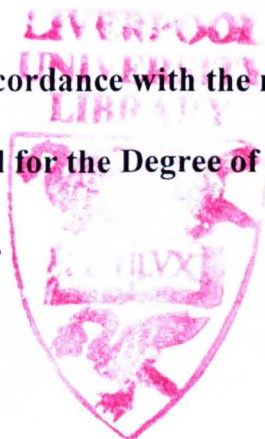


**Barbara Hepworth: The International Context.**

**Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the  
University of Liverpool for the Degree of Doctor in Philosophy by  
Emma Evelyn Roberts.**

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**Emma Evelyn Roberts.**

**'Barbara Hepworth: The International Context'. Abstract.**

This text aims to reassess the career and intentionality of the sculptor Barbara Hepworth. Specifically, it is suggested that Hepworth did not receive the international recognition which perhaps one would expect of a Modernist sculptor who worked within the avant-garde. Various reasons for the relative neglect of Hepworth's art are offered in this thesis. For example, critics are perceived to have interpreted her work in the light of various personal agendas, and sculptures and paintings which deny traditional interpretations have consequently been withheld from exhibitions or assessment.

I suggest that Hepworth's art has been difficult to assess in the past because the works seem both to relate to the classical tradition and yet encourage a sensual reaction from the viewer. Most critics feel obliged to categorise the sculptor's work as either 'classical' or 'romantic'. Conversely, this thesis aims to embrace all, diverse, aspects of Hepworth's art, and will draw attention to the large variety of media and styles with which the sculptor experimented. It is perceived that, with the aid of Jack Burnham's concept of 'Vitalism', one may comfortably acknowledge the breadth and heterogeneity in the *oeuvre* of Barbara Hepworth.

It is proposed that these unexpected qualities in Hepworth's body of work confirm my idea that she aimed to be much more expressive than has been previously thought. Although Hepworth was not always successful in enabling spectators to perceive her expressions, it is suggested that critical indifference to her aim was largely what prevented her work from being promoted as an example of internationally viable British art. In order to indicate the latent, but often poorly evoked, expression in Hepworth's art, I shall juxtapose pertinent examples with certain works by other artists. These are typical works by artists who are acknowledged to be expressionist- for example, Jackson Pollock, Mark Rothko, Theodore Roszak and David Smith.

The purpose of these juxtapositions is not to assert that Hepworth was in any way related to these artists, but to highlight that there was also a neglected emotional and dynamic element to Hepworth's work. It is suggested here that stylised interpretations and stereotypical viewing of works have led to the incorrect impression that Hepworth's art is austere and unemotional. This then prevented Hepworth from gaining a significant reputation on an international scale. Expression and emotion were valued in the post-war period, yet Hepworth's art did not seem to correspond with the international *Zeitgeist*. This thesis aims to provide a new context which may enable fresh interpretations of Hepworth's work to be offered in the future.

There have been many reasons for the formulation of this argument- the majority of which resulted from my analysis of fresh archival material. However the initial impetus arose from my understanding of the literature on Hepworth as being remarkably narrow and vague in focus. Viewing of the works also indicated that there were dynamic and expressive elements in Hepworth's art which have never been appraised. As a result of these sources, it became apparent that Barbara Hepworth expressed an entirely different intentionality to that with which she has been credited: she desired an international reputation which she was effectively refused.

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## INTRODUCTION.

"I think sometime it would be nice (historically) if somebody paid tribute to Ben's (specially) and my contribution to the International link in England via Paris."

- Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Herbert Read. n.d. 1957  
Vic. 200-3.

This study is an examination of the work of the English sculptor, Barbara Hepworth. Hepworth was born in 1903 in Yorkshire, the county from which her noteworthy contemporaries, Herbert Read and Henry Moore, also came. Like her friend Henry Moore, Hepworth attended Leeds College of Art and then the Royal College of Art in London, where she specialised in sculpture. In her student days of the 1920s it was unusual for a woman to want to make sculpture but Hepworth discovered at an early stage that the primitive, direct mode of expression was best represented by carving.

Moore too, discovered an essential need to produce sculpture, and he and Hepworth encouraged each other and developed simultaneously throughout their college years. It was perhaps unfortunate for Hepworth that she and Moore had such a symbiotic relationship until the late 1920s, because he went on to gain a prestigious international reputation, whereas she has since suffered in comparison. Many writers have considered that Moore and Hepworth were indistinguishable in style and subject-matter. The present study does not propose this view, but this aged problematic will be examined here. Assessments will also be made of why Hepworth, in contrast to Moore and other contemporaries such as Ben Nicholson, never achieved a reputation as a Modernist artist of the highest standing.

It is surprising that Hepworth is not written about as a seminal Modernist, in the sense that her colleagues have been. Indeed, Hepworth was greatly involved in the development of Modernism in the United Kingdom. She and Moore gained an early interest in the techniques of direct carving into material, which corresponded with similar activities in Europe. In 1924 Hepworth was runner-up in the *Prix de Rome* Competition at the Royal College of Art, which enabled her to travel to Italy. The winner of this competition was John Skeaping, who became her first husband, and the two artists gained much from the artistic dialogue which they both experienced. Skeaping encouraged Hepworth to experiment to a greater extent with carving directly into a variety materials, and the basics of this discipline were to support her work throughout the rest of her career.

During the 1930s, Hepworth developed in a more avant-garde vein to Skeaping and the couple separated after having had one child. Hepworth became increasingly interested in the emergent signs of Modernism as exhibited in the works of artists such as Ben Nicholson, Piet Mondrian, Naum Gabo and Jean Arp. She began to carve sculptures in gradually more abstract forms that concurred with the works of her contemporaries, and this enabled her work to be taken seriously by these Europeans. Hepworth's sculpture was believed to be exciting in its abstraction and intellectually rigorous in terms of its conceptual basis. Thus her work has always been perceived to represent a form of modern 'classicism' which is believed to oppose a more self-indulgent form of expression through art. This study challenges this widely-held belief- namely that Hepworth was a classicist- even though

her experimentation with severely abstract, geometrical forms in the 1930s must be recorded.

In fact, Hepworth's timely abstraction during the early 1930s was such that, with her second husband, Ben Nicholson, she was invited to become a member of some of the most important artistic societies of this time. Hepworth became first a member of the 7 and 5 Society from 1931, and the seminal European Abstraction-Creation from 1933. In 1934 she contributed to the Unit One publication, and in 1937 to the Circle exhibition and its International Survey of Constructive art. Throughout her involvement with these groups, she came into contact with the most important artistic figures of the moment. She met Helion, Brancusi, Arp, Calder, Gabo, Masson and many other artists who went on to stimulate the major artistic movements of the century. These artists encouraged Hepworth's development, both formally and conceptually, and some would even suggest that Hepworth's influence reached out to their work.

Throughout Hepworth's career, she corresponded to a large extent with these important international figures and, I suggest, this enabled her to receive at first hand vital ideas which permeated the art world. During the 1930s, she was able to anticipate that the centre of the avant-garde was soon to shift from Paris to London or New York. I propose that, from a very early stage, Hepworth desired her work to be known in the United States of America because she was aware that art of great significance was about to originate there. Attention will be directed throughout this study to the detailed correspondence which Hepworth conducted with colleagues- both American and British. It will be suggested here that her ideas were evoked much more clearly on a

private level through the medium of personal correspondence, and her comments to this effect will be noted here in order to gain a fresh insight into the sculptor's works.

Not only did Hepworth and her husband Nicholson correspond freely with important Modernist artists, but they also socialised with them. Informal exchanges at parties and holiday gatherings will be seen to have been significant. From such divergent contacts with artists she was able to gain a broad context which was to encourage her development in various directions throughout her career.

Indeed this study aims to explore the international links which Hepworth had with important artists, in order to explore why the sculptor has not gained a significant international reputation. As one who was present at a critical period in the development of Modernism, it is surprising that she has been relegated to the position of British 'provincial' sculptor. Although this study aims to examine the greatly under-explored post-war period of Hepworth's *oeuvre*, it is important to note that her pedigree began with an intense involvement with 1930s Modernism. I suggest that, although her work later altered considerably from her 1930s style, it was during the early Modernist years that certain concepts began to germinate and these later resulted in varying styles in the post-war period.

It is all the more remarkable that Hepworth was able to be involved so heavily with emergent Modernism because she and Nicholson had triplet children in 1934. After their birth the sculptor gained a spurt of energy during which her work became even more uncompromisingly abstract than before. Her sculptures and drawings of this period bear



close relation to the pure geometricism of Gabo's Constructivist work. With four children and a husband to look after in a small house in Hampstead, it is surprising that Hepworth was able to produce some of the most innovative works of her career. These were so impressive that they may have had the negative effect of drawing critical attention away from her later achievements. The austere geometricism of those sculptures has since been perceived to typify Hepworth's *oeuvre* and intent, when they were actually a temporary exploration into the arena of pure form. Their rigorous purity was interpreted by commentators as Hepworth's classical manifesto, whereas she later experimented with all manner of organic, and even expressionistic, forms. Reference will be made throughout this study to various works produced by Hepworth which indicate that her interests later in life extended to many areas, media and styles. It is suggested here that an early critical assessment of Hepworth's work as being classical, actually stayed with her throughout her career, even when this interpretation was inappropriate. This traditional approach to her body of work has hampered an effective exploration of later, more divergent, works, and an alternative critique will be proposed here.

After gaining, in the 1930s, a reputation in England as an important sculptor, it was unfortunate for Hepworth that this emergent critique dissipated with her removal to the small town of St. Ives in Cornwall. Hepworth and Nicholson moved from London to St. Ives because of the outbreak of war in 1939 and, since that time, she has been identified either with a rural English landscape tradition or with the austere classicism of her mid-1930s sculptures. It is apparent that Hepworth enjoyed life in St. Ives and gained particularly from the nourishing, supportive community, but an aim of this study is to indicate that

Hepworth did not thereafter lose her desire to attain a successful reputation on an international scale. Reference will be made throughout this text to the efforts which Hepworth made to retain international contacts with writers, dealers and important friends, and to encourage future new relationships.

However, the Second World War meant in reality that the initial progress which Hepworth had made towards gaining a significant reputation was stymied. Although she attempted to maintain contacts, during the war period many of her European colleagues emigrated to the United States, whereupon they capitalised on the receptive atmosphere for non-objective art in that country. Once the war was over, and Hepworth was free to re-double her attempts at making connections with important American figures, other artists had already established themselves. This meant that Hepworth was forced to work even harder to gain attention in the United States, and the main body of this study is concerned with the gradual insinuation of Hepworth's art into exhibition and criticism in that country. The culmination of her modest success as an artist in America was the commission which she received in 1964 to create a Memorial sculpture to Dag Hammarskjold, which stands outside the United Nations Headquarters in New York. Attention will be paid here to this important work which, so far, has received little comment.

In the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, Hepworth experimented from her traditional employment of wood and stone as materials, into the casting and construction of work in various types of metals. This new departure also stimulated an experimentation with the formal qualities of the sculptures; works became more open-form and rhythmical and, because

these disturb the traditional understanding of Hepworth as 'classical', such sculptures often received little comment. Indeed, Hepworth's changing forms and new media have certainly discouraged new assessment, and it is an aim of this thesis to explore the reasons for, and use of, these forms and media. These new styles and materials corresponded with the greatest level of success which Hepworth received and yet, in the period after her death in 1975, her reputation declined. Despite gaining greater success in the 1960s, this was not actually linked to the fact that her works were often then produced in editions of metal; exhibitions of her contemporaneous works seemed simply to prompt commentators to hark back to her initial innovative works of the 1930s. This typical critical response was to result in a consistent privileging of Hepworth's earlier sculptures over her later, and more experimental works. Thus this study aims finally to examine under-explored aspects of Hepworth's *oeuvre*- such as drawings and the post-war works in metals- and, simultaneously, to assess the level of success and understanding which such works received.

Throughout this text, reference will be made to the various commentators who have been responsible for explicating Hepworth's art in the past. Many of these writers contributed to the present, ambiguous reception to which Hepworth's corpus of work has been subject. Early criticism of Hepworth's art was provided by Paul Nash and Adrian Stokes. In the 1930s, these authors were attracted to the pure abstraction of the forms which Hepworth produced at that period although, by the 1940s, they had both lost interest in her then more 'organic' works. Another early commentator was J. D. Bernal who, as a physicist, interpreted Hepworth's sculptures and drawings in the light of contemporaneous scientific developments. However, as with Stokes

and Nash, his critique became less and less equipped to cope with Hepworth's increasing biomorphism and the irregular forms which she produced in the 1940s. Works in this style were assumed to be Hepworth's response to the environment of St. Ives and, consequently, were believed to be indications of her lessening interest in avant-garde Modernism. In contrast, this study proposes that Hepworth's more 'organic' forms are actually a result of correspondence with cultural ideas which permeated the international *Zeitgeist*. It will be suggested that biomorphism, irregularity and organicism were interests being explored simultaneously in 1950s and 1960s in America, for example.

During the 1940s, Hepworth greatly esteemed the writings of her friend, E. H. Ramsden, who produced many widely read critiques of the sculptor. Ramsden's intellectual approach excited Hepworth, for she emphasised how the sculptor's art was based upon a deep knowledge of culture, history and philosophy. From the 1930s onwards, Hepworth read widely and believed that she was in touch with the international *Zeitgeist*; Ramsden also, at first, seemed to emphasise this, thereby linking Hepworth with international currencies of thought. However, as with Bernal, Stokes and Nash, from the late 1940s, Ramsden found the increasing freedom of expression in Hepworth's drawings and sculptures difficult to criticise. Her personal taste was for the geometrical Constructivism of Gabo, and Ramsden consistently interpreted Hepworth's work in the same light. This has been unfortunate for later readers who have consequently misunderstood Hepworth's art as an unchanging type of Constructivism which ~~has~~ bears comparison with <sup>the</sup> classical art of other times. The present text aims to dispel the myth that Hepworth's art was a consistent and homogenous programme of classical emulation. Throughout the following chapters, it will be

proposed that a large array of styles, techniques, concepts and media were employed by Hepworth. It is this diversity which has actually made her *oeuvre* difficult to classify, and it is hoped that an acknowledgement of such diversity will result in an informative critique.

An initial attempt to cope with early signs of diversity in the sculptor's work was effected by Herbert Read. Read criticised Hepworth's work as early as 1932, and became close friends with her and her circle throughout the 1930s. Read and Hepworth remained friends and regular correspondents until his death in 1968, and his criticisms of her work have been some of the most widely read. Hepworth placed great trust in his interpretations and even, in the post-war period, bullied Read into writing about her work when he actually displayed less fondness for her later, spare works in metal.

However Read did add greatly to our understanding of the complexities in Hepworth's art because, in 1948,<sup>1</sup> he wrote that the sculptor was able to work simultaneously in both abstract and realistic manners. He gained this understanding from clear comments which Hepworth made in private correspondence to Read,<sup>2</sup> but also from an initial bewilderment about the fact that she could produce representational paintings and then work abstractly in stone or wood. Read's analysis has therefore enabled one to understand that Hepworth's art encompasses both poles of art. These poles may be understood as classicism and romanticism, or geometricism and organicism, and they are understood to have underpinned all art production throughout history. By understanding that both poles of art were employed by Hepworth, the limited critiques of Stokes, Nash and Ramsden are exposed. One may

gain an understanding of why Hepworth did not find it incongruous to develop in a more biomorphic style in the 1940s, after having worked abstractly in the previous decade.

Hepworth was grateful to Read for producing such an intellectual analysis of her art, and this was one reason why she continued to place such trust in him throughout her career. She even began to evoke Read's literary style in her own writings, which indicates the level of conviction which she placed in him and, as time went on, she regurgitated his theories when writing about her own work. However, in the 1950s, Read developed his concept of 'organicism', which meant that he believed art stemmed from a primitive and biological necessity to create. He believed Moore's sculpture to be the epitome of organic art. In contrast, Hepworth's seemed to him inorganic and too concerned with geometry and line, rather than sculptural mass. Concurrently with the development of this theory, he found Hepworth's works to be of less and less interest. It will be expressed on several occasions in the following chapters that Read began to encourage Hepworth to write about her own work, perhaps in order to avoid declaring his waning interest in her post-war styles. This became a problem because Hepworth seemed to look to him for mentorship even though nothing new was presented by him during the 1950s. It will be proposed here that the loss of Read as a commentator was a major problem for Hepworth in aiming to gain a significant reputation abroad- particularly in America. It will be emphasised that Hepworth did not encourage new criticism from younger critics who, perhaps, may have interpreted her post-1950s work with more enthusiasm. This had a derogatory impact upon her later career, for it took Hepworth many years before she was able to trust a writer other than Read to a similar extent. It is significant, in view of

the main arguments of this thesis, that critics seem not to have felt able to interpret her work without her approval and co-operation.

Perhaps the writer who has most damaged (however unintentionally) Hepworth's international reputation was Josef Paul Hodin. He began writing about the sculptor in the 1950s and consistently evoked the impression that she worked in the classical, but yet, rural tradition. Hodin's writings on Hepworth were promoted throughout the world by the British Council and they undoubtedly created the impression that the sculptor was an anti-expressionist artist who revelled in the specifics of her Cornish locale. Because the British Council employed Hodin as a writer so often, his interpretation widely influenced many audiences around the world. The role of the British Council in paradoxically hampering Hepworth's reputation will be assessed in this study, as will the roles of other exhibition organisers and dealers. Hodin's interpretation of Hepworth, via British Council publications, has perhaps been the most pervasive and, since her death in 1975, it has encouraged the idea that Hepworth's art was, and is, not internationally relevant because it made reference to a specific culture and to a lost, parochial ideal.

The idea that Hepworth made multitudinous references to the locality of St. Ives excludes the appreciation of many people throughout the world, and yet, this became a common method of interpretation of her art since the 1950s. Whereas Moore and Nicholson, who also had close connections with rural parts of Britain, have not been hampered in this way, Hepworth's works have usually been interpreted as having been stimulated by Cornish cliffs, waves or megaliths. In contrast, this thesis

refutes the idea that Hepworth rejected international currencies of thought.

It is surprising that recent commentators have regurgitated what I believe to be the inappropriate commentaries of Hodin. Katy Deepwell asserts that Hodin pre-empted the feminist approach of art criticism<sup>3</sup> and, in this respect, deserves to be honoured as a forerunner of critiques such as her own. Deepwell is one of several current writers who are in the process of effecting feminist critiques of Hepworth's art; others are Claire Doherty, Penny Florence, Anne Wagner and Katy Campbell. This study will not be employing such a methodology because it is believed that Hepworth's post-1950 works, and the question of her international status, have been entirely overlooked and need immediate attention for their own inherent value *before* they can be used in furthering feminist or other issue-based critiques.

Although, in the 1990s, Hepworth's art is currently undergoing increasing attention, the majority of authors are interested either in producing feminist studies or in reassessing the 1930s works. Penelope Curtis is an example of the latter, for she has largely examined the initial artistic impetus to which Hepworth was subject, followed by the tentative works of the 1920s and 1930s. Although necessary, perhaps this work has emphasised the, already, relatively over-researched 1930s period. In contrast, the present work will emphasise aspects of Hepworth's *oeuvre* to which little or no attention has previously been given: for example the designs for theatrical production which the sculptor effected in the 1950s; her expressionistic drawings and paintings; and certain focal works which have been neglected. Examples of these focal works are Hepworth's entry for the Unknown



Political Prisoner Competition in 1953, and her Monument to Dag Hammarskjöld at the United Nations Headquarters in New York.

One may ascertain that these neglected aspects of Hepworth's *oeuvre* are a result of the lack of real criticism to which she was subject after Read was unable to comment on her later work. Indeed, perhaps the only writers who were important for explication of her art during the post-war period were A. M. Hammacher and Bryan Robertson. Hammacher produced a competent but unremarkable biography of the sculptor in 1968,<sup>4</sup> and this has been read widely. This book synthesises the techniques of writers previously mentioned- such as Read and Hodin- and, unfortunately, does tend to uphold the preconceptions that abound about Hepworth's classicism. In contrast, Robertson has been a surprisingly neglected writer who has, to some extent, prompted some of the suggestions proposed in this thesis.

Robertson paid great attention to the emphasis which Hepworth placed upon movement, colour and space in her post-war sculptures. His critiques will be examined in the following chapters, but it must be observed that he helped to relate Hepworth to artists or movements which were prevalent in the 1950s and 1960s. He believed that her late work was a significant development and was not a regurgitation of early sculptural interests, and that it was visually and conceptually exciting. This thesis concurs with the ideas proposed by Robertson, and attention will be drawn to the exhibitions about her work which he curated in the 1950s and 1960s. Robertson appeared not to discern disparity between Hepworth and some of her post-war American colleagues or, at least, he recognised that she was exploring ideas of colour, line and rhythm which were then current. It is noted in this thesis that Hepworth was

keen to explore such elements, first in drawings, and then in monumental sculptures, and Robertson's ideas appear to support the basis from which this study operates.

Hepworth's son-in-law, Alan Bowness also seems, ambiguously, to support some of the ideas proposed in this thesis. Although his early criticisms of the sculptor were concerned with a perceived classicism which pervaded her *oeuvre*, Bowness' ideas during the 1990s seem to have expanded to encompass some of the issues raised here. For example, he has mentioned recently that Hepworth was keen to monitor the developments of American Abstract Expressionism and French Tachisme. He has also drawn attention to aspects of the works which have been detrimentally ignored. These include expressionistic and automatic drawings which Hepworth produced in the 1950s and 1960s. Bowness stated that these were produced in response to her interest in Abstract Expressionism.

In 1966, Bowness and Hepworth produced an interesting text which aimed to remind her viewers and critics that Hepworth was also a creator of two-dimensional works. This was entitled Barbara Hepworth: Drawings from a Sculptor's Landscape,<sup>5</sup> and drew necessary attention to her sizeable number of important drawings and paintings. However, at that point, Bowness did not mention the surprising automatic and expressionistic drawings. In contrast, the present study aims to remind readers that these particular works were highly significant in Hepworth's locus of work: they did not just enable her to test out ideas for sculptures, but they *presage* vital changes of style, technique and media and, therefore, are a key to understanding Hepworth's intentions and thought-processes. This idea has never before been proposed but this

study will indicate that, in the early 1950s, Hepworth desired to create more expressive and linear sculptures which were impossible to effect in the inflexible materials of wood or stone. This desire is apparent in her rhythmical drawings of the 1950s which used her unconscious mind and, later, one may perceive more disciplined evocations of the same interests occurring in the bronze, copper or iron sculptures of the following years. It seems that, at first, Hepworth was frustrated at not being able to expand the limitations of wood or stone material and, after the vital experimentation with drawings, was able to make the move into working with plaster and metal.

It was Hepworth's surprising freedom with drawings and sculptures in the post-war period which prompted me to consider that perhaps Hepworth was actually concordant with (seemingly diverse) movements in the United States. It is expressed in the following chapters that Hepworth admired, and was friendly with American Abstract Expressionist artists, and perhaps she was intrigued by the formal freedom which was indulged in by these artists, as well as by their multivalent references to myth, legend and the spiritual. It has been expressed by writers such as Hammacher that Hepworth was fascinated by myth, ritual and the primeval, but these ideas have usually been perceived to have arisen from Hepworth's residency in St. Ives. The rich history of Cornwall did appear to influence Hepworth but, I suggest, it simply gave added impetus to her general interest in these issues. These issues were also current in 1950s literature, anthropology and art throughout the Western world, and I suggest that Hepworth was absorbed in this international currency of thought, rather than in the specific myths or legends of her locale.

It seems that, although Hepworth was obviously not connected in any way to the Abstract Expressionist movement, she was intrigued by new occurrences in 1950s art, and absorbed some of the new techniques and concepts. Although these ideas gave rise to experimentation with visually different forms, I suggest that she did not betray the ideals of her earlier work. Hepworth had experimented with ideas of space, line, rhythm and colour throughout her career and these early interests laid foundations for her adaptation of some Abstract Expressionist ideas. Hepworth's early experimentation with these formal qualities has been overlooked to a large extent, and it will be proposed that exhibition organisers and critics actually limited the exposure of her most dynamic or dramatic work, as being out of keeping with the expected formalism..

As well as altering the perception of Hepworth's art beneficially, it seems that exhibition of her more visually dynamic work would have aided Hepworth in her aim of gaining a significant international reputation. Because formal drama and expressionistic line and colour were the touch stones of the 1950s, it seems logical that, had Hepworth's more expressionistic works been presented among those which were more famous, then perhaps her art would have been more easily assimilated to the international avant-garde.

Indeed there has been no adequate assessment of the dynamic shapes and emotional content of many of Hepworth's works. Critics later in the century were content to refer back to commentaries on initial works, by critics such as Ramsden, Stokes and Bernal, rather than provide adequate explanation for supposed 'aberrations' in Hepworth's *oeuvre*, which, if the truth were known, were actually not at all uncommon. It is here suggested throughout, that in a variety of exhibitions during

Hepworth's life, organisers were reluctant to display what Hepworth termed her 'violent' work. These were works which did not succumb to the conventional interpretations as 'classical' or inspired by the landscape. Their neglect has resulted in a series of stereotypical critiques from which it has been difficult for later critics to disengage themselves. In 1997 it may be a risk to state that Hepworth was an emotional artist who produced expressionistic forms and yet, I suggest, this is because the sculptor's art has become so artificially compartmentalised that assessments of all aspects of her intentionality and career have been thus far impossible.

Therefore this hypothesis is intended primarily to add to the range of interpretations currently available on Hepworth. The main intention is to propose reasons why Hepworth did not gain a reputation as an internationally significant artist but, simultaneously, as this was often due to critical neglect of various aspects of her corpus of work, this study should also finally pay due attention to these aspects. Similarly, these neglected works indicate that Hepworth wished to respond to international trends and sometimes unconsciously presaged them. This study also aims to draw attention to the comparable nature of some of Hepworth's works to other artists. Surprisingly, it may be proposed that certain of her works, particularly the drawings, bear comparison even with the works of some American Abstract Expressionist artists.

The purpose of comparisons with such American artists is not to suggest, for example, that Hepworth was in some sense a part of that movement. However, the fact that such a comparison is possible, indicates that there are many levels of Hepworth's art which have not previously been examined. It is believed that, by relating some of the

visual and conceptual qualities of Hepworth's work to those by American artists, a surprising new context is provided. It means that the study of Hepworth's art is revitalised by rejecting the few, limited, critiques which have so far been available. Previously it has only really been possible to examine Hepworth's art in the light of arguments about classicism or the landscape tradition. These approaches have been insufficient when writers have attempted to assess hidden or even exposed aspects of the art and, consequently, vital criticism of Hepworth has ground to a halt. As has been mentioned, rare individuals such as Robertson have anticipated and aided this present study. However, since 1975, there has been little interest in Hepworth's art, and the previous tired contexts with which to view Hepworth's art have been too problematic for the previous creation of a study such as this.

A helpful source for the formulation of these arguments was found in the writings of Jack Burnham. Burnham's text, Beyond Modern Sculpture,<sup>6</sup> was influential in providing a solution to some of the traditional problems one encounters in a study of Hepworth's works. It has already been mentioned that Herbert Read's theory of Hepworth's *oeuvre* comprising an alternation between abstraction and realism was influential in the late 1940s. It is undoubtedly true that his idea prevented increasing diversity in her art from being neglected simply because such divergence was unaccountable. However it is suggested here that when Hepworth's experimentation increased to a greater extent in the 1950s and 1960s, Burnham's theory of 'Vitalism' might have been helpful in explaining this to an audience.

