “Methods of Work”:

The work is carried out on similar lines to those that have been found successful in the Royal Academy Anteliers [sic] in London and the schools of the Beaux-Arts in France and America.

The work is carried out on a competitive basis, and a yearly programme of subjects is set, each requiring from four hours to two months for their completion

To encourage originality and to prevent the output of characterless work, an esquisse is called for in each subject, and is held to compare with the finished product.⁶

6. *The University of Melbourne Architectural Atelier Prospectus 1921*, no pagination, held University of Melbourne Library.

The descriptions of the methods of the Atelier and the work profiled in the first Prospectus were clearly derived from the teaching methods of the Ecole des Beaux Arts—the references to the competitive nature of the projects and the use of esquisse is evidence of that—and thus accorded with the Atelier’s declared following of such. But what is not clear is the way in which such knowledge of Beaux-Arts methods was to be found amongst those who guided and taught in the Atelier.

The Atelier Committee

The Atelier Committee comprised a fairly small group of professionals, including representatives from the University (the Professor of Engineering, Henry Payne, and Lecturer in Architecture, architect Rodney Alsop), from the Royal Victorian Institute of Architects (RVIA President Kingsley Henderson), as well as other members of the architecture profession: Henderson’s father, Anketell Henderson; Edward (EA) Bates; John Gawler; and Leighton Irwin. Alsop was named the Director of the Atelier,

with Irwin as Assistant Director. Almost all of the architects who were members of the committee had received all their training in architecture exclusively in Australia, as articulated pupils, and all prior to any formal degree or diploma programs being available. Henderson snr (1853-1923), although born in Ireland, had been articulated to Reed & Barnes in the early 1870s (he also gained a certificate in engineering from the University of Melbourne in 1872);⁷ Henderson jnr (1883–1942) had been articulated to his father from 1901;⁸ E. A. Bates (1865-1931) had been articulated to Reed, Henderson & Smart from 1883⁹; and Gawler (1885–1978) was articulated to Gibbs & Finley from 1902.¹⁰ Alsop (1881–1932) too had received his training in Australia, being articulated to Hyndman & [EA] Bates from 1901.¹¹ Irwin (1892–1962) studied under Henderson snr at the University 1911-13 (although did not gain a Diploma of Architecture, as suggested by one biographer),¹² and completed articles with FL Klingender between 1909-13,¹³ after which he worked for Bates, Peebles & Smart. Other than Gawler, the architect members of the committee had very close professional connections, particularly through the Reed & Barnes partnership and its successors (Reed, Henderson & Smart; Hyndman & Bates; Bates, Peebles & Smart). F. L. Klingender was in partnership with Rodney Alsop from 1906, thus bringing Irwin further into this closely associated group.

But from where did the intimate knowledge of the Royal Academy and the Ecole des Beaux-Arts pedagogy come? The advisory group had been trained in Australian practices as articulated students and, apart from Irwin and Henderson snr, mostly without extra training in a formal institution, such as the University or Melbourne Working Men's College. Their entire frame of reference was thus architectural training via apprenticeship. It is likely most travelled at some stage, but unlikely that the more senior members did so at a young enough age to consider further formal architectural study overseas. Alsop, Gawler and Irwin are known to have spent time travelling at a comparatively young age: Alsop, the year before he took up articles¹⁴ (but he did no formal study of architecture during that time);¹⁵ Gawler, from around 1908, working firstly in China, then the USA, before travelling in the UK and Europe¹⁶ (although there is no evidence that he took up further study while doing so); and Irwin, whose enlistment in the Australian Imperial Forces in 1916 took him to Europe and, eventually demobilization, in London. Of all of these architects, only Irwin is known to have undertaken any architectural study outside of Australia: at the Architectural Association in London in 1919.

7. Philip Goad (ed.), *Bates Smart: 150 Years of Australian Architecture* (Melbourne: Thames & Hudson, 2004), 297; and Julie Willis, "Henderson, A & K," in *The Encyclopedia of Australian Architecture*, ed. Philip Goad and Julie Willis (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 322-23.

8. Willis, "Henderson, A & K," 322-23.

9. Goad (ed.), *Bates Smart*, 298.

10. Philip Goad, "Gawler & Drummond," in *The Encyclopedia of Australian Architecture*, ed. Goad and Willis, 269.

11. Harriet Edquist, "Alsop, Rodney," in *The Encyclopedia of Australian Architecture*, ed. Goad and Willis, 15-17.

12. Cameron Logan, in his biography of Irwin in the *Encyclopedia of Australian Architecture*, notes that Irwin "undertook a Diploma of Architecture in the engineering faculty at the University of Melbourne, under Anketell Henderson." Henderson was appointed Lecturer in Architecture at the University of Melbourne from 1890 to 1916, but only a handful of students studied architecture, mostly as extensions to engineering studies. The first three graduates from the Diploma of Architecture were Billson (1915), Gordon John Sutherland (1917) and Ernest William Corder (1918). Irwin may well have been enrolled at the University, but there is no evidence that he completed or was awarded the Diploma of Architecture prior to 1920. See Logan, "Irwin, Leighton," in *The Encyclopedia of Australian Architecture*, ed. Goad and Willis, 355-56; and University of Melbourne Calendars 1914-1920.

13. Irwin also completed subjects through the Melbourne Technical School between 1909-1913. See "Irwin, Leighton Francis," application 2883, RIBA Associates Nomination Papers, 25 (June 1919-March 1920), held British Architectural Library, Royal Institute of British Architects.

14. David Alsop, "Rodney Howard Alsop, Architect," BArch research report, University of Melbourne, 1970, 6.

15. Alsop's Fellow's nomination paper to the Royal Institute of British Architects indicates that his 1901 trip did not include any formal training in architecture. See "Alsop, Rodney Howard," application 1607, RIBA Fellows Nomination Papers, 23 (21 February 1916-3 July 1919), held British Architectural Library, Royal Institute of British Architects.

16. Goad, "Gawler & Drummond," 269.



Architectural Association

The Architectural Association (AA) was formed in London in 1847, in response to the relative lack of formal institutional architectural training available to students of architecture. Its aim was to provide a venue in which articulated architecture students and architectural draftsmen could gain further skills and knowledge in architecture. The Association began modestly, with a series of talks, but then moved to establish formal courses of instruction, encouraged by the introduction of a compulsory membership examination by the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1881. The AA's push towards the provision of formal institutional instruction in architecture is generally understood in the history of British architectural education as being an important catalyst in the demise of the articulated system of training in architecture.¹⁷ The AA opened its day school, known as the AA Schools, in 1901, which offered formal full-time training in architecture, which continues to this day.¹⁸

Antipodeans at the AA

Over its history, Australian and New Zealand architects have attended or been members of the AA at different times. A few, such as Francis Lionel Jones (1866-1953), had been a member prior to immigrating to the colonies (in Jones' case, to Queensland in 1890).¹⁹ It became a favoured destination of the more-mobile young architect in the 1920s (and later again from the 1950s), with several Australians undertaking full courses of study, the five-year Diploma of Architecture, there such as GR Beveridge (c1904-59) and Doris Lewis (1898-1981). But the greatest concentration of Antipodeans at the AA occurred at the end of WWI, when some 78 young men, recently demobbed from military service in the trenches of Europe, attended under special programs between 1918 and 1920.

The high level of engagement of Australians and New Zealanders with the AA began with a one-off special arrangement made by the NZ Government for a convalescing New Zealand Expeditionary Forces (NZEF) officer, Alfred John (AJ) Brown, to attend the AA in 1917. Motivated by not only a sense of duty to those architects who were serving in the war effort, the AA was also entrepreneurial in its efforts to enrol more students (and thus shore up its "bottom line"). Early in 1918, the Council of

17. See, for instance, Mark Crinson and Jules Lubbock, *Architecture, Art or Profession?* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 76-85; John Wilton-Ely, "The Rise of the Professional Architect in England" in *The Architect*, ed. Spiro Kostof (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 203-204; and Andrew Saint, *The Image of the Architect* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1983), 64.

18. It is worth noting that the AA's particular arrangements as, first and foremost, an architectural association, means that membership of the AA does not imply graduation from one of its courses.

19. Julie Willis, "Architectural Association," in *The Encyclopedia of Australian Architecture*, ed. Goad and Willis, 29.

20. AA Council Minutes, February 4, 1918, 253, Box C104, held Archives of the Architectural Association.

the Architectural Association determined that it would extend the offer of reduced fee arrangements to any other convalescent officers the NZ Government should care to send; and resolved to explore a similar arrangement with the Australian Government for architects in the Australian Imperial Forces (AIF).²⁰ Although there are no extant records of any correspondence with both governments, the initiative of the AA was evidently successful. The reports on the 1917-18 and 1918-19 sessions of the AA, published in the same volume of the *Brown Book* in 1920 demonstrated this:

The New Zealand and Australian Governments, having arranged that certain officers and men discharged from the army should receive courses in architectural education before returning home[,] the Association began during this session [1917-18] to benefit by the presence of these students, for whom special terms were arranged with their Governments.²¹

21. Session 1917-18, The Architectural Association, *Brown Book* (1920), 17, held Archives of the Architectural Association.

In the 1918-19 session, their presence was even more strongly felt:

Almost immediately after November 11th [1918], students began to come in ever increasing numbers, Australians and New Zealanders especially, and the Council takes particular pleasure in the thought that the Association has had the opportunity to be of use to our fellow-countrymen of the southern hemisphere, and that its influence is being spread by them unto the most distant parts of the earth.²²

22. Session 1918-19, The Architectural Association, *Brown Book* (1920), 17, held Archives of the Architectural Association.

The rapidly increasing numbers of students at the AA schools at this time were a godsend to the Association, which had struggled financially right through World War One. There were just 26 students enrolled on 3 October 1918, up from 19 some six months earlier. By 27 January 1919, there were 77; and by 12 May 1919, 173.²³ About half of that number have been identified as Australians or New Zealanders, many of who were enrolled for only a brief period of time (some as little as seven weeks).

23. AA School Committee Minutes, 60, 65 & 67, Box 2006:17, held Archives of the Architectural Association.

The nature of the arrangements made by their respective governments meant that most of the Australians and New Zealanders who enrolled at the AA had at least some architectural training already, if not were fully qualified. The enrolment of such experienced architectural students at the AA was not designed to necessarily give them further qualification, but as a government-supported reorientation program to help them return quickly to civilian life.



Almost by accident, this program of encouraging de-mobbed soldiers to their previous profession of architecture became an important means by which knowledge was transferred, profoundly influencing a generation of young architects, who would take the experience back to their countries of origin and, in turn, influence others. Other than the waves of migration that brought new architects and ideas to Australia and New Zealand in the nineteenth century, there has never been such a large number of Antipodean architects sharing the same international experience in such a contained period of time as those 78 young men at the AA.

The 1919 AA Curricula

The records from the period immediately after World War One at the AA are patchy and it is evident that the changes being wrought on the Association by the dramatic influx of new students tested its limits. Multiple annual reports were consolidated into single volumes and other annual publications skipped a year or two, making it difficult to exactly determine the curriculum during the calendar year of 1919, when most of the Australians and New Zealanders attended. Of the few documents that were produced, the 1920 Architectural Association Schools' Prospectus gives the clearest picture of the architectural education offered at the time.

A three-year program of study was outlined, in which architectural history and construction were key subjects, along with art subjects, which taught methods of drawing and rendering; complemented in third year by a course in town planning. Beyond that, post-graduate courses were offered in construction, planning, business, furnishing and decoration, and design, the latter of which was taught by the AA's Principal, Robert Atkinson. The AA's Atelier was the most senior class available, its existence "provide[d] accommodation and facilities of the study of advanced architectural design."²⁴ The work profiled in the Prospectus ranged from historical sketches to fully worked projects, with emphasis on the careful sheet layout, proportioning and the correct use of architectural elements.

24. *The Architectural Association School of Architecture* (prospectus) (1919-20), 19, held Archives of the Architectural Association.

While the prospectus offers some insight into the architectural pedagogy of the AA, the general tenor of the Association Schools at that time was heavily inflected by Beaux-Arts principles.

25. John Summerson, *The Architectural Association 1847–1947* (London: Pleiades Books, 1947), 44.

26. Crinson and Lubbock, *Architecture, Art or Profession?* 84.

27. AA Day School Students' Fees, 1919–23, box 504 Student Receipt Books, held Archives of the Architectural Association.

28. "Irwin, Leighton Francis," application 2883.

Howard Robertson, who had trained at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris, had converted the AA's evening school into an atelier in 1914 that he then led, which Summerson noted as being affiliated with the Royal Academy.²⁵ Crinson & Lubbock call Robertson "one of the most active Beaux-Arts theorists in Britain" in the 1920s.²⁶ This interest in Beaux-Arts pedagogy also further encouraged the rise of interest in classicism, moving decisively away from Arts & Crafts notions of architecture, with which the AA had been strongly aligned until the arrival of classicists such as Atkinson and Robertson.

Irwin, the AA and the Melbourne Atelier

Lieutenant Leighton F Irwin of the AIF enrolled at the AA in the second half of 1919. He was initially placed in the fourth year class in 1919 before being transferred to the AA Atelier,²⁷ where he came into direct contact with Robertson, Atkinson and their Beaux-Arts approach to architecture and architectural pedagogy. It was his first and only experience of this type of curriculum and approach, and his only experience of exclusively studying architectural design within an institutional setting.

It was a comparatively short engagement. As noted, records are patchy for the AA in the years of World War One and its immediate aftermath. Records show Irwin attending in the second half of 1919, but not into 1920; his application form for Associateship of the RIBA suggested he'd spend six months at the AA prior to his June 1919 application,²⁸ but there are no AA records extant to fully verify this. He is likely to have returned to Australia early in 1920 and immediately engaged with the University of Melbourne Architectural Atelier, fresh from his London experiences.

The design exercises of the AA Schools that were published in the 1920s strongly resonate with that published in the University of Melbourne Architectural Atelier prospectuses at the same time. It seems clear that Irwin had taken careful note of his studies in London and imported many aspects of the pedagogy and organization that he found there into the new Atelier in Melbourne.

The aim of the Melbourne Atelier in to providing post-graduate or equivalent level education in architectural design closely echoed that of Robertson's AA Atelier. The descriptions of the Melbourne Atelier as being a "membership" also closely echoed the structure



and arrangements of the AA. There is almost no doubt that the AA prospectus was used as a model for its Melbourne equivalent, as some of the language used to describe general information about the two institutions is almost identical, such as the near verbatim reproduction of the “Notice of Leaving” in their respective prospectuses.²⁹ It went further than that in later years, when near-identical captions were used to describe the profiled student work in each publication.

29. “Notice of Leaving School,” *The Architectural Association School of Architecture* (prospectus) (1919-20), 8; as compared to “Notice of Leaving,” *The University of Melbourne Architectural Atelier Prospectus* (1921), [3]. The two descriptions are exceptionally close, with the Melbourne Atelier substituting the work “members” for “students.”

It is remarkably difficult to determine the intricacies of teaching and assessing architecture in an institution, particularly so in trying to find points of comparison between them. The formal descriptions of classes and reading lists, and the resultant published work, only go so far as to describing the internal processes of moving from a pedagogical outline to a student’s finished submission. But there is one other clear point of comparison evident between the AA and MUAA work. Although published documents of the AA, for instance, are silent on the marking procedures of student work, evidence of it is seen in the scrawled grades which appear on the edges of some of the works, mostly a capital M followed by a number. The same marking regime is evident on the work of the Melbourne Atelier, right down to the grades scrawled on the submissions, strongly suggesting the same approach to grading and assessment was used.

It is not until the University of Melbourne Architectural Atelier Prospectus of 1928 that there is some description of the marking system, which details (but does not specify) the number of subjects (projects) a student had to complete, the number of Mentions a student must receive for such work, and the average marks they must attain, to pass the year. From that information, it is possible to understand that individual projects were marked out of 20, with anything gaining 10 or above, noted as a Mention, hence M14 or M17. The comparison between the two institutions shows that, at least amongst the published work, the AA students could gain higher marks than their Melbourne cousins. And while a shared assessment system may not seem remarkable, it is important to note that the Melbourne Atelier used a different marking scheme to that of rest of the University of Melbourne, including the Diploma of Architecture.

It is perhaps needless to say that the types of projects or subjects set for the design students in both institutions were remarkably similar, with very similar methods of drawing and presentation:

such as projects for suburban banks; or gateways in particularly historical styles. With the shared or similar captioning of the student work by each institution, it strongly suggests that Irwin carefully followed the AA's lead in every detail.

The lofty aspirations for the University of Melbourne Architectural Atelier, in aligning itself with the Ecole des Beaux Arts and the Royal Academy as its pedagogical inspiration, is probably not that far from the truth, but the means by which it was realized was through the lens of the Architectural Association in London, though the direct experience of the Melbourne Atelier's Deputy Director, Leighton Irwin. Nowhere in the Melbourne Atelier's documentation is the AA school mentioned or acknowledged, and yet Robert Atkinson's vision of the AA's "influence is being spread by them [the Antipodean attendees] unto the most distant parts of the earth" had most certainly come true.

It remains to be seen as to whether other Australian and New Zealand AA alumni of the time had similar involvement in architectural education in their home towns. Other AA graduates based in the UK are known to have imported the AA model to their respective institutions, as Irwin did.³⁰

30. I am grateful to Edward Bottoms, the Architectural Association Archivist for this information.

Irwin returns to the AA

There is a brief postscript to this story. Irwin returned to London in 1929, as part of an extended overseas trip. While there, he joined an AA-led trip to Germany, where he saw a series of modern buildings.³¹ Afterwards, he returned to London, where he attended talks at the AA, including one by the new AA President, F. Winton Newman. His comments were recorded in the *Architectural Association Journal*:

31. *Architectural Association Journal* 45, no. 512 (October 1929), 127.

it is very many years since I was in this room I spent several very happy years in this place, and I felt when I was in England again I could not resist coming to see it again ...

Somebody said this the most prominent school in England. We have always felt that, but I feel more now it is the most prominent in the Empire, and possibly in the world.

I have been very much interested in hearing what has been going on in the school. Not only for my own sake, but for another school which I am interested in in Melbourne,



Australia, where we have about 120 students. There we carry on very much on the same lines as the work is done here. There are, of course, other big schools in Australia, but that is practically the largest, and it is interesting to notice that practically the whole of the staff there have been here, or trained in England, or are practically the outcome of those people who have been trained in this school.³²

32. *Architectural Association Journal* 45, no. 513 (November 1929), 173.

That trip prompted significant new directions in the style of projects being undertaken by the students of the Melbourne Atelier, as has been noted elsewhere,³³ although the detailed itinerary of the trip was then not known. On his return to Australia, late in 1929, Irwin talked of his tour of the United States, England and ‘several months’ he spent in Germany. It was the German architecture he found most inspiring, stating that “Germans were leading the world to-day in constructional enterprises,”³⁴ which he had seen courtesy of a tour organized by the Architectural Association.

33. Julie Willis, “In Australia, Between America and Europe, Beaux Arts and Modernism, Scholarship and Qualification: The Melbourne University Architectural Atelier, 1919–1947,” *Journal of Architectural Education* 58, no. 3, (2005): 13–22.

34. “Real Estate and Building: An Architect Abroad: Progress in Germany,” *Argus*, December 17, 1929, 10.

The final demise of the Atelier in late 1947, and Irwin’s involvement in it, came, ironically, at the hands of another Australian architect who had also gained further architectural education in an English school: Brian Bannatyne Lewis, the first professor of architecture at the University of Melbourne’s School of Architecture. Lewis had not attended the AA, but its long-term rival, the Liverpool School of Architecture, whose take on architectural education was distinct from that of the AA. Lewis moved quickly to shape Melbourne’s architectural pedagogy to align with his knowledge of the Liverpool approach, just as Irwin had imported and imparted his own experience nearly thirty years earlier: and thus one network of influence was superseded by another.

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