

Dr. Jonathan Black (October 2006)

Classical Serenity in a Troubled Age: Dora Gordine's Public Commissions during the 1940's

To a considerable extent the Second World War arrested the development of Gordine's career just as it was truly taking off – following the success of the November 1938 Leicester Galleries exhibition. Official commissions were hard to come by during the first half of the decade with bronze a strictly rationed material in very short supply and all London's foundries engaged on work for the war. In January 1942 Gordine failed to gain an official war art commission from the Ministry of Information's War Artist Advisory Committee (although the Committee's Chairman, Sir Kenneth Clark, would sit for her two years later).¹ Later that same month she also made the first of several unsuccessful attempts to be elected an Associate of the Royal Academy. She could at least derive some comfort from the fact she was nominated by two leading sculptors Charles Wheeler and Gilbert Ledward and greatly respected architect Sir Edward Maufe.²

If the war affected Gordine's career negatively, it very much proved the making of her husband, Richard. Essentially from 1932, when he resigned from the Foreign Office, until 1939 he was unemployed – a man of 'independent means' according to his civil wedding licence when he married Gordine in November 1938 (although he had tried in 1935 to persuade the Victoria & Albert Museum to take him on as a junior keeper).³ At the outbreak of war Richard returned to the Foreign Office and for a short period (1939-40) worked as personal assistant to Sir Maurice Peterson (1889-1952), Comptroller of Overseas Publicity within the Ministry of Information. In October 1941, five months after the German invasion of the Soviet Union, Richard was transferred to become an early member of a new 'Anglo-Soviet Relations Division' at the Ministry with the rank of 'Senior Assistant Specialist'.⁴ He was placed in charge of offering a positive image of the Soviet Union and its authoritarian political system, to the British people.⁵ In his new position Richard was able to introduce a wide variety of diplomats, military attachés and officials from within the Ministry of Information (such as Sir Kenneth Clark, Chairman of the War Artists Advisory Committee who sat to Gordine in 1944-45) to his wife and her sculpture.⁶ In March 1944 he was promoted to become Deputy-Head of the Division and in this capacity was considered sufficiently senior to spend six months in Leningrad and Moscow between March and August 1945.⁷ On his return from Russia Richard became Head of the Division and occupied the post until the Ministry of Information was wound up in March 1946.⁸

¹ 7 January 1942, Minutes of the War Artists Advisory Committee, Ministry of Information, Dept. of Art Archives, Imperial War Museum, London.

² Associateship Nominations, 21 January 1942, Archives, Royal Academy Library, London.

³ Richard Hare to J.B. Manson, 14 June 1935, Tate Gallery Archives. Richard had written to Manson, apparently a longstanding friend of Gordine's, in search of a reference for the position.

⁴ INF 1/83, National Archives, Kew. It is likely that Richard Hare was recommended for the position by Dr. Humphrey Sumner (1893-1951) a senior adviser to the Foreign Office on Russian Affairs, who had been Richard's History tutor and personal tutor at Balliol College, Oxford, from 1926-1929.

⁵ 20 March 1942, INF 1/147, National Archives, Kew.

⁶ Between 1943 and 1945 Gordine produced bronze portrait heads of the flamboyant Columbian Ambassador to Britain, Jaime Jaramillo Arango, and of Moyeen el Arabi Bey, the Egyptian Cultural Attaché, as well as charcoal drawings of the Chinese, Yugoslav and Polish Military Attachés.

⁷ 12 May 1945, INF 1/147, National Archives, Kew.

⁸ 31 March 1946, INF 1/147, National Archives, Kew.

During his time with the Anglo-Soviet Relations Division, Richard made a very useful friend for the future in the person of Professor David Harrison Stevens (1884-1980), then serving as an officer with the International Office of American Affairs. In civilian life Stevens was Director of the Humanities Division of the Rockefeller Foundation in New York. In the spring of 1947, just as the Cold War was beginning and as President Harry S. Truman announced his eponymous 'doctrine' to protect the 'free' world from the onward march of Communism⁹, Stevens played a key role in helping Richard obtain a Rockefeller Foundation Fellowship to research Russian history and literature at the Hoover Institute – part of Stanford University in northern California.¹⁰ When Richard flew to the United States in October 1947, to take up his Fellowship, he was accompanied by Dora. She quickly made for Los Angeles and Hollywood and met the film director Josef von Sternberg whom she had met in Berlin in 1929 and then again in Bali in 1934. Von Sternberg introduced Dora to some of his friends such as actors Claude Rains, Bette Davis, Olivia de Havilland and Marlene Dietrich and émigré film director Kurt (Curtis) Bernhardt (1889-1981) – who proceeded to commission a posthumous portrait head of his recently deceased wife, the ballerina and actress Pearl Argyle (1910-1947), from Gordine.¹¹ In essence, during the 1940's, Richard Hare's own work proved instrumental in introducing Dora to a whole new strata of wealthy and influential potential clients and sitters.