Burnham wrote that certain artists were able to unite the poles of abstraction and realism. Unlike Read, who maintained that Hepworth's

art *alternated* between abstraction and realism, Burnham believed that certain artists are able to produce an art which is a *synthesis* of these two poles. He ascribed such a quality to the work of several Abstract Expressionist sculptors and to Hepworth and Moore. Burnham even quoted from Hepworth's writings<sup>7</sup> to prove his point that, although her art may ostensibly appear to be austere, and therefore classical, it is as full of 'inner life' and 'vitality' as the works of much more overtly expressionistic sculptors. Reference will be made to this theory in the following chapters as it perhaps explains why, previously, Hepworth's art has not been assimilated.

Writers seem previously to have been troubled by an apparent inconsistency in Hepworth's work, and this affected her international reputation. The public and critics often discerned a patent sensuality of approach in Hepworth's sculptures, combined with clean lines and basic geometrical forms. This meant that her work was often difficult to juxtapose in exhibitions with examples by other artists exhibiting greater devotion to a singular problematic, and this made the writing of forewords and introductions to catalogues difficult. It will be proposed here, that by perceiving this combination of qualities in Hepworth's art as evidence of Vitalism, then her work may be effectively assimilated and related to the similar approaches of other artists. Thus one will be able to assert a new viable context within which to position Hepworth's art: she may be perceived to have explored similar directions to those of the celebrated international avant-garde.

A further characteristic of Hepworth's work which will be noted in the following chapters is her fascinating transmigration of dimension. It will be proposed here that an aspect of her work which has never been

examined is Hepworth's desire to blur the boundaries between drawing, painting and sculpture. Although Hepworth's early work concentrated on emphasising the solid mass of the material and hollowing these forms, by the late 1950s it seems that she wished to experiment more with space, both inside and surrounding her sculptures. She began to make sculptures which appeared to have gained from her experiences with drawing; these on occasion even seemed to be drawings in space. These developments were only possible once Hepworth moved into the use of various metals, and they are perceived here as the culmination of her preoccupation with the movement of objects in space, rhythm and gesture. It will be suggested that Hepworth's early works in the relatively inflexible materials of wood and stone proved it was impossible to communicate her developing ideas effectively in those media.

Without the aid of the embracing concept of Vitalism, authors have previously ignored Hepworth's life-long concern with rhythm, movement and gesture, and yet these were the aspects of her work which could have ensured a healthy international reputation. It will also be suggested here that Hepworth began to communicate her interests more effectively in linear, open-form metal sculptures, because she realised that critics and the public had, until the 1950s, only perceived facets of her intentionality. Because of her reliance upon only partly-committed commentators, and her unwillingness to use more malleable materials before 1951, viewers gained an incomplete understanding of her art.

It seems that, by the 1950s, Hepworth realised both that new self-promotional techniques were necessary in order to achieve a higher



international profile, but also that her art had to become less esoteric. Throughout the 1930s and 1940s Hepworth's sculptures were conceptualised intellectually and perhaps recurrent interests were not apparent to all spectators. It is suggested in the following chapters that Hepworth became aware gradually that, in order to attain more international prestige, her ideas and intentions had to be manifested more overtly. It is proposed that Hepworth believed that a more clear exposition of her ideas could be achieved by a greater emphasis on space, line and rhythm, and by rehearsing greater spontaneity and expressiveness in drawings. These later emphases were also gained from her appreciation of the general tendencies of conceptual and visual expression of the 1950s and 1960s.

However, it will be concluded that Hepworth's mission to attain greater international significance ultimately failed. She did not realise that her latent interests in issues, such as the stereognostic response to her sculptures, was not comprehended by viewers. This lack of realisation was partly the result of masking of these supposedly 'maverick' features by critics, but was also created by Hepworth's failure to control her future and promotional interests. However, by the time that Hepworth realised that she ought to be perceived as an artist who was developing in accordance with other movements, for example in the United States, her work had already become the province of several unsatisfactory interpretations. Her post-war attempts to explain her intentionality more positively were insufficient. The fact that her sculptures were often emotional in content and dynamic in form was an inadequate defence against an entrenched opinion that she was a provincial or classical sculptor. This thesis aims to provide such overdue defence.

## **CHAPTER ONE. An Established Mode: The Critical Consensus of Classicism and Countryside.**

'It will be sometime before Hepworth's work can be accurately assessed.' - Bryan Robertson.<sup>8</sup>

Throughout the Introduction, I have attempted to indicate the main critical receptions of Barbara Hepworth's work until the early 1950s. It is apparent that although Hepworth often attempted manipulation of critics in order that she would be perceived in a certain manner, on the whole she was gratified that a literature was being constructed. Despite fearing that her sculptures were not being exhibited outside Britain widely enough, or that writers were not criticising her work in terms acceptable to a foreign public, she was at least being written about as an avant-garde sculptor, rather than as a woman, or not at all.

I shall now explore how, during the 1950s, Hepworth began to be more impatient for an international reception. She demanded more from her commentators and from promoting organisations, and even attempted to internationalise her own career. Some critics who had written about the sculptor during her formative years were still receptive to her work during the 1950s, and their efforts will be examined in order to assess

whether their interpretations matched the developments in the sculptor's work during this period.

Hepworth commented to Read about her dissatisfaction with the British Council's attitude to her work as early as 1943,<sup>9</sup> for she was aware of the importance of being displayed in other countries, particularly under the aegis of the British Council. Consequently, it must have been a salutary experience when Henry Moore was selected for the second time<sup>10</sup> to occupy fully one half of the British Pavilion at the 1948 Venice Biennale. The British Council was responsible for both the selection and organisation of the artists that were involved, and it is significant that Moore's work was juxtaposed with that of Turner. This juxtaposition not only privileged Moore's work but also endowed it with an enviable pedigree. This exhibition was extremely successful, and Moore's sculptures were perceived by Italians to be both avant-garde and accessible. In fact the British organisers had, due to time pressures, resorted to the inclusion of Turner's work, rather than selecting a representative group of the most promising young artists. The Pavilion was therefore understood to contain the British interpretation of what was best in the entire history of British art. Not only was Moore's art seen for the first time in Italy, and was presented as a new form of sculpture instead of the establishment art that it had

already become, but it was supported and given an historical context by being implicitly related to Turner. As Berthoud wrote, 'it was decided that Britain's greatest living and greatest dead artist should be deployed,'<sup>11</sup> thereby seemingly effecting a paradigm.

However, during the first two years of the 1950s, Hepworth must have been pacified and encouraged by the fact that at last the British Council seemed prepared to bolster her reputation on a more international scale too. In 1950, Hepworth was selected by a panel which included Herbert Read, to represent Britain as Moore had done in the 1948 Biennale. With hindsight, it seems a strange decision to follow Moore with Hepworth because the two sculptors were so often confused by the British media, and indeed the decision was problematic. In the early stages of the selection process, the General Secretary of the Biennale requested a juxtaposition of Graham Sutherland, Constable and the Fauvist Matthew Smith. However it was soon discerned that Sutherland could not contribute to the Biennale, and therefore Paul Nash, and finally Hepworth, were considered.<sup>12</sup> This forms a significant antecedent to the treatment of Hepworth over her Festival of Britain contributions which will be examined below. It surely accounts for the strangeness of the decision to follow Moore at the Biennale with Hepworth, for it was inevitable that the Italian press would struggle to

differentiate between the two sculptors. Not only would this be potentially detrimental to the reputations of Hepworth and Moore, but would result in the idea either that the British selectors were being repetitive in their choice, or that British art was of such a narrow range that they had no choice.

Perhaps because she was aware of the likelihood of these problems before the Biennale, Hepworth began to write a series of letters, primarily to the secretary of the British committee, Lilian Somerville. These concerned how Hepworth desired her works to be displayed, which works were to be selected, who was to write the appreciation in the catalogue, and so on. As early as March 1949 it was apparent that the Biennale Committee were tiring of Hepworth's constant requests and directions, for Ben Nicholson wrote to Read in her defence. The language in which Nicholson wrote is not typically what is employed in order to describe Hepworth, and perhaps it confirms my suggestion that there are elements of the sculptor's work which have not previously been adequately addressed:

'There is no doubt that she has a very clear conception of the presentation of her idea and that a committee tends to lose the contrast and emphasis which an artist of Barbara's kind can conceive.'<sup>13</sup>

Obviously, there had been arguments as to the presentation of the sculptor's work, and Hepworth considered that the committee was deciding on a selection which was unrepresentative, as it consisted largely of problematically similar sculptures, and very few of those. Her own correspondence revealed her point of view:

'I would rather have a lot of sculpture, so that one gets a kick out of the variety of form and colour, than have it thinned out / more preciously presented.'<sup>14</sup>

Hepworth was aware that a small collection of her works would have made her range seem limited and, to an Italian audience, would appear static and austere. She felt that it was her duty to herself to ensure that the breadth of her repertoire was on display in order to avoid being perceived as parochially 'English'.

Considering the similar British interpretation of Hepworth's work as typically classical and severe, and belonging to a small repertoire of forms upon which she regularly drew, it seems paradoxical that the sculptor craved celebration for 'variety of form'. However, it is clear that she desired a lively and dynamic representation in spite of any

preconceptions the selection committee may have harboured to the contrary. In January 1950, she wrote,

'I like variety of scale and imagination and material and I like strong juxtapositions... I do hope you will help me over this - so that in the actual juxtapositions we can create energy- space and sculptural appreciation: something dynamic.'<sup>15</sup>

Furthermore, in March, she made plain her distress at the exclusion of Eocene and Involute from the selection-

'They represent an important part of my work in stone which just isn't represented at all. They are sharper, more arresting, more colourful.'<sup>16</sup>

It is apparent that 1950 saw a decisive change in Hepworth's aims for her work; there was a new concern with 'violence' and 'vigour' and even 'the element of disturbance.'<sup>17</sup> These new interests definitely contrast with her previous writings on sculpture. In the early 1940s she had written to Ramsden and affirmed the permanence and stability of sculptures in stone-

'In forms... I find an element which calls a halt to the transitory- therefore it is an indispensable element... a stone in a Cornish field, Easter Island figures.'<sup>18</sup>

However, in the Introduction it has been stated that Hepworth often reinforced the messages of her commentators and perhaps these words to Ramsden reflect this fact. It may be suggested that, in correspondence with Ramsden, Hepworth typically emphasised the classical and timeless elements of her sculpture, rather than expose her actual motivations. One must also consider that she may not have been able to express her sensations and motivations verbally at this time, and might not have been willing to contradict her critics.

Nevertheless, there is a distinct alteration in the sculptor's vocabulary during 1949 to 1951, and one may consider whether this was due to a new awareness of the universal rejuvenation of Expressionism. Undoubtedly she was knowledgeable about the new generation of sculptors who worked in metal in response to the post-war angst in Britain. She wrote, 'I will never forget the horrible things said- about Reg Butler (whose work I like very much)',<sup>19</sup> and one presumes that her relationship with prominent Americans, such as Alexander Calder and George L. K. Morris, would have informed her about the new Abstract Expressionism which was sweeping New York. As a result of her contacts with people such as Morris, she was certainly familiar with American avant-garde journals like Partisan Review, which often



explored Abstract Expressionism. Hepworth wrote to Read with the news that 'Morris says Partisan is continuing under a new name.'<sup>20</sup> Perhaps, because Hepworth was a sculptor who was sensitive to the *Zeitgeist*, she realised that a more expressionistic attitude was necessary for the post-war period, and this is first discernible in her vocabulary.

In fact even in communication with Margot Eates and Ramsden, with both of whom Hepworth was apt to refine her expressions in productive debate, the sculptor did betray her new interest in self-exploration and the varieties of emotion that are apprehensible to experience. She wrote,

'Carving is for me simply an act of the appreciation of living, a joyful act, but one is torn and driven by alternating hope and despair.'<sup>21</sup>

Similarly, she placed a new emphasis upon the process of creation, from which she did not, in general, deviate in the future-

'I am carried along in a rhythm which seems to turn hundreds of thousands of hammer blows into a fluid current and I am carried on the crest.'<sup>22</sup>

Both of these issues are concordant with the international significance of Expressionism in the post-war world.

The 1994 retrospective on Hepworth, which was organised by the Tate Gallery Liverpool, included some neglected drawings which explore the sculptor's interest in self-expression; including the violent and automatic Summer (Project for Sculpture) 1957, (fig. 1) and Group (Dance) 1957. (fig. 2) Although these have never received individual comment, perhaps they present the sculptor in a new and uncomfortable light, supporting Alan Bowness' surprising assertion that Hepworth's post-war works reflect on the Abstract Expressionist movement and even *Taschism*.<sup>23</sup> On examination of these expressionistic works, perhaps one is entitled to question whether Hepworth was inspired by the first major Abstract Expressionist exhibition at the Tate Gallery in London in 1956, which included works by Pollock and Rothko, for Bowness reveals that the years following 1956 saw Hepworth even engaging in 'automatic' finger painting.

It does seem as if these and other more expressionistic enterprises have been at times precluded from exhibitions and consequently from critical interpretation. In fact, this is what Hepworth was asserting about the 1950 Venice Biennale: she wanted

'some more violent and formal (works) including some ink and chalk drawings which make an emphasis as well as some more violent oil ones.... they could do better by adding the element of disturbance.'<sup>24</sup>

She considered that the selection committee were promoting a certain supine and insipid interpretation of her work, rather than a truly representative survey. This attitude has lingered however, for there has never been any assessment of Hepworth's relation to contemporaneous avant-garde movements in the post-war period, nor of her desire to adapt her work to the period and contribute to the new ethos. These are omissions which the present study is intended to redress.

There is consistent evidence that Hepworth developed unusual and often unexpected facets of her conception in drawings; consequently she believed that these should be exhibited as the precursors of each new sequence of work. In this sense her request that more drawings, and in particular, more violent examples, should be selected for the Biennale was far from frivolous,<sup>25</sup> and future paintings such as Summer (Project for Sculpture) 1957, (fig. 1) are evidently joyous in their expressionistic faculties. It seems that Hepworth considered her drawings to be the most direct method of indicating to the observer the breadth and variety of her sensibility. It has been recorded that she regretted the loss of Eocene and Involute because they represented facets of her stone sculpture otherwise absent from the Biennale, and

likewise, she considered her 'colourful and dominant drawings (to be) in the same vein... (they are) violent and formal.'<sup>26</sup>

As a sculptor who was highly concerned about the presentation of her work, and knowledgeable of the critical limits of the general public and press, she felt the need to provide an obvious and highly visible foil to her pure and rigidly non-representational sculptures. She regarded this as enrichment rather than dilution, for to Ramsden she wrote, 'Personally I never believe in simplifying for the general public.'<sup>27</sup> Regretting the limited capacity of most people for understanding her art, she perhaps regarded her drawings as offering the uninitiated some means of access to her work in general. Undoubtedly, the positive public reaction to her operating theatre drawings of the 1940s confirmed for Hepworth the necessity of a publicly accessible art. The success of these works on paper ensured both a much wider audience and, paradoxically, a more intellectual analysis on the part of her critics. Read's particular enthusiasm for the Operating Theatre drawings is evidence that he, at least, did not dismiss such works as merely popularist.

Although some drawings were exhibited at the Biennale along with her sculptures, Hepworth considered that they were not 'violent' enough. Some operating theatre drawings were selected, as were linear, non-

representational drawings such as Nucleus of 1946; however, the crystalline compositions of those such as the latter tended to reinforce the conception that Hepworth was a cerebral and passionless artist. Nevertheless, the British Council was keen to ensure that 'abstract' drawings such as Nucleus were chosen<sup>28</sup>, instead of further representational works or more expressionistic paintings.

Unsurprisingly, it was the Operating Theatre drawings and the sketches of dancers which received by far the most extensive reviews throughout the course of the Biennale. The sculptures in contrast, were almost universally ignored by a public and press that had esteemed Moore's writhing figures two years earlier. Perhaps the southern temperament of the Italians was able to warm much more towards the Giottoesque surfaces of the hospital sketches and the evident drama they depicted. However, this was to overlook their intrinsic significance, for it seems likely that Hepworth discovered in the subject of operations a more direct equivalent of the themes of her supposedly rarefied sculptures. She expressed this fact in her writings-

'I became completely absorbed by two things: first, the extraordinary beauty of purpose between human beings all dedicated to the saving of life; and secondly by the way this special grace (grace of mind and body) induced a spontaneous

space composition, an articulated and animated kind of abstract sculpture very close to what I had been seeking in my own work.'<sup>29</sup>

Although the sculptor certainly chose the subject of the hospital scene for its two-dimensional correspondence to her sculptural themes, her public and critics identified with the drawings immediately and classified them as a more acceptable alternative to Hepworth's sculptures. They therefore acted to emphasise the perceived austerity of Hepworth's three-dimensional work, and negated further the possibility of them being accepted on an international scale.

Consequently, apart from references to the drawings, the reviews for the British section of the 1950 Biennale were poor. Not only was the Hepworth show perceived to be an anti-climax to Moore's exhibition two years previously, but the Constable section was considered to be quintessentially English and provincial in comparison with the internationally important Turner. The official report of the British participation in the 1950 Biennale stated that 'no single exhibition has achieved anything approaching the success of the... Turner exhibitions of 1948.'<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, the conjunction of Hepworth and Constable proved to be unfortunate because, as Moore was consequently linked to his 'co-exhibitor', Turner, so Hepworth was perceived to relate to

Constable, reinforcing notions of her provincialism. Even the British reviewers assumed this mistake: the critic in Apollo wrote,

'One wonders whether amid all the violence of the Futurism, Expressionism, Fauvism, Cubism, Abstractionism, Surrealism, and the rest, Constable's sunlit meadows and her well-drawn figures were the thing we were looking for?'<sup>31</sup>

There is an implicit assertion here that Hepworth, along with Constable, is retrogressive and reactionary, and is not to be associated with avant-garde movements.

Paradoxically, despite the fact that Hepworth's reputation at the Biennale was for being a peculiarly 'English' sculptor, who had produced little that was new, she was also labelled as a pupil of Moore rather than his contemporary. No doubt, this misconception did immeasurable harm to Hepworth's international reputation, as the press of all nations eschewed any reference to originality, and believed her style to be the result of having assimilated the influence of Moore. For example, the German journal Das Werk commented,

'Katherine Hepworth, (sic.) the English pupil of Henry Moore strikes one at the outset by the beauty of her material, but does not gain by repeated viewing. Above all the form element in

her work is hardly convincing.<sup>132</sup>

Neue Züricher Zeitung was a particularly biting example of the European attitude,

'In the small rooms which, two years ago contained the evidence of Henry Moore's forceful creativeness, her sculptures and drawings give obvious indications of her discipleship.'<sup>133</sup>

Similarly, the Italian press was most deprecating: it was an

'extraordinary fact that the England of Turner and Constable has allotted space in its pavilion to the works of an abstract sculptress- Barbara Hepworth- a disciple of Moore.'<sup>134</sup>

The Roman newspaper Il Messaggero stated

'Barbara Hepworth- a disciple of Moore... who with him as her spiritual master, exhibits here several figures, which are insipid, unbecoming and badly shaped.'<sup>135</sup>

Only a Milanese commentator noted that Hepworth had an aversion to being juxtaposed with Moore-



'If you should have an occasion to meet Barbara Hepworth, do not ask her if she is a pupil or a disciple of Henry Moore... (and she paraphrases) No, she is neither pupil nor disciple... she is the same age and a contemporary of Henry Moore... now his rival.'<sup>36</sup>

It is most notable that positive comments arose only in relation to Hepworth's representational drawings; for example Menegazzo wrote, 'More original are the drawings of figures, and those done in an operating theatre.'<sup>37</sup> Similarly, a Genoan newspaper commented,

'Hepworth, who, lost in the pursuit of experimental forms... yet reveals a masterly touch in an extremely fine series of drawings, some of which may well bear the signature of a Renaissance master.'<sup>38</sup>

In contrast to the sculptures, it appears that the drawings bore immediate relation to the Italian experience and conception of art, for a Milanese journal also expressed identification with these works; the author compared them to

'An exhibition of the Italian primitives and of Tuscan painting in particular, it is very clear in the physical features: the big almond-shaped eyes are inspired by Giotto's figures, just as the look of concentrated sadness in the expressions is completely Botticelli-like.'<sup>39</sup>

As has been noted, it seems the Italian audience readily responded to the surface qualities and subject matter of Hepworth's drawings, without perceiving their intimate relationship to her sculptures. Naturally, Hepworth's three-dimensional works also placed much emphasis upon the material, its palpability and workability. Similarly, it has been noted how Hepworth agreed with Read's assessment that her impulses to strive for both realism and non-representation were identical, and perhaps this is most effectively achieved in the relationship between sculptures and painting.

In fact, Herbert Read seems to have understood the difficulties that Hepworth experienced at the Biennale. Although she held him to be greatly responsible for the poor selection, he did perceive that the Italian audience was unaware of the intimate relationship between the sculptures and drawings. As was noted in the Introduction, Read was the first critic to understand that Hepworth was able to switch easily from working in a representational manner to an abstract style, and therefore believed that representational drawings were unconsciously connected with abstract sculptures. He commented upon Hepworth's unconscious alternation between the two modes of working and, in what seemed very much to be an emergency tactic, he attempted to

rectify the Biennale situation. In an informal press gathering at a Biennale official's home, he asserted that the simultaneous manipulation of both abstraction and realism was the aspect of the sculptor's work which most fascinated him. Zorzi recounted how

'Herbert Read gives his precise opinion... Barbara is abstract in her sculpture, but a realist in her drawing and painting. A point to notice here is the perfect interchangeability in the procedure. The change is not accompanied by any deep psychological revolution; it is merely a change of course or direction.'<sup>40</sup>

This impromptu conference seemed to aid the general interpretation of the Hepworth exhibition for, throughout September and October of 1950, reviewers were markedly less hostile towards the sculptor's work.

One final aspect of the press reviews of the Biennale however, is that even though many of the critical reports about the drawings were positive, it was widely assumed that Hepworth had ventured into two-dimensional expression in response to Moore's successful coal-mining and underground shelter drawings and paintings. For example, Bertolucci implied this by stating,

'Hepworth has her excellent series of sketches made in an operating theatre... just as Moore has, with his sketches in air

raid shelters.<sup>41</sup>

Consequently, even Hepworth's successes were not without reference to Moore. His extremely successful exhibition two years previously was still to over-shadow Hepworth's opportunity to claim an international reputation. Paradoxically, it may only be a matter of pure speculation what might have been the case had Hepworth been selected to be the British sculpture representative ahead of Moore in 1948. It was simply unfortunate that two direct carvers, who revelled in the beauty and variety of material, and who enjoyed referring to the landscape and to the essence of humanity, should have been exhibited so soon after each other.

Indeed, the British press did recognise this situation and stated that it was inappropriate to have exhibited Hepworth so soon after Moore-

'It was a pity that instead of showing Barbara Hepworth and Matthew Smith, these artists were not left for another time, and an exhibition arranged that was related to the principal themes.'<sup>42</sup>

Interestingly, Denys Sutton here betrays one of the central reasons behind Hepworth's failure at the Biennale: she did not correspond with

the 'principal themes', or in other words, the rationale of the exhibition. That such a paradigm was aimed for in the overall organisation of the Biennale is clearly evident:

'two years ago (1948) an admirable attempt was made by the Biennale authorities to trace the development of modern painting through the Impressionists and by way of retrospective exhibitions such as the sensational Turner exhibition in the British Pavilion. The 1950 Biennale is, in a way, a development of this theme, but... no single exhibition has achieved anything approaching the success of 1948... The aim is to show in detail the development of modern art... Critics welcomed this unique chance of seeing 'under one roof'... all the trends and movements of the last uneasy fifty years.'<sup>43</sup>

It seems that the influence of the 1936 exhibition, 'Cubism and Abstract Art', which had been organised by Alfred Barr at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, had been far-reaching. Barr's exhibition established what was to become the accepted paradigmatic interpretation to which all similar surveys had to relate. The organisers of the Biennale attempted, not to provide a forum for the exposition of what was new in the art of all participating nations, but aimed to package international art in a comprehensive way which was inoffensive to the M.O.M.A. model. Conversely, Hepworth's art is not easily assimilated into any paradigm, and was entirely inappropriate for

presentation of this sort at the Biennale. It has been expressed that a major reason for the critical elision of the sculptor is the fact that her work was highly intellectual and even 'difficult' and required individual, exclusive interpretation. It was inevitable that the Biennale would not locate the sculptor's irregular production within its rationale. However the patent confusion of the press and public led to a condemnation of Hepworth's work, rather than criticism of its faulty presentation, or recognition that it required highly specific attention. The British press were equally neglectful, merely noting that the Italians had nothing with which to compare Hepworth. Newton stated that

'Hepworth's sculpture is so cool, so businesslike and so patiently smoothed and polished that its subtleties tend to be over-looked or misunderstood: there is nothing here with which it can be compared: foreign visitors search in vain for a standard to judge it.'<sup>44</sup>

Similarly, despite not recognising the Biennale paradigm in operation, Sutton realised that Hepworth required special critical attention in order to be understood in an international context. Although he discerned the necessity of placing Hepworth within a paradigm rather than

conceiving that she should be assessed on an individual basis, he did raise the issue of context. He wrote,

'What is perhaps needed at the present time is a comprehensive exhibition along the lines of that held some years ago at the M.O.M.A. in New York to place Cubism in its historical perspective.'<sup>45</sup>

He recognised that Hepworth did not correspond with the other exhibitors, and suggested the remedy of a comprehensive exhibition. In fact, the Biennale *was* attempting just such a comprehensive exhibition, and it should have been emphasised that Hepworth did not accord with this scheme. Instead, the committee and the press seemed to conspire to manipulate the sculptor into an uncomfortable paradigm.

The fact that it is not easy to exhibit Hepworth, especially in informative relation to other artists, must surely account for the difficulties that the sculptor experienced in attempting to be seen on a more international stage. If it had been possible to position her work in a convenient paradigm, so that it might have been beneficially juxtaposed with other artists, then perhaps she would have found herself to be in far greater demand around the world.

However, the British Council itself was at a loss to discern the reason behind the negative responses to the Hepworth exhibition in 1950. The organisers did not realise that an absence of a dedicated critique was at fault. Consequently it was thought to have been Hepworth's personality which had such a detrimental effect upon the critical reception of the exhibition. Ronald Bottrall, the British Council's representative wrote

'I should emphasise that Miss Barbara Hepworth was a total loss. She stayed too long and her reserved temperament prevented her from making useful contacts. Her husband, Mr. Ben Nicholson... caused a great deal of trouble by his unreasonable demands on the Director of the Venice / Padua Centre.'<sup>46</sup>

Georgette Lubbock concurred with Bottrall-

'She arranged her work with much care, indeed her fussiness was somewhat wearing... Her reserved temperament and her inability to speak either French or Italian meant that she could have little contact with either artists or critics and, in fact, she became rather a problem in the Pavilion on the Press Days.'<sup>47</sup>

In fact, the British Council was searching for an artist who was both an engaging personality and a diplomat besides a creator of art. In 1948,



they had been rewarded by the extrovert Henry Moore who did not just impress with his sculpture-

'Henry Moore must be the exception to the rule. He has a quite exceptional personality and his gift of communication with others... was quite remarkable.'<sup>48</sup>

Nevertheless, although Hepworth was relatively introverted, she was also aware of the necessity of communicating with the public; perhaps this is a reason why it was considered that she stayed too long. It is recorded that she was regularly present at Press Meetings and in the Pavilion:

'the Director of the Fine Arts Department and Miss Hepworth were present for large periods on both days to take visitors round and answer questions... she attended the Pavilion faithfully whenever required to do so.'<sup>49</sup>

Therefore it seems unjust to criticise Hepworth for a lack of personality; she was keen to contribute to the success of the exhibition, and to be perceived as an artist who was heavily involved with the presentation of her work and its effect upon the public. Her high personal standards with regard to the perfect presentation and care of sculpture was here criticised, whereas these were important elements in

the success of most of her exhibitions. Her recommendations about the selection of her work and its appearance were perceptive and incisive, as indeed the Biennale records illustrate.

If the Committee had heeded the warnings of the sculptor about the limited effect that their selection would produce, then the exhibition would surely have been a greater success. For example she wrote,

‘I should infinitely prefer to have (1) Woman 1931 sycamore... rather than the Wakefield Kneeling Figure... The form of the deep gold of the sycamore would improve the hanging and the general impression of variety simply enormously. Also it has a great link with the present work.’<sup>50</sup>

Hepworth was able to visualise the final effect of the exhibition far better than the selection committee; she knew the sensual power of wood and the visual impact that its seductive colours could create. Similarly, she was aware of which selection would stimulate a coherent explanation of her aims and which would make her corpus of work explicable to a foreign audience. As it was, Hepworth thought that 'the room for stone sculpture will be thin, thin!'<sup>51</sup> She was afraid that works seemed not to relate to each other; that her logical development

as an artist was not apparent; and there was a confusing contrast between early and late sculptures.

Hepworth was, in particular, attempting to illustrate how her work had responded to the period and had developed, remaining as challenging as the works of younger artists. To effect this, not only did she need to allow the viewer to perceive the continuity between early and recent sculptures, but it was necessary to emphasise the innovative qualities within the newer works. She considered that the British Council were concentrating on easily recognisable sculptures burdened with stereotypical interpretation. These were obviously founded in the 1930s period; furthermore, the British Council would not increase the size of the exhibition to allow for a larger scope which could include some of her recent and more visually expressive works. Lilian Somerville defended the decisions of the selection committee- 'It is a very nice point to decide the dividing line between... "good showmanship" and "crowding them in";<sup>52</sup> it seems that the general opinion was that Hepworth desired a larger exhibition for egotistical reasons, when in fact she probably wanted to be more effectively represented. It is noticeable that the committee was manipulating the sculptor's career by restricting the way in which her art was perceived:

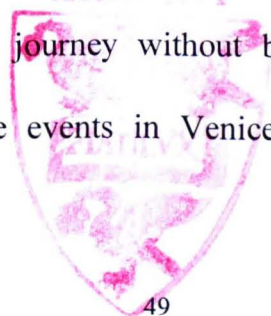
'We also feel very strongly that strength and vigour are not necessarily emphasised by quantity but by a judicial use of the spatial element with the essential forms of the sculpture.'<sup>53</sup>

Hepworth's communications demonstrate that she did not consider quantity of sculpture necessary to produce the essential current impressions of energy and variety; she desired more sculpture so that her recent works could be included in order to produce a fair representation of her range and trajectory. Obviously, she was aware that if her art was to be considered viable for increased exhibition in the United States or in other non-European countries, she needed to display its progressiveness at the Biennale. As Norman Reid expresses, 'she certainly attached great importance to her exhibitions, especially abroad,'<sup>54</sup> and the Venice Biennale was the ideal opportunity to cement relationships with other countries so that exhibitions could be arranged. In 1950, for sculpture to be 'progressive' meant that it should be 'vigorous', 'dynamic' and 'chromatic', and Hepworth was incensed that because the committee enjoyed perceiving her art to be graceful and ascetic, others should be prevented from exploring different elements within her art.

It was recorded that many important American figures, and especially those who were significant in the art world, were present at the Biennale:

'the American Consul gave a reception in honour of the American ambassador who was visiting Venice for the Biennale, and the American commissioner, Mr. Frankfurter... (there was a) reception held in the American Pavilion on June 10th for the delegates to the Art Critics Conference... (also) an Anglo-Saxon evening given by Miss Peggy Guggenheim... the owner of a large and important collection of modern paintings.'<sup>55</sup>

Guggenheim was the dealer for many of the Abstract Expressionist artists, for instance Pollock and Rothko, and if Hepworth could have impressed her with the fact that her sculpture was dynamic and progressing, then the sculptor's international standing would have been substantially aided. Although Hepworth had previously known Guggenheim, because in the late 1930s the American had intended to open a Museum of Modern Art in London with the aid of Read, Guggenheim had found it difficult to travel to St. Ives to view Hepworth's work. Hepworth often found her Cornish location to be detrimental in her relationships with dealers because they were usually unwilling to make the journey without being certain of requiring Hepworth's work. The events in Venice were therefore an ideal



opportunity for Hepworth to show international dealers, particularly Americans, a sizeable collection of her work. With Guggenheim present, as well as others, such as the dealer Curt Valentin, it is certain that Hepworth hoped to sign a new exhibition contract. At this point, Hepworth's American dealer was Martha Jackson, who was not nearly as progressive as Guggenheim or Valentin, and who later arranged an unremarkable exhibition for the sculptor in New York in 1953. Indeed, Jackson paid little attention to her responsibilities concerning Hepworth:

'I have not written about the Barbara Hepworth contract because it was agreed to let things coast for one year.'<sup>56</sup>

It was disappointing that instead of being exhibited in a way that would have focused the interests of Guggenheim for instance, Hepworth's sculptures were artificially presented so that they expressed a classical, traditional and austere message. However, it seems to have been a recurring situation throughout the 1950s that Hepworth attempted to project a more contemporary image, whilst committees and selectors manipulated the final result of exhibitions. As early as 1943 with the Temple Newsam exhibition in Leeds, Hepworth desired that her more unusual works were given greater attention; she wrote,

'I really wanted to present quite a different aspect of my work, one which is not so well known but just as important.'<sup>57</sup>

Even at this period, she found the critical interpretation to be limiting, and the resultant exhibitions were narrow in focus and restrictive, rather than a display of strength.

The Temple Newsam exhibition was selected by Philip Hendy (also a member of the 1950 Venice Biennale committee) with whom Hepworth had a volatile relationship. He was particularly likely to produce a conventional display of Hepworths, rather than choose carefully from among both her most famous and surprising works. About Hendy's choice for the Leeds exhibition, Hepworth wrote sarcastically,

'I heard from my mother that Doves 1929 was much admired at Temple Newsam. I thought this rather a joke... I do hope he (Willie) was able to influence H to buy a fairly recent work.'<sup>58</sup>

As the 1940s progressed, Hepworth evidently felt the need to channel criticism and to personally explain her art. Hendy's foreword to the Temple Newsam exhibition irritated the sculptor, as is apparent from her correspondence with Paul Nash:

'Hendy has some great confusion in his mind about applied art,

decoration, fashion and social consciousness... I wish artists and writers could present some sort of unity of idea. Writers on the whole tend to measure everything by height rather than by breadth... I really think its almost time for a manifesto.'<sup>59</sup>

Similarly, she wrote with disgust about another of Hendy's articles-

'I'll enclose you a cat. with one of Philip's efforts... in which he rakes up Whistler and then jumps effortlessly over about fourteen hedges to Miro and Mondrian.'<sup>60</sup>

Indeed, Hendy admitted that he had difficulty in assimilating Hepworth's work; he wrote,

'Her work would be easy enough to understand if we were not brought up to concentrate our eyes and our thoughts so exclusively on the printed word.'<sup>61</sup>

Furthermore, he insisted upon attributing the qualities of 'grandeur and spaciousness' to Hepworth's work (the accoutrements of interior design she so despised), and stated that 'the forms which she creates... arise out of her feelings for landscape.'<sup>62</sup>

Therefore this catalogue is another example of criticism which serves to provincialise the sculptor rather than express the universality of her



work. Not only does his idea that she desired 'spaciousness' intimate why Hepworth had such difficulty in persuading the Biennale committee to include further works in that exhibition, but the emphasis that Hendy placed upon the landscape as an influence in her work was particularly detrimental. Indeed, landscape was important for the sculptor, but as she said she also wanted

'to present the idea of research into pure form and strings, landscape and colour, stone, wood and lastly human form and human groups.'<sup>63</sup>

The continual emphasis that writers placed upon the importance of the Cornish environment in Hepworth's works acted to convince foreign galleries and museums that her sculpture would have no relevance to their specific publics. In fact, she desired the universal essence of humanity and landscape to be evident within her sculptures, which was actually concordant with the new emphasis upon universality which was central to many avant-gardes becoming internationally recognised during the 1950s, but especially in the United States.

Therefore, as the Venice Biennale presented Hepworth stereotypically though without being especially detrimental, it did have the most damaging effect so far upon the sculptor's attempts to be exposed more

widely in other countries. It was the first time that Hepworth was given truly international attention in juxtaposition to contemporaneous works from many countries. To have been received badly here was a fundamental setback in Hepworth's career. For Henry Moore, the Biennale 'was to provide another landmark in the rise of his international reputation,'<sup>64</sup> and indeed, it should have had the same impact upon Hepworth's career. But the classical image projected onto her work by the committee in 1950, smacked of puritanical ideals and severity, and seemed to hark back to the pre-war status-quo, and seemed irrelevant to modern society.

However, the undermining of Hepworth's international marketability had been progressing on a domestic scale also, and for a far greater period. It could be considered that Ben Nicholson became an increasingly restrictive influence upon Hepworth's career in the 1940s and 1950s, particularly during the Venice Biennale. Unfortunately, Hepworth was so enamoured with Nicholson that there are few records of the latter's detrimental effect upon his wife's career; nevertheless, the Hartley / Ramsden archive at the Tate Gallery does explore these issues in some detail.

For example, Hepworth recalled how Nicholson disliked expressive, curvilinear works that she had produced, such as Mother and Child 1934 (fig. 5):

'Ben always kicks up a fuss when he sees the few turbulent photos... But I stand by them. They mattered a lot emotionally and sculpturally.'<sup>65</sup>

Nicholson desired that these works should be considered 'mistakes' and forgotten; but when it transpired that critics and writers saw them as discordant with the usual classical conception of the sculptor and consistently referred to them, he gave vent to his intense disliking for them. Yet even the classicist, Ramsden, accepted that these sculptures were part of Hepworth's *oeuvre*, and referred to them as 'the most turbulent phase of her career.'<sup>66</sup> Hepworth always ensured that photographs of works from this period were included in monographs, and always emphasised that these had occurred because of the stimulus of seeing Arp's and Brancusi's works. She felt that in Brancusi's sculpture,

'there are elements which belong to the primeval forces activating man's sensibilities; but they are, at the same time, sophisticated in the sense that they apprehend contemporary needs and passions and reaffirm

the continuity of life.'<sup>67</sup>

Similarly,

'seeing Jean Arp's work for the first time freed me of many inhibitions and this helped me to see the figure in landscape with new eyes... I began to imagine the earth rising and becoming human.'<sup>68</sup>

It seems ironic that Jeremy Lewison should state that Nicholson had an 'interest in certain aspects of Surrealism, particularly the organic or biomorphic ones,'<sup>69</sup> when all contemporary evidence points to the contrary. Nicholson is recorded as condemning surrealist influences upon 'abstract' sculptors: in a letter to Fred Murray he wrote,

'Arp, Brancusi, Hepworth, Calder, Moore, Giacometti... They have some Surrealist tendencies which I disapprove of.'<sup>70</sup>

Hepworth too is usually perceived to have held an antipathy to Surrealism. For example it has been recorded that she, with Nicholson and Gabo, felt spurred to found Circle as a counterpoint to the burgeoning interest in the movement. However she did appreciate non-anarchic aspects of Surrealism used by others: Hepworth particularly liked the works of Giacometti and Calder. Because Hepworth was so

connected with Nicholson and Gabo, naturally it is assumed that she entirely shared their antipathy and acted in accordance, for example in the founding of Circle. However it is probable that Hepworth retained her personal opinions and preserved affection for aspects of Surrealism which she could also use in art in order to express her individuality.

Perhaps it would be more accurate to state that Nicholson suppressed Hepworth's Surrealist-inspired biomorphic forms. This may be construed from her (previously quoted) letter to Ramsden, for her own comments exhibited interest in aspects of the movement.<sup>71</sup> For example, she wrote, 'Giacometti is a very important sculptor in my opinion,'<sup>72</sup> and her interest in Calder's art is apparent from her references to the medium which he made his own-

'I hope you like the drawing... I chose it specially because it tells well at a distance because it is almost a mobile.'<sup>73</sup>

Indeed, Alan Wilkinson has explored the extent of Hepworth's adaptation of Surrealistic forms; he states that

'For all Hepworth's allegiance to geometric abstraction, she made several carvings in the mid 1930s that could well have been included, as was Moore's work, in the 1936 *International Surrealist Exhibition*.'<sup>74</sup>

In fact, 'Two carvings of 1936 appear to relate directly to two sculptures by Giacometti.'<sup>75</sup>

However such association would have been condemned by Nicholson, despite the fact that both Calder and Giacometti were his friends; once they became identified with Surrealism in 1936, his communication with them both declined. Indeed, Calder's letters to Nicholson made evident the latter's disapproval of the American's whimsical approach to art: in 1949 Calder wrote,

'I am sorry you didn't like the sculpture I sent you. I tried to vary the scheme, and wanted to represent you both and all your children- which was a bit stupid.'<sup>76</sup>

Similarly, in 1952 Calder received the same reaction from Nicholson over another project of this type-

'That mobile I made you represented you and B and the triplets and your previous son and wife... That is the price of being representational! But it spoiled it as a mobile- you're right.'<sup>77</sup>

Therefore it seems that there is a case to be made that Nicholson discouraged experimentation within Hepworth's works, as he did also

with regard to Calder. It is apparent that after Hepworth's divorce from Nicholson in 1951, she did experiment much more, for example in 1956 she began to employ metal more often as a medium. She had used metal in some designs for theatre productions in 1951 (fig. 6) and 1953 (fig. 7) but, after the divorce, she felt free to develop use of this medium and also the use of open, expressive or biomorphic forms. This is apparent because sculptures began to refer to myths and magic and appeared visually to be totemic, as in Idol 1955-56 (fig. 8) or Group 1 (Concourse) February 4 1951 (fig. 9). It is usually thought that these types of sculptures represent Hepworth's interest in Cornish folklore and cultural remains, as Bowness concludes-

'the totemic, icon-like quality of the standing forms is emphasised, as in the two wood figures that are called Menhirs, after the standing stones erected by the Celts which can still be seen in Cornwall.'<sup>78</sup>

However, I believe that the mythical and totemic elements within Hepworth's works are a result of the post-war international drive for spirituality and communion with the past. As Harrison says, in Hepworth's writings,

'("It is the sculptor's work to fully comprehend the world of space and form, to project his individual understanding of

his own life and time as it is related universally in this particular plastic extension of thought... The language of colour and form is universal... it is a thought which gives the same life, the same expansion, the same universal freedom to everyone.")... there is an interesting compatibility at points here with Barnett Newman's concept of an "epistemology of intangibles."<sup>79</sup>

Hepworth was aware of the *Zeitgeist* and it fully concurred with her own ethos; her work was only the exploration of these universal issues rather than a parochial revelling.

It may be apparent that although Hepworth hoped during the Venice Biennale that audiences would respond to such qualities within her work, Nicholson hampered her attempts to advance her career because he was an antagonistic individual. As has been expressed, Moore was celebrated as both a personality and an artist at the 1948 Biennale, whereas Hepworth was criticised upon both counts. After the 1950 Biennale, the British Council resolved in the future only to select artists who could also be diplomats-

'I do think that the ability to speak at least some French should be taken into consideration when bringing out an artist at the expense of the Council.'<sup>80</sup>



This seems to be a trivial reason for the relegation of Hepworth but, time after time, Moore was praised, not only for his work, but also for his personality. For example, it could be considered that his early success in the United States was for this reason. Berthoud, Moore's biographer certainly concurs: of Moore's 1951 Curt Valentin Gallery show he wrote,

'An advance notice by the faithful Henry McBride in Art News threw a sugary light on the role of Moore's personality played in his American success... "he has captivated everybody with his sweetness, simplicity and decency."<sup>81</sup>

Much of the reputation Hepworth acquired was in effect caused by the undoubted difficult personality of her husband. She was certainly blamed for Nicholson's behaviour at the Biennale. Ronald Bottrall stated that 'her husband... caused a great deal of trouble,'<sup>82</sup> and Lubbock wrote that

'Her visit to Venice was complicated by the unofficial presence of her husband, Mr. Ben Nicholson, who expected official invitations even if he had no intention of attending the events.'<sup>83</sup>

Private letters from Hepworth expressed her embarrassment at Nicholson's behaviour which illustrates that she was not at all comfortable with his actions-

'I was so humiliated by his behaviour in Venice... Ben's temperament is... too complicated and undisciplined.'<sup>84</sup>

Nevertheless Hepworth's extreme concern for her work and the fine details of its exposure, and Nicholson's disastrous public relations, combined to give Hepworth a bad reputation. Her reputation was particularly bad with the British Council, and this undoubtedly hampered her attempts to be exhibited more widely.

It is apparent that Hepworth had realised for many years that the British Council could be invaluable in her quest for greater coverage and to be consistently perceived as a developing sculptor at the forefront of aesthetic relevance. In 1943 she wrote to Read to express her frustration at not being considered for exhibition by the Council:

'I'm now about to get agitated about myself and may suddenly write a series of angry letters to the Comm. of the British Council. As you probably know I have never been included in one of their exhibitions... there isn't any excuse for not including me.'<sup>85</sup>

This was most certainly a pointed letter, for Hepworth knew that Read was on the selection committee for the Council, and she was well aware of how Nicholson and Moore were patronised by that body.

Perhaps her persistence eventually produced an effect, for as well as being selected for the Venice Biennale, Hepworth was also chosen to represent the best of British sculpture at the important Festival of Britain on the South Bank of the Thames in London in 1951. Indeed, the sculptor was excited and honoured to be considered for this exhibition as she made plain-

'We have all worked for twenty-five years breaking new ground and fighting battles for both architecture and the arts- and to associate ourselves together on a Festival job is the first natural flowering of our generation. The natural reward for twenty-five years' fight!'<sup>86</sup>

Obviously, she considered the commission an indication of the important social acceptance of non-representational art, besides a display of artistic solidarity.

However, as with the Biennale, Hepworth was unaware that she was not the first choice for the organisers. In fact, both Epstein and Moore had been offered her site first-

'Mr. Philip James then agreed to invite Miss Barbara Hepworth... whether she would be interested in doing a sculpture for the site adjacent to the Dome of Discovery, i.e. the site discarded by both Mr. Moore and Mr. Epstein.'<sup>87</sup>

On this occasion, unequivocally, it was reputation which determined the order of invitation to the commission: James wrote on behalf of the Arts Council,

'The important point is that we cannot have Moore, Epstein, Dobson and Hepworth all together there as Moore and Epstein regard themselves as the two leaders in this, and of course their commissions are far greater than any of the others.'<sup>88</sup>

Moore and Epstein thus commanded attention for their self-perception as much as greatness of their work. It is interesting that, although Moore and Epstein were approached before Hepworth, both are recorded as expressing 'a preference for working in bronze, especially as the shortage of time would make it almost impossible to work in stone.'<sup>89</sup> Hepworth of course, produced her Irish Limestone

Contrapuntal Forms (fig. 10) at a height of approximately 8 feet six inches well within the time limit, as well as another sculpture, Turning Forms, for the Thames-side Restaurant.

Necessarily, in order to complete such a huge work as Contrapuntal Forms (fig. 10), Hepworth once again appeared to be an antagonistic personality, because her consuming interest in details was as much an irritant for the Arts Council as it had been for the British Council. Hepworth constantly stressed the importance of working specifically to the site, in contrast to the Council's wish that she should submit maquettes. Surely this was due to the fact that, at last, Hepworth's aim of integrating sculpture with site could be realised and she would not allow this opportunity to be lost. Many lines of her correspondence with Philip James expressed her concern that the sculptures should be site-specific:

'As the site conditions the forms... the way I should proceed would be to consider the site available, decide the scale and let the 'form' of the sculpture (and the subject) be the natural response to the architecture.<sup>90</sup>

Similarly she wrote,

'I have always felt that it is most profoundly important for a sculptor to work for a site- almost the very reason for his "being".<sup>91</sup>

This was a first distasteful experience for the Arts Council with Hepworth. However, she was also adamant that the site necessitated a monumental scale. This had been another ambition for the sculptor since she produced her sculpture entitled Monumental Stela 1936. Initially Hepworth only intimated her dissatisfaction with the scale preferred for the Festival site-

'The temptation is awful because it would be wonderful to work ten feet high;<sup>92</sup>

however, she gradually determined that height was essential-

'I am all wrapped up in the project I can think of little else and it is quite dissatisfying working on a piece only five feet high.<sup>93</sup>

Furthermore, the type of stone became an important issue too. The Arts Council did not budget for Hepworth's choice of expensive material, which required cutting out limestone from its environment in Ireland, shipping to St. Ives, Hepworth's work upon it, and transport costs to the South Bank, as well as lifting cranes in order to position the works.

Yet the sculptor was determined that the material must be the unusual  
Irish Limestone:

'I am desperately keen to use this beautiful stone as it has a  
"life" in it which I haven't found in any English stone and  
it is perfect for the project of two abstract figures  
(pierced through.)'<sup>94</sup>

Consequently, she was once more perceived as a tiresome artist with whom to work, yet Moore and Epstein were happy to compromise material for the sake of speed and convenience. Presumably too, the organisers selected Hepworth because her previous work had been of a manageable size, and had a twenty year history on which to reflect. It could not be anticipated that Hepworth would want to develop and to adapt her 1950s style commensurate with the international significance of monumentality and expressiveness. Hepworth was not keen to produce a work which would locate with her influential sculptures of the 1930s and 1940s, as it seems that Moore and Epstein were content to do. She aimed to elide the usual neat paradigm which concentrated on her earlier sculptures, in order to display the universality and contemporaneity of her work.

Moore, in contrast, was keen further to explore problems which had preoccupied Hepworth and himself since the 1930s. His Festival work was

'his first conscious effort... to make form and space absolutely inseparable... Creating space in stone sculpture was more difficult... There was consequently no true amalgamation of form and space which in this work he felt he had achieved.'<sup>95</sup>

Hepworth was more concerned to address the monumentality and power which typify the 1950s as a whole. She wrote to James, stating

'I'm sorry my mind won't adapt itself to a diminishing scale- it just won't- not below eight feet.'<sup>96</sup>

It has been written that Hepworth desired a second commission from the Arts Council for the Festival, partly because she would then be working with a pioneering female like herself. For example Curtis wrote, Hepworth's plea was 'all the stronger for the fact that she wanted to work with architect Jane Drew.'<sup>97</sup> However, I consider that to perceive Hepworth as a feminist artist who aimed to further the artistic interests of women and her professional relationships with them is a misrepresentation. Although Hepworth was aware that women and men were treated unequally, as a sculptor it was her art and its



reception which was of primary significance. Issues which were not central to her work were given attention at a later date. Hepworth surely displayed far greater interest in the question of gaining international significance, rather than concern at being neglected for being a woman sculptor, as has often been asserted. It is more appropriate to consider neglect as having been due to critical misunderstanding, incorrect exhibition policies and the sculptor's own personality. Indeed Hepworth's dislike of being connected with an active feminist movement was made obvious in correspondence with her dealers, Gimpel Fils:

'I have just had a letter once more, from the Women's International Art... I do not want to show so please do not lend them any of my work. I do not like showing with groups for which I feel no special sympathy.'<sup>98</sup>

In fact an American exhibition illustrates adequately where Hepworth's priorities lay. In 1950 the sculptor heard that she was to be included in a March 1951 exhibition at the Riverside Museum in New York which was entitled 'American Abstract Artists.' Hepworth was immediately delighted to have been offered this opportunity, and she began to agitate for advantage. As at the Venice Biennale, she was concerned that her drawings should be exhibited in this important event, and wrote

to Miss D. Nash at the Council under the pretence of ensuring that all sculptors' drawings should be presented:

'I have written to George Morris as I feel that the drawings of Reg Butler, Turnbull, Paolozzi, Adams etc. represent one of the most important aspects of British Abstract work.'<sup>99</sup>

As has been indicated, Hepworth's drawings had been publicly very well received in Britain, and she was certain that their qualities would appeal to the American audience too. She stated as much in connection with another British Council exhibition: 'My figure drawings sell well in U.S.A.'<sup>100</sup> Hepworth knew that the inclusion of drawings was essential as an aid for viewers to understand her non-representational sculptures, stating, 'I think the drawings and carvings help each other.'<sup>101</sup> However Hepworth's ministrations were not acceptable to the British Council, for Miss Nash wrote a note on the bottom of Hepworth's letter which read,

'She really is the limit- we said it was a decision of our committee to exclude drawings... I don't think we will answer this!'<sup>102</sup>

As always, the exhibiting body assumed that Hepworth's 'awkward temperament' was responsible for her impassioned requests; however it

is not unreasonable to suggest that it was artistic insight which encouraged her to demand the most conducive conditions for each exhibition. Indeed it was particularly important that she ensured all went well on this particular occasion, because this was an exhibition which juxtaposed Hepworth with thirty-five American artists and could therefore have successfully re-launched her career in the United States.

As the British Council's Lilian Somerville wrote,

'This is a very important exhibition in New York where British art is perhaps not so well known as it should be.'<sup>103</sup>

It was obviously designed to explain British art in the context of American art to an unknowing audience. In fact it was stated that

'we intend to send only really fine works, both because this exhibition will introduce British art to a new public, and also to ensure that these museums will have the opportunity of purchasing only works of fine quality to represent British art in their permanent collections.'<sup>104</sup>

Obviously the British Council had no doubts about the *quality* of Hepworth's work, and felt that her sculptures would be appropriate for representing what was best about the art of the United Kingdom. However, although Hepworth was undoubtedly pleased that the British

Council was beginning to refer to her as she had often desired, there was the possibility that overt promotion by a body which exemplified 'Britishness' would actually be detrimental to her international career. If Hepworths were being bought by American and Canadian museums in order to represent a defined culture, then the sculptor was presumably not being patronised as a relevant and contemporaneous artist. In fact, whereas Hepworth aimed to receive similar support to that afforded to Moore, it could be considered that she was cementing the image of being an establishment sculptor. Moore seemed to court a reputation as the 'master' of English sculpture, but this sort of reputation was severely damaging to Hepworth's intentions.

In fact although Hepworth had been given the opportunity for a one-artist exhibition at Durlacher Bros. in New York in 1949, it seems that until she gained the advocacy of the British Council, she considered that in the United States her work would always be perceived as minor. She did not discuss the Durlacher Bros. exhibition with any sort of enthusiasm in her correspondence; however she ensured that the catalogue cover for that event was reproduced in her own autobiography, A Pictorial Autobiography.<sup>105</sup> This illustrates that Hepworth knew the importance of being known to have exhibited at an

early stage within the United States. Like Deepwell, I believe that one may view

'A Pictorial Autobiography as part of a set of strategies which... Barbara Hepworth adopted to speak positively about her ideas and practice while at the same time negotiating and mediating the effects of the (then) familiar critical stereotypes.'<sup>106</sup>

It is distinctly possible that the Durlacher exhibition had more impact in establishing Hepworth as a modern artist in America, rather than her participation in the British Council mixed event. However, as the sculptor realised, her first American exhibition was not at a prestigious gallery such as the Bucholz (which was run by Valentin, Moore's American mentor), or Guggenheim's 'Art of This Century' gallery, and in fact it did not create very much interest in New York at all.

In contrast, the American Artists Exhibition at the Riverside Museum did create the first real signs of interest in Hepworth's art in America, for the following years witnessed a much greater tendency for American galleries to display her works. The first evidence of this is that the Riverside exhibition was extended so that a more comprehensive tour of the United States and Canada could be effected. As Somerville stated,

'originally, Vancouver only contemplated a tour of six months, but apparently the members of the Western Association of Art Museum Directors in the U.S. have sent in so many enthusiastic requests for this exhibition that it is hoped to arrange a tour of one year.'<sup>107</sup>

In 1952 two paintings, Woman with Flags and Groups of Figures with a Child were included in a May to June exhibition at the Brooklyn Museum. The American Federation of Arts saw these works and subsequently borrowed them for an International exhibition of water-colours which toured the States.

Consequently, it must have appeared to Hepworth that she was fulfilling her long-term ambition to be considered as an avant-garde artist in other countries, particularly the United States. For example, to Heal and Sons she wrote,

'I am afraid I may not be able to contribute to your forthcoming exhibition of Yorkshire artists as so much of my work is going abroad.'<sup>108</sup>

This seems a particularly clear example of Hepworth's attempts to dissolve the associations that her works holds for the public with either

Yorkshire or Cornwall. Her comments emphasised an international demand for her work. Similarly she expressed her ambition to be further exhibited in the United States:

'I am showing about 70 sculptures and 130 drawings and after that I hope a good deal of the work will go to America,'<sup>109</sup>

and she pertinently mentioned the exhibitions which did materialise-

'My exhibition of paintings opens next month in New York and my new show of sculpture is at Lefevre in January and later in New York.'<sup>110</sup>

Unfortunately commentators did not usually recognise how significant and purposeful the new developments within Hepworth's *oeuvre* were. In particular, one of the most prolific writers on the sculptor during the important 1950s was Joseph Hodin. He was prone to esteeming classical sculpture with permanent values and he interpreted Hepworth's work as such. One of the first occasions on which he criticised the sculptor was in 1950, and immediately in this article Hodin emphasised a perceived relationship between Hepworth and Italy and its antiquities. He wrote, 'Italy gave her the great historic sense of

continuity,'<sup>111</sup> which he found also in her 1950s philosophy of which he quoted,

"Before the war there was every sign that architects would use sculptors from the first development of their ideas. The war has broken it entirely. Let us project our time 500 years forward."<sup>112</sup>

Conversely, it seems to me that Hepworth valued progress and was challenged and motivated by the future, which she hoped would benefit artists.

It seems paradoxical that Hodin selected a quotation from the sculptor which in fact contradicted his own thesis about her work; perhaps this is an indication of the strength of the critic's preference for classical art, and consequently his failure properly to assimilate her writings and sculpture. A further characteristic of this early critique, is that Hodin incorporated many of Read's ideas; for example he employed the latter's tendency to divide Hepworth's *oeuvre* into periods:

'Until 1934 her work was exclusively inspired by the human body. Before and just after the birth of her triplets she was preoccupied with geometric forms...'<sup>113</sup>



However perhaps the most provoking aspect of Hodin's writings was that he heavily emphasised early and representational works- a feature which Hepworth detested about Hodin and similar authors. For instance in the above article he noted,

'Her development may be followed in works like the two Doves, 1929, and the Infant from 1930... The forms of the Infant in Burmese wood are still closely connected with the time when Barbara Hepworth was modelling.'<sup>114</sup>

Indeed, not only would Hepworth have abhorred references to 'modelling' which she had never enjoyed, but as previous comments have clarified<sup>115</sup>, she often felt frustrated with writers who effected retrospective reports. She believed rather that they should engage with recent sculptures and perceive them in relationship to the future, rather than the past. In fact, from this juncture, Hepworth began specifically to request that exhibitions were composed largely of recent and adventurous works, rather than famous examples of her production:

'I particularly do not wish to be represented by earlier work nor by borrowed work!'<sup>116</sup>

Finally, Hodin also transgressed another of Hepworth's rules by stating that

'Since 1939 Barbara Hepworth has lived in Cornwall and the Cornish landscape has had a definite influence on her work.'<sup>117</sup>

This early article effectively produced an image of a reactionary and localised sculptor, which was of course, opposite to how Hepworth always aimed to be considered. It may seem misguided to say that Hepworth had none of the qualities which Hodin claimed she had, however when one considers that the sculptor was an influential member of such vital movements as 'Circle' and 'Unit One' then it is impossible to conceive of her as an essentially representational and 'English' sculptor. Having written in the publications associated with 'Circle' and 'Unit One', she may certainly have influenced American artists of the 1930s. For instance her remarks may have concurred with the ideas of younger artists around the world:

'the range for... choice of form is free and unlimited... All are equal, and capable of the maximum of life according to the intensity of the vision;'<sup>118</sup>

'the premise is individual and the logical sequence purely intuitive- the result of equilibrium between thought and idea;'<sup>119</sup>

'the vital concept selects the form and substance of its expression quite unconsciously.'<sup>120</sup>

Acquaintance with these phrases makes it difficult to consider the sculptor as remotely provincial. The issues raised above must have been perceived to be those of interest on an international scale in the 1950s.

However, very soon after publishing his Art News and Review article, Hodin also contributed a paper to The Penguin New Writing journal which referred to Hepworth. It is notable that even in the title of this article Hodin asserts the parochialism of his subject, for it was named 'Cornish Renaissance.'<sup>121</sup> The entirety of this writing was focused on the localised artistic revival which was occurring in Cornwall, especially in St. Ives, and must surely have reinforced any notion of the domesticity of Hepworth's sculpture. She was clearly presented as a figure within the isolated artistic community of St. Ives and related to the other local artists:

'There is Bernard Leach... Naum Gabo... Christopher Wood... Alfred Wallis... Ben Nicholson and Stokes... (but Hepworth is) one of the pillars of this Cornish Renaissance.'<sup>122</sup>

Hepworth in particular was to be associated with this rural revival. Indeed it was surely no accident that Hodin selected the phrase 'Cornish Renaissance', for he concluded that the artists in Cornwall were all

maintaining the classical tradition and related directly to the past, rather than to the present. Hodin believed that this was true even of the younger components of the group. For instance of David Haughton he wrote, there is 'in figure compositions a certain inclination towards old masters like Piero della Francesca.'<sup>123</sup> When writing of Lanyon he made no mention of the contemporary nature of the artist's works; instead he, like Hepworth, was believed to focus upon 'specific formal elements (like a spiral, the shape of a womb, landscape forms, animal symbolism etc.)'<sup>124</sup> Consequently it was not just Hepworth who received an insular interpretation from Hodin; the international significance of other progressive members of the St. Ives group was also deprecated against.

Similarly, further papers by Hodin continued to emphasise the classicism and static nature of Hepworth's works. The titles of such writings are significant: one is headed 'Barbara Hepworth. A Classic Artist,'<sup>125</sup> and its sub-titles include 'A Greek Spirit.' In fact this became a standard Hodin article for whenever he was requested to write about Hepworth. He included it in many European exhibition catalogues,<sup>126</sup> and especially as the introductory essay to British Council exhibitions. Consequently, for the usually European audiences of these British Council displays, the first contact with Hepworth would have been via

Hodin's critique. Obviously the sculptor would thereafter have been considered by those Europeans to be a classical artist. Hodin's words, 'Where (else) in the art of sculpture today can be found that crystal-like realisation of the early Greek ideal?'<sup>127</sup> would not have allowed the spectators to perceive the sculptor's works in relation to contemporary society or ideals.

Also in this article Hodin played down the potential of the sculptor to surprise the viewer and to express strong emotions which produce an empathetic response. He wrote

'The entire *oeuvre* of Barbara Hepworth has the quality of the obvious,<sup>128</sup> (it has not) 'nostalgic discontent with life, the longing for a shapeless future or regrets for the transitoriness of things, crowned by a glorification of the past- enigma and romanticism.'<sup>129</sup>

But Hepworth did not display the easy relationship with the past and present which Hodin asserted. Certainly in her career affairs she actively planned for the future, directed her dealers to initiate prestigious exhibitions many years ahead of time, and was also absorbed in the current problematic. Also, Hepworth's 1930s biomorphic forms are now recognised to celebrate transitoriness and

romanticism. These are qualities which Hodin did not accept in Hepworth's work.

It is interesting to note that even Hodin was aware of the unsound nature of his assertion, for he stated

'this realisation of the Greek classic ideal is clothed not in neo-classicist form... nor in a synthesis of the archaic and the new... but the creation of a new form of speech through which the spirit of our age is being fertilised by way of the creative penetration into the genuine Greek tradition.'<sup>130</sup>

Hodin was aware that although Hepworth's sculptures were graceful and tranquil, they did not refer to the past at the cost of the present, and consequently he realised that the reader would require greater explanation of his assumption.

Hodin conceived of Hepworth's forms as classical simply because they were not 'tortured', and yet there was ample precedent for judging them to be universal and *vital*. For instance, the critic Roger Fry, who had helped in the drive towards non-representation in Britain, and subsequently provided a context for the writings of Clement Greenberg in America, described just such a situation. Fry wrote that, 'much less

violent gestures express the inner life far more intensely,<sup>131</sup> and this certainly seems apposite for Hepworth. Her sculptures did not evoke violence, and yet they emanated an inner vitality. Furthermore in contrast to Hodin, Fry deprecated the Greek ideal of beauty-

'the idea, that is, of what a human being should be- the norm from which all individuals have gone astray and failed in one way or another. And as we might expect any such ideal or abstraction is inimical to vitality, for it is difficult to endow an abstraction with life.'<sup>132</sup>

It may be suggested therefore that Hepworth's sculptures, although beautiful, did not lack the vitality which is characteristic of pre-Renaissance and 'primitive' works. Consequently it is difficult to accede to Hodin's thesis.

As the chief manifestation of 'vitality' must surely be the ability of the art-object to express 'life' and liveliness, these elements are as easily discernible in Hepworth's sculptures, as they are in Moore's works or the paintings of Pollock or De Kooning. For instance, Harrison wrote,

'Hepworth's sculptures... are palpably hand-made and are in fact rarely subject to exhaustive description by reference to geometric forms. They are always, as it were,

highly particularised.'<sup>133</sup>

In order to support his statement, he referred to Discs In Echelon 1935 (fig. 11), which appears to be two geometrically perfect discs; in fact when examined in section, it is two tear-shaped objects, which are heavily weighted at the base of each disc. Surely the optical illusion here is a characteristic expression of vitality in Hepworth's sculpture. Initially nothing seems as rational as two perfect discs- the sculpture could epitomise the modern interpretation of the Greek ideal. However the viewer is challenged and forced to explore this sculpture because of its anomalies; both the spectator's intellectual and emotive capacities are employed in order to evoke great vitality.

Patently Hepworth was exploring the dialectical process of human response which supports the thesis that Read perceived her to traverse both abstraction and reality, and also to conjoin these poles. Not only did the sculptor create in a state which may employ both abstract and realistic methods, but she encouraged the same diversity and capacities within the observer. Thus she produced a demanding and complex work which did not admit of the Greek ideal of simplicity and orderliness as Hodin thought.



In fact Hodin once more contradicted himself for, after having discussed the sculptor's work as a revival of the classical ethos, he undermined this concept by quoting from Valery:

'it seemed to me that he had thought of her when saying of Eupalinos... "She knew the mysterious value of imperceptible modulations... a sort of bliss by insensible curves, by minute and all-powerful inflections; and by those deep-wrought combinations of the regular and the irregular.'"<sup>134</sup>

Surely it is precisely by Hepworth's 'deep-wrought combinations of the regular and the irregular' that her work may not be considered classical. For these are qualities which have always characterised expressionist artists; one may perceive their use even by the Abstract Expressionists of New York. These were artists who are even now considered to have been anarchic and 'violent.' As with Hepworth's sculptures, the paintings of Mark Rothko are successful because of the seeming regularity of the forms when, in fact, they are patently hand-painted and surprisingly irregular and even accidental.

However in Britain during the 1950s, apart from Read, few commentators seemed to explore the possibility of a conjunction of the poles of art within artists' work. Moore's sculptures were perceived to

have been created largely because of the expressive and emotive faculties; conversely, as Hodin's writings illustrate, Hepworth's works were thought to have arisen from an ordered and intellectually-orientated mind. It is interesting to note that Moore supported the separation of the faculties of the geometric and the organic: David Lewis, who was paradoxically a favourite writer of Hepworth's referred to this fact in a rather damaging article for Hepworth. He wrote,

'A basic distinction which Henry Moore makes is between the "organic" and the "geometric"... He sees that "organic forms, though they may be symmetrical in their main disposition, in their reaction to environment, growth and gravity, lose their perfect symmetry.'"<sup>135</sup>

It is certainly true that commentators and viewers perceived these poles to be apparent in the works of Moore and Hepworth- perhaps most simply because the two sculptors were co-existent and therefore appeared to present alternatives. For example, David Sylvester, a prolific writer about the 'romanticism' of Moore, consequently did not discern similar characteristics within Hepworth's sculptures. He stated that she had

'drawn inspiration from the coast of Cornwall; (she) is obsessed with achieving order and purity in (her) art; may be thought to

woo austerity more from intellectual conviction than from instinct... Miss Hepworth has created ambitiously austere and elemental forms which she seems incapable of endowing with life or magic... she has done so in an effort to submerge her more spontaneous inclinations... she has used art less as a means of expression than as a means of suppression.'<sup>136</sup>

Obviously Sylvester did not concur with Fry's conception that expressive art is not necessarily vital, indeed as graceful art is not predictably sterile. For Sylvester, the division between the geometrical and organic is clear: turbulent forms may express magical and vital essences, whereas less dynamic forms relate to the intellectual capacities and are the products of restraint and acerbity. Yet, as has been expressed, the supposedly classical elements of Hepworth's sculptures, such as symmetry, often do not in fact exist. Hepworth explored symmetry, for example, and the viewer's relationship to it, but did not employ this feature in the respect that many writers believed. This exemplifies Fry's argument that art which is apparently classical may be as vital as the most overtly dynamic work.

Lewis did not concur with Fry either for, despite having been an assistant to Hepworth, he emphasised the division between what he regarded as her two main creative impulses. Of Hepworth's philosophy he wrote,

'the continual threat of upheaval emphasises the need for man to work more and more clearly, and more affirmatively in the direction of equilibrium;'<sup>137</sup>

and conversely of Moore's,

'in the interchange of the organic world he observes also the inequality of forces- the disequilibrium- which produces asymmetry.'<sup>138</sup>

It seems that the facile idea that vitality is inherent only within distorted forms, was all too readily accepted by certain writers in the 1950s.

Necessarily, the general understanding that Hepworth's sculpture originated from the classical impulse hampered her attempts to be exposed on a more international basis. To a twentieth century audience, classical ideals epitomise the aim for perfection in the art object, at which point there is no evidence of the personality of the artist, the art object becomes craft-work and it loses any universal significance. Undoubtedly it was unfortunate for Hepworth that Hodin was often requested by official bodies to produce a critique of her work, because he consolidated the restrictive notion that her sculptures were English interpretations of classical ideals. His 'Barbara

Hepworth: A Classic Artist' was very widely read across Europe, simply because Hodin allowed it to become a stock manuscript throughout the 1950s and early 1960s. Indeed, even for the highly prestigious Sao Paulo Bienal in 1959, Hodin once more reproduced his essay about the sculptor with only minor alterations of vocabulary. Therefore it is difficult to conceive of the writer as an 'author' on Hepworth, as he only really produced one piece of work which was occasionally revised. Yet it is necessary to do so, because this work had extensive international coverage, and must have had a large impact upon the conception of Hepworth as a classical sculptor.

Therefore it seems paradoxical that Katy Deepwell, at the 1994 Hepworth conference suggested that Hodin should be reclaimed as an important writer about the sculptor. She stated that

'J.P. Hodin is neglected and yet his work gives a different way of thinking about Hepworth... He introduces her to a European audience.'<sup>139</sup>

Indeed it particularly disconcerting that he is the writer who introduced the sculptor to Europeans, because he interpreted her in a way which could never admit her consideration as avant-garde or 'important' in the

way that Moore was. However, Deepwell also betrays her own agenda for re-evaluating the writings of Hodin, for she says,

'He did extensive research on women artists unlike Herbert Read... He says that abstract art is idealism. The abstract artist does not rebel against the age but against the errors of the age and he does this because he is aware of the future possibilities.'<sup>140</sup>

Presumably Deepwell is suggesting that Hodin sensed the feminist movement and aided its insinuation into art history by appropriately assessing female artists.

Conversely, I do not consider Hodin's motives to be an appropriate reason for reviving an interest in his criticism. The content of his material was damaging to a sculptor who was a member of the 1930s avant-garde and who progressed to develop a personal style which did not succumb to any convenient paradigm. As Deepwell says,<sup>141</sup> one could perceive the difference between Read and Hodin as the difference between English versus European modernism, or between the philosophies of Rilke and Malmaut, for example. She believes that Read saw the function of art as framed in how art was used in society, but Hodin in how art is in the form of ideas. Deepwell also commends

Hodin because he was very much against nationalism when discussing an artist. Indeed, I would concur with Deepwell that Hodin is characteristic of a European modernist, as Read is of English modernism, but surely, because the focus of art in the world was shifting from Europe to London in the 1930s, and then to New York in the 1940s, European criticism was not to the vanguard and was more conscious of the past rather than the present. Therefore Hodin's writing was naturally reflective and retrospective in concern. Conversely, Read's interest in the impact of art upon society depicted an awareness of art of the era and how it should be employed to the benefit of both artists and the public. This is characteristic of the twentieth century ethos, and the consistent drive towards the future.

Nevertheless, Deepwell's intimation that Read was a nationalist critic who interpreted an artist in terms of nationality seems apt. He did have influence in connecting Hepworth to her Cornish locality. However Hodin, despite having a broad European readership and a continental mentality, was likewise interested in Hepworth's relationship with the specific landscape. He stated that Hepworth's

'open air workshop, that corner in St. Ives... is like a mirage of the Mediterranean conjured up amidst the rough cliffs of the Celtic peninsula of Cornwall.'<sup>142</sup>

Despite finding it difficult to reconcile the wild landscape of Cornwall with his classical interpretation of the sculptor, he reverted to the idea that the sculptor produced a peculiarly English interpretation of the classical ethos. As he wrote,

'Hepworth... represents the classic line of the English tradition, whereas Henry Moore stands for a nature-bound and dynamic style which has its roots both in the Englishman's love of the countryside, in Romanticism and its latest manifestation-Surrealism.'<sup>143</sup>

Obviously Moore is here related to recent avant-garde movements, even by Hodin, yet Hepworth is perceived to refer backwards to 'a line', a 'tradition.'

Therefore the two main protagonists for Hepworth throughout the 1950s, Read and Hodin, both had personal agendas which could be considered as hampering the international reputation of the sculptor. Indeed, as Deepwell says, Read's agenda was to discern the relative organicism within each artist's work-

'New research is needed in order not to see Hepworth as "biological" because that is Read's paradigm.'<sup>144</sup>



Certainly throughout the late 1940s and 1950s, Read began to pay more attention to the biological necessity for creating art, and to how all art, whether 'organic' or 'geometrical', has an impenetrable bond with nature and natural forces. Conversely, as has been illustrated, Hodin's paradigm involved rejecting the more experimental or dynamic works, just as the committee for the Biennale had done in 1950. It is therefore surprising to note that, despite the varying motives for the two writers' approaches, both have the same effect of limiting the perceived international relevance of Hepworth's art.

Hepworth was obviously concerned about the approaches that Hodin and Read were taking to her work: for example it is recorded that she disapproved of the standard content of Hodin's writing-

'an article on Barbara Hepworth by Dr. J. P. Hodin should on no account be used... because we know that the artist strongly disapproves of the method and manner of its composition.'<sup>145</sup>

Surely this reaction to his criticism was due largely to his negation of the contemporary and vital elements within her art? Similarly she expressed her dissatisfaction with the Biennale committee, of which Read was a prominent member-

'My feeling for the committee is in brief, that they have taken the spice out of the exhibition... I do so hate things that haven't a kick in them... they could do it better by adding the element of disturbance which brings out these qualities... I want to make it exciting... for mind and eye and with changes of mood and form.'<sup>146</sup>

Obviously Hepworth here approved the dual approach of involving both the intellectual and sensual elements of the observer in her sculpture. As Read has here been found to illustrate, Hepworth's art was able to integrate both strands of the dialectic between romanticism and classicism which is prevalent throughout the twentieth century. However, despite Read's ability to explore this facet of the sculptor's art in theory, he too did not realise Hepworth's deep strategic aims for abroad. It is paradoxical that Read was unaware of the comparability that Hepworth displayed to the work of certain contemporaneous artists, for the sculptor discussed her ideas and opinions with him regularly. For example, she hinted throughout the early 1950s how much she admired the Abstract Expressionists and the Taschists, and how concordant with their aims she considered her own work to be-

'The quality of thought and perception which flows in and around my studio... which satisfy what you call biological

needs- they are the values which seem to initiate those who are moved by some forms of Abstract Expressionism.'<sup>147</sup>

Similarly,

'Le Tachisme... I can say that of all the "pulses" of creation this has moved me most profoundly than any other. The whole vitality of this stream of painting is incredibly close to research being done by physicists... and yet, it seems to me, very bound up with the aesthetic perceptions of such fundamental rhythms and impulses of growth and form.'<sup>148</sup>

It is apparent that Hepworth's communications with Read were couched in his language, as the Introduction also indicated, and as occurred also with other critics in the 1930s and 1940s. Furthermore, it is also evident that the sculptor was still concerned with events in Paris rather than in New York, which must surely be to do with her early involvement with European Modernism, and which perhaps had an impact upon the slow recognition of Hepworth within the United States. However, her concepts betray her awareness of the 1950s impulses and her identification with them. Perhaps the duality of Hepworth's reaction to the Abstract Expressionist influence illustrates that she was a product of a society which accepted that great art

originated in Paris, despite being alive to the implications which the newest movements were having. Indeed she says as much:

'I fell, in age, into a kind of no man's land. I belong to the Ben and Henry and Gabo generation in one sense-... yet in another sense I belong to the present:... I am irritated by the lack of tactility.. just now the Taschists understand the present "crucifixion"- they heighten awareness and give one images to encompass this new life.'<sup>149</sup>

As has been mentioned above, Hepworth's interest in the new movements was expressed in concrete terms by the visible experimentation which was evident throughout the 1950s. The important Hepworth exhibition at the Liverpool Tate Gallery in 1994 did in fact display some of these more adventurous works, such as Group (Dance) May 1957 (fig. 2) but it is interesting to note that the accompanying catalogue, although scholarly, made no attempt to integrate these confusing paintings into the accepted *oeuvre* of the sculptor. In fact it is notably difficult for historians to assess the more recent awareness of the sculptor's expressionistic works, as has also been the case for many years with regard to her sudden engagement in the early 1950s with metal as a medium. An audience member provided an interesting insight into the extent of Hepworth's

exploration of free and Taschistic forms during the question period of the Tate conference in 1994:

'Hepworth did automatic finger painting drawings. These works emerged in very large quantities- where are they now? She had her moments of energy, but they lose out to the overall consistency of the body of work.'<sup>150</sup>

As these works are not exposed to public or scholarly viewing, it is to be assumed that they form part of the sculptor's estate which awaits examination by the public. Therefore one may perhaps question why it has not been deemed appropriate for the paintings to have been properly exhibited- much less written about? Could it be that they disturb the comfortable and elegant interpretation that Hepworth is either a classical sculptor, or one who contributes to the socially important exploration of the biological necessity of producing art? Evidently throughout the critical interpretation of Hepworth's sculpture and paintings, there has been a concerted effort among various writers to deny the supposed maverick works and to attempt to suppress them from public appearance. This was already occurring throughout the sculptor's lifetime, as the correspondence to the Biennale Committee at the British Council indicates, and Curtis concedes that 'as the

generation of the 1930s increasingly came to be labelled as "classic" Hepworth felt she was missing out.<sup>151</sup>

However Hepworth corresponded with Read about the new issues which interested her, as has been indicated. Did Read refuse to accept that the sculptor was developing in areas which perhaps did not correlate with his own concerns? It may not be suggested that Read ignored these aspects of Hepworth's work because he disliked the trend towards expressionism which culminated in Abstract Expressionism in the 1940s and 1950s. Read had been not only one of Abstract Expressionism's first explicators and had also assimilated Tachism, but he had directly influenced the American artists- 'Read, the principal contemporary English-language critic (was) read by almost all Abstract Expressionists.'<sup>152</sup> Having even been influential in bringing Tachism and Abstract Expressionism together at an early date, it is surprising that he never wrote about the impact which, I suggest, these movements had on Hepworth's work. He did, however, continue to explain and discuss the new movements with Hepworth and Nicholson, and kept them informed about recent exhibitions. He wrote to Nicholson saying 'Just been to Paris which was full of terrifying exhibitions of action painting etc.'<sup>153</sup> His views about Tachism obviously found favour with

Hepworth, for she often wrote about his critique of this movement; for instance-

'I think it might well be one of the most helpful things you could possibly do, to give your lecture on Taschism here,'<sup>154</sup>

and one must question why Hepworth did not directly request Read to state his opinion, either publicly or privately, about her automatic paintings for example. Apart from hinting about the violence and energy in her work,<sup>155</sup> Hepworth never openly stated what one must assume was a wish to be sometimes viewed within a similar context to artists such as Gottlieb, Soulages, Gorky or Baziotés.

It might be posited that, whilst Read turned increasingly to write about philosophy in order to complete his life's work, he simultaneously did not attempt to re-evaluate the sculptor because he classified her as being of the 1930s generation. Read had more personally important work to complete, and did not feel the desire to write about Hepworth's shifting style. It is evident that Hepworth awkwardly wanted Read both to position her work within an historical paradigm, and also to emphasise to the world that her work was relevant and contemporary. For instance she wrote

'I think sometime it would be nice (historically) if somebody paid tribute to Ben's (specially) and my contribution to the international link in England via Paris... we both had contacts which eventually brought about the general influx in the middle 30s.'<sup>156</sup>

Obviously Hepworth was aware of how historically important she and Nicholson were, and in particular how it was necessary to recognise that they (as well as others such as Nash or Read) played a large part in the transplantation of the centre of Modernism from Paris to London (and subsequently to the United States.)

It is therefore paradoxical that she also needed to be perceived as still belonging to the avant-garde, in a way that Moore was not considered to be during the 1950s. Her desire to be particularly considered as an internationally relevant sculptor is apparent in the consistent publicising of her international exhibitions. She often emphasised these events in correspondence with Read, for example she wrote,

'I'm terribly sorry to bother you but I've just heard from U.S.A. (where I'm having a one man travelling show through the various museums of about twenty carvings and several drawings)... the selection was made by my New York gallery (Martha Jackson) and not by me. I think they are intending to do my exhibition very well.'<sup>157</sup>



Similarly, every detail of how individuals in the United States were beginning to patronise her during the 1950s was relayed to Read-

'The large torso Ulysses goes off to Hirshhorn after Leeds... The first bronze cast (for U.S.A.) of my sculpture Cantate Domino arrived yesterday.'<sup>158</sup>

Indeed it must have seemed that the 1950s would be an encouraging period for the sculptor in terms of creating an international identity. Although Hepworth (unfairly) regretted the fact that Read was busy with other issues and therefore did not feel obliged to write about her, and that Hodin could write with Hepworth's approval only to a limited extent, various events promised increased attention from other countries. As has been mentioned, the 1950s began for Hepworth with the expectation of international success which was imagined to follow from the Venice Biennale. Although this evidently did not succeed as Hepworth might have expected, she was at last being noticed by the British Council. She was able to include the Biennale in her Pictorial Autobiography. In retrospect the negative aspects of Hepworth's experience in Venice are diminished, and this acts to promote the impression that she was an historically important sculptor who represented Britain at this important moment. For instance in her

autobiography the sculptor made no reference to the poor critical reception, or to her confrontations with the Council, but expressed the inspiration which she gained from Venice as a city-

'the most significant observation I made for my own work was that as soon as people, or groups of people, entered the Piazza they responded to the architectural space. They walked differently, discovering their innate dignity.'<sup>159</sup>

Further encouraging displays of the universal significance of her work were given, as has been expressed, in the Arts Council-organised Festival of Britain and in her first important American exhibition at the Martha Jackson Gallery in New York. Yet neither of these culminated in fully significant recognition abroad. However an important event for Hepworth, which has thus far been neglected, occurred in Britain and did actually serve to solidify her aims to be exhibited and received on a wider basis. This event was an exhibition organised by Bryan Robertson at the Whitechapel Gallery in East London.

Robertson and his gallery were an innovative force in the British art world throughout the 1950s. For example he arranged important displays of works by Pollock and Rothko which had never before received thorough showings in this country. Robertson acted to

disseminate knowledge and appreciation of American avant-garde art in the United Kingdom. In retrospect therefore, it was important for Hepworth to receive a major exhibition at the Whitechapel in 1954, because this consolidated her identification with recent movements, both in the sculptor's self-perception and in that of the public.

Indeed this 1954 exhibition was very large and broad in scope and Robertson concurred exactly with Hepworth's ideas on how a collection of her work should be displayed. The exhibition was accompanied by a catalogue which included a Preface by Robertson, an essay by David Baxandall and several pieces written by Hepworth herself. But the tone was set by Robertson's attempts to express the validity and contemporaneity of Hepworth's work; for instance he wrote,

'It is also the first presentation in East London of a large number of works by any artist working in an advanced idiom.'<sup>160</sup>

Similarly he compensated for the usual examination of Hepworth's relationship to nature and the Cornish landscape with a reference to how English sculpture (such as Hepworth's) is respected outside of Europe and Britain-

'Today, however, England has a number of sculptors whose work is respected and regarded with keen interest in Europe, Canada, the Dominions and the United States of America. Here is Barbara Hepworth's work to speak for itself.'<sup>161</sup>

Furthermore Robertson, in accordance with the current *Zeitgeist* recognised that Hepworth's works 'constitute a tangible mythology of great subtlety and beauty.'<sup>162</sup>

Paradoxically, in the 1960s and 1970s, the idea that the sculptor developed a mythology was one of the main reasons why her international significance was denied even further, for it is mythological connotations which are perceived to relate the sculptor to Cornwall and regionalism. Conversely it is my opinion that Robertson believed that Hepworth produced a mythology in accordance with the international currents of the 1950s. For example, Clement Greenberg in 1950s New York felt that the most 'modern' development in art- 'Colour-Field Painting', had "'archaic" as well as Surrealist connotations of a kind much in the air at that moment.'<sup>163</sup> Indeed Hepworth's vocabulary had evidently developed to correspond with the encompassing ethos of the 1950s: for example she wrote that

'sculpture is the creation of a *real object* which relates to our

human body and spirit as well as our visual appreciation of form and content.'<sup>164</sup>

Obviously this concurred with Read's awareness of a dialectic within the human consciousness between the intellectual and formal capacities and the emotional and instinctive elements, which was initially inspired by Worringer. Indeed, it is the Radian link which is usually made with Hepworth if this issue is raised, however it is interesting to note that Worringer's theories also had an impact upon American society through the influence of Roger Fry, and thereafter on his admiring reader, Clement Greenberg. Consequently, it seems appropriate to discover vital correspondences between the sculptor and her colleagues working in the United States- to many of which, it may be said, the Worringer dialectic was essential.

Almost inevitably Greenberg also developed a dialectical theory concurrently with Read. In Greenberg's case he explored the influence that two strands within art- Impressionism and Cubism- had upon future movements. In fact his ideas were seminal among Abstract Expressionists who could subsequently be perceived to divide into two groups- the 'colour-field' painters, and the 'Action Painters', both of whom represented the new interpretation of the division between Cubists and Impressionists. For example,

'Pollock was very much of a Late Cubist... Still, along with Barnett Newman, was an admirer of Monet.'<sup>165</sup>

Both groups could be understood to have an awareness of the contradictory impulses of order and chaos which the human mind and body undergo. Hepworth obviously submitted to the same issues, for she wrote,

'I am convinced that a sculptor must search with passionate intensity for the underlying principle of the organisation and union- the meaning of gesture and the structure of rhythm.'<sup>166</sup>

Like Greenberg, Hepworth was aware that rhythm and gesture were never without organisation and control, despite appearances to the contrary.

By producing a very high profile retrospective of Hepworth, which was then closely followed by Pollock and Rothko, Bryan Robertson seems to have been encouraging an interpretation of the sculptor which may be wide enough to include seemingly opposing movements such as Abstract Expressionism. Indeed Robertson ensured that Baxandall also provided scope for a wider interpretation of the sculptor than has

previously been produced. For instance, Baxandall noted that Hepworth was interested in the dialectic of formal and intuitive concerns, for Biolith was 'carved with the purely human purpose of embodying an idea or intuition.'<sup>167</sup> This work could be interpreted as exemplifying either Hepworth's intellectual ideas, or her instinctive drives. Robertson himself emphasised this point, for he wrote that,

'Hepworth has also made formal and spiritual discoveries for this  
great developing culture.'<sup>168</sup>

In fact Robertson was keen to illustrate elements of Hepworth's work, such as the above dialectic between form and the spiritual, which had not previously been seriously criticised. For instance he stated 'we can pay tribute to her imaginative powers,<sup>169</sup> and in a later text he continued a theme which had been her life-long interest-

'Hepworth in England began to explore the use of colour in sculpture never descriptively, always abstractly, and applied colour to carvings in wood or stone in ways which appear to deny the solidity of her materials.'<sup>170</sup>

These comments expanded the variety of critiques on Hepworth which were available, and allowed the reader to explore new facets of the

sculptor's work. Indeed, it is particularly through the issue of colour that Robertson seemed able to connect Hepworth with a group of more internationally famous artists- thereby helping to justify the present argument. He also mentioned 'Arp's coloured reliefs... Calder's mobiles and stabiles... (and) Noguchi also used colour abstractly.'<sup>171</sup> Hepworth confirmed the validity of Robertson's interest in colour, for she said, 'Colour and form go hand in hand'<sup>172</sup>- a statement made many times, for example, by Abstract Expressionists of the era. In Chapter Four these issues will be examined at greater length.

It is interesting to note that in the 1954 Whitechapel catalogue Baxandall, as well as other writers whom I have mentioned, also discerned the quality of vitality in Hepworth's works, and correspondingly, in the spectator. He wrote, 'we are aware of a sense of enhanced vitality as we contemplate it... (and) the proud vitality of Dyad.'<sup>173</sup> It seems as if authors who notice the difficult dialectic in Hepworth's *oeuvre* between formal astringency and mysterious imaginative impulses, discovered vitality to be the comprehensible binding element which allowed the sculptor to finally be positioned within a paradigm. This will be explored further in Chapter Three.



However it seems incongruous that many other authors should implicitly refer to this interesting duality within Hepworth's *oeuvre*, and yet desist from serious commentary. Indeed it must be appropriate to conjecture that it is the consistent neglect of vitalistic elements within Hepworth's works which has largely contributed to the tentative nature of the sculptor's position in the history of Modernism. Take for instance the completely unexplored tendency towards Tachistic and expressive forms, which has been briefly mentioned here. It is essential that the contemporaneous nature of the style and execution of works such as Group (Dance) May 1957 (fig. 2) is soon explored. In fact I believe that these works provide sound visual evidence for my own argument that Hepworth could be considered as an artist who should be recognised on a wider international scale. Certainly, these paintings indicate that her creative impulses sprang from the same impulses which resulted in Abstract Expressionist works, for example, even though their expression of those impulses was usually different.

However, Hepworth's works delight an audience that is concerned with portrayals of the landscape, and who desire to learn of the descendants of the great English landscape tradition. Whilst it is certainly true that the sculptor was inspired by her environment, I believe that she was more interested in the sense of the primeval, and sensations of

permanence and community that the land induces. In the following chapter I shall suggest that such impulses also stimulated the American Abstract Expressionists even though they obviously expressed such concerns differently.

However, it is surely true that a viewing of automatic drawings such as Project for Sculpture (Winged Figure) 1957 (fig. 12) and Summer (Project for Sculpture) April 1957, (fig. 1) will result in awareness that expressionist artists, such as the Abstract Expressionists, are not unrelated to Hepworth as would immediately be believed. Only occasionally do phrases by Hepworth emerge which indicate that her interests may not be as easily compacted as present critical interpretations imply, and the rarity of these phrases have hampered understanding of them. For example she wrote,

'Through moments of ecstasy or great despair, when all thoughts of self are lost, a work seems to evolve...

The components fall into place and one is no longer aware of the detail except as the necessary significance of wholeness and unity.'<sup>174</sup>

These are phrases which escape editorial sanction as they may be interpreted as explanations for the creative urges which inspired the

artist. However, I believe that they are revelatory of unconscious and automatic tendencies within Hepworth's way of working.<sup>175</sup>

Another facet of Hepworth's work which has escaped real comment is her use of metal in sculptures. Writers have often noted<sup>176</sup> that the sculptor was influenced by Reg Butler's winning sculpture at the Unknown Political Prisoner Competition at the Tate Gallery in London in 1954. This is usually believed to provide adequate explanation for Hepworth's surprising desire to create sculptures in plaster in readiness for casting into bronze in 1956- a process which she had not previously found to be conducive-

'although she did not share the views of Butler and his fellow-artists, she pondered the possibilities which iron and bronze had to offer her.'<sup>177</sup>

Indeed Hepworth began to experiment with the surfaces of casts for metal, and enjoyed producing sometimes violently ruptured exteriors, as in Rock Form (Porthcurno) 1964, and her United Nations Memorial to Dag Hammarskjold, entitled Single Form (fig. 13). At the least her forms began to enlarge and exhibit increased drama, as in the spiralling Meridian 1958-9 (fig. 14), and the expansive form of Forms in Movement (Galliard) 1956 (fig. 15).

It is surely apparent that these, and other under-explored facets of Hepworth's corpus of work should at last be assessed. Even though the introduction of bronze into her repertoire has induced much comment, there has been no real evaluation, and the fact that she actually produced works in metal as early as 1951 has received no assessment at all. It is my opinion that these supposedly incongruous features of the sculptor's work have been inspired generally by her desire to be perceived as an artist of international significance. Throughout the following chapter, I shall explore in greater detail the steps that Hepworth took in order to become particularly relevant to an American audience, and in which ways she was concordant with, and inspired by new American movements.

## **CHAPTER TWO: The Critical Confusion: International Success and Comparability?**

'She should not be seen just as a British artist, she very much has an international context.'<sup>178</sup>

- Christina Lodder. Hepworth Conference 1994.

The previous chapter indicated that Barbara Hepworth gradually became aware that the United States would be the most important location for art of the second half of the Twentieth Century. In fact even before Hepworth really attempted to make herself known in America as Moore was doing, she realised the importance of establishing an international reputation. It may be perceived that the Venice Biennale was one of the first instances when Hepworth evidently constructed an image of her work in order to aid her recognition and reputation in Europe. One of the sculptor's first tasks was to encourage the British Council to consider her as a viable artist who might be exhibited with beneficial effect in other countries. Certainly Hepworth considered that she had begun to achieve her aim when she was invited to exhibit at the Biennale.

However as has been expressed, international success did not result from the Venetian experience, and one may ascertain that the 'failure' of the Hepworth exhibition spurred the sculptor in her attempts personally

to establish a reputation within the United States. Although the British Council continued to support her, primarily in Europe, she was most deeply involved and committed when the Council staged exhibitions in America. A large portion of this chapter will explore the attempts Hepworth made to develop her relationship with American dealers and patrons, and the manipulations which she effected with the British Council and her dealers to ensure that her aims were successful.

As Penelope Curtis has stated, 'it is largely Hepworth's self-historicising which is to blame'<sup>179</sup> for many problems associated with assessment of the sculptor. In essence Curtis is referring to the large amount of literature which Hepworth was able substantially to 'control', even though this was to her eventual detriment. Conversely there are many archival sources which lay open the reality of Hepworth's career, and it is surprising that varied critiques and enlightening reassessments which use these sources have not yet been produced. However as has been indicated in the preceding chapter one may, in the 1990s, sense a burgeoning awareness of the necessity to explore Barbara Hepworth within an international context. Alan Bowness has intimated an interest in this facet of Hepworth, and there are several recent indications that an internationalising critique would be generally favourable. For example,

Margaret Garlake was briefly interested in this area as a result of the 1994 Tate Gallery exhibition-

'To investigate Hepworth as a public sculptor... is to set her in a less familiar urban and international context which invites very different readings of the work.'<sup>180</sup>

In fact, Curtis herself has more recently been tempted to dislocate Hepworth from what might be called 'the post-Royal College era' in order to understand her in terms of wider issues-

'in addition to rooting Hepworth's work in the contemporary English context... these photographs suggest a scope for comparison that might go beyond the purely British.'<sup>181</sup>

However, these phrases are not the results of work in this area, but are simply indications that a new interpretation of the sculptor's *oeuvre* is essential and timely. Furthermore, the above writers tend to perceive the necessity for a broader, perhaps international, critique because Hepworth has still not received an appropriate feminist analysis. For example, Garlake writes that although

'Hepworth may have been seen narrowly and partially... she has never ceased to be visible,'

and yet she intimates by association that the sculptor could benefit from

'attention (with) a select band of lost women Modernists, headed by Marlow Moss.'<sup>182</sup>

Conversely, rather than addressing the problematical interpretation of Hepworth by re-assessing her as a 'lost woman artist', I feel that it is essential primarily to assert the sculptor's intention to be perceived as an important and consistently relevant international artist. Throughout this chapter I shall be proposing that Hepworth should now be observed as an internationally prominent sculptor and indicating why this situation has not arisen.

As has been expressed in the previous chapter, Hepworth relied upon Herbert Read, as her mentor, to aid in the proselytisation of her work on an international scale. She wanted him particularly to present her work in the United States and she imposed on him a sense of his responsibility to her-

'In America every word you utter is taken as an indication of our life... you are the counsel for the defence and we are in the dock.'<sup>183</sup>



Certainly the 1950s saw a sudden general interest in works by Nicholson and Moore and also in Read's writings. It must be said that Hepworth naturally expected at that time to receive the same kind of attention from the United States. She believed that she particularly deserved attention because, from the 1930s, she had steadily built relationships with figures such as Sweeney of M.O.M.A., and with artists such as Calder, Masson and George L.K. Morris.

Evidence of the success of her contemporaries is abundant. For example in 1952 Nicholson won an important American art competition-

'It was marvellous news about Ben winning the first prize at Pittsburgh.'<sup>184</sup>

and not only did Henry Moore have Read's overseas support, but also that of a group of other influential figures. Of his American dealer, Curt Valentin, Moore retrospectively wrote

'I begin to realise now that he is dead... how much all the time one unconsciously counted on his steadfast support, on him being there, tirelessly working for the cause of painters and sculptors he believed in.'<sup>185</sup>

Unfortunately, probably because Hepworth was considered to be Moore's protégé, or at the least very dependent, Valentin and other figures did not support her. Consequently she did not receive many prizes or other types of acclaim that members of her original group were accumulating.

One may presume that Read and other critics during the 1950s classified Hepworth as a Modernist sculptor whose importance lay in the 1930s, and perhaps the 1940s. As a letter to Read makes plain, Hepworth understood that her artistic image was problematic-

'I belong to the Ben and Henry and Gabo generation in one sense- but because I am younger I find for instance that my touring show in the U.S.A. for the last two years ran at the same time as the younger British sculptors v. much to the detriment of my exhibition.'<sup>186</sup>

Naturally Hepworth desired to develop and remain a relevant sculptor throughout her career, as her progression into working with metal indicates. As Hammacher wrote,

'In 1936 it must have seemed inconceivable that Barbara Hepworth would ever work in bronze,'<sup>187</sup>

and indeed, after having made a reputation as a Modernist carver, there were few pressures to expand into a new medium. However the Unknown Political Prisoner Competition, which was held at the Tate Gallery in 1954, finally confirmed for Hepworth that there was much to be gained from working with metal, although she had used it since 1951. Certainly Hepworth realised that using metal could help her to regain a position as distinct from Moore and as one who was consistently developing. Despite the fact that Moore was also using metal in the 1950s, Hepworth felt that with the aid of bronze, copper or iron, she could produce forms which were very different to those created by Moore. It is apparent that she took an early interest in the works of younger sculptors, for example writing, 'I like Reg Butler's work a lot,'<sup>188</sup> and perhaps she felt encouraged to work with more freedom as a result.

Indeed the use of these new media gained in retrospect the desired effect of attracting respect, for critic Gene Baro wrote,

'Her new work shows her to be in a fresh creative ferment, both questioning and affirming her vision of things. To be alive in this way is all any artist can ask.'<sup>189</sup>

More importantly, she was perceived to relate to the new generation in a way that Moore and Nicholson were unable to do-

'A new generation of sculptors is rising in England who have much more in common with her attitudes and approach- intellectual, understated, given to a wholly formal expression of feeling- than to those of some of her famous contemporaries.'<sup>190</sup>

However Read, in contrast, as a result of illness and other writing commitments was unable to analyse these new developments for an audience. During the 1950s he began to write on more philosophical issues and in fact, for personal reasons, supported very few artists during this period. For Hepworth, the lack of Read's support meant that her standing as a member of the artistic elite dwindled. Nevertheless Read did not completely stop writing about Hepworth; for instance in 1957 he mentioned her work in The Tenth Muse. Essays In Criticism. Unfortunately, as in many manuscripts previously, Read here preferred Hepworth to explain her own work-

'Hepworth has mentioned the main influences in her own development, and I shall comment on them presently.'<sup>191</sup>

In the Introduction this tendency within Read's writing was noted, and the fact that the critic had difficulty in assessing Hepworth's shifts in

approach and that she elided easy critiques were presented as the reasons for this phenomenon. One must also consider that Read might have declined to take an interest in the later styles which Hepworth produced. Interestingly it seems apparent that, by the mid 1950s, Read considered the sculptor to be adequately classified. He continued regularly to produce the same arguments and explanations for her production whenever she insisted on his writing about her.

Indeed, when writing about Hepworth in the 1950s, Read continued to take every available opportunity to allow the sculptor to effect a critique of her own work. Even in an important American exhibition which was arranged by Hepworth's dealer in the United States, he presents the reader of the catalogue with as many phrases by the sculptor as possible-

*'A new and constructive image which provokes in us a desire to enhance life, assert it, and assist its further development- there we have the definition of the kind of work of art which a sculptor like Barbara Hepworth tries to create.'*<sup>192</sup>

Therefore one may perceive that, even after relying on the sculptor's words throughout the 1930s and 1940s<sup>193</sup>, Read was increasingly disinclined to write about Hepworth. It is important to note that it would have been beneficial if he had resolutely refused to comment on

her work, rather than politely write with waning interest. Hepworth also should not have attempted to manipulate Read into writing so that she could retain the interest of the public and art world, but perhaps should have learned to trust younger commentators. A result of Read's polite but incomplete commitment, is that in the catalogue for a 1955-56 travelling exhibition of Hepworth's art in America, Read's comments comprised only two small pages, whereas Hepworth's words exceeded this amount by three times.

It is also noticeable that Read's commentary on the sculptor in 1955 still referred to her as a 'constructive' artist. He wrote that 'she sometimes begins with geometrical constructions'<sup>194</sup> when, in fact, Hepworth had criticised this approach many years before. She considered that this vocabulary reflected only a brief period within her *oeuvre*, and that it was inappropriate to continue to examine her work with this concept in mind-

'I disassociated myself from "constructivism" quite openly in 1943.'<sup>195</sup>

It is certain that Read was aware of this decision, for he was forced consistently to mediate between Hepworth and the arch-Constructivist Gabo over this event. Concurrently with classifying the sculptor as a

'Constructivist', Read attempted to reiterate his theory that part of the difficulty which one experienced when criticising a Hepworth was the problematic dialectic between 'constructivism' and 'organicism'. As well as working with severe constructions, she

'modifies these vitalistically... and many of her forms suggest, however indirectly, naturalistic prototypes.'<sup>196</sup>

It may be suggested that Hepworth's work was being subsumed by Read's personal interests, which numbered the short-lived experiments with Constructivism in the 1930s, and, after immersion in the surrealism of the late 1930s, a burgeoning fascination with the concept of the 'organic' throughout the 1940s and 50s. For example, in 1951 Read helped in the organisation of an exhibition at the I.C.A. which was entitled 'On Growth and Form', after D'Arcy Thompson's text which 'came to assume an orthodox importance at the I.C.A.'<sup>197</sup>. This crystallised his concern with the organic impulses behind the production of art, and meant that Read became a relevant mentor for an entirely new group of British artists.

However, as was intimated in the Introduction to this text, one may suggest that Read's perception of organicism and constructivism as dualities may be more effectively explained by dissection of Jack

Burnham's theory of 'vitalism'. Indeed this may lead to an understanding of how Hepworth may be juxtaposed seriously with movements as apparently distant as Abstract Expressionism. This will also provide the means for a successful assimilation of Hepworth's complex and shifting *oeuvre*.

Burnham's theory, although termed 'vitalism', is different to the concept of the same name which was expressed by artists such as Moore, and others writers, for example Read in 1924 in Form in Gothic. When they wrote about 'vitalism', Read and Moore referred to a dynamic organicism which was peculiar to Northern artists and the Northern temperament. For Burnham, 'vitalism' was perceived to be the element which was created once the organic and the geometric in art were conjoined. He wrote that 'as separate categories the organic and geometric nearly vanish with the emergence of abstract vitalistic sculpture.'<sup>198</sup> Art which depends seriously upon the uniting of geometric and organic elements can be termed 'vitalistic', and it is possible that, together, works of this type could have created a vitalistic movement.

It is his theory of vitalism which surprisingly enabled Burnham to seriously relate Hepworth with the apparently distant Abstract Expressionism. He wrote,



'Arp... Hepworth... Moore... All the above sculptors have made strongly vitalistic statements concerning their methods and intentions. However vitalism as a movement or a cohesive expression of belief never crystallised. This was also true of the American "organic" sculptors, such as Theodore Roszak, Ibram Lassaw and Seymour Lipton.'<sup>199</sup>

One must accept that Burnham considered the Abstract Expressionist 'organic' sculptors to exhibit vitalistic tendencies- just as several Modernist European sculptors were perceived to do.

Indeed, although expressed in varied manners, the same creative impulses underlie both Hepworth's sculpture, and a great deal of Abstract Expressionist work. Not only is this understandable in terms of lineage, for Dore Ashton stresses the direct influence that 'Circle' and 'Abstraction-Creation' had upon these Americans,<sup>200</sup> but their intellectual and spiritual concerns were often similar. For instance, Rothko's use of surrealist imagery during the 1930s and 1940s, seems initially to distinguish him fundamentally from Hepworth; however it is evident that the American was attracted to these forms precisely because they presented opportunities for exploration of intellectual and spiritual issues.

In particular, Anna C. Chave illustrates how Rothko's surrealistic period allowed a variety of interests to be explored:

'His titles allude to atavistic memories (Prehistoric Memory, Geologic Memory, Vernal Memory, Tentacles of Memory);'<sup>201</sup>

'Automatic drawing... (resulted in) those biomorphic shapes that Rothko and his group had come to regard as an acceptable, humanistic alternative to the geometric shapes of pure abstraction';<sup>202</sup>

'Rothko remained loyal to mythology and continued to believe in its relevance to his work... he discussed the importance of myth to modern art';<sup>203</sup>

and, most interestingly, for him 'the art of the surrealists- especially that of Miro, Masson, Matta, Ernst, and eventually Gorky- demonstrated a fertile middle ground between those supposedly arid realms of realism and abstraction.'<sup>204</sup>

It becomes apparent that Rothko and Hepworth shared many interests: both were fascinated by atavistic memories and the collective unconscious. Hepworth too employed automatic drawing throughout her lifetime, especially to allow unconscious images to surface,<sup>205</sup> and consequently developed biomorphic forms which were interpreted as a return to humanistic issues. Similarly, as has been expressed throughout the preceding pages, Hepworth occupied an indefinable area between realism and abstraction, geometricism and organicism, or romanticism

and classicism- which is, of course, the pre-requisite for Burnham's concept of 'vitalism'.

Despite the influences of Worringer and Read on these polarities being well recorded, I suggest that this most interesting concept would benefit greatly from further research. It was obviously of concern to the Abstract Expressionists, and yet it does not seem as if any author has satisfactorily explored the transition from European to American development of the dialectic. Even Irving Sandler, an established historian of Abstract Expressionism, expressed awareness of the importance of the dialectic without discussing it-

'De Kooning suggested that there were two attitudes in art. The first was romantic, symbolised by Van Gogh's potato, which one could watch change... the second was classical, symbolised by Arp's pebble, which changes very little.'<sup>206</sup>

It seems that dissolution of categories is essential for an understanding of how Hepworth may satisfactorily be perceived within an international context- and specifically in relation to the Abstract Expressionists. The *oeuvres* of Hepworth and the Abstract Expressionists defeat rigid classification, and yet historians determinedly attach the sculptor to either 'organic' or 'geometrical' factions, and the Abstract Expressionists

are forced to cohere as a movement when in fact they exhibited a great variety of intentionality. This compartmentalising of the period has led to a stultified conception of Hepworth's work, and similarly, a conventionalised understanding of the Abstract Expressionists. It is worthwhile exploring the possibility of critical overlap between the Hepworth and the American movement.

Firstly, it is apparent that De Kooning's definition of the classical was problematic. The fact that De Kooning asserted that Arp's 'classical' 'pebbles' denied the idea of growth and represent stasis is surely misguided. The pebble embodies both larva flows (now petrified) and the effects of tides and oceans, and therefore in art refers to growth, the fluid and organic. It seems ironic that De Kooning presented Arp as the arch-classicist, when

'Arp was regarded as a prankster Dada poet whose reliefs and plaster forms were largely the result of Surrealist whimsy. To consider Arp a great classicist of the modern idiom... would have been absurd.'<sup>207</sup>

Furthermore, the fact that Hepworth, Arp, and even the 'romantic' Moore spent much time examining pebbles and bones, illustrated that De Kooning's statement was arbitrary and emotive. Surely the Abstract

Expressionists would accept that Moore was influenced by Surrealism and was susceptible to the need for change, and yet he never deviated from his fascination with natural forms. It has been noted that Arp's 'severe' carvings, although they may appear to be unnatural, actually correspond to the genuine appearances of natural forms, and may simply not relate to one's preconception of how the organic must appear-

'Many of Arp's rounded forms are inherently inert, and it is through a series of subtle clues, signs of growth, mitosis, or metamorphic activity, that a beholder is induced to sense life encased in some rock-hard material... Arp was acutely aware of the organic formative processes.'<sup>208</sup>

Therefore, De Kooning's simple statement makes it all the more apparent that there are many ways in which the 'classical' and the 'romantic' merge. There is usually an indistinct middle ground which I, like Burnham, assert is 'Vitalism'. The initial definition of an artist as 'classical' or 'romantic' serves its purpose only if one does not examine the works of the artists in question.

Another example of an artist who has been subjected to restrictive classifying tendencies throughout the twentieth century, is Isamu Noguchi. In 1947 Noguchi was requested to participate in an exhibition

at the Hugo Gallery in New York, which has been described as comprising 'Abstract Surrealists.'<sup>209</sup> One may easily question this neat definition of the sculptor, which once more, illustrates the narrow and inefficient interpretations that artists in the 1950s received. Noguchi himself stated that he

'craved a certain morphological quality. I developed a deep interest at the time in cellular structure and collected books on palaeontology, botany and zoology.'<sup>210</sup>

This could almost have been a quotation from 'classical' Barbara Hepworth's writings. Thus the visual similarity of much of their sculpture is explained, as is the overlap in their works between biomorphic and 'classically'-inspired forms. Significantly, Noguchi also emphasised the importance of direct carving to him and to his *milieu*-

'Those of us in New York knew that *taille directe* was the ultimate virtue... the direct carving of a block of stone was a return to basic principles... I worked with driftwood, bones, paper, strings, cloth, shell, wire, wood.'<sup>211</sup>

Thus Noguchi provided an essential reminder that carving, and the disciplinary issues surrounding sculpture, were as vital to artistic

experience in New York as they were in London and St. Ives. It is important to conceive of the type of sculpture that Hepworth was producing- such as Idol 1955 (fig. 8)- as equally applicable to New York, which is usually thought of only as a haven for expressive painters. It is interesting to note that Hepworth's friend Alexander Calder also carved directly into material (figs. 1 and 2). He learned the techniques of direct carving in 1920s New York, where artists were enthusiastic about this type of art. The writings of Calder and Noguchi also provide a further insight into what appears to have been a collective desire in the 1950s to employ natural materials and *objets trouves* in art, and to carve directly with the influence of biological formative processes in mind. Because of their employment of those techniques, Noguchi, Calder and Moore are considered to display surrealistic influences; however, as has been indicated, Hepworth also developed interests in automatist principles and in the bizarre potentialities of natural found objects. Indeed, it seems reasonable to consider the various visual and working characteristics of these four sculptors as the result of a pool of concepts which was available to sculptors and painters in the U.S.A. and Britain at that time.

Yet a further example of the international nature of themes and concerns, was supplied by Noguchi's increased fascination with myth and atavistic interests in the 1940s and 1950s. He wrote that

'I had become steeped in the transformations of myth in my sculptures, in the ballet Orpheus and with the Greek cycle of Martha Graham.'<sup>212</sup>

As has been suggested, these issues were of concern both to Hepworth in England, and to the Abstract Expressionists in America. Hepworth created works which exemplified her concordant interests, for example Curved Form (Orpheus) 1956, (fig. 16) which was

'an apotheosis of transparency, light and movement... the form has become indefinite; the line reveals the gesture, the totality of colour and line conjures up space without defining form, because space has now become pregnant with forms.'<sup>213</sup>

This could easily be a description of a painting by an Abstract Expressionist artist and, in fact, its form is not discordant with those being produced in New York in the 1940s and 1950s.

Indeed, this painting is a typical illustration of how Hepworth, and by extension, Noguchi, Moore and many Abstract Expressionists developed



an art which could be considered to be both romantic and classical. For the loose, spiralling forms in Curved Form (Orpheus), (fig. 16) together with the colour washes which dissipate the forms, must be seen as the legacy of romantic art; whereas the theme is obviously classical, and the meticulous drawing leads one to infer that a perfectionist and inexpressive artist is at work.

Furthermore, the Orphic myth as a theme naturally lends itself to interpretation by both romantic and classical artists, for basic forms such as the egg are connected with the myth. In ancient Greek Orphic theory the cosmos is born from an egg, which was perhaps laid by a cosmic serpent, and this leads to a conjunction of the Orphic myth and egg-like shapes. Consequently, severe styles such as those formulated by Brancusi and Hepworth would often incorporate such motifs; and yet expressive paintings, such as those by De Kooning, and earlier works by Newman and Rothko, also often exhibit egg-like and embryonic forms. Examples of such art works are Newman's water-colour entitled Gea 1945; (fig. 17) Hepworth's Sculpture with Colour (Eos) 1946 (fig. 18) and Rothko's many untitled water-colours of the 1940s (fig. 19). In fact Hodin interestingly referred to the Orphic myth in relation to Hepworth; he wrote that

'in 1946 she worked on her four compositions for the Waterloo Bridge competition- music turned into stone, pure harmonies, *orphic sculpture*.'<sup>214</sup>

Although for the Abstract Expressionists, the egg shapes at first tended to be ectoplasmic, they very soon solidified into Hepworthian forms. Therefore, the Abstract Expressionists ironically found themselves appropriating classical themes and shapes, and often even treating them in a traditionally classical manner. Indeed, as Sandler wrote<sup>215</sup>, the Abstract Expressionists may appear to have produced organic, or more usually, surrealistic work, when in fact they actually enjoyed consciously shaping vital forms in a comparable manner to Hepworth.

At this juncture it is necessary to note that I have elsewhere indicated the importance of redefining the term 'classical'.<sup>216</sup> Usually, to state that an artist appropriated classical themes, is to mean that he or she employed subjects similar to those first used by the ancient Greeks or Romans, and then employed during certain other periods of art. In fact,

'as Nietzsche maintained, there are two elements to the classical, and although they may interrelate, they can be basically classified as opposites. However, to most critics of Hepworth there is only one sort of classicism, and that is the Apollonian. This means that they fail to discover a vast

area of richness in her works, which consequently affects the general level of criticism. Nietzsche perceives the person with the Apollonian consciousness to be aware of the "*principium individuationis*"- the painful awareness of (besides the beauty) the "separateness" of one's own being from the rest of humanity. This is in contrast to critics who believe the Apollonian to be the beautiful, the harmonious and the untroubled- as Hepworth's work may appear to be to the insensitive observer.'<sup>217</sup>

It is therefore understandable that as well as assessing harmony, lyricism and nature, to be a classical or *vitalist* artist often necessitated an assimilation of mysticism, angst, myth, spirituality and magic. The classical heritage is mixed in character: one ascribes to it harmonious attributes such as gracefulness and tranquillity, and yet 'romantic' myths and superstitions familiar to modern man are often a direct result of the ancient civilisations. The Orphic myth is a good example; Hepworth and certain Abstract Expressionist painters exhibited interest in the legend. The forms which are a result of familiarity with the myth vary considerably, and the respective artists may be considered to be 'classical', 'romantic', or even a vitalist combination of both.

Thus I do not find it surprising that the Abstract Expressionists, having begun consciously to shape forms and develop such an interest in Greek

mythology during the 1930s and 1940s, also developed an awareness of other primitive cults, icons and even magic. This phenomenon too is illustrative of the common interests which existed between artists such as David Smith, Noguchi and the Abstract Expressionist painters, and Hepworth and other St. Ives artists. For instance, Noguchi made a conscious effort to understand more about the culture which happened to be Hepworth's; he explained

'I started my education from the beginning: that is the prehistoric caves, menhirs, and dolmens of France and England.'<sup>218</sup>

Although these interesting correlations between artists such as Noguchi and Hepworth are incidental to my main survey, one may perceive that there was a fertile international currency of ideas between the United States and Britain. One may speculate as to the relevance of the information, but it is interesting to note that Abstract Expressionists and their commentators, such as Clement Greenberg, visited Cornwall and St. Ives during the 1950s. The painter Terry Frost recalls meeting Mark Rothko at William Scott's flat in the town, and well remembers having a photograph taken with Greenberg, Motherwell and Rothko.<sup>219</sup> Recent research has discovered that Rothko attempted to buy a chapel in Cornwall for use as a studio,<sup>220</sup> and this will be further examined in Chapter Four. Other artists who were sought out by the Americans,

were Hepworth, Nicholson, Heron and Lanyon. It is at least necessary to observe that Hepworth and her American contemporaries were not unacquainted or unfamiliar with the environment of the other.

It is interesting to note that, after these visits, Rothko kept in contact with Hepworth, because a letter from him still exists at the Barbara Hepworth Museum in St. Ives, as does a letter from Hepworth to Rothko in the Tate Gallery Archives. She wrote,

‘I have never forgotten one significant moment of my experience, looking at your 61-62 works at Whitechapel of profound spiritual and active force- I think it was one of the big moments of my life, never to be forgotten... Please accept my deepest appreciation for your work and your generosity and the inspiration that both bring to all of us here.’<sup>221</sup>

Hepworth’s friend, Mark Tobey, also spent much time in St. Ives, where he learned about mysticism and ancient Japanese traditions from the potter, Bernard Leach. Consequently he was discussed with interest by critics such as Read, and finally went to live close to Nicholson in Switzerland. Franz Kline’s mother originally came from St. Erth, near St. Ives in Cornwall, and therefore he was familiar with Cornish attitudes and history.

Evidently there are grounds for debate over the critic Rosenberg's concept that the Abstract Expressionists did not contribute to a paradigm, or have interest in a European heritage. He wrote saying,

'is something new being created?... the work of some young painters has separated itself from the rest by a consciousness of a function for painting different from that of earlier "abstractionists,"<sup>222</sup>

and he continued to develop a theory that American art was a deviation from European predecessors. However, it seems that facts prove that American painters considered their work to be an extension of European fascinations. It is speculative and incidental to this survey, but when one considers that Rothko wished to live and work in Cornwall, Hepworth's sculpture, rather than being alien to the experience of Americans, is a typical example of art which was inspired by the same myths, sense of primeval and magic, by which they were often galvanised.

More specifically, a common element between the sculptor and Americans- such as employment of myths- was becoming increasingly of interest to intellectuals throughout the Western cultural world. It is evident that an interest in myths was not simply a part of sculptors' and

painters' experience, but was inherent in the writings of Pound and T. S. Eliot, James Joyce, and Martha Graham, and in the musical creations of Igor Stravinsky. Like the Abstract Expressionists, not only did Hepworth read all of these writers' works, but she was passionately fond of Stravinsky, and could work very successfully when his music was played. Indeed she wrote,

'I think Brancusi's understanding of these timeless elements of sculpture is very close to Stravinsky's understanding of rhythm—they are elements which belong to the primeval forces activating man's sensibilities; but they are, at the same time, sophisticated in the sense that they apprehend contemporary needs and passions and reaffirm the continuity of life.'<sup>223</sup>

A further barometer of the increasing international importance of myth to cultural life, is the fact that the subject began to be accepted in a scholarly sense. Works dealing with this issue, such as Phenomenology of Perception<sup>224</sup> by Merleau-Ponty, were produced and older texts, such as The Golden Bough<sup>225</sup> by James Frazer, were re-evaluated and considered to be important during the 1940s. During the 1980s it was accepted by respected and established scholars of Abstract Expressionism that these texts, and the myths and superstitions which they examine, were influential on the American movement. For example, Harvard University Professor, Anna C. Chave emphasises the

influence of these sources,<sup>226</sup> as does author and New York Times critic, Dore Ashton.<sup>227</sup> Therefore cultural correspondence between artists as seemingly diverse as Hepworth and the Abstract Expressionists might have been possible- simply as a result of the international currency of ideas. The fact that mythology and magic began to be acceptable in this universal manner, meant that as they had previously been the forum of an alternative section of society, now serious writers emphasised the intellectual basis for formal study of the subjects. For instance, Cassirer wrote,

'Mythology itself is not simply a crude mass of superstitions or gross delusions. It is not merely chaotic, for it possesses a systematic or conceptual form.'<sup>228</sup>

Thus Cassirer indicated that even the 'romantic' province of Surrealists and mystics- the examination of ancient rite and fable- has a classical conceptual form and will appeal to logic. Consequently, a traditional writer on Hepworth may easily comprehend why she, as a 'classical' artist, developed an interest in mythology- especially as much ancient mythology stems from that which was originally Greek or Roman.

Although largely speculative, there are unexpected analogies between Hepworth and Abstract Expressionists. It is partly these which indicate



that enlightening new studies of Hepworth are subsequently possible, for such analogies indicate under-examined aspects of the sculptor's work. Although actually incidental to the main part of this study, like Curtis, I perceive the necessity of

'wresting Hepworth free from the discourse in which she has been placed up to now (so) that we can start to look afresh at her achievement.'<sup>229</sup>

It is perhaps possible to do so with the insight which is gained from an awareness of the correlatives between Hepworth and certain Abstract Expressionist artists.

Further examples of the strange comparability of Hepworth to her American contemporaries exists in the fact that even a recognised Surrealist source, such as Yves Tanguy, evidently perceived the importance of researching ancient rite and settlements. Tanguy was influential upon Abstract Expressionists, as were Masson, Miro and Ernst, and it is interesting that the deep cultural history which was essential to a comprehensive understanding of Hepworth was also important to Surrealists, and consequently part of the American consciousness. As Polcari noted,

'Tanguy represents the timeless and profound depths of the mind with an image of a deep submarine expanse. The space is sparsely populated with biomorphic forms suggesting humans, animals, and even prehistoric stone constructions native to his birthplace in Brittany.'<sup>230</sup>

These ancient stone monuments typical in Brittany, are similar to Cornwall's Men-an-Tol and other prehistoric megaliths. Therefore not only was Hepworth's apprehension of time and history thus a shared phenomenon, but the biomorphic appearance of her works is also comparable with other artistic events that Americans were aware of and comfortable with.

Biomorphism itself is an obvious touchstone throughout both a dedicated study of Hepworth and an exploration of possible connections with Abstract Expressionism. One may question why the only writers to have *approached* an analysis of the biomorphism in Hepworth's art, are Charles Harrison and Stephen Polcari. As was expressed in the Introduction, Hepworth is usually recognised as a biomorphic sculptor because of her sudden awareness of the importance of landscape following her move to St. Ives in 1939. However she also evinced a concern with biomorphism previously during the early 1930s, after which her commentators and advisors attempted to suppress public

awareness of this tendency. She regularly expressed her interest in aspects of Surrealism and in painters who were central to the movement, and it is interesting that, as late as 1948, Hepworth was still impressing her opinions on Read-

'I like very much Breton's ideas which you put forward- he has a great part to play in U.S.A.'<sup>231</sup>

In fact, as the Hepworth Conference in 1994 illustrated, many members of the public were aware of such supposed deviations within the sculptor's interests and career, and demanded answers to questions such as where her previously undisclosed works may be found. Although, when one considers that Hepworth's later biomorphism is well documented, it seems surprising that only Polcari has made a specific link between the sculptor and Abstract Expressionists. He wrote,

'Pollock's art symbolises and acts out the principle of the eternal and internal dynamism of life that predominated in the art of Moore, Arp, Hepworth, Benton, Read, and surrealism in the inter-war period.'<sup>232</sup>

Patently, Polcari too considers that many trends of the 1930s and 1940s were actually contiguous; here he juxtaposes Surrealism and Hepworth, Hepworth and Pollock.

However, Polcari's comments have not been taken up by other critics, and it has until now been considered improbable to link the archetypal proponent of English organic, but classical, sculpture with an American, and supposedly hedonistic, movement. Hepworth's clear comments have been ignored, for example in her Pictorial Autobiography she wrote,

'Looking out from our studios on the Atlantic beach we became more deeply rooted in Europe; but straining at the same time to fly like a bird over 3,000 miles of water towards America... to unite our philosophy, religion and aesthetic language.'<sup>233</sup>

Although Hepworth recognised that her heritage lay in Europe, she simultaneously desired to share art, and consequently philosophy and spirituality with those inhabitants of the United States.

Similarly, her more obtuse comments remained unrecognised, such as those which were expressed in correspondence with influential friends-

'I am carried along in a *rhythm* which seems to turn hundreds of thousands of hammer blows into a fluid current and I am carried on the crest... Carving is for me simply an *act* of the appreciation of *living*, a joyful act, but one is torn and driven by alternating

It seems as if Hepworth was here expressing the same fascination with process as the Abstract Expressionists, and the myriad small actions that are orchestrated in the final work and, surprisingly, the same awareness of living and concern for quality of life. Although the Abstract Expressionists were famous for pursuing debauched lifestyles, historians have illustrated that, in reality, this is a myth which is the result of 'efforts to stereotype'.<sup>235</sup> It is true that 'this, then was the last artistic generation to internalise romantic stereotypes... time, identity and their relationship to the world were fundamentals,'<sup>236</sup> but these concepts enabled historians to generalise about the artists. Indeed 'a traumatic *Zeitgeist* is discerned easily enough in Abstract Expressionism... (however) another side to this eschatology was the rejuvenation that burgeoned soon afterwards.'<sup>237</sup> It is important to note that immersion in chaos enabled the Abstract Expressionists to work towards a future—hence the supposed tendency to oscillate between optimism and pessimism. Although it usually passes unnoticed by historians, Hepworth also exhibited these same characteristics; the only one to which any attention has been paid, is the mercurial tendency to alternate between fear and depression and optimism and energy. The critical reception of this alternation evident in Hepworth's attitude to life and

work, ranges from the feminist interpretation to the psychoanalytical. However, the characteristic seems simply to justify my conception that as a creative artist in a period of great social and political unrest, she was subject to the same anxieties about art and society which concerned the Abstract Expressionists.

Indeed, Burnham's concept of vitalism seems once more to be indispensable. Polcari has emphasised how, as a concept it was wide-ranging and therefore could be conceived as a life philosophy for Hepworth and the Abstract Expressionists. He wrote

'Vitalism attempted to join idealism with a new understanding of biological capability and life, and it has traditionally been allied to a concern for religion, metaphysics, and art against the corrosive effects of mechanistic naturalism, industrialism and science. It represents nature through metaphor, not mimesis, and generates an intuition that in the art object, its materials, and the process of its making, life is not literally, but plastically present.'<sup>238</sup>

The importance of process itself, as a means to counteract destructive elements within society, is not usually associated with Hepworth, although it is of course with the Abstract Expressionists. However, the

sculptor herself often referred to the healing processes of carving or drawing; for example, she wrote

'The rhythms of thought pass through the fingers and grip of this hand into the stone.'<sup>239</sup>

In this way,

'the translation of what one feels about man and nature (is) conveyed by the sculptor in terms of mass, inner tension and rhythm, scale in relation to our human size and the quality of surface which speaks through our hands and eyes.'<sup>240</sup>

Action is perceived to relate to society and existence and, through art, it may provide an everlasting and universal import-

'The two things which interest me most are the significance of human action, gesture, and movement, in the particular circumstances of our contemporary life, and the relation of these human actions to forms which are eternal in their significance.'<sup>241</sup>

There is a direct communication between the spectator and the artist as a result of consciousness of process; if the finished sculptural result had been the only aim, then Hepworth implied that her inner thoughts would not be as effectively transmitted to the observer.

Indeed, although the significance of Hepworth's elevation of the process has not been examined, several commentators, for example, Festing and Hammacher, have made reference to the fact that the sculptor was interested in motion. Festing wrote, Hepworth had a 'fascination with the expressive potential of movement,'<sup>242</sup> and Hammacher stated 'now her great sensitivity to human beings in motion... was called upon to meet a new challenge.'<sup>243</sup> However these phrases were quickly and uncertainly stated and received no further comment, as if the authors were unsure of the significance of their opinions. In the context of traditional literature about Hepworth, considerations of movement, expression and process are disturbing, and there is no attempt by authors who indicate such interests to analyse why they occurred. Surprisingly, even Ramsden, the 'arch-classicist', noticed that

'it is no longer in the isolated form of an existence that Nature survives for (the artist) but in the sublimated form of an *event*.'<sup>244</sup>

Therefore it becomes apparent how the process, or episodes of countless artistic events, was closely allied with nature for Hepworth and, evidently, the Abstract Expressionists. In fact, consciousness of one's existence, and therefore of the process of transposing one's existence on to canvas or into sculpture, becomes an analogy of natural processes.



As David Anfam wrote, geological or botanical elements in Abstract Expressionists' works, which were

'probably gathered from readings in anthropology and biology... held that individual human beings recapitulated the processes of natural evolution. Hence to picture the innermost recesses of the natural world became a metaphor of life's origins, of its "phylogeny"'.<sup>245</sup>

The simultaneous conjunction of humanistic and naturalistic forms within many Hepworth sculptures throughout the 1940s and 1950s is thus explained: the blend epitomises Hepworth's concern with evolution, society, progress and nature- all vitalistic concerns. Therefore one becomes aware that an 'organic' or biomorphic form as exhibited by Abstract Expressionists or Hepworth, may have been an effective method by which to crystallise a vast range of responses to oneself, to the environment and world at large. Evidently, the conceived successful result of these works which homogenised many issues, would be an evocation of unity- perhaps of a spiritual being or conception which would effect an uplifting or focusing experience for the viewer.

Once more, one may perceive how in reality (if not in De Kooning's opinion) such an embracing approach to art necessitated the synthesis of

dualities. Although the dialectical interests of the Abstract Expressionists have not yet been explored, Polcari again noted the possibility of the Americans having a synthetic approach to art. He stated that

'the Abstract Expressionists adopted the principle of duality and synthesis of opposites and the perpetual metamorphosis of life in cycles.'<sup>246</sup>

Later, in order to support his claim, he quoted Seymour Lipton on the subject, and indeed the latter is worth quoting at length:

'On a biological level we find that life in general is an aggregate of tensions. It is generally true that in any drive, one side engenders attention to its polar opposite. There are all kinds of such polar limits in the life of man- strife and peace, good and evil- as well as such aesthetic limits as form and content, romanticism and classicism... The drive I have felt these past few years is toward an organisation of such polar opposites. I have looked for an interplay of tensions: of lines, planes, forms, spaces, and suggested meanings to develop energy, and to evoke the mystery of reality.'<sup>247</sup>

Evidently the concerns of both sculptors- Hepworth and Lipton- were very similar and they indicate the presence of an international currency

of ideas. One may perceive that Lipton asserted the importance of formal and Modernist issues which were obviously apparent in a Hepworth sculpture; conversely once more akin to Hepworth, he referred to the importance of meaning, energy and 'the mystery of reality.' Therefore, as both sculptors synthesised diverse elements within their art, one may ask why major American commentators, such as Clement Greenberg, could have been responsible for denial of Hepworth? Greenberg was of course noted for his assertions of the primacy of formal values, and although he valued energy in art, it was more for its visual, than for its conceptual perfection. Similarly, Greenberg may be considered to esteem content, but content as form- a form-content'- distinct from subject-matter, and without reference to issues which are outside the art work. The 'hidden reality' within a work of art would, for Greenberg, have been an irrelevance because the formal elements of the work were all-important to him.

Therefore it seems appropriate to suggest that Greenberg, the key mediator between American avant-garde artists and the public, would not have viewed the works of Hepworth with esteem, because to Hepworth 'the mystery of reality' was as important as formal perfection. Indeed, the fact that Greenberg, as an American, was unusual in his

dislike of Henry Moore, would also suggest that he would not appreciate Hepworth. Berthoud wrote,

'Clement Greenberg, a formidable foe, sniped from the pages of Partisan Review, accusing Moore of "modernistic trickiness" and a lack of authentic feeling.'<sup>248</sup>

However, one might counter these suggestions with the observation that Moore and Hepworth should not be juxtaposed at this juncture because their works had diverged after the early 1930s. Perhaps Hepworth's lack of visual 'trickiness', and the obvious absence of false emotion, might have encouraged Greenberg's more positive reaction to her work.

Nevertheless there is a dearth of Greenbergian criticism of Hepworth's sculpture, despite her exhibition profile in the U.S.A. However, general comments about the state of sculpture perhaps indicate that Greenberg may have preferred Hepworth's work to Moore's. In an important article he wrote,

'as in painting the pristine flatness of the stretched canvas constantly struggles to overcome every other element, so in sculpture the stone figure appears to be on the point of relapsing into the original monolith.'<sup>249</sup>

Greenberg here related the admired painterly urge towards two-dimensionality with the equivalent sculptural desire to emphasise essentials, and the original 'uncarved' block. Whereas, in the 1950s, Moore was developing a tendency to return to representation, Hepworth was entering her most obviously monolithic stage, which many have perceived to be as a result of the move to Cornwall.

Greenberg compared the major characteristics of Abstract Expressionism- the perspectival flatness of the works and the painterly self-consciousness of medium to the essentialising tendencies of Modernist sculpture and the increasing reversion towards the monolith. This clearly is to discount Moore's work, in which the 'lithe' signifies subject-matter outside of and beyond itself. Strangely Greenberg accepted Moore's one-time assistant, Anthony Caro. Caro

'had been on a fateful journey to the U.S.A. in 1959. There he had communed long and fruitfully with the critic Clement Greenberg, who was no Moore admirer.'<sup>250</sup>

Berthoud intimated that Moore considered this to be an attack, and to be conscious of disapproval from a leading commentator must have been a serious blow to the sculptor. I find it interesting that Caro gained Greenberg's approval, and yet he is often perceived as an 'Euro-

American' artist, who may be related to Arp, Giacometti, Moore and Hepworth, whilst simultaneously to Calder, Noguchi and Smith<sup>251</sup>, in the same way that I conceive of Hepworth. Also, Hepworth's increasing use of scale, and highly personal and inventive employment of colour seems to suggest that she may be juxtaposed with Caro in particular.

Greenberg's emphasis on the importance of 'flatness', or the self-consciousness of the medium in art, continued throughout his career.<sup>252</sup> That he discussed the issue from the 1930s until the 1990s, indicates his integrity over this matter. Hepworth's efforts to essentialise also remain throughout her career, and therefore I suggest that there are grounds for asserting that even though there are no records of Greenbergian criticism of Hepworth, the sculptor could have been assimilated into his paradigm- certainly to a greater extent than Moore, whose Surrealistic tendencies and apparent 'romanticism' were visually antagonising to Greenberg.

Indeed Greenberg condemned evidence of Surrealistic heterogeneity.

He stated that a

'generation of French and Spanish painters had reacted against abstract purity and turned back to a confusion of literature with painting as extreme as any of the past.'<sup>253</sup>

An artist such as Moore, who seemed to be a twentieth century Romantic, did not exhibit the demanded complexities that an artist such as Hepworth, who synthesised dualities, may be perceived to have done. The tension which is created in Hepworth's work by the simultaneous presence of both organic and classical elements ought to have appealed to a writer such as Greenberg. In common with writers such as Read and Worringer, Greenberg recognised that art history displays an alternation between abstraction and realism, or formal and sensual values. He compared Abstract Expressionism's revolt against illusion to the various revolts that art history had already witnessed-

'the Impressionists set themselves to undermining shading and modelling and everything else in painting that seemed to connote the sculptural. It was once again in the name of the sculptural, with its shading and modelling, that Cezanne, and the Cubists after him, reacted against Impressionism, as David had reacted against Fragonard.'<sup>254</sup>

It is often recognised that the transfer of interest from sculptural painting to two-dimensional painting, is the result of a reawakening of interest in abstraction.

Therefore, Greenberg's views in this respect are partly concordant with those of Read in England, and one might assume that a receptive environment for Hepworth would have been created in New York as a result of such ideas. Indeed, Greenberg is a rare historian who asserts that 'by 1939 the centre of abstract painting had shifted to London,'<sup>255</sup> and consequently it is possible to suggest that he may have been receptive to the idea, put forward by figures such as Holty<sup>256</sup>, that Abstract Expressionism was influenced by the leading individuals in London of *circa* 1939. There are also many other instances on which Greenberg displayed views which one imagines could have led to a rapport with Hepworth's sculptures. For instance he wrote that it is a

'profound degree to which Modernist art belongs to the same specific cultural tendency as modern science, and this is of the highest significance as a historical fact.'<sup>257</sup>

On many occasions Hepworth emphasised the same opinion that art and science in the twentieth century have a symbiotic relationship.

In fact one may suggest that the crucial feature of biomorphism in both the work of Hepworth, and of the Abstract Expressionists, was influenced by concern with science. Both British and Americans were interested in the same biological and scientific texts, and it is a little



known fact that 'Pollock digested some metamorphic principles from perusing a 1943 edition of D'Arcy Thompson's classic On Growth and Form.'<sup>258</sup> One may easily perceive how Pollock would have concurred with the views which Hepworth expressed to Read-

'The whole vitality of this stream of painting is incredibly close to research being done by physicists at the moment, and by medical research into "the source of vitality" of healing wounds etc... not yet understood scientifically, and yet, it seems to me, very bound up with the aesthetic perceptions of such fundamental rhythms and impulses of growth and form.'<sup>259</sup>

Once more one is led to wonder why Greenberg did not comment on these significant occurrences. Perhaps the fact that it was usually Moore's sculpture which New York galleries wished to receive from the British Council, encouraged the art world in New York to perceive him as the token representative of modern British sculpture. Read was consistently requested by the British Council to write introductions to catalogues of Moore's exhibitions in the United States, and therefore it seemed as if Hepworth was a 'disciple' of Moore. Certainly this was a factor in the difficulties that Hepworth found when she attempted to be represented by galleries such as the Bucholtz, which had previously commenced a contract with Moore.<sup>260</sup> For certain individuals, British

art was perceived to be epitomised by Moore; because Greenberg did not like Moore, the whole 'British School' was similarly damned.

However, in the United States, it was not simply Greenberg who influenced the commissioning and buying patterns of the public: Harold Rosenberg was for a time an equally important critic. It is necessary to discover whether he, as a major art critic, played any part in the acceptance or rejection of Hepworth's art in the United States. One of Rosenberg's central theses was that twentieth century American art should not be perceived in relation to European art of the past, in the way that Greenberg regularly asserted. He wrote:

'It is pointless to argue that Rembrandt or Michaelangelo worked in the same way (as "Action Painters")',<sup>261</sup>

and therefore one should not interpret American paintings in the light of European developments. Obviously Rosenberg would not have supported argument that Hepworth's art sprang out of a shared culture with Abstract Expressionists, and that the two may be juxtaposed to enlightening effect. Consequently here is perhaps another reason why Hepworth's art did not gain popularity in the United States.

Superficially, one might suggest that Hepworth's concern with the process of carving could be correlated with Rosenberg's famous statement about the 'act' of painting. Although Hepworth made many statements of interest in creative activity, these are not to be confused with Rosenberg's argument about Abstract Expressionism- or 'Action Painting'-

'At a certain moment the canvas began to appear to one American painter after another as an arena in which to act... What was to go on the canvas was not a picture but an event.'<sup>262</sup>

Yet an essential aspect of Hepworth's art work was the relationship which she constructed with the piece of stone; the process of gradually forming a shape in response to material was critical. She wrote,

'Carving became increasingly rhythmical, and I was aware of the special pleasure that sculptors can have through carving, that of a complete unity of physical and mental rhythm.'<sup>263</sup>

Initially one might assume that this would have interested Rosenberg, however one must assume that he would have considered Hepworth's art to be aesthetic and reactionary. Spontaneity and reaction in response to the vagaries of material was characteristic of her work, but although

Hepworth's activity was partly social in intent, Rosenberg's concept of the 'act' was that it was intended to change society.

Furthermore, Rosenberg's argument that American art was peculiar to the American continent, would have prohibited his appreciation of Hepworth's sculpture. Consequently, one must conclude that Rosenberg too did not pay any attention to Hepworth exhibits and, like Greenberg, contributed to the lack of critical comment to which Hepworth was subject during the 1950s in the United States.

Neglected by Greenberg and other American critics, by 1959 Hepworth felt it necessary to beg Read to write about her work in the United States, and it is apparent that Read was not at all willing to be a Hepworth commentator any longer. She pressed him to write about her sculpture in the catalogue to her 1959 Galerie Chalette exhibition, which was her most important American exhibition so far. Hepworth requested Read despite the fact that Gimpel Fils, her dealers, had also approached him without success. She knew that his reputation in the United States would aid the reception of her work, for she wrote,

'There's nothing in the world I should like better than a few words from you, dear Herbert, in this catalogue. You could say so perfectly what I feel, and what we all feel... I have

never had a 'success' in U.S. or New York with my carvings.'<sup>264</sup>

It was unfortunate that, as Katy Deepwell has stated,

'Hepworth's relationship to Herbert Read is ambivalent. He is still a friend but he later dislikes her art. It seems strange that he writes the Preface to the catalogue of the Galerie Chalette exhibition... She always liked to publish a personal statement about her work... This was very unusual for British artists, especially women, but not for Europeans... She chose a strategy of connecting her image to Herbert Read and using him to project her. This didn't work.'<sup>265</sup>

Read's reason for attempting to avoid participating in the criticism for the exhibition in New York, was that his workload was overbearing-

'When I see the word "preface" or "foreword", I reach for my gun.'<sup>266</sup>

Indeed his enormous workload was fact, but it does seem as if Read began to think less of Hepworth's work during the 1950s and onwards, than he had during the 1930s and 1940s. It was Read's right to refuse to write about Hepworth but, for the sculptor, it must have been disappointing to realise that Read's important stamp of approval was not easily to be gained.

It is noticeable that, once Read began to write about Hepworth on a less regular basis, the sculptor was not able easily to find another author with whom she could construct a similar professional relationship. During the late 1950s younger artists were being written about by historians such as John Ford, but this situation did not arise for Hepworth. Interestingly, in a postscript to an important article,<sup>267</sup> Charles Harrison noted that British critics in general were ill-informed regarding the advanced artists of their country, and he also attacked British dealers for not advancing their own country's art but, instead, promoting art which would obviously sell well. It seems obvious that Hepworth suffered because of this intellectual climate.

Evidently, during the 1950s, Hepworth considered that she was also being under-promoted by her dealers. She constantly directed her London firm, Gimpel Fils, where next to exhibit her work, and worried the dealers until they effected new contacts or events in the United States-

'Can you tell me whether you've heard from Chalette yet?'<sup>268</sup>;

'Perhaps when Peter comes back you can give me first-hand news of my U.S. affairs.'<sup>269</sup>

Similarly Hepworth was concerned about the American dealer which Gimpel had contracted for her; she was keen to ensure a highly productive relationship with her New York gallery, and examined the progress of new dealers who might have been more effective-

'Re Martha Jackson. You have not told me how she reacted to the draft contract you were sending her... I expect Peter told you that I know the perfect person to approach should things break down with Martha.'<sup>270</sup>

In 1959, as during the previous decade, Hepworth consistently had to remain firm about being represented as a contemporary sculptor, and not as an historical artist. Even as far back as the 1943 Temple Newsam exhibition, she was dismayed by the tendency to select famous and popular sculptures, rather than new works.<sup>271</sup> In the 1950s, exhibition organisers increasingly chose earlier examples of her art and this obviously affected the public perception of her work. She emphasised this concern to Gimpel Fils, and tried to assuage their anxiety that she was being too daring in her new works-

'Nothing is further from my mind than doing anything which would be against your interests... (but) by doing those things which most properly fit my own viewpoint and my own integrity I shall do both you and my New York dealer the

greatest service in the long run. I feel it is tremendously important only to let go those works which most truly fulfill one's own standards and it is particularly important I feel, that after my retrospective which toured U.S.A. in 1955, and was shown in New York in December 1956, that a true emphasis should be laid on my present viewpoint as well as a possible link with a few outstanding works of earlier years.'<sup>272</sup>

The Galerie Chalette exhibition was considered by Hepworth to be vitally important for her career, which was the reason for her persistent efforts to engage Read as a writer. She wrote to Read saying, 'Your reputation abroad is colossal,'<sup>273</sup> and I would concord with Deepwell that Hepworth wished to harness the attraction of Read for the sake of her reputation within the United States. The sculptor's apprehension about the event is apparent throughout 1959, and must have been intensified by a disappointing 'Documenta' exhibition in Europe, to which she had allowed Gimpel Fils to attend-

'I consider these international exhibitions of quite vital importance and therefore am deeply distressed that three very small works of mine were allowed to go to Documenta II.'<sup>274</sup>



She was thereafter particularly concerned to improve the quality of work submitted to prestigious international exhibitions.

Hepworth was invariably nervous and withdrawn before each exhibition, and on many occasions she attempted to avoid a public appearance, as indeed she did in New York out of nervousness-

'I don't feel I can promise at this stage to go to New York for the opening... but on the other hand I feel that a visit to New York in the near future is extremely important!'<sup>275</sup>

The Gimpel brothers however were aware of the necessity for Hepworth to represent herself at this vital exhibition, and insisted that she attend-

'I feel that it is very important that you should be there for it. Quite apart from the personal point of view, it is very good from the business side.'<sup>276</sup>

Indeed with hindsight, the fact that Hepworth did attend the opening night of the exhibition and contributed personally to the publicity, ensured that, for the first time, she began to receive the type of attention that she desired from Americans. Whereas Hepworth had never previously been perceived as an artistic 'personality', as had Henry

Moore,<sup>277</sup> she began to discover how valuable it was to be present at the exhibitions in order to develop a 'star' persona.

However, Read openly expressed how diffident he was about writing the introduction to the catalogue of this exhibition. In the text itself he stated, 'my first instinct was to refuse,'<sup>278</sup> and one may presume that his public reluctance was a result of his diminishing empathy for Hepworth's work-

'I felt I could not once again offer my inadequate words as a buffer between the uninitiated visitor to the exhibition and the works themselves.'<sup>279</sup>

As Deepwell has commented,<sup>280</sup> rather than examine the more recent manifestations in Hepworth's style, Read exercised his right to indicate his preference by discussing the general Modernist attitude throughout the 1930s. He also continued his habit of quoting Hepworth at length and philosophised about nature and harmony as well as Chinese legend; indeed as he himself wrote,

'I am quoting too much, but there is a poem of Lawrence's that comes to mind...'<sup>281</sup>

In other words, he signalled his distance from works of which he disapproved by avoiding commentary on them.

In direct contrast to Hepworth's words to her dealers, he also heavily historicised the sculptor's production-

'We won our victories in Venice and Sao Paulo, New York and Tokyo, and even in the fortress of Paris... Looking back to those statements we made in 1934 I can see that we came through.'<sup>282</sup>

Although Hepworth often expressed a desire to receive respect in terms of historical recognition,<sup>283</sup> it is essential to understand that she also wished to be perceived as a contemporary artist of the 1950s. Perhaps the statement which best expressed how she wished to be criticised is to be found in a letter to Charles Gimpel-

'I am concerned to be seen 1). as a carver and 2). to give a fair idea of my work in 1959.'<sup>284</sup>

However, one may question if the dual approach that Hepworth suggested was possible, because much of her work in the 1950s was in metals, and the issue of direct carving is very much associated with the 1930s and 1940s. Perhaps this confusion is another reason for the lack

of serious critical examination which the sculptor received- both during and after her lifetime. Lodder has stated that 'she should not be seen just as a British artist, she very much has an international context,'<sup>285</sup> and emphatically I concur, although one must consider that Hepworth herself contributed to the obscuring of her desired international profile. Her writing expressed frustration at being criticised in a stylised and repetitive manner, and she clearly believed that this had a derogatory effect on her international reputation-

'I am very weary about the 'set-up' and the presentation of my idea as so far I have not felt any sort of aesthetic contact from U.S.A.'<sup>286</sup>

However there are many occasions on which her multifarious demands on writers must have been a contributory factor to the confusing situation.

Surely the retrospective approach of Read's introduction to the Galerie Chalette exhibition catalogue, although commissioned by Hepworth and the exhibition organisers in order to add credence to her display, in actuality must have had the effect of relegating Hepworth to past history. It would have been difficult, in the light of Read's words, for the American audience to view the works as originating from the same

impulse which inspired Pollock, Rothko, Gorky and others. Despite the fact that Read mentioned vitalistic concerns-

'To watch the gradual emergence of the figure from the block of stone is to watch the spirit informing the matter, fusing the intractable substance to organic shape and vital rhythm,'<sup>287</sup>

these are positioned within a context of the 'Golden Section,' analogies of conception, and philosophical conclusions about beauty- all of which contribute to make Hepworth seem remote to the experience of Americans.

Nevertheless, the fact that Hepworth was personally present added authenticity to the first serious examination of her work by an American audience. As she wrote of one event which was organised around the exhibition- 'Have seen all the press- pulled faces at the camera and generally done my best!'<sup>288</sup> The press reviews of the Chalette exhibition were excellent and many writers took pains to quote large sections of Hepworth's comments and writings. It is apparent that several critics also brought an American interpretation to bear upon the works; for example Geneuer wrote

'The bristling Marble Form seems an evocation of inert substance

still striving inwardly to participate in a universal rhythm. These tensions and evocations are feeling, however sublimated or mystical in inspiration.'<sup>289</sup>

It seems that American writers found it easy to understand that, despite producing apparently static forms, the sculptor did not deny rhythm, movement or expressiveness. As Ashton wrote,

'Movement has interested Miss Hepworth all her life... The Constructivist idea of disembodied sculptural mass in order to place the stress on rapidly moving forms in time and space can still be seen.'<sup>290</sup>

One may suggest that the experience of writing about Abstract Expressionist art was a major contributing factor to the American capacity for analysing Hepworth sculptures. Motherwell's severity, Rothko's emptiness and Pollock's dynamism must have been obvious examples of art which demanded criticism of more than surface appearance. Almost for the first time it was being recognised that Hepworth's sculptures had mystical elements, and I suggest that this too is a result of American critics' comprehension of Abstract Expressionism.

In fact Hepworth instantly recognised this, and any doubts which she had entertained about the United States, its art and criticism dissipated. She praised the people, the city of New York, the gallery organisers' abilities to display works to advantage, and particularly the critics. To Read she wrote,

'I met a really nice person- Dore Ashton. Have just sent her your poems... Anyway New York does something! I'm only half there or here. Is one ever the same again? My Gallery Chalette is quite beautiful.'<sup>291</sup>

Indeed Hepworth considered Dore Ashton to be particularly effective as a critic, and she forged an immediate relationship with her. They socialised together in New York, and Hepworth considered that the writer had immediately comprehended her work. When she came back from New York, Hepworth mentioned Ashton to all her friends, and Read's words to Nicholson are indicative of the praise which Hepworth bestowed upon the critic-

'I saw a little of Dore Ashton, the New York Times art critic that Barbara liked so much- she is very charming but I did not see any signs of exceptional intelligence.'<sup>292</sup>

Hepworth and Ashton remained admirers of each other's work, and Ashton was later called upon again to write about the sculptor's work.

As late as 1974 Ashton was writing about Hepworth, and the reasons why the sculptor had responded so positively were apparent. Typically for an American writer, Ashton conferred upon Hepworth an awareness of mysticism, psychology and primitive societies-

'The eyes are ubiquitous in Hepworth sculptures and I think of them more and more as symbols and not holes... they symbolise... the Eastern and primitive eye which mythologically survives all history.'<sup>293</sup>

I believe that Ashton discerned an increasing urge within Hepworth which characterised her sculptures of the 1950s for the first time, and then multiplied throughout the next two decades. This urge was a desire to make more obvious reference to primitive cultures, to produce a transcendental 'statement' and to engage the collective unconscious. There is a clear contrast between Ashton's words, and those of her British contemporaries, who usually attempted to compact Hepworth into a European paradigm of Mediterranean rigour-

'Miss Hepworth has created ambitiously austere and elemental forms which she seems incapable of endowing with life or



magic.'<sup>294</sup>

Conversely, as a result of conversations with Hepworth, Ashton stated that

'Hepworth has closely pondered the simple configurations of magical societies... (she) is part of a history of art about which no *kunstwissenschaftliche* application of method could be illuminating.'<sup>295</sup>

I concur that a study of Hepworth demands an alternative approach because she has eluded traditional methods of interpretation and has remained an under-researched sculptor. Also, I believe that to confer upon Hepworth the desire to re-interpret ancient societies, mystical rites and the mysterious aspects of nature is an appropriate way in which to penetrate the sculptures. These are precisely several of the elements within Hepworth's *oeuvre* which encourage one to juxtapose her with the Abstract Expressionists.

Like the Abstract Expressionists, who were reading anthropological and historical texts during the 1940s and 1950s,<sup>296</sup> Hepworth too was interested in issues such as the universality of mythological themes. This is evident from the titles of many of her works from the 1950s-

Pastorale 1953; Corinthos 1954-5; Curved Form (Delphi) 1955; Icon 1957; Figure (Archean) 1959 and Curved Form with Inner Form (Anima) 1959. Many of these refer to specific places in Greece where ancient civilisations and therefore rituals and religions were located; or others make reference to the accoutrements of those, and other, rituals. For example, Totem 1961-2, Ritual Dances 1955, or Single Form (Antiphon) 1953; these obviously indicate Hepworth's more recent interest in the traditions and religions of various peoples.

These 1950s sculptures are usually considered to exist because a visit to Greece in 1954 is believed to have crystallised Hepworth's classical impulses. For example, the visit

'brought her back to the true roots of her existence... brought her back to testing it out yet again and on a grand scale.'<sup>297</sup>

However, although she was indeed enchanted by the sights, colour and light of Greece as her sketchbooks illustrate, I suggest that she was equally fascinated by the Greek myths and legends, and that these latter concerns were a general urge for Hepworth throughout the 1950s, which she expressed through the essential qualities of sculpture. In 1955 she wrote to Read to express the new inclination to emphasise what was

actually eternal in her art- 'the unique qualities of sculpture, with its mysticism and magic must find their true forms.'<sup>298</sup>

A further occurrence which emphasised Hepworth's interest in ritual and dynamic expression, was her artistic involvement in theatrical productions. During the early 1950s Hepworth designed sculptures and other elements for the sets of Electra (fig. 6) and the ritualistic The Midsummer Marriage (fig. 7). Hepworth had always been interested in human movement as notes made during her 1950 visit to Venice indicated. She wrote of the experience,

'as soon as people... entered the Piazza they responded to the proportions of the architectural space. They walked differently... They grouped themselves in unconscious recognition of their importance in relation to each other as human beings.'<sup>299</sup>

It seems that Hepworth relished the opportunity to make sculptures and accoutrements for theatrical productions because she was able closely to view humans responding to the forms of her works in an almost ritualistic manner.

As has been expressed, during the creation of sculptures Hepworth always gained greatly from the experience of reacting physically to a

block of stone or wood. Throughout exhibitions of her work she paid particular attention to the movements of viewers in stereognostic response to her sculptures, and was often disappointed when commentators referred to them as 'static'. I suggest that by working specifically for the theatre, where every action was made in response to the form and siting of her works, Hepworth wished to align her sculptures with concepts of motion in a more concrete manner. One may propose that Hepworth hoped future responses to her sculptures would result in the perception of the dynamism and crystallisation of motion with which she tried to imbue them.

Indeed, Hepworth found that the work for these early 1950s productions necessitated a valuable 'new discipline, in which she laid stress both on movement and on the significance of the gesture.'<sup>300</sup> Evidently the result of her sculpture for the production of Electra was successful in evoking the desired response for it has been written that,

'neither quite tree nor quite face, the resulting hieroglyph was a fruitful rhythmic presence, magic and shrine-like.'<sup>301</sup>

Just as Pollock was discovered to be a shamenistic and magical artist after his painting began visually to refer to motion, so Hepworth's work was perceived to incorporate these same qualities once it, in the theatre,

became more evidently related to specific gestures and to concepts of motion.

It must have been refreshing for Hepworth to contemporaneously discover a commentator who instinctively understood these aims and references in her work. As has been expressed, the American critic, Dore Ashton, was considered by the sculptor to be one who was capable in this respect. Indeed, Ashton wrote,

'This conversation with the past is mythic, but it is not a myth. In it, Hepworth has remained true to an old ideal:'

and she quoted Hepworth's Unit One writings-

'it is not simply the desire to avoid naturalism in the carving that leads to an abstract work. I feel that the conception itself, the quality of thought that is embodied must be abstract.'<sup>302</sup>

Here Ashton seemed to explore both aspects of Hepworth's art which the sculptor had prescribed. She commented on the modern but mythic emanations from the sculptures, but also emphasised the historical position which the sculptor held, and expressed how initial aims were still being adhered to, simultaneously with new developments.

As Anna Chave emphasised in her study of Rothko that universality was an especial concern, so Ashton discerned the same impetus within Hepworth's work-

'with such an aspiration toward universality, Hepworth could hardly narrate a specific myth. Yet the associations are inevitable and intended... Hepworth draws on the best of the myths and understands what Mircea Eliade calls so aptly, "the prestige of the beginning."<sup>303</sup>

The circularity of life and death were concerns which saturated the works of American artists during the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, and clearly Ashton here employed her cultural heritage in order to analyse Hepworth's creations. It becomes apparent how these issues are those which have compelled artists of all cultures, and how that fact alone is significant- because a universally important concern is precisely eternal.

There are increasing signs that life, death, the permanence of the earth and universe were important to Hepworth, because her sculptures made many more references to religion or to the transcendental in the 1950s. One must concede that this was partly due to personal circumstances, particularly to Hepworth's increasing sensations of being ill and old.

Typical examples of sculptures produced in this vein during the 1950s are the autobiographical Madonna and Child, whilst in mourning for her son, Head (Elegy) 1952, and Figure (Requiem) 1957 (fig. 20).

Fear about the future of her bodily self and of her post-modern reputation fused in Hepworth's mind with her ideas about the depth and course of history. I believe that it was Hepworth's awareness that Ashton understood these issues which led to her faith in Ashton's writing. Ashton's depth of understanding of Hepworth was expressed throughout the text for Hepworth's Marlborough-Gerson exhibition in New York in 1974. For example, Ashton recognised that Hepworth had a complicated relationship to history-

'Sometimes Hepworth's use of archaisms... is as blunt as prehistoric man's... Often her allusions to ancient motifs are highly sublimated, tintured with the values of our century, yet emergent wherever we look.'<sup>304</sup>

It is also interesting that Ashton related Hepworth to the group of artists which I consider to be significant in supporting my thesis that the sculptor may be perceived within an American context. She wrote,

'This family of modern carvers, amongst whom I would number Brancusi, Arp, Noguchi and Hepworth, never depart from the

way of beginnings.<sup>1305</sup>

I believe that Ashton made the important association of Hepworth to artists who were influential upon American art history, and indirectly to artists who lived in America.

However one may counter that it is inappropriate to juxtapose Hepworth and artists whose work differed so obviously in a visual sense. The Abstract Expressionists' dynamic gestures or washes of colour can hardly be regarded as comparable to Hepworth's serene sculptures. Nevertheless I suggest that it is simply preconceptions which prevent one from perceiving key similarities. For example, Hepworth's painting Reclining Figures (St. Remy) 1958 (fig. 21) could superficially be mistaken for an early work by Mark Rothko. There is the same lyrical quality resulting from washes of colour overlaid with a few significant strokes which are the transmitters of rhythm and movement. If one compares one of Rothko's 'Untitled' paintings of the mid 1940s (fig. 22) to the above Hepworth work, the similarities are surprising and comparably rhapsodic.

Similarly, Hepworth's Stringed Figure (Finistere) 1958 (fig. 23) bears comparison with Newman's Pagan Void 1946, (fig. 24) for both depict a



vortex, which has at its centre, a still area.<sup>306</sup> One is also reminded of a little-known work by Hepworth which is entitled Genesis III 1966, (fig. 25) which is one of the many works by Hepworth which are ignored because they disturb the traditional critical understanding of her intentionality. The viewer is presented with two 'circles' amid a field of grey paint drips; one red and the other grey. These are reminiscent of a work by Gottlieb entitled Flotsam 1968 (fig. 26) and the fact that one is able to make such a comparison indicates that a large portion of Hepworth's *oeuvre* is neglected by commentators. In the Hepworth, the circles are perfectly drawn, whereas the surrounding area is dissolute and fractured, creating a sensation of perfection within chaos- or at least 'nothingness'. Immediately, comparisons with Newman's many paintings of the Creation (fig. 17), which contain cells, eggs and amoeba shapes, all of which represent the life-cycle, are apparent. In Genesis III (fig. 25), Hepworth presented the legendary couple of Adam and Eve as two cells; they were after all, the first humans who went on to initiate the human race. Evidently even her subject matter is concordant with that of the Abstract Expressionists, for Newman often painted works which were concerned with similar themes. For example, he produced Genetic Moment 1947 and Genesis- The Break 1946 (fig. 27). Obviously these paintings also depict the mythic issue of creation, whether through Adam and Eve, or through a divine moment when the

world was created. Newman's paintings are primeval landscapes where organic forms swirl around the central form of a Hepworthian egg or cell, and he also evinced an interest in the importance of light, both thematically during the creation, and in a painterly sense. Surprisingly it becomes apparent how congruent both Hepworth and Newman were, and a study of the sculptor's drawings and paintings would reveal this to a greater extent. As has been mentioned, I believe that if works such as Genesis III (fig. 25) were more readily available, then the critical conception of Hepworth would have been previously revised.

Such Hepworth paintings are often studies for sculpture, and express how the sculptor envisaged the three-dimensional works or created a conceptual context for them. It is interesting that the studies bear visual similarity with many paintings by Abstract Expressionists. It seems that, where the media of wood and stone were not flexible enough to sustain open or twisting forms for example, Hepworth expressed her need to produce such forms on paper or canvas. She found that she was often more free to work immediately or with greater aggression in paintings and drawings. Indeed it has been noted by Hammer and Lodder that Hepworth admired Gabo's sculpture because of his ability to release sculpture from being bound by a solid mass, and they intimate

that Hepworth turned more to works on paper in an effort to explore these issues herself:

'It was perhaps in the drawings she made in Cornwall from 1940 onwards that Hepworth came closest to the effects of transparency and dematerialisation of form which Gabo sought in his constructions. Indeed, one of the very first of her linear drawings, executed in 1940, seems to echo the side-view of Gabo's Construction in Space with Crystalline Centre.<sup>1307</sup>

Similarly, Anfam proposed that Pollock's mature style was influenced by a general changing stylistic approach away from Modernism's formal solidity. I suggest that this universal tendency also intrigued Hepworth when it permeated Great Britain at a slightly later date:

'Nor is it trivial to say that... Pollock was far from aloof towards an American popular culture of the 1930s and 1940s- think of its design aesthetic- that equated modernity with directness, dynamism, transparency and great sweeping lines.<sup>1308</sup>

However despite the fact that Hepworth's drawings and paintings were often surprisingly linear and expressive, commentators still did not employ these works in order to gain greater insight into the sculptures.

In fact it seems that when confronted with three-dimensional works in juxtaposition with works on paper or canvas, writers lost the ability to discern similarities with expressive preparatory studies. For only Peter Goffin, in a scientific article which was entitled Images of Movement,<sup>309</sup> helped to explain the link between seemingly static and solid three-dimensional objects, and the vitality and motion of the actions which they were attempting to express. Why, when confronted with Hepworth's expressive and turbulent paintings, do critics perceive no relationship with the sculpture which often resulted from the preparatory works? Goffin illustrated that scientific diagrams which were created in order visually to represent extreme movement, were often identical with Hepworth's so-called static and 'classical' sculptures. He illustrated his articles with diagrams from scientific texts that indicated motion and he juxtaposed these with photographs of sculptures by Hepworth (fig. 28). These were compared with enlightening effect, and he made an important contribution by indicating how the forms of Hepworth's sculptures closely approximated the predictable motion of many elements in nature. This is therefore an important text in the literature on Hepworth because Goffin effectively disproved that even Hepworth's large stone or wood sculptures were 'static' and unrelated to dynamic principles. He indicated that the forms of the sculptures acted as a crystallisation of natural rhythm- rather like a photograph condenses

human motion into one significant act, or as a solid scientific model may represent fluids. For example, with the aid of scientific research and photographs of Hepworth's sculpture, Goffin illustrated how the motion of a golfer's swing is predictable, even though it seems in reality to be a complex and infinitely varying series of movements (fig. 29). This is reminiscent of why Read was interested in D'Arcy Thompson's classic text, On Growth and Form, for Thompson expressed how nature seems to be unpredictable but, with the aid of science, is discovered to follow prescriptive patterns. Thompson wrote that

'In short, the form of an object is a "diagram of forces" ...  
Symmetry is highly characteristic of organic forms.'<sup>310</sup>

Goffin's argument therefore enables one to understand a Hepworth sculpture such as Pelagos (fig. 30) as a condensation of natural rhythm which the sculptor had been able to, perhaps unconsciously, assimilate. It may be understood as the refined essence of natural motion which has been distilled into one simple form. Indeed this is reminiscent of Read's appreciation of the essential organicism of Gabo's ostensibly 'severe' forms-

'The particular vision of reality common to the constructivism of Pevsner and Gabo and the neo-plasticism of Mondrian, is

derived... from the structure of the physical universe as revealed by modern science.<sup>311</sup>

Surprisingly, as a result of assimilating Goffin's article about Hepworth's art, one is able to perceive even her most stable and dense sculptures of the 1930s as distilling motion and evincing rhythm. It becomes apparent that, simply because Hepworth worked in the solid media of wood and stone, concern for motion is not denied her as is usually believed by writers. Although many writers have referred to the rhythmic properties of the sculptures, only certain American critics<sup>312</sup> and, seemingly Goffin, perceive nothing ironic about the works depicting actual dynamic and expressive movement, similar to that which American artists effected simultaneously.

The visual characteristic of apertures throughout Hepworth's *oeuvre* is another feature which is surprisingly explained as a result of juxtaposition with similar features produced by Abstract Expressionist artists. As has been mentioned, Ashton discovered the 'holes' to be important features of Hepworth works, and termed them the 'eyes' of the sculpture. Indeed they are important carriers of expression for they not only increase the formal complexity of a sculpture, and thereby insist that the viewer respond in a new manner, but they also convey symbolic meaning. Hammacher- who wrote with the approval of Hepworth-

concluded with this point and simultaneously confirmed his agreement of my theory that Hepworth's drawings are often closely related to and might inform the sculptures. He wrote with hindsight that

'Barbara's conception of space, as I see it now, is indeed to be found in openings (the no-door, the door-*angst*) towards the infinity of emptiness... she sought, and attained, a maximum of openness. It is however- as often in the lightly coloured patches in her drawings- an openness towards an indeterminate space.'<sup>13</sup>

In fact Hammacher perceived that the sculptor employed a 'threshold' metaphor in many of her late works. This concept is understood by philosophers to indicate a desire by the artist to transcend immorality and the problems of society. For example, similarly to Hammacher when examining Hepworth's late works, Polcari, Ashton and Chave, when writing of Rothko, all quoted relevant philosophers and added their own interpretations of the 'threshold' theory:

'Fundamental to all religious and mythic conceptions is the founding of a sacred space. To enter it one has to pass through a threshold, which is often symbolised by a door, and in so doing, one transcends the profane world. As Mircea Eliade... writes: "On the most archaic levels of culture... possibility of transcendence is expressed by various images of *an opening*; here, in the sacred

enclosure, communication with the gods is made possible; hence there must be a door to the world above, by which the gods can descend to earth and man can symbolically ascend to heaven."<sup>314</sup>

If Hammacher's equivalent reading of the symbolic meaning of Hepworth's sculptural apertures is accepted, then one is able to perceive the sculptor as providing a healing and socially restorative art alongside Rothko for example.

Indeed as Hepworth, even during the severe 1930s, always expressed a desire to produce transcendent and religious works, one may perceive the significance of the apertures in this sense. According to Mircea Eliade, apertures are equivalents of thresholds,<sup>315</sup> and were an expression of Hepworth's desire to effect a transcendental experience for the viewer: they are a symbolic transition point between the earthly and heavenly realms. This concept bears promise of further, and quite different, relationships between Hepworth and her American contemporaries. For example, writers have consistently discovered Rothko's 'colour-field' paintings, such as Green and Tangerine on Red 1956, (fig. 31) to contain a door or window frame, in the centre of which is a threshold, or even a stage for a 'drama.' This could in fact be considered to be a mandala- an archetypal image such as that which was



theorised by Jung as being deeply relevant to all cultures, and Hepworth could well have recognised the significance of such occurrences as a result of her conversations with Read. It has been related that Read, after discovering a child's drawing,

'was deeply moved, he said, upon immediately recognising this circular, segmented image to be a "mandala", an ancient symbol of psychic unity, universally found.'<sup>16</sup>

Consequently, one concludes that Read also recognised the universality of the art of the Abstract Expressionists.

Newman's paintings, particularly those concerned with exploring the concept of creation and the cycles of the earth, also contain reference to these significant thresholds, and therefore to worlds beyond worlds. An exploration of these provides a necessary context for Hepworth's work. In Day One 1951-52, (fig. 32) the painting refers to the first day of creation, when the world was flooded with light, and one witnesses the light of the world appearing from behind the darkness of the previous flux. Similarly Hepworth's sculptures, such as Image II 1960 (fig. 33), seem to encourage the viewer, because of its broad opening, to progress through the narrowing tunnel to the light and space, or 'other realm', beyond the mass of the sculpture. One may perceive that during the

1960s Hepworth increased her exploration of the idea of thresholds, for she produced large-scale walk-through sculptures such as Four-Square (Walk-Through) 1966 (fig. 34), in which the viewer could only genuinely experience the art work by progressing through the interior of the sculpture.

The significance of Hepworth's expressiveness may be perceived in the fact that even Hodin and Ramsden, the staunch classicists, became aware that Hepworth's works could not easily be contained in such critiques as their own. Ramsden only allowed slight public indications that Hepworth's work might not be as traditionally classical as had often been assumed. For example she wrote,

'despite its abstraction and the apparent austerity of its form, Barbara Hepworth's art is born of a passion that is as profound as it is vital.'<sup>317</sup>

To credit Hepworth with a profound and vital passion was an extraordinary step for Ramsden, who preferred to discuss Hepworth in terms of cool and methodical organisation.

More significantly, although Hodin always ignored the many and various expressive works throughout Hepworth's *oeuvre*, he conceded that

'there appeared in the opus of Barbara Hepworth, a series of nervous animated drawings executed in brush and paint, free strokes suggesting vegetative growth and expansion, movement and unrest, the changeable in the everlasting, sometimes confronting antagonistic rhythms with one another.'<sup>318</sup>

These ideas were at total odds with the title that Hodin gave to his article, and one must presume that he felt obliged, because of the anomalies, to make reference to them precisely as aberrations in case he was consequently condemned. It seems entirely inappropriate that, after having made reference to J. D. Bernal's comment that Hepworth's 'non-geometric *turbulent* patterns' may be compared 'with those just discovered on the surface of crystals'<sup>319</sup>, Hodin ended the article with the neat phrase,

'Barbara Hepworth... represents the classic line of the English tradition, whereas Henry Moore stands for a nature-bound and dynamic style.'<sup>320</sup>

Thus, I suggest that after consistently incurring the uninformed critiques of writers such as Hodin, Hepworth realised that it was necessary for action to be taken in order that she should be perceived within an international context, and for the various ‘anomalies’ and subtleties in her work to be effectively understood. As many writers have mentioned, after the decision was made to employ the media of plaster and metal as well as stone and wood, there was a sudden increase in visibly organic and dynamic forms. Although it has been my argument to suggest that Hepworth always worked conceptually in the same way, and had consistently been interested in expressive forms, it is apparent that in the 1950s she began to find it somehow more feasible to work vitalistically with metals.

It had always been difficult to produce dynamic and transcendental sculptures in marble or wood and, despite the success of sculptures such as Image II (fig. 33) and Pelagos (fig. 30) in doing just that, plaster and metal facilitated free expression of Hepworth's ideas. For example, one may perceive how adequately Forms in Movement (Galliard) 1956 (fig. 15) presents the ideas of flight, communication and progress. The material of polished copper has connotations of progressive aeroplane bodies and communicative loudspeakers, whilst the form is an effusion of arcs and swirls which truly evokes the impression of movement. The

title this work relates directly to movement, because a 'galliard' is a Cornish dance, and therefore Hepworth was able, in this sculptural form, easily to convey the impressions of swiftness and activity.

One may presume that Hepworth selected the medium of copper sheets because this expressive material more easily accommodated the delicate form which depicted the experience of dancing. Similarly Meridian (fig. 14) is a mass of twisting bronze, which is heavily fretworked so that there is more space inside the work than there is form. This work would have been impossible to effect in stone or wood and therefore Hepworth constructed a delicate armature which she concealed in plaster. She then 'carved' the plaster until it reached the desired state, at which point it was made durable by being cast into bronze.

I suggest that one of the main reasons why Hepworth turned to plaster as a medium was because she realised that forms could subsequently be more aptly manipulated and transformed into expressive and monumental shapes as with Meridian (fig. 14). As Wilkinson stated of Forms in Movement (Galliard) (fig. 15),

'it is immediately apparent that it would have been impossible to realise such thin, twisting, interlocking forms in stone or wood.'<sup>321</sup>

Perhaps the impetus which plaster provided is also a reason why Hepworth's drawing decreased throughout the 1950s and 1960s. It was now possible for ideas to be more swiftly and directly expressed in three-dimensional form rather than initially, and often only, on paper. Many writers commented on the sudden development of dynamic twisting and vegetative forms; however the obvious comparison between Hepworth and the American artists who produced similar forms, both on canvas and sculpturally, is still conspicuously rare.

It is quite surprising that even major institutions were oblivious to the interesting juxtaposition which is possible between Hepworth and the American Abstract Expressionists. In 1969 Hepworth's dealers attempted to indicate these under-explored elements of her work, by initiating a Hepworth exhibition at the Guggenheim Museum in New York. However it is plain that the museum organisers did not consider the project to be viable. Records illustrate that 'Apparently the Guggenheim is not ready to move in the direction of a Hepworth exhibition,'<sup>322</sup> and yet this proposal came after the siting of the important Hepworth sculpture at the United Nations, when Hepworth was becoming known for one of the most significant public sculptures in New York. In contrast, other museums and galleries during this period

were clamouring for Hepworth exhibitions: the director of the Art Gallery of San Diego wrote

'It would be a wonderful opportunity to show her work here in San Diego and there would be considerable local interest.'<sup>323</sup>

Similarly,

'Mr. Charles Parkhurst, Director of the Baltimore Museum... shows substantial interest in the Barbara Hepworth exhibition.'<sup>324</sup>

If some of the most important New York galleries such as the Guggenheim and the Museum of Modern Art were not keen to support Hepworth, it is apparent that she gained a great deal of encouragement from museums elsewhere in the United States. It is significant however that the most important museums did not choose to patronise Hepworth and, as her international reputation suffered because of the British critical interpretations of her work, so her reputation in the United States must also have been handicapped. There has never been a study of the alternative context for Hepworth's work, or of her relevance in other countries, and so Hepworth has been compartmentalised. It is not surprising that Hepworth was uncomfortable about her American

dealer's attempts to press for a representative showing of her work at M.O.M.A.-

'I was not awfully happy about the idea of my dealer presenting a work to the Museum of Modern Art but I await your comments. I know Curt Valentin gave one but on this occasion I feel embarrassed as the museum has never bought anything of mine nor, as far as I can see, had they anything on view.'<sup>325</sup>

Once more, one may conjecture that M.O.M.A. considered a Hepworth to be the equivalent or even derivative of a Moore- which were conspicuously present in its collection.

It is apparent that Hepworth herself was conscious of the links which she had with American artists, and she seized every opportunity to be juxtaposed with them. For example in 1961 she wrote in response to her dealers,

'I am delighted at the thought of showing at Basle with Rothko,'<sup>326</sup>

and this comment was typical of those which she had been making over the years to institutions such as the British Council. Evidently



Hepworth felt particularly close to Rothko, and was pleased to be one of his co-exhibitors in an important Tate Gallery exhibition in 1964.

I suggest that one reason for Hepworth's sense of communion with Abstract Expressionist artists like Rothko, was because she realised that there was no necessary division between painting and sculpture. Perhaps it is the case that writers are loath to juxtapose artists who do not work in the same media. In contrast to authors such as Curtis who emphasise that Hepworth's development into metal was as a result of her recognition that

'the "Geometry of Fear" sculpture tapped a sensibility associated with working with metal,'<sup>327</sup>

I suggest that it was because she had developed a theory about Read's most prominent observation on her way of working. It seems as if Hepworth, who had always been fascinated with Read's concept of the dialectic of abstraction and realism in her work, had developed this idea until it made sense to her in terms of the osmosis between painting and sculpture.

For example she wrote,

'I'm terribly interested in the molten as I feel most strongly about the two main streams in contemporary sculpture- carving on the one hand and a more fluid approach (in metal) which is perhaps nearer to the realism of painting than carving... both streams are facets of the sculptural ideal- both essential for expansion and complementary. The interplay between painting and sculpture during the time since Cubism has been most interesting.'<sup>328</sup>

This statement is a remarkable departure from the earlier writings of Hepworth, who had always asserted the primacy of direct carving; and it suggests that prior to the emergence of the young British sculptors of the 1950s, she had already been contemplating a development into plaster and metal. It is as if Hepworth had dwelled upon the Radian concept of the interplay between abstraction and realism in her *oeuvre*, and had interpreted this facet of her work as apparent in her employment of media too.

Thus Hepworth was able to consider the similarities between her own work and that of painters- even those within the United States. As I have suggested, Hepworth considered that the flexibility of plaster (later to be cast into bronze) allowed her greater freedom; however, she stated further reasoning behind the sudden realisation that expression of enduring but difficult ideas had become possible in sculptural form. In her employment of plaster as a medium, Hepworth realised that she

neared the freedom that painting and drawing had always offered- and that the Abstract Expressionists had always exploited. Therefore it no longer seems paradoxical that Hepworth strove to create professional relationships with these American artists, and to become a co-exhibitor. Evidently she did not perceive a necessary, fundamental distinction between her sculpture and the expressive paintings of her American contemporaries, as indeed the Americans, Alexander Calder and David Smith did not observe a fundamental distinction between painting and sculpture. It is thus probable that a reassessment of Read's important theory should have provided an impetus for Hepworth's sense of integration with certain Americans, effected by means of shared problematics which transcended their media.

However the idea that Hepworth's employment of media may be an important issue, has at least been recently subject to allusions. These I consider to contribute to my theory that a more rich interpretation of Hepworth's work is gained after juxtaposition with certain Abstract Expressionists. More specifically, the Ben Nicholson scholar, Virginia Button, lectured about the correlations between Nicholson's painting and Hepworth's sculpture.<sup>1329</sup> She made particular reference to the fact that Nicholson's famous white reliefs were created as a result of the stimulating carving environment which was presented by Hepworth.

She stated, 'Ben Nicholson had cross-fertilisation with Hepworth, and he sorted through these influences.' One particular influence is considered to be the fact that Nicholson painted his reliefs white because Hepworth often painted her sculptures that colour, and not, as is usually thought, because of the influence of Mondrian. Interestingly Button also explored the fact that both Hepworth and Nicholson simultaneously re-introduced colour into their works during the 1940s, and she considered this to be a result of their enduring dialogue.

However, although Button does not draw specific parallels between Hepworth and Nicholson's dialogue of media and their attempts to bond with artists of the United States, I believe that she has made some interesting comments in this direction. For example, she emphasised Nicholson's relationship with Calder and related how Nicholson was inspired by the American; she made reference to several of Nicholson's drawings which illustrate the impact of Calder's sculpture. Button certainly perceived Nicholson's art to have been improved by the influence of Hepworth, and she expressed how, in the long-term, this allowed him to be a more internationally admired and recognised artist. She stated that,

'Nicholson had works bought by the Guggenheims and was very interested in having his works exhibited in America,

even though it was after the war that his *real links* came through in America.<sup>1330</sup>

It is surprising that more has not been written about Hepworth's attitude to the ambiguity which she perceived as existing between painting and sculpture. Perhaps the only scholar who has really addressed this aspect of her work was Bryan Robertson- and this will be explored in Chapter Four. Evidently, as early as the 1930s, Hepworth was aware that she was free to explore various media-

'the impact of Ben Nicholson's work had a very deep effect upon me, opening up a new and imaginative approach to the object in landscape, or group in space, and a free conception of colour and form. It often happens that one can obtain special revelations through a similar idea in a different medium. The first exhibition which I saw of his work revealed a freedom of approach to colour and perspective which was new to me. The experience helped to release all my energies for an exploration of free sculptural form.'<sup>1331</sup>

It is interesting that at this point- before Hepworth had expanded into employment of plaster, copper or iron- she considered *painting* to have an impact upon her creation of *form*. Evidently Hepworth believed that the sculptures which followed the period of her assessment of Nicholson

displayed a new freedom to the observer. Conversely, Hepworth's sculptures have since become synonymous with restraint and even rigidity- thereby expressing the fact that, by the 1950s, it was absolutely necessary for the sculptor to develop a more overtly expressive sculptural style in order more clearly to convey her ideas to the viewer. These new forms, in metals of various kinds, were perceived by Hepworth to allow the spectators to understand the vital and emotional impetus behind the creation of her sculpture. I suggest that the forms are more comprehensible as a result of being effected in plaster, copper and iron, despite the reluctance of commentators to observe and comment on the change.

Thus I assert that the 1950s was a vital period for Barbara Hepworth. The development of her methods, such as working with metal, and exploring Taschistic and expressive automatic drawing, are symptomatic, I believe, of Hepworth's growing awareness that her true sculptural objectives were not recognised by others. During the 1950s, one may perceive a consistent drive towards creating an overt message which Hepworth hoped would be more easily comprehended by the public and by commentators. Evidently, the immediate increase in commissions, articles and foreign exhibitions illustrates that Hepworth's assessment of the situation had been correct. Sculpture which was self-

contained and which crystallised essentials simply appeared to others as reserved, austere and classical. In fact Hepworth desired her sculptures to heal society's problems by stimulating the collective unconscious. By referring thematically to ancient myth, religion and ritual in later works, like the Abstract Expressionists, Hepworth aimed to initiate a new drive towards individuality, which would paradoxically help society to cohere and prevent dangerous dissolution of values.

Whereas the initial impression of a Hepworth sculpture may seem entirely remote from the paintings of the Abstract Expressionists, I suggest that once more, the reasons why Hepworth found it necessary to alter her repertoire become evident. The sculptor initially assumed that her mental process and conceptual concerns would be transmitted to the observer through the severe but vital forms of her sculpture. However this is obviously a failing in Hepworth's art- in fact the sculptures have been reduced to such a remote essence that one may not easily respond to her themes and concerns. In actuality, the concepts, cultural heritage, and even the processes of creating her works were similar to those of the major Abstract Expressionists. I suggest that a juxtaposition of the sculptor with the American movement presents an alternative context in which ignored aspects of Hepworth's art are at last perceptible. The contexts which have been more traditionally proposed have not enabled

one to perceive subtle, yet complex elements which exist in Hepworth's *oeuvre*. The context suggested here both allows for a rich interpretation of her work and serves to explain why there has never been a sufficient critique produced. Whereas previously the sculpture of Barbara Hepworth has, because of its essential dialectical nature, elided an effective interpretation, a consideration of the problematics of Abstract Expressionism serve to provide an authoritative alternative.



## **CHAPTER THREE. Critical Neglect: New Forms and Old Responses.**

'Stravinsky said "Whatever diminishes constraint diminishes strength."<sup>332</sup>

The previous chapter indicated how Barbara Hepworth became increasingly dissatisfied with the critical reception that she received during the 1940s and 1950s, and how she finally began to realise that the finished appearances of her sculptures had perhaps been detrimental on the satisfactory conveyance of her message. One has observed that there is a duality in the sculptor's production between painting and sculpture, not simply the dialectic of Herbert Read's attention- that of the duality of abstraction and realism- but between violent and expressive paintings and calm, seemingly unemotive sculpture. I suggest that although obviously Hepworth may not be classified as an Abstract Expressionist, it is by examining the course of the latter movement that one may gain a greater insight into the problematics of Hepworth's working process.

During this present chapter, I shall explore these issues further, and shall also examine the practical efforts that Hepworth made to ensure that her work was understood more effectively by critics and the public during the later 1950s. Hepworth did achieve more international success

during this decade and I suggest that this was in fact due to her own initiative, rather than to her dealers, who should have arranged exhibitions of an appropriate importance. I will be referring to the archives of the Gimpel Fils dealers, and of Curt Valentin and the British Council here in order to express that this was so, and will pay particular attention to the sculpture which Hepworth produced for the United Nations Headquarters in New York. Despite being most prolific and internationally successful throughout the 1950s and early 1960s, Hepworth was still being remembered for her high Modernist work, and was therefore continually dissatisfied with her dealers as well as with her critics. Throughout this chapter I shall be examining these problems and will assess the reasons for them. Also I will once more explore the critical texts of the period, and how these failed or succeeded in their interpretation of Hepworth's *oeuvre*.

As has been expressed previously, Hepworth had been in contact with Henry Moore's successful New York dealer, Curt Valentin, since the 1930s. Although Valentin was primarily interested in Nicholson rather than Hepworth during that period, it was actually Hepworth who encouraged Nicholson's communications, and who initiated the idea of having books of their work posted to Valentin in order to ensure a record of their achievements should they be bombed during the Second

World War. Critical writing often emphasises the variety and extent of Nicholson's connections with European and American figures, but in actuality it was often Hepworth who retained the initial contact by continuing the correspondence. This was the case with Valentin—especially perhaps after Hepworth had perceived the international success which the dealer had brought to Moore.

No mention is ever made by writers that Hepworth was keen to expand her market of buyers to include Americans, and that she was far more aggressive in attempting to initiate exhibitions in the United States than Nicholson, for example. During 1948 in particular, the sculptor realised the need to be exhibited with success in the United States and consistently presented the advantages to Valentin should he choose to display her works. For example she wrote,

'I should be delighted to have the chance of showing at Philadelphia after Battersea Park... I have been invited to exhibit paintings of the operating theatre and surgeons in October at the Royal Society of Medicine. This would mean that there would be some work available to send you in November if you were interested.'<sup>333</sup>

After several such failed attempts to engage Valentin in a firm decision, Hepworth's desire for further American exhibitions led her to contract

an exhibition of her Operating Theatre Drawings with Durlachers, the New York dealers that Gimpel Fils had engaged. Reluctantly, Hepworth communicated this news to Valentin, but still retained the hope that he could be at least partly responsible for her work-

'Durlachers cannot handle any sculpture and I do hope that you will be my agent for sculpture and I can let you have abstract drawings also- but the surgical paintings will have to be got through Durlachers.'<sup>334</sup>

Previously Hepworth wished for Valentin to be her sole American agent, and that he should also be responsible for her Operating Theatre Drawings, but his reluctance to decide concerned Hepworth, and she therefore construed his attitude as uninterested. Actually, as Valentin wrote,

'unfortunately I am always very slow about making decisions... I would have liked to handle the drawings.'<sup>335</sup>

In fact, Valentin's comments display a problematic which has always been instrumental in inhibiting Hepworth's success in the United States. The dealer particularly wished to handle the representational drawings, and especially those of the operating theatre. However most of Hepworth's works were in the abstract mode, even though she

considered her representational works to be identical in motive and process to her abstract art, as Read had indicated. She had always to emphasise this latter fact to American dealers or critics, and Valentin had evidently questioned her about the issue-

'I find I like working from life and working abstract at one and the same time. In fact it's a wonderful enjoyment!... It does not mean I have forsaken the abstract! One enhances the other. I enclose an article by Herbert Read and Eric Newton.'<sup>336</sup>

I suggest that if the American audience had understood this interpretation of Hepworth's work, then she would have been more easily assimilated into the American exhibition system.

Valentin obviously preferred and realised the value of the representational works, and his interest in exhibiting Hepworth waned considerably after he realised that George Dix at the Durlacher Gallery had control of the Operating Theatre Drawings. Ideally, Valentin should have perceived the two modes of working as one mode, and should not have differentiated between them. However, perhaps because he had already agreed to take responsibility for Moore's sculpture and drawings, he felt it necessary to diversify in range in order to ensure commercial success. Hepworth was considered by him to be too similar to Moore;

customers who wished to buy carved sculpture or sculptors' drawings, would presumably have chosen examples by Moore rather than by Hepworth, and her works might not have sold well when situated so close to those by her contemporary.

Indeed this seems to have been a problem generally for Hepworth in the United States. Museums wished to exhibit her representational works, but presumably considered her sculpture and abstract drawings to be too similar to those by Moore. It always seemed to be representational works which were sought after, for example the Brooklyn Museum borrowed two drawings, Woman with Flags and Group of Figures with a Child for a water-colour exhibition in May and June 1952. These were so admired that the American Federation of Arts asