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Ms. to be published in *The British Art Journal*, Jan 2019 (in press)

Word count of main text: approx. 6,500

**Institutional Patronage of Central and Eastern European Émigré Sculptors in Britain,
c1945-65: moderate modernism for the social-democratic Consensus**

Of the fifty or more British sculptors represented in the numerous exhibitions and commissions associated with the 1951 Festival of Britain, a surprisingly high proportion – more than a fifth – were émigrés from Central or Eastern Europe, none of whom had lived in Britain for more than eighteen years. The proportion rose to nearly a third at the Festival’s South Bank Exhibition, where among the twenty-five or so contributing sculptors were the German-born Heinz Henghes (Pl 1), Hungarian-born László (‘Peter’) Péri, Latvian-born Dora Gordine, Czech-born Franta Belsky and Karel Vogel, and Austrian-born Siegfried Charoux, Georg Ehrlich, Anna Mahler and Willi (Wilhelm) Soukop.¹ Another German-born sculptor, Uli (Julius) Nimptsch, was among eight sculptors commissioned by the Arts Council of Great Britain to create a ‘small sculpture’ for the Festival (all of which were displayed alongside the Council’s *Sixty Paintings for ’51* exhibition),² and in a rare example of corporate patronage the Slovakian-born Arthur Fleischmann was invited to design what became one of the most publicized artworks of the Festival, the *Miranda* mermaid fountain in the Festival Pleasure Gardens at Battersea Park.³ In addition, six of these same sculptors – Charoux, Ehrlich, Henghes, Nimptsch, Soukop and Vogel – were among eighteen British participants in the London County Council’s *International Exhibition of Sculpture* at Battersea Park (postponed from 1950 to coincide with the Festival). That the work of so many sculptors born and, in most cases, trained in the German, Russian or Austro-Hungarian empires was presented in this state-led celebration of British cultural achievement is remarkable, as is the fact that their selection seems to have passed without comment in the popular and specialist art press.⁴ Less than ten years earlier, during the Second World War, the Home Office had interned Charoux, Ehrlich and Vogel, and deported Henghes and Soukop as ‘enemy

aliens'. With the capitalist West and communist East now engaged in a Cold War stand off and proxy war in Korea, there was a new reason for individuals born behind the 'Iron Curtain' to attract suspicion and hostility. Yet, as Jutta Vinzent has observed, 'Émigré artists not only obtained British citizenship, but were accepted as British artists by the British public.'⁵ Indeed, by 1951, all of these eleven sculptors had become British subjects and taken up permanent residence in this country, with the exception of Mahler, who moved temporarily to the United States. In the decade that followed, they and a small number of other sculptors from Central or Eastern Europe repeatedly attracted the patronage of central and local government, and various public and semi-public institutions.

Following the example of earlier Exile studies,⁶ this paper investigates the interests and motivations behind this patronage. It examines the extent to which, in the two decades after the Second World War, five of Britain's best resourced and most influential institutional patrons of art supported these central and eastern European émigré sculptors. It contrasts the differing responses of four governmental patrons – the Festival of Britain Office, the London County Council, the Arts Council and the British Council – and one ostensibly independent patron – the Royal Academy of Arts. The last is examined at greater length since, until recently, it has received far less critical attention. Although none operated entirely independently of the others – for example, many of the same distinguished members of the British art establishment sat on their various advisory committees and selection panels – this paper argues that their diverse responses were a product of differing institutional ambitions and biases. This is not to argue that decision-makers or advisors within these institutions necessarily made conscious choices to support or neglect these sculptors on the basis of their identity as émigrés or that evidence of such bias can be found in the records of the institutions. On the contrary, the patronage of their sculpture, like that of British-born sculptors, can be assumed to have been awarded on the basis of perceived aesthetic merit but this does not preclude the possibility that other factors were at play. Indeed, perceptions of aesthetic merit clearly varied from one institution to another, and were inevitably connected to each institution's cultural and/or political values. This paper should therefore enhance our understanding not only of sculptors' success and failure to secure institutional patronage but also of the institutions' reasons for offering it. My

explanations are sought in the particular domestic and international situation in which these sculptors and institutions found themselves, when longstanding continuities of political power, social class and cultural order were initially and at least partially disrupted by the election of Labour's first majority government and the onset of Cold War. While my focus on institutional patronage provides a necessary counter to a scholarly field dominated by biographical and monographic accounts of individual sculptors, my argument inevitably draws on the research of other scholars, to whom I am grateful.

The central and eastern European sculptors discussed in this paper were all born within twelve years of each other, between 1895 and 1907, with the exception of Belsky, who was born in 1921. They arrived in Britain from 1933 onwards. The last to settle were Belsky and Fleischmann, who came in 1948 rather than live under Communist rule in the newly-unified Czechoslovakia.⁷ The majority of the others were among the 50,000-80,000 refugees who fled to Britain from Europe to escape the racial, political and/or cultural persecution of the National Socialist regime after Hitler's appointment as Chancellor, of whom an estimated ninety per cent were Jewish.⁸ Of the Festival's sculptors, all but Soukop would eventually have been identified as Jewish under the Nazi's ever-expanding definition, albeit through parentage or marriage.⁹ Some sculptors had additional reason to be fearful, due either to their political allegiance (Charoux and Péri were former members of the Communist party) and/or their modern and allegedly 'degenerate' styles of art (several of Charoux's and Ehrlich's works were removed or confiscated by the Nazis).¹⁰ Most of these sculptors were fleeing the cities of their birth (Vogel from Prague, and Charoux, Ehrlich and Soukop from Vienna) or temporary asylum (Budapest-born Péri from Berlin, Vienna-born Mahler from Budapest, and Berlin-born Nimptsch from Paris). However, Gordine and Henghes (like Belsky and Fleischmann) were voluntary migrants, arriving from Paris at least three years before the fall of France, having left their home countries more than ten years earlier. Although several refused to identify as 'refugees',¹¹ it seems probable that none would have come to Britain were it not for the actual or anticipated conditions in their home or adopted countries, and that, by the late 1930s, returning home for almost all of them would likely have deprived them of liberty or life.

Like many of the 300 hundred or more painters, sculptors and graphic artists known to have come to Britain from Germany or German-occupied territories between 1933 and 1945,¹² most of these sculptors had left behind established and in some cases highly distinguished professional careers: Vogel had held the Chair of Sculpture at the Prague Academy of Decorative Arts and Crafts; he and Ehrlich had represented their countries at the Venice Biennale; Nimptsch was a former winner of the Berlin Academy's Rome Prize, while Ehrlich had won a Gold Medal, and Mahler the *Grand Prix* at the 1937 Paris World Fair. With some exceptions, the character of their sculpture was forged during or soon after the First World War by their studies at prestigious European academies and/or schools of art, principally in Paris (Gordine), Berlin (Nimptsch), Prague (Belsky, Fleischmann and Vogel) and Vienna (Charoux, Fleischmann, Soukop and Vogel). Among the exceptions were Péri, who was trained by a Budapest stonemason, Henghes and Mahler, who were largely self-taught, and the younger Belsky, who completed his studies in London. Despite their diverse backgrounds, these sculptors shared a common interest in public and architectural sculpture, which was invariably underpinned by some form of social idealism. Belsky's reflections on his own career are emblematic:

I looked for chances to make sculpture in a social context, for real, living environments. That is why I never worked with galleries and dealers nor ever wanted a one-man exhibition. I manage to get my work from direct commissions or by participating in limited competitions. I find nothing more enjoyable – and testing – than designing for a specific site and letting the locality, its use and the life in it, condition my sculptural decisions.¹³

Their sculpture was characterised by humanistic subjects and broadly naturalistic forms, derived from modern, early twentieth-century, European art, notably the modernised French neo-classicism of Despiau and Maillol (assimilated in Paris by Gardine and Nimptsch) or the Germanic expressionism of Kolbe and Lehmbruck (assimilated in Austria by Charoux, Ehrlich, Mahler and Vogel); alternatively, it adopted an eclecticism that drew on diverse types of modern figurative or abstract sculpture, as exemplified by the work of Belsky, Fleischmann and Soukop. Their moderate and accommodating modernism eschewed more extreme and narrowly defined tendencies in twentieth-century sculpture, principally the historicising neo-classicism of German and Italian fascism, the Socialist Realism of Soviet Communism, and the Constructivist and Surrealist strains of international Modernism. Once again, Henghes and Péri were the exceptions: the former's Surrealist- and

primitivistic-inspired modernism, and the latter's Constructivist-influenced, architecturally-oriented Realism identified both with more avant-gardist aesthetics and leftist politics.¹⁴

Fortuitously, the need for these sculptors' to win commissions, exhibitions and sales coincided with a rapid expansion of public patronage of the arts in post-war Britain, set in motion by Clement Attlee's first Labour Government and continued by successive Labour and Conservative governments during two decades of social-democratic Consensus. Even though the nature and extent of that Consensus has been debated by historians,¹⁵ there was much agreement between the main political parties on domestic and foreign affairs and on the need for public support of the arts. The blueprint for Labour's pioneering initiatives lay in an independent wartime report on the condition of the visual arts in Britain, which proposed a significant increase in 'official patronage' of contemporary art to counter the historical decline of private patronage and 'build up a tradition of patronage fitted to the democratic organisation of society':

During the war patronage has to some extent increased; not only in the purchase of pictures, but in the commissioning of sculpture and mural decoration by various public and semi-public institutions. But even now the sum of patronage is insufficient . . . Local authorities have collectively spent more than the State on living art. . . [but] very few have employed painters and sculptors to decorate their buildings or to add to the amenities of their streets and parks. . . . The Government should . . . support painters and sculptors by buying their work for the national collections and by commissioning them for specific purposes. The Government should either commission artists to decorate public buildings, or introduce legislation on the lines of that in Sweden and some other countries, where a percentage of the total building cost of all public buildings is required to be spent on their decoration by artists. . . .¹⁶

The institutional framework to deliver these reforms was created by expanding the British Council's involvement in the visual arts, founding the Arts Council of Great Britain, and empowering local authorities to raise income for 'entertainments', a power that was repeatedly used by the London County Council to fund public exhibitions of sculpture.¹⁷ The creation of the Treasury-funded Festival of Britain Office provided another, if temporary, mechanism to patronise contemporary artists. These new governmental art patrons sought appropriate forms of contemporary art to express their democratising purposes and distinguish them from the traditions of aristocratic patronage. For a decade or so, their common social vision of inclusivity, compromise and tolerance found expression in moderate and diverse forms of modern art, especially in the work of these émigré sculptors. As

Margaret Garlake has observed: ‘it is possible to trace the transformation of a central European sculptural language into an anglicised one that was suitable for a particular moment of social democratic activism in the visual arts’.¹⁸ However, as will become clear, the British Council’s focus on international politics, and the Royal Academy’s lesser commitment to the political Consensus made them unwilling or slower to endorse the proponents of this European-derived sculptural language.

The Festival of Britain Office

As the principal patron of the South Bank Exhibition, the Festival of Britain Office operated under the authority of the Festival’s parliamentary figurehead, Herbert Morrison (‘Lord Festival’), and the Festival Director, Gerald Barry. Barry accepted the recommendation of the Festival Design Group, led by Director of Architecture, Hugh Casson, that sculpture and mural decoration should be distributed throughout the buildings and open spaces of the Exhibition, rather than confined to a hall of art or sculpture court, as was customary at large national and international exhibitions. With Casson and his chief assistant, Misha Black, each responsible for coordinating one half of the site, they had prime responsibility for commissioning, purchasing and hiring over thirty sculptures.¹⁹ Expenditure was reduced by purchasing sculpture from ‘young and comparatively untried talent’ and borrowing prestigious, newly commissioned works by Jacob Epstein, Barbara Hepworth and Henry Moore from the Arts Council. In keeping with Barry’s populist approach to the Festival, Casson explained that they chose sculptors:

whose work was sufficiently varied to be of interest to many different people. We did not see why the Exhibition should be either highbrow or lowbrow. . . we believed in concertina brows, high there, low there, the only essential thing being that the work should be sincere, lively and the best of its kind.²⁰

Hepworth and Moore, together with Reg Butler, Lynn Chadwick and Eduardo Paolozzi, were among British-born, constructivist- and surrealist-influenced sculptors who contributed the so-called ‘highbrow’ work, while prominent among those who supplied the ‘lowbrow’, and what Casson might happily have called the ‘middlebrow’, were central and eastern European émigré sculptors. Many of

these émigré sculptors had worked on architectural sculpture before coming to Britain, making them eminently suited to contribute the kind of site-related, ‘programme’ sculpture favoured by modern British architects like Casson.²¹ Their exclusively figurative works contributed to either thematic displays inside exhibition pavilions – such as Ehrlich’s *Sick Boy* in the Diseases section of the Dome of Discovery (Pl 2) and Soukop’s oak tree in the Country pavilion – or signposted the functions of pavilions or refreshment buildings – such as Vogel’s personifications of Industry on the façade of the Power and Production pavilion, Mahler’s woman with a pitcher outside the Turntable café, and, most famously, Charoux’s heroic, sea-faring, family group, *The Islanders*, on the side of Sea and Ships pavilion, which proved to be the exhibition’s most emblematic and expensive sculpture (Pl 3).²²

Analysing the placement of this émigré sculpture reveals that all of it was sited in Black’s ‘Upstream’ section of the Exhibition (south-west of Waterloo Bridge). His support for these sculptors may have been encouraged by his own history as a Jewish émigré from the former Russian empire and by his familiarity with many of them as a former Chairman (1933-44) of the Artists’ International Association. This diverse affiliation of artists and critics dedicated to anti-Fascist and pro-Jewish causes, involving frequent collaboration with refugee groups, had many European émigré sculptors as members and from 1935 regularly showed their work.²³ For example, of the fifty-five exhibitors in its *Sculpture in the Home* exhibition of 1945 (an idea itself proposed by Hungarian-born sculptor Peter Lambda²⁴), more than a quarter were born in central or eastern Europe, of whom six – Charoux, Ehrlich, Gordine, Mahler, Péri and Soukop – were subsequently selected for the South Bank Exhibition.²⁵ Casson’s and Black’s use of sculpture at the South Bank, including the work of many central and eastern European émigré sculptors,²⁶ has made it renowned as the proving ground of British urban public sculpture, however, their vision owed a considerable debt to the example of the London County Council’s Architects’ Department.

The London County Council

Using powers obtained from Parliament before the Second World War to acquire works of art, the London County Council initiated a pioneering scheme to adorn its public buildings and open spaces

with sculpture in the early 1930s, although its efforts peaked during the Labour-controlled years of Sir Isaac Hayward's leadership (1947-1965).²⁷ Inspired especially by workers' housing estates in Berlin and Vienna, LCC architects were already aware of the architectural sculpture of central and eastern European sculptors, such as Charoux, Ehrlich, Fleischmann and Péri.²⁸ Shortly before Black and Casson selected sculptors for the South Bank, Péri had executed colourful concrete reliefs for a block of LCC flats in nearby Vauxhall (Pl 4).²⁹ Five years after the Festival, in a more propitious economic climate, the LCC intensified its commissioning and purchasing of sculpture by instituting the 'Patronage of the Arts' scheme (1956-64), which designated £20,000 per year for expenditure on artworks for schools, colleges, care-homes, highways, parks, open spaces, and other municipal sites, using the Arts Council as an advisor.³⁰ Belsky, Charoux, Ehrlich, Henghes, Nimptsch, Soukop and Vogel were frequent beneficiaries, eventually contributing at least a quarter of the fifty or more sculptures acquired through the scheme. Their naturalistic styles and humanistic subjects – addressing childhood, motherhood, friendship, companionship and neighbourliness – proved popular with Londoners.³¹ These same émigré sculptors also had a notable presence in the 'open-air' exhibitions of sculpture in Battersea and Holland parks that were initiated by the LCC in 1948 and staged triennially until 1966, using, once again, the Arts Council as an advisor. As the brainchild of the Labour Chair of the Parks and Gardens Committee, Patricia Strauss, they afforded visitors the opportunity to enjoy sculpture in informal outdoor surroundings, in a way that was consistent with the self-improving forms of 'cultured leisure' advocated by the left-wing of Strauss's party.³² Their advisory and selection committees included councillors, sculptors and representatives of a wide range of institutional patrons (primarily the Arts Council, British Council, Institute of Contemporary Arts, Royal Academy, Royal Society of British Sculptors and Tate Gallery) but maintained an overall balance in favour of 'highbrow' or 'progressive' taste.³³ Despite this bias, émigré sculptors were often featured (and Charoux and Nimptsch each served once on their advisory committees). Once again, their naturalistic styles and humanistic subjects – embracing youth, motherhood, sisters, friends, lovers, and so on – proved popular (Pl 7).³⁴

Like the Festival Design Group, LCC councillors wanted art that was admired by ‘the common man’, above all, by the rate-payers and everyday users of their buildings and open spaces.³⁵ Their aspirations were fulfilled by sculptors like Belsky, who commented on one of his own public commissions: ‘For me there was no question that the sculpture had to be a humanistic and cheerful work.’³⁶ The inclusion of a work by Belsky in the 1957 Holland Park exhibition, its selection for the front cover of the souvenir catalogue,³⁷ and its permanent installation on the Avebury Estate in Bethnal Green (Pl 5), demonstrated the suitability of his work to the Council’s aims. But the LCC’s ability to fulfil those aims diminished from the mid-1950s, when ‘a war of taste’, as Margaret Garlake has called it, broke out between councillors keen to satisfy the ‘common man’ and Arts Council advisors intent on raising ‘aesthetic standards’. As the Arts Council tightened its grip on the LCC’s selection processes by marginalising the role of councillors and others of conservative taste, émigré sculptors lost out to British-born ‘progressive’ sculptors, despite controversies provoked by commissions from ‘ultra-modernists’ like Robert Adams and Moore’s former assistant, Bernard Meadows.³⁸ This led Péri, in 1958, to complain to The Architect to the Council: ‘The LCC have funds for the use of sculpture and in the last two years many commissions were handed out, but now my work is overlooked.’³⁹ Occasionally, however, the Arts Council’s interventions worked to the advantage of émigré sculptors, as when the ever-adaptable Soukop won a commission to commemorate the poet Robert Browning’s historical connection to the site of the Elmington Estate in Camberwell with a semi-abstract, mixed media, wall relief of joyful dancing children – as described in Browning’s poem ‘The Pied Piper of Hamelin’ (Pl 8) – rather than follow the LCC’s proposal for a traditional stone statue.⁴⁰ In general, nevertheless, the growing influence of the Arts Council caused the LCC’s patronage of émigré sculptors to steadily decline, and, although some continued to be included in its parkland exhibitions until 1960, numerically their participation never exceeded that of 1951, when they had constituted one third of the British sculptors. The Arts Council’s brake on the LCC’s support of these sculptors from the mid-1950s onwards stood in striking contrast, however, with the supportive role it had previously played, when acting as a patron in its own right.

In the first decade of its existence, after receiving its Royal Charter in 1946, the Arts Council had been a regular patron of central and eastern European émigré sculptors. The first Director of Art (1946-58), Philip James, responded favourably to their work, both in a personal capacity – befriending several and sitting for portrait heads by both Ehrlich and a German-born sculptor known as Louise Hutchinson⁴¹ – and in a professional one. James exercised considerable power over his department’s spending as, like his fellow directors, he enjoyed a high degree of influence over his advisory panel and, unlike other directors, was able to initiate many projects himself rather than only respond to external proposals.⁴² Until 1958, acquisitions for the Council’s permanent art collection were selected by an annually-reconstituted purchasing committee (with a rapidly growing budget),⁴³ and, by 1961, when the collection numbered thirty or so pieces, Nimptsch’s Festival commission of a seated female nude (Pl 6) had been joined by Ehrlich’s sculptures of a goat and a cow’s head, and Vogel’s kneeling female nude.⁴⁴ Moreover, sculpture by central and eastern European émigrés featured in several of the Arts Council’s exhibitions: for example, in 1960, Charoux, Ehrlich and Nimptsch were among six sculptors in the exhibition *Modern British Portraits* and in 1964 Ehrlich was honoured with a solo exhibition, one of few devoted to a single artist.⁴⁵ They also had a notable presence in two of the Council’s most important exhibition series of the period, *Sculpture in the Home* (1946-1959) and *Contemporary British Sculpture* (1957-1967), which respectively adapted the AIA’s and LCC’s domestic and outdoor exhibition initiatives to multi-venue regional tours.⁴⁶ Typically, there were six or seven of the Festival’s émigré sculptors among the 30-40 exhibitors in the former exhibitions, and three or four among the 17-24 in the latter, although their representation in both gradually diminished. The majority of their works in the indoor exhibitions were small bronzes and terracottas, representing domesticated animals or human figures, some in pairs or groups of brothers, friends or dancers, whereas in the outdoor exhibitions, where sculptures were larger and typically bronze, stone, cement or concrete, there were figures with more poignant identities, such as Ehrlich’s *Sitting Refugee Boy* (1947) and Charoux’s *The Stranger* (1962).

Given the differing tastes of the Art Department’s Advisory Panel members there were inevitably disagreements over the merits of this moderate, often romantic sculpture but its supporters, such as

former National Gallery director Kenneth Clark and sculptor-Academician Charles Wheeler, were eventually outnumbered and succeeded by proponents of more extreme forms of modernism, such as Moore and the critic Sir Herbert Read. Hence the Arts Council's major sculpture commissions for the Festival were awarded to the preeminent practitioners of British modernist sculpture – Epstein, Hepworth and Moore – and although Nimptsch received one of the eight 'small sculpture' commissions (and Henghes was considered for another), six of the remaining seven were won by such an exclusively 'highbrow' selection – Adams, Butler, Chadwick, Meadows, Paolozzi and F.E. McWilliam – that Casson refused to exhibit them at the South Bank.⁴⁷ The Art Department's earlier even-handedness toward disparate factions of the British art world, inherited from its predecessor, the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts, was gradually abandoned in the 1950s; in 1953, for example, it stopped touring selections of work from the annual Royal Academy Summer Exhibition.⁴⁸ Indeed, analysis of the Art Department's exhibition and acquisition record shows that sculptors who employed more populist subjects and styles, such as Fleischmann and Péri, received no support whatsoever, despite frequent claims by James and his deputy and successor, Gabriel White, that the Council embraced a representative range of contemporary art. Their growing bias toward more emphatically modernist art mirrored those of successive Chairmen and Secretaries-General of the Council, who, through the 1950s and 1960s progressively shifted support from amateur and local arts to the professional and metropolitan, as their focus moved from the Charter's aim of 'increasing access' to 'raising standards'.⁴⁹ By 1965, it was clear to one historian of municipal arts patronage in London that the aim of the Council was 'to bring *only* the higher manifestations of art before the people . . .'

[emphasis in original].⁵⁰ This 'overriding devotion to high aesthetic quality', as Margaret Garlake has described it, ensured that 'its natural constituency. . . remained ineluctably middle class.'⁵¹ The Council's prioritizing of aesthetic over social or political value contrasted with the more instrumentalist attitude of the Festival Office and the LCC. Yet, the Council's increasing commitment to 'aesthetic standards' had its own effect – one that signalled post-war Modernist culture's privileging of aesthetic (and political) freedom over an ability to contribute to the common culture. In the later 1950s and early 1960s, as the imperatives of international Cold War prevailed over domestic politics, and Realist art became increasingly associated with Communism, the Arts Council's officers and advisors became ever

more committed to experimental forms of modernist art and the work of the Festival's émigré sculptors receded from their purview. This substantiates Robert Hutchison's claim that, despite Lord Redcliffe-Maud's famous assertion that the Arts Council operated on 'the arm's length principle', it was always 'a creature of Government, a partner with Government', which 'has to, and does, work within the grain of Government policy.'⁵² And as the Arts Council's support diminished, émigré sculptors looked in vain for support from central government's other main avenue of patronage, the British Council.

The British Council

Founded in 1934 as a branch of the Foreign Office and in response to the rise of German fascism,⁵³ the British Council's Royal Charter of 1940 declared its intention to develop 'closer cultural relations between [the UK] and other countries.'⁵⁴ The Fine Arts Department expanded and gained new direction after the war but the history of its exhibitions and permanent art collection reveals a total absence of work by émigré sculptors from central and eastern Europe, and an even stronger bias toward the work of British-born, ultra-modernist sculptors than was evident in the Arts Council's activities: for example, among the 960 original artworks in its collection by 1984, there were none by any central or eastern European-born sculptor but three by Butler, five by Meadows, 11 by Moore, 15 by Chadwick, 16 by Paolozzi, 17 by Hepworth and 22 by Kenneth Armitage.⁵⁵ Moore's famous recollection that 'the British Council did more for me as an artist than any dealer'⁵⁶ might have been said by many of these sculptors. With no formal Collection and Purchasing Sub-Committee until 1977, consultation over acquisitions was, by the Council's own admission, 'informal and sporadic'.⁵⁷ The approach was set by the department's director (1947-1970), Lilian Somerville, and built into the composition of advisory and selection committees, which included, among others, former Victoria and Albert Museum director Sir Eric Maclagan, National Gallery director Sir Philip Hendy, Sir Herbert Read and Moore himself (while some of these same individuals also sat on the Arts Council's Art Panel, their influence there was moderated by those of more conservative taste). The British Council's bias toward ultra-modernist art was evident to contemporary artists: in 1959, Charles Wheeler, who by then was President of the Royal Academy, criticised the Council's selection of work for an exhibition in Moscow, accusing it of being 'blindly and passionately devoted to Leftish modern art'.⁵⁸ Its neglect of

work by the Festival's émigré sculptors meant that not only did those sculptors lose a valuable source of income but, more importantly, given the context of the Cold War, the Council missed opportunities to develop closer relations with Eastern bloc countries by showing the work of their former citizens (although the work of *British-born* modernist painters and sculptors was toured to Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Romania in the late 1950s and early 1960s).⁵⁹ While it may be argued that it would have been inappropriate and/or ineffective to use foreign-born artists to promote British culture, especially artists born in countries that now lay behind the Iron Curtain, all of the Festival's émigré sculptors living in Britain were 'naturalized' subjects by 1951, the Festival Office had included them in its own celebration of Britishness, and central and eastern European émigré painters and studio potters were occasionally included in the Art Department's exhibitions.⁶⁰ Clearly, their place of birth was not the sole reason for their exclusion.

Nancy Jachec has argued that although the British Council was ostensibly apolitical, its recurrent presentation at the Venice Biennale of British artists who adopted European-derived, Informalist styles furthered its twin post-war aims of halting the spread of Communism and promoting western European unification by supporting art that could be seen to celebrate freedom and democracy (notwithstanding differences within the Council and between the Council and the Foreign Office over the desirability of asserting Britain's Europeanism, and the diplomatic effectiveness of ultra-modernist art to achieve this end).⁶¹ Thus, the most likely reason that central and eastern European émigré sculptors were not invited to contribute to the Council's programmes was that the characteristic styles of their sculpture were insufficiently Informalist, and indeed on occasion even found to resemble the reviled Realist styles of international Communism – Charoux's colossal relief at the South Bank, for example, had been found by one British critic to be 'a little too close for comfort to the totalitarian style of Exhibitionism'.⁶²

The Royal Academy of Arts

Unlike the British Council's Europeanist ambitions, the post-war Royal Academy of Arts pursued its historical aim of 'fostering a national school of the Fine Arts'.⁶³ While rarely commissioning or acquiring sculpture for its own purposes, it exercised patronage by selecting work for its annual Summer

Exhibition or for purchase by other bodies (most notably, the Chantrey Bequest) and by electing artists as members and appointing them as officers, masters and professors.⁶⁴ Patronage lay in the hands of the Members, which in the early post-war period numbered fifty or so, of whom about a fifth or fewer were sculptors. Traditions of academic sculptural practice had inevitably evolved over time and by the end of the Second World War the more classicizing work of senior sculptor-Members, such as Sir William Reid Dick, was being superseded by the modernising and eclectic styles of younger members, such as Maurice Lambert (a rising star of the post-war Academy). Nevertheless, the staples of academic practice continued to be idealizing treatments of literary subjects and formalised portraits of the great and the good. The Academy's response to the more naturalistic, realistic and expressionistic work of the Festival's émigré sculptors was therefore predictably mixed. Most of them eventually achieved some level of recognition: by 1957 all but Henghes and Péri had had their (anonymous) submissions accepted for the Summer Exhibition and between 1939 and 1970 the nineteen sculptor-candidates elected as Associate members included Charoux (1949), Nimptsch (1958), Ehrlich (1962) and Soukop (1963), and the twelve sculptor-Associates elevated to full membership included Charoux (1956), Nimptsch (1967) and Soukop (1969).⁶⁵ Their achievements culminated in the appointment of two as successive Masters of the Sculpture Schools – Nimptsch (1966-69) and Soukop (1969-82) – and the former's honouring, in 1973, in the first-ever retrospective exhibition at Burlington House of work by a living sculptor-Academician.⁶⁶ The different nature of the Academy's patronage makes it impossible to draw direct comparisons with the institutional patrons previously discussed but in general it is clear that support was slower in coming and limited to fewer sculptors. The majority were never nominated as Candidates for Associateship and, on one occasion in 1954, when both Gordine and Soukop did achieve nomination, the election was cancelled after Reid Dick obtained unanimous agreement from the sculptor-Members that 'the list of candidates did not contain sufficiently deserving names'.⁶⁷ The distinguished international reputations of many émigré sculptors and their growing success with other British institutional patrons did not prevent them experiencing the reticence of academicians.

Since its foundation in 1768 the Academy had been largely sustained by the conservative and imperialist interests of the English aristocracy, which was replaced in the twentieth century by an

emergent plutocracy. Resistance to aesthetic and political reform among these classes allowed academic doctrine and practice to become ossified and anachronistic, with the result that demand for Members' work decreased and prices fell, undermined by the success of the continental tradition of modern art.⁶⁸ Brandon Taylor has shown that the reactionary, xenophobic and anti-Semitic views of successive Academy presidents before and after the First World War underpinned their hostility to the 'alien' and 'savage' forms of modern art that threatened their livelihoods.⁶⁹ Similar chauvinistic and racist attitudes are found in Sir Reginald Blomfield's diatribe, *Modernismus* (1934), in which the Academy's former Professor of Architecture denounced modern art and architecture as a cosmopolitan, communist and Jewish contagion that threatened to corrupt the national artistic tradition.⁷⁰ The modern, primitivistic, public carvings of Epstein, an American-born Jew of Eastern-European parentage, were the most common cause of academic outrage.⁷¹ It is hard to conceive that the fortunes of these foreign-born sculptors, most of whom were Jewish, were not affected by the hostility of senior academicians to Modernism or by the 'rabid anti-Semitic conservatism' that, according to Taylor, 'lingered on in Britain until at least 1946'.⁷² That year, the Australian artist and journalist, Lionel Lindsay – a friend of the Academy's notoriously anti-modernist post-war president (1944-49), Sir Alfred Munnings – published a book-length tirade against the *École de Paris* and its British followers and apologists, which denigrated twentieth-century modern art as the product of an avaricious conspiracy of central European émigré Jewish artists and dealers. He ranted: 'Paris . . . was not altogether responsible for the international swine who came from everywhere to swill in the troughs of Montparnasse, for they had already been transfigured in the sties of Middle Europe.'⁷³ His book was reviewed enthusiastically by Munnings, who also recommended it to fifty 'people that mattered', including Prime Minister Attlee.⁷⁴ Munnings' own more famous attack on modern art, in 1949,⁷⁵ was not explicitly anti-Semitic but Lindsay has warned that although 'Munnings was everlastingly railing at the Jews, [it was] . . . never publically [*sic*], because Rothschild was the biggest patron!'⁷⁶ After his retirement from the presidency, Munnings was less guarded, denouncing Jewish critics and curators, such as the Tate Gallery's director Sir John Rothenstein, and describing modern art in the familiar tropes of the anti-Semite as 'abnormal fooleries, [and] distortion – the outcome of disgruntled, cunning, incompetent minds'.⁷⁷ Small wonder that election to the Academy of central and eastern European émigré artists in the twentieth century only

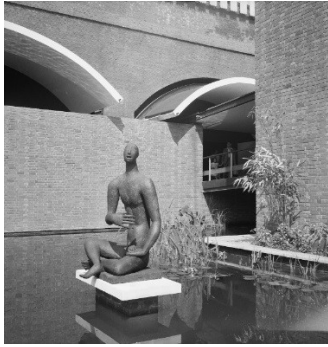
began on the eve of Munnings' retirement, and with a non-Jewish artist whose surname hinted misleadingly at French ancestry.⁷⁸ That Munnings' was articulating longstanding attitudes is underlined by the fact that Charoux's election as an Associate and Academician made him the first émigré sculptor or painter of central or eastern European birth and parentage to hold either distinction since the deaths of the sculptor Joseph Edgar Boehm in 1890 and the painter Sir Hubert (von) Herkomer in 1914, despite there being respected central and eastern European-born artists working in Britain throughout that period, and that these distinctions were routinely conferred on artists of *western* European or British colonial birth and parentage.⁷⁹ But since the Academy was ostensibly a private, independent, self-funding institution, despite its Royal status, state-subsidised rent and acknowledged public role, academicians were not publicly accountable for their actions.⁸⁰ Munnings' views were not typical of all academicians, of course, and as the Academy slowly reformed itself under the more liberal presidencies of Wheeler (1956-66)⁸¹ and Sir Thomas Monnington (1966-76), and evolved from tolerating 'progressive' forms of art to embracing them,⁸² other émigré sculptors began to achieve distinction (and even Epstein's work was purchased for the Chantrey Bequest).⁸³ In fact, the Academy's support for a small number of the Festival's central and eastern European émigré sculptors eventually outlasted that of other major institutional patrons, although it is noticeable, if possibly coincidental, that the only ones elected to membership were neither Jewish nor practising Jews.

It is clear that the chances of these émigré sculptors being patronised by the five institutions examined here depended on their work being seen as compatible with particular traditions, procedures, purposes and publics. Unsurprisingly, the greatest contrast was between the Academy and the four new governmental patrons: where the Academy held long-established values from nearly two hundred years of dispensing patronage and regulated its approval of new forms of art through the voting power of life-long Members, the new institutional patrons were unencumbered by tradition and run by salaried professionals or elected councillors who were readier and more able to respond to change; and where the Academy was governed exclusively by practising artists and architects, the new patrons were directed by individuals with diverse roles in the art world, encouraging greater awareness of

art's social functions and its differing audiences. Institutional responses to these émigré sculptors were, however, more various and fluid than this simple opposition suggests, and rested, above all, on patrons' underlying purposes and intended publics, both of which were subject to change across this twenty-year period. Although the moderately modernist work of émigré sculptors had initially suited the Festival Office's, the LCC's and the Arts Council's commitment to the post-war meritocracy but proved too conventional and too conservative for the British Council's cultural diplomacy and too modern, too foreign and perhaps too Jewish for the Academy's supporting plutocracy, its fortunes clearly changed in the mid-1950s. While the tendency toward ever greater formalism and abstraction in British art made moderate and humanistic forms of modernism increasingly acceptable to the declining academic rear-guard (reflected in Hugh Casson's election to the presidency of the Academy in 1976), they became ever less credible to the ascendant modernist vanguard. And although the new governmental patrons, with the exception of the British Council, had been quicker to embrace these émigré sculptors, they were now quicker to abandon them. Fortunately, however, their strengths in architectural, commemorative and 'programme' sculpture meant they began to win commissions from other institutional patrons, including New Town Development Corporations, the Church of England, Parliament and local authorities outside the capital, while their domestically-scaled sculpture gained some success in the commercial art market.

I would like to thank the Public Monuments and Sculpture Association for giving me the opportunity to present a shorter version of this paper at its 2016 annual conference, *Émigré Sculptors in Britain, 1500-2016* (City & Guilds of London Art School), the University of Derby for funding much of my research, and my wife, Helen, for her encouragement and support.

Illustrations



1. *Orpheus* by Heinz Henghes (1906-75), 1951. Concrete, 155 x 83 x 83 cm. Exhibited South Bank Exhibition, Festival of Britain, 1951. Camden School for Girls, London. (photograph by permission of Historic England Archive)



2. *Sick Boy [or Recumbent Boy]* by Georg Ehrlich (1897-1966), 1949-50. Bronze, 66 x 122 x 32 cm. New Walk Museum and Art Gallery, Leicester. Plaster version exhibited South Bank Exhibition, Festival of Britain, 1951. (photograph by permission of New Walk Museum and Art Gallery, Leicester)



3. *The Islanders* by Siegfried Charoux (1896-1967), 1950-51. Concrete, 1220 x 1220 x 100 cm.

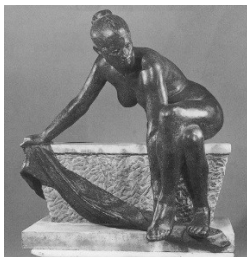
Exhibited South Bank Exhibition, Festival of Britain, 1951. Destroyed. (photograph by permission of Historic England Archive)



4. *Following the Leader (Memorial to the Children Killed in the Blitz)* by Peter (Laszlo) Peri (1899-1967), 1949. Red ochre coloured concrete over expanded metal mesh, 4730 x 1650 cm. Darley House, Vauxhall Gardens Estate, Laud St, Lambeth, London. (photograph: Conway Library, The Courtauld Institute of Art, London)



5. *The Lesson* by Franta Belsky (1921-2000), 1957-58 cast of 1956-57 original. Concrete with metallic coating, 160 x 65 x 88 cm. Avebury Estate, Bethnal Green, London. Exposed concrete version exhibited at *Sculpture 1850 and 1950*, Holland Park, London, 1957. (photograph: London Metropolitan Archives, City of London (COLLAGE: the London Picture Archive, 251909))



6. *Seated Figure* by Uli Nimpf (1897-1977), 1951. Bronze and stone, 70.5 x 68.6 x 44.4 cm. Arts Council Collection. (photograph: Arts Council England)



7. *Boy* by Karel Vogel (1897-1961), 1954. Bronze, height 165 cm. Exhibited at *Sculpture in the Open Air*, Battersea Park, London, 1960 (and at *Contemporary British Sculpture*, touring exhibition, 1961). (photograph: Conway Library, The Courtauld Institute of Art, London)



8. *The Pied Piper of Hamelin* by Willi Soukop (1907-95), 1959. Wall relief with pebbles, concrete and granite paving stones, 253 x 1020 cm. Elmington Estate, Caspian St, Camberwell, London. (photograph: Conway Library, The Courtauld Institute of Art, London)

Notes

- ¹ On sculpture in the South Bank Exhibition, see Robert Burstow, *Symbols for '51: the Royal Festival Hall, Skylon and Sculptures on the South Bank for the Festival of Britain*, exh cat, Royal Festival Hall, London, 1996, and Burstow, 'Modern Sculpture in the South Bank Townscape' in *Festival of Britain*, eds Elaine Harwood and Alan Powers, *Journal of the Twentieth Century Society*, no. 5 (2001), pp95-106.
- ² See *25 from 51: 25 Paintings from the Festival of Britain 1951*, exh cat, Sheffield City Art Galleries, 1978, p19.
- ³ See Ben Read and Philip Ward-Jackson, *Arthur Fleischmann: a Centennial Celebration 1896-1990*, exh cat, Joanna Barnes Fine Art, London, 1996, p23.
- ⁴ The names of artists were not conspicuous in the Festival literature and their names were occasionally Anglicized: for example, 'Francis Belsky' in *Festival of Britain 1951: Catalogue of Exhibits*, London, 1951, p112.
- ⁵ Jutta Vinzent, 'The Political, Social and Cultural Patterns of Migration' in Jennifer Powell and Vinzent, *Art and Migration: Art Works by Refugee Artists from Nazi Germany in Britain*, London, 2005, p61.
- ⁶ For example, Andrew Chandler, Katarzyna Stoklosa and Jutta Vinzent, 'Exile and the Politics of Patronage' in *Exile and Patronage: Cross-cultural Negotiations beyond the Third Reich*, eds Chandler, Stoklosa and Vinzent, Berlin, 2006, pp7-19.
- ⁷ Belsky had previously lived in the UK from 1938 to 1945; Fleischmann had lived in South Africa, Bali and Australia after leaving Vienna in 1936.
- ⁸ See Vinzent in Powell and Vinzent, op cit, pp21, 58; Chandler, Stoklosa and Vinzent, op cit, pp8, 18, n6; Shulamith Behr and Sander L. Gilman, 'An Introduction' in *Forced Journeys: Artists in Exile in Britain, c.1933-45*, eds Rachel Dickson and Sarah MacDougall, London, 2009, pp12-16.
- ⁹ Soukop has usually been assumed to be Jewish but in conversation with Irving Grose in 1991 he acknowledged that he was not (my thanks to Sarah MacDougall for this information).
- ¹⁰ Vinzent in Powell and Vinzent, op cit, p15, n47.
- ¹¹ Margaret Garlake, 'A Minor Language?: Three Émigré Sculptors and their Strategies of Assimilation' in *Arts in Exile in Britain 1933-45: Politics and Cultural Identity*, eds Shulamith Behr and Marian Malet, Amsterdam and New York, 2005, pp168-69.
- ¹² Vinzent in Powell and Vinzent, op cit, p7.
- ¹³ Franta Belsky, Presentation portfolio, 1990, Franta Belsky papers, Henry Moore Institute Archive, Leeds (2001.94/F/2/6[6]).
- ¹⁴ See Mark De Novellis, *Heinz Henghes: A Sculptor's Art*, exh cat, England & Co, London, 2006, pp9-20, and Gordon Johnston, 'Art, political commitment and reputation in 20th-century Europe: the case of Peter Laszlo Peri (1899-1967)', *The British Art Journal*, vol 14, no. 1 (Spring/Summer, 2013), pp83-92.
- ¹⁵ See Ben Pimlott, 'The Myth of Consensus', in *The Making of Britain*, ed LM Smith, Basingstoke, 1988, pp129-41.
- ¹⁶ The Arts Enquiry, *The Visual Arts* (A Report Sponsored by the Dartington Hall Trustees, published on behalf of The Arts Enquiry by Political and Economic Planning), London, 1946, pp11-13, 44. Its proposals were formulated in November 1944 (p9).
- ¹⁷ County councils were empowered to do this by the 1948 Local Government Act (see John S. Harris, *Government Patronage of the Arts in Great Britain*, Chicago, 1970, pp115-17) but Ruck states that the LCC was empowered earlier, by 'special acts' (S.K. Ruck, *Municipal Entertainment and the Arts in Greater London*, London, 1965, p25).
- ¹⁸ Garlake, 'A Minor Language', pp187-88.
- ¹⁹ The late H.T. ('Jim') Cadbury-Brown, an architect who worked on the exhibition landscaping, was responsible for selecting some of the sculptors, including Henghes and Mahler (interview with author, London, 19 January 1996); see also De Novellis, op cit, p24.
- ²⁰ Hugh Casson, 'South Bank Sculpture', *Image*, no. 7 (Spring, 1952), p58.
- ²¹ See Andrew Hammer, 'Programme Sculpture', *Architectural Review*, vol 109 (April, 1951), p255. For more on this, see Burstow, 'Modern Sculpture in the South Bank Townscape', pp101-02.
- ²² On sculpture inside the pavilion displays, see *Festival of Britain 1951: Catalogue of Exhibits*, pp18 (A101), 25 (Q101), 89, 112. On Belsky's work, see also Belsky papers, HMI Archive (2001.94/C/4). In time of Austerity, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Stafford Cripps, was involved in personal negotiations with Charoux over his fee and expenses, which totalled £2,500; see correspondence between Cripps, Barry and Charoux, Public Records Office (WORK 25/35/A2/K11).
- ²³ On the AIA, see Vinzent in Powell and Vinzent, op cit, pp19-20, 50-52; Anna Müller-Härlin, 'Die AIA und "refugee artists"' in 'I didn't want to float, I wanted to belong to something': *Refugee Organizations in Britain 1933-1945*, eds Anthony Grenville and Andrea Reiter, Amsterdam and New York, 2009, pp27-48; Lynda Morris and Robert Radford, *The Story of the Artists International Association, 1933-53*, exh cat, Museum of Modern Art, Oxford, 1983, and Robert Radford, *Art for a Purpose: the Artists' International Association 1933-1953*, Winchester, 1987.
- ²⁴ Peter Lambda, 'For Sculptors', *AIA Bulletin*, no. 83 (May-June 1944), np.
- ²⁵ AIA, *Sculpture in the Home*, exh cat, Heal department store, London, 1945.
- ²⁶ Fleischmann, Benno Elkan, Ernst Blensdorf, Benno Schotz, Werner (von) Alvensleben, J Skolimowski and WJ Hryiewicz were among 27 other sculptors considered for inclusion; see Minutes of Design Group committees, Oct-Nov 1949, Public Records Office (WORK 25/53/A5/ H1-H2).

- ²⁷ WE Jackson, *Achievement: A Short History of the LCC*, London, 1965, p224, and E Lidbetter, 'An Experiment in Patronage', *Museums Journal*, vol 61, no. 1 (June 1961), p30.
- ²⁸ See Philip Ward-Jackson, 'Pioneering Art for the Community, Vienna and London 1930-1960', lecture at British Residence, Vienna, 5 June 2004, available at Arthur Fleischmann website (www.fleischmann.org.uk/refervienna.html), accessed 10 September 2016.
- ²⁹ See Terry Cavanagh, *Public Sculpture of South London*, Liverpool, 2007, pp117-18; Mary Peri, interview with John Lloyd, Brighton, 12 July 1981, typed MS, Peri Papers, Tate Gallery Archive (961/11).
- ³⁰ See Lidbetter, op cit, pp30-38, and Dawn Periera, "'Art for the Common Man": the Role of the Artist within the LCC, 1957-65', PhD diss, University of East London, 2008, p20.
- ³¹ See Margaret Garlake, "'A War of Taste": The London County Council as Art Patron 1948-1965,' *The London Journal*, vol 18, no. 1 (1993), pp45-65.
- ³² For more on these exhibitions, see Burstow, 'Modern Sculpture in the Public Park: a Socialist experiment in open-air "cultured leisure"' in *Sculpture and the Garden*, eds Patrick Eyres and Fiona Russell, Aldershot, 2006, pp132-43.
- ³³ See, for example, Gilbert Ledward's experiences as a member (Catherine Moriarty, *The Sculpture of Gilbert Ledward*, Much Hadham, 2003, pp87-90).
- ³⁴ Garlake, "'A War of Taste'", pp49-53.
- ³⁵ Periera, op cit, p18.
- ³⁶ Belsky, typed statement on his sculpture, *Joy-Ride*, for Stevenage New Town, nd [c1957]; Franta Belsky papers, HMI Archive (2001.94/F/1/4[7]).
- ³⁷ *Sculpture 1850-1950*, exh cat, Holland Park, London, 1957 (exh cat designed in-house by LCC).
- ³⁸ Periera, op cit, p118.
- ³⁹ Peri, letter to Herbert Bennett, 5 November 1958, Tate Gallery Archive (704/3/1).
- ⁴⁰ Garlake, "'A War of Taste'", pp53-60; Periera, op cit, pp115-18, 139-40, and Cavanagh, op cit, pp225-26. On Soukop's intentions, see British Pathé news report of unveiling, 15 November 1959 (available at www.youtube.com/watch?v=OziOK2K3sPM, accessed 10 July 2018).
- ⁴¹ See *Modern British Portraits*, np, cat 51, and Erica Tietze-Conrat, *Georg Ehrlich*, London, 1956, p77, fig.53.
- ⁴² Nicholas Pearson, *The State and the Visual Arts*, Milton Keynes, 1982, p65.
- ⁴³ Isobel Johnson, 'Foreword' in *Arts Council Collection*, London, 1979, p7; Benedict Read in *Henry Moore and the Arts Council Collection*, Canterbury Royal Museum and Art Gallery, 2012, p13.
- ⁴⁴ *Arts Council Collection*, pp7, 88, 249.
- ⁴⁵ 'Modern British Portraits', exh cat, Cambridge Arts Council Gallery, 1960, cats. 47-54, 59-60; 'Georg Ehrlich', exh cat, Aldeburgh, 1964; see also *Austrian Painting and Sculpture, 1900-1960*, exh cat, Arts Council Gallery, London, 1960, cat. 29.
- ⁴⁶ On the former, see Burstow, *The Sculpture in the Home Exhibitions: Reconstructing the Home and Family in Post-war Britain*, Essays on Sculpture, no. 60, Henry Moore Institute, Leeds, 2008.
- ⁴⁷ See 25 from 51, pp19-20, and Burstow, 'Modern Sculpture in the South Bank Townscape', p99.
- ⁴⁸ *Bibliography of Arts Council Exhibition Catalogues 1942-1980*, London, 1982, pp5-22. The custom was initiated in 1942.
- ⁴⁹ Pearson, op cit, pp60-64, and Robert Hutchison, *The Politics of the Arts Council*, London, 1982, pp44-82.
- ⁵⁰ Ruck, op cit, pp108-09.
- ⁵¹ Garlake, "'A War of Taste'", p45.
- ⁵² R Hutchison, op cit, pp17, 19. A stronger reading of its 'consensual co-option' by government is given in Raymond Williams, 'The Arts Council', *Political Quarterly*, vol 50, no. 2 (1979), pp157-71.
- ⁵³ Nancy Jachec, 'The "New British Sculpture" at the Venice Biennale: Europeanism and its limits', *The British Art Journal*, vol VII, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 2006), p26.
- ⁵⁴ British Council website (www.britishcouncil.org/organisation/history), accessed 17 July 2016.
- ⁵⁵ See *The British Council Collection 1938-1984*, London, 1984, p7; 'Exhibitions', British Council website (www.visualarts.britishcouncil.org/exhibition/past), accessed 20 April 2016.
- ⁵⁶ Henry Moore, interview with Barry Penrose, 1976, cited in Katrina Schwarz, 'Henry Moore and the British Council', British Council website (www.visualarts.britishcouncil.org/library/essays-interviews), accessed 12 September 2016.
- ⁵⁷ Julian Andrews, 'Introduction', *The British Council Collection 1938-1984*, p10.
- ⁵⁸ *Evening News*, 30 April 1959; cited in Sarah Crellin, *The Sculpture of Charles Wheeler*, Farnham, 2012, p106, n125.
- ⁵⁹ For example, 'Henry Moore, 1927-1958' toured five venues in Poland, 1959-1960, and 'Contemporary British Painting 1900-1962' toured five venues in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Romania, 1963-1964; see British Council website (www.visualarts.britishcouncil.org/exhibitions/exhibition), accessed 14 April 2018.
- ⁶⁰ For example, Polish-born painters, Jankel Adler and Josef Herman, and Austrian-born potters, Hans Coper and Lucie Rie; see British Council website (www.visualarts.britishcouncil.org/exhibition/past), accessed 20 April 2016.

- ⁶¹ Jachec, op cit, pp25-32. For examples of the art, see *Britain at the Venice Biennale 1895-1995*, eds Sophie Bowness and Clive Phillpot, London, 1995, pp98-114.
- ⁶² Francis Watson, 'Art at the South Bank Exhibition', *The Listener*, vol XLV (10 May, 1951), p766.
- ⁶³ 'The Royal Academy of Arts', in *Royal Academy Illustrated 1948*, exh cat, London, 1948, np.
- ⁶⁴ See Walter R.M. Lamb, *The Royal Academy*, London, 1951, especially pp119-200.
- ⁶⁵ See Royal Academy of Arts, Nominations for Associateship, Book 4 (RAA/GA/11/2/4) and Book 5 (RAA/GA/11/2/5), Royal Academy of Arts Archive. For dates of election as associate and full members, see Sidney C. Hutchison, *The History of the Royal Academy, 1768-1986*, London, 1968, pp250-65.
- ⁶⁶ *Uli Nimpf, RA: Sculptor*, exh cat, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1973.
- ⁶⁷ See Meetings of RAA General Assembly, 22-23 April 1954, Minutes of Elections (RAA/GA/5/3), RAA Archive. Gordine was nominated for Associateship by three members on 10 February 1949 and Soukop by seven on 16 March 1954 (RAA Nominations for Associateship, Book 4 (RAA/GA/11/2/4), RAA Archive.
- ⁶⁸ The Arts Enquiry, op cit, pp42-44.
- ⁶⁹ Brandon Taylor, 'Foreigners and Fascists: Patterns of Hostility to Modern Art in Britain before and after the First World War' in *The Geographies of Englishness: Landscape and the National Past 1880-1940*, eds David Peters Corbett, Ysanne Holt and Fiona Russell, New Haven and London, 2002, pp169-98.
- ⁷⁰ Blomfield, *Modernism*, London, 1934.
- ⁷¹ See Terry Friedman, 'Epsteinism', and Elizabeth Barker, 'The Primitive Within: The Question of Race in Epstein's Career 1917-1929' in Friedman, Evelyn Silber, et al, *Jacob Epstein: Sculpture and Drawings*, exh cat, Leeds City Art Galleries, 1987, pp35-43, 44-73.
- ⁷² Taylor, op cit, p193.
- ⁷³ Lindsay, *Addled Art*, London, 1946, pix.
- ⁷⁴ Munnings, letter to Lindsay, 12 August 1946, reprinted in Lindsay, *Comedy of Life: An Autobiography*, Sydney, 1967, p268.
- ⁷⁵ Munnings, presidential dinner speech, printed in Munnings, *The Finish*, London, 1952, pp144-47.
- ⁷⁶ Letter to Robert Menzies (former Prime Minister of Australia, 1939-41), 2 June 1943, cited in Joanna Mendelssohn, *Lionel Lindsay: An Artist and His Family*, London, 1988, p206.
- ⁷⁷ Munnings, *The Finish*, p78.
- ⁷⁸ His surname is a corruption of 'Charous', the maiden name of his mother, 'a dressmaker of Czech origin' (Hans Kurt Gross, 'Siegfried Charoux', 2004, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, available at www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32374), accessed 15 September 2016.
- ⁷⁹ For RA members' birth places, see Gabriele Popp and Helen Valentine, 'Royal Academy of Arts Directory of Membership, 1768-1995', unpublished MS, 1995, RAA Archive.
- ⁸⁰ Pearson, op cit, pp8-13.
- ⁸¹ Wheeler befriended several émigré sculptors: between 1942 and 1957, he nominated Fleischmann, Gordine, Nimpf and Soukop for associateships of the RA and/or RBS (in some cases repeatedly); for his ARA nominations, see RAA, Nominations for Associateship, Books 4 and 5, RAA Archive; for his ARBS nomination, see 'Arthur Fleischmann', *Mapping the Practice and Profession of Sculpture* (www.sculpture.gla.ac.uk), accessed 10 June 2016. Joy Fleischmann has confirmed her husband's friendship with Wheeler (conversation with the author, London, 22 June 2016). See also Crellin, op cit, p99.
- ⁸² Paul Moorhouse, 'Munnings and After' in *The Royal Academy of Arts: History and Collections*, ed Robin Simon with MaryAnne Stevens, New Haven and London, 2018, pp110-17.
- ⁸³ Epstein's bust of Mrs Ambrose McEvoy (*The Royal Academy Illustrated 1953*, exh cat, London, 1953, p88).