Portrait Plaque in Low-Relief of Sun Yat-Sen, Warwick Court, Gray's Inn, London, 1944-1946.

In 1944 Gordine received a high-profile commission to produce a bronze low-relief portrait plaque of the Chinese Nationalist leader Sun Yat Sen (1866-1925) from Lord Ailwyn – Chairman of the Sun Yat-Sen Memorial Committee. It is possible she was offered the commission because Lady Cripps, one of the projects most vocal supporters, had been an admirer of Gordine's 'ethnic heads' in the 1920's.¹² In addition, her brother-in-law, William, Earl of Listowel, had previously been President of the China Campaign Committee during the late 1930's and during the Second World War enjoyed close links with Nationalist officials at the Chinese Embassy in London.¹³

The plaque would commemorate Sun Yat Sen's brief stay at 8 Gray's Inn Place, from October 1896-February 1897, as he took refuge from agents of the Manchu monarchy had recently attempted to overthrow. In October 1896 Sun was briefly kidnapped by Manchu agents and held prisoner in the Chinese Embassy on

⁹ President Truman announced his doctrine to the US Congress in March 1947 and it became law two months later. Peter Hennessy, *Never Again. Britain 1945-1951*, Vintage, London, 1993, pp. 285-286.

¹⁰ Richard Hare to David Stevens, 18 April 1947, RF RG2 (1947), Rockefeller Foundation Archives, New York.

¹¹ This head, cast in 1949, is now in a Private Collection, California.

¹² In 1942 Lady Cripps had been appointed President of British United Aid to China. Gordine appears to have been introduced to her by Mrs. Henrietta Franklin (1866-1964), wife of her patron the banker Ernest Franklin (1859-1950), around the time of the opening of her October 1928 exhibition at the Leicester Galleries. Between 1943 and 1946 one of Lady Cripps' daughters worked for Richard Hare in the Anglo-Soviet Relations Division of the Ministry of Information.

¹³ *The Times*, 20 June 1938, p.16 noted that Listowel, as recently elected President of the China Campaign Committee, was addressing a meeting outside the Japanese Embassy in London to protest at the recent Japanese bombing of Canton. *The Times*, 30 October 1941, p.7 noted that the previous evening Listowel had hosted a reception at the Chinese Embassy to raise funds for the London branch of the Chinese Women's Relief Association.

George Eumorfopoulos (1863-1939), one of Gordine's foremost patrons between the wars, had been a prominent supporter of the Chinese Universities Relief Fund 'for the assistance of Chinese students rendered destitute by the war in China.' *The Times*, 14 January 1939, p.10.

Portland Place. After a fortnight in captivity, and a vociferous pro-Sun campaign in the press, the British government compelled the Chinese ambassador to release Sun.¹⁴ Ironically, during his stay in London, Sun also befriended in the British Library the anti-British Irish Nationalist agitator Rowland Mulhern and the anti-Western Japanese Pan-Asian Theorist Minahata Kumagasu. Sun's most recent biographer is of the opinion that their ideas exerted as much influence on the development of Sun's political thought as exposure to British liberal democracy and constitutional monarchy.¹⁵

On 1 January 1912 Sun was appointed the first President of the Republic of China – largely because it was thought he enjoyed excellent contacts with the Western Powers. However, within just 45 days, Sun had resigned as President and, after a spell as Director of Railways, was eventually forced to flee to Japan in June 1913 by the new military strongman General Yuan Shikai – ironically backed by the British as a steadying force in Chinese politics. By the early 1920's Sun had become somewhat disenchanted with Western European style democracy, especially after May 1919 when the victorious Allied Powers gave Japan control of the territories in China that had formerly been under German authority. He now sought an alliance with Russian Communists and made numerous vociferous anti-Western and anti-Imperialist statements. In 1923 he issued his famous 'Three Principles of the People': Freedom from Imperialist Domination; Western European style Constitutional Government and 'Government for the People' – a highly individual interpretation of Socialism – and in 1924 praised Confucianism for its role 'in the formation of the national culture.'¹⁶ By 1924 Sun planned to unit China by force and if this meant cooperating with the Communists and various warlords he was prepared to do so. However, in March 1925, he died from cancer of the liver en route to Peking to meet an influential group of warlords.

The project for a memorial was launched in May 1943 by Lord Ailwyn with support from Lady Cripps, the formidable President of British United Aid to China.¹⁷ Lord Ailwyn claimed at the time that Sun's name was 'revered and his memory hallowed throughout the length and breadth of China. The three people's principles he enumerated form the basis of the whole national life in new China today.'¹⁸ To a certain extent this was true in that both Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalists and Mao Zedong's Communists claimed Sun as a source of inspiration and as a primary ideological figurehead for their movements. Shortly after his death the Kuomintang Party hailed Sun as the *Guofu* or 'Father of the Nation.' By the late 1940's he would be described as a 'pioneer of the Revolution' by the Chinese Communist Party.¹⁹

Inscribed: 'Sun Yat Sen 1866-1925 Father of the Chinese Republic Lived In A House On This Site While A Political Exile From His Country' the plaque, 61 x 53.4 cm, was unveiled on 5 May 1946, Warwick Court, Gray's Inn Place, by the Chargé d'Affaires at the Nationalist Chinese Embassy. According to Lord Ailwyn that particular date had been selected because the same day: 'the first Constituent National Assembly in China is to be convened in Nanking ... [a] supremely important event ... which brings to fruition the plan and ideals to which Dr. Sun devoted his life.'²⁰

¹⁴ Marie-Claire Bergère, *Sun Yat Sen*, Stanford University Press, California, USA, 1998, pp.62-63.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* pp.65-66.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p.89.

¹⁷ *The Times*, 25 May 1943, p.5.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Bergère, 1998, p.3.

²⁰ *The Times*, 3 April 1946, p.5.

Speaking at the unveiling, Mr. Sze, the Chargé d’Affaires at the Chinese Embassy, stressed that ‘the Western influences that had done so much to shape Dr. Sun Yat Sen’s ideas were predominantly English. He looked to England as the centre of Western civilisation. It was English history he learned. The Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights, the struggle of the English Parliament to curb the power of the Monarchy and the vigorous words of Oliver Cromwell impressed him greatly ... the memorial will always bear witness to that intimate current of affectionate regard running between the British people and the Chinese people. It will remain symbolic of so much in its permanent record of Anglo-Chinese relations, and will keep alive forever the memory of the early bonds between our two countries.’ He read out a message from Chiang Kai-Shek (1887-1975), Sun’s protégé and ‘Generalissimo’ of the Kuomintang since 1928, that he was very glad to learn that ‘ ... friends of China have erected a memorial tablet to commemorate the stay of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen in London, where some of his great thoughts were nurtured. I shall take the unveiling of this tablet as a keen appreciation on the part of British friends of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen’s lifelong fight for freedom and democracy; ideals which have been cherished in common by both nations and which will serve as a basis for their close and enduring co-operation.’²¹ Any one with experience of Nationalist China would have known full well that Chiang’s dictatorial rule was decidedly undemocratic as well as being spectacularly corrupt. While Chiang was personally uninterested in wealth and lavish personal possessions, his wife, whose elder sister had been Sun’s second wife, was notorious for her grasping venality and her habit of diverting donations to the Nationalist cause into her own pocket.²²

Lord Ailwyn read out a message from the Chinese Ambassador, Dr. Wellington Koo, who was unable to attend the ceremony. According to Dr. Koo: ‘In no country did he [Sun] find a more admirable system of Democratic government than that which prevailed in this country as it is upon liberty under law and democracy with tolerance ... His study of English Constitutional Government contributed in no small measure to the development of his own political philosophy for the new China. It is fitting that a permanent memorial should be established in the building where the founder of the Chinese Republic stayed on his first visit to London – the home of liberty and the cradle of modern parliamentary government. I hope and believe that this commemorative tablet will not only serve to mark the friendly sentiments of our two peoples each for the other, but for ever help to stimulate our reciprocal desire for closer understanding between our two countries.’²³ Lord Ailwyn then thanked Gordine for her ‘worthy memorial’ and for her ‘interest and inspiration born of her love and experience of China and the East which has enabled her to execute this simple and dignified bas-relief ...’ He concluded: ‘In honouring this great man – one of the outstanding historical figures of all time – we honour ourselves, and London will be enriched in the possession of this permanent memorial to one who strove and fought through every possible difficulty and danger for what he saw with that clear vision of his to be the best for his country.’²⁴

Gordine depicts Sun as he was during the last five years of his life when he usually wore the traditional high-necked gown of a Confucian scholar. Towards the end of his life Sun’s ‘face had thinned, his hair was receding [and] his moustache had

²¹ *Record of the Proceedings of the Unveiling of the Sun Yat Sen Memorial*, British United Aid to China, London, 1946, p.

²² Jonathan Fenby, *Generalissimo: Chiang Kai-Shek and the China He Lost*, Free Press, London, 2005,

p.

²³ *Record of the Sun Yat Sen Memorial*, 1946, p.

²⁴ *Ibid.* p.

gone white ...'²⁵ Her approach to the portrait of Sun is reminiscent of full-face portraits in bas-relief produced between the wars by sculptors such as Paul Landowski, Gilbert Bayes, Charles Wheeler, Sir William Reid Dick (an admirer of Gordine's work since at least the mid 1930's) and by Dora Clarke in the 1930's and '40's.²⁶ Her characterisation of Sun as a serene and supremely self-controlled Confucian sage can be related to her keen interest in ancient Chinese art which she developed in lectures she gave in May 1943 at Cambridge University and at the Institut Français in London a month later and in two articles published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in April 1944 and in October 1945.²⁷

She could have presented Sun in a very different light. For certain periods in his life, such as when he was living in London (1896-97) and in the USA (1910-11), Sun was usually photographed wearing a western-style business suit and hat. However, for a short period, when Sun ran Canton with warlord-backing and claimed to be President of China (September 1917-May 1918), he sported an elaborate military uniform with a plumed hat.²⁸ By the early 1920's Sun had also become seriously disillusioned with the very system of Western European parliamentary democracy that Dr. Koo claimed at the unveiling had been so important. He increasingly associated the West with those powers which had almost casually handed over to Japanese rule those parts of Chinese territory that had formerly been under the control of the Kaiser's Germany. Indeed, by the time of his death in 1925, Sun found a great deal to admire in the murderously authoritarian rule of the Bolsheviks in Russia while the British and French governments regarded him as a 'menace' to Western Imperial interests in China.²⁹

Ironically, within three years of the unveiling ceremony, the Nationalist regime in China of Chiang Kai Shek was on the verge of defeat in its civil war with Mao Zedong's Communist Party. Indeed, in October 1949 the Communists captured Peking and two months later Chiang with the remnants of his Nationalist armies fled mainland China to the island of Formosa (now known as Taiwan).

At the time of the unveiling ceremony Sun was still held in very high regard by many Western European sinophiles and intellectuals. However, there was much less enthusiasm for the Nationalist regime run by Chiang Kai Shek; Clement Attlee's recently elected Labour Government, for example, strongly disapproved of its corruption and widespread misappropriation of funds meant to help refugees and only supported the Generalissimo at the behest of the Americans. Indeed, Attlee's was the first Western government to recognise 'Red' China in January 1950.³⁰ At this time Gordine's brother-in-law, the Earl of Listowel, was a prominent member of Attlee's cabinet as Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs.

Portrait Head of Mrs. Ruth Kerr, 1947-48.

²⁵ Bergère, 1998, p.

²⁶ Landowski produced a memorial in relief to Sun for the Sorbonne in the 1920's with which Gordine could have been aware.

²⁷ Lord Ailwyn and his friend Professor Edwards of the School of Oriental Studies at London University and Treasurer of the Sun Yat-Sen Memorial Committee, may have first encountered Gordine in July 1943 when she lectured to the School on Indian Sculpture. She had been due to give a further lecture, on Chinese Art, at the School in October of the same year but this had to be postponed when she broke her wrist while working on a portrait head of Sir Kenneth Clark.

²⁸ Ibid. p.

²⁹ Ibid. p.

³⁰ Peter Hennessy, *Never Again: Britain 1945-1951*, Vintage, London, 1993, pp. 389-390.

In November 1947 Gordine travelled with her husband to California. Richard Hare had been awarded a Research Fellowship by the Rockefeller Foundation to study at Stanford University's Hoover Institute. She soon moved to Los Angeles, from Stanford's Palo Alto campus, where she gave several lectures to women's groups such as the San Fernando Branch of the American Association of University Women.³¹ In the audience for one of these talks was a prominent local businesswoman and important fundraiser for the Democratic Party, Mrs. Ruth Kerr. She had been, since the death of her husband Alexander in 1925, President of the Kerr Glass Manufacturing Company which had its headquarters in Los Angeles and factories in California and in Oregon.

During the 1940's she was alternately Chair of and sat on the Executive Committee of the National Business and Professional Women of Los Angeles. In addition she was a close friend of Eleanor Roosevelt – a champion of various Liberal causes and wife of Democrat President Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1933-45). Mrs Kerr retired as President in 1963 after nearly forty years in charge and died in November 1967.³² Gordine was probably commissioned by the company to produce a bronze portrait head (34 x 14 x 20.2 cm, Private Collection) of Mrs Kerr for the main lobby of its headquarters building to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of its foundation which fell in 1953 and the fact she had been a successful President for over twenty years.

It is interesting to note that Gordine was in Hollywood during the first stirrings of the Cold War with the various film studios under rigorous investigation for possible Communist infiltration and subversion by the FBI and the House of Representatives Committee on Un-American Activities (known by the acronym HUAC).³³ In March 1948 Richard Hare gave a talk about the Soviet Union to the San Fernando Valley Branch of the American Association of University Women.³⁴ He urged his audience not to condemn the average Soviet citizen for the blatant lies and anti-capitalist propaganda peddled by Stalin's murderous government.³⁵ He was treading a fine line as his argument could have easily been misconstrued by the FBI already convinced that the British were 'soft on Communism.' Indeed, Richard Hare had spent six months in Russia while working for the Ministry of Information while in March 1947, only six months before they arrived in the United States, he and his wife had attended a reception for the members of the Supreme Soviet held at the Dorchester Hotel and sponsored by the British government.³⁶ While Gordine was still in the United States the confrontation between East and West threatened to become an actual shooting war as in June 1948 the Soviet Union imposed a rail and road blockade of West Berlin. The Western powers responded with a massive airlift of essential supplies to feed inhabitants of the beleaguered city which lasted until May of the following year before the Soviets admitted defeat and raised their blockade. Unsurprisingly, by the time Richard and Dora had left California, in September 1948, the crises over Berlin had further fuelled paranoia concerning Soviet spies and subversion within the United States.

³¹ *Los Angeles Times*, 10 January 1948, p.A5.

³² *Los Angeles Times*, 7 November 1967, p. B15.

³³ Late in November 1947 ten actors and screenwriters, the so-called 'Hollywood Ten', appeared before HUAC. The majority refused to testify on the grounds that the committee's questions, as to their past and present political affiliations, infringed their constitutional rights. The following month those who had resisted were sacked by their employers and 'blacklisted' by all the studios.

³⁴ Earlier in the day Gordine gave a talk about her life as a sculptor in which she made passing reference to the Bolsheviks having killed her father and of her own anti-Soviet sentiments. *Van Nuys News*, 25 March 1948, p.5.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *The Times*, 17 March 1947, p.7.

Happy Baby for Holloway Women's Prison, London, 1948-49.

The bronze figure of *Happy Baby* (31 x 37.2 x 22.5 cm) was commissioned in 1948 by the first female Governor of London's principal prison for women for its Mother and Baby Unit- one of the first to opened in the country. Holloway opened as an all-female prison in 1903 and the first suffragettes were sent to Holloway from October 1906 until the outbreak of the First World War. Ruth Ellis, the last woman to be executed in Britain, was hanged at Holloway in July 1955. In 1949 the figure was presented to the prison by the wife of Gordon M. Holmes, Consulting Physician to Charing Cross Hospital. Holmes was concerned with health in prisons and was a friend of Aleck Bourne, Consulting Obstetrical Surgeon at Queen Charlotte's Hospital and St. Mary's Hospital Paddington (1934-51) and a leading advocate for reform of the laws on Abortion during the 1930's. Bourne had sat for Gordine in 1944-45 and his portrait head was exhibited at the Royal Academy in May 1945. He and Holmes, during the Second World War, championed the cause of a state-run health service and welcomed the introduction of the National Health Service by Attlee's Labour government in July 1948.

According to a friend of Gordine's in the 1940's, she 'wanted it [the figure] to provide solace for the women [female prisoners] who were not allowed to keep their babies in prison at the time ... [Gordine] said sculpture should be tactile and people [should be] allowed to feel it [and so] she did a lovely rounded baby.'³⁷ The figure has a rather double-edged emotional charge. Legs kicking in the air with gusto the female child has great charm and is most appealing. However, mothers using the unit must have been painfully aware that the prison authorities would only allow them to care for their children for a relatively short period of time. Then the children would be taken in to care and found a foster family. In all likelihood the mother would never see her child again while the fact that they had been born in prison to a criminal would have been kept from the children.

At present the prison Mother and Baby Unit can house up to seventeen mothers while the separate Pregnancy Unit can care for up to thirty-six expectant mothers. In 2003 around forty babies were born in the prison.

Crowning Glory for Eugéné Permanent Wave Company, 1948-49.

A very different commission to that for Holloway Prison, *Crowning Glory* depicts a young female nude, seated cross-legged, playing dreamily with her hair. The figure (52.3 x 40.6 x 24 cm) was commissioned in 1948 by the Eugéné Permanent Wave Company as the firm's trademark.

To a considerable extent Gordine benefited from the American-led, post-war, development of the corporate logo as well as the stirrings of a boom for specialist consumer products aimed at the female market within the British economy. This culminated a decade later with Harold Macmillan's famous 1957 assertion to a crowd of Bedford housewives: 'Let's be frank about it; most of our people have never had it so good. Go around the country ... and you will see a state of prosperity such as we never had in my lifetime – nor indeed ever in the history of this country.'³⁸

³⁷ Mrs. P. Robertson interviewed by Mrs. B. Martin, 20 February 1995. Dorich House Museum Archives, Kingston University.

³⁸ Dominic Sandbrook, *Never Had It So Good: A History of Britain From Suez To The Beatles*, Little Brown, London, 2005, p.75.

For the first time many thousands of middle class, and to a lesser extent working class, women had the money and opportunity for what had been previously hair styling that only the wealthy could afford. The Permanent Wave was a relatively new product closely associated with the emancipated chic glamour of Hollywood's female stars. Gordine probably had been struck, during her October 1947-September 1948 visit to the United States, by the number of American women who had experimented with the wave.

The decade which had begun with so much uncertainty ended on a high note for Gordine: in November 1948 she was invited to appear twice in the BBC television programme *Designed for Women*; early in 1949 she was made a Fellow of the Royal Society of British Sculptors and in November of the same year she held a most successful solo show, that was to be her last, at the Leicester Galleries. While some harboured reservations as to her figurines of ballet dancers, the majority of critics reviewing the exhibition continued to be extremely impressed by her powers as a portraitist. Her portrait heads were praised in *The Times* as '... admirably self-contained, quiet and composed, though far from lacking in vitality ...it is by no means a usual talent to give so vivid and expression at once of stillness and of life.'³⁹ In *The Observer*, Neville Wallis wrote: '... her sensitively modelled heads are, indeed, quite lovely and show that, even in this troubled age, a sculptor can still invest her work with a classical serenity.'⁴⁰

Therein lay a problem for Gordine's future reputation. Only five years after the death of Gordine's great hero Aristide Maillol, various forms of refined representational classicism in sculpture were still very much en vogue.⁴¹ However, her approach would seem increasingly uninspired and outdated as abstraction in many guises dominated artistic activity during the decade to come. By the end of the 1940's the future in sculpture was perceived as the abstraction of Moore, Armitage, Tunnard, Hepworth and Reg Butler – the so-called 'geometry of fear.'⁴²

³⁹ *The Times*, 1 November 1949, p.7.

⁴⁰ *The Observer*, 6 November 1949, p.6.

⁴¹ Maillol had died in September 1944 while Charles Despiau, as famous a classical sculptor as Maillol, died in October 1946. By the time of his death Maillol's reputation was under a cloud as he was perceived in some quarters as a collaborator after having attended the private view of Arno Brecker's exhibition in Paris between March and May 1942.

⁴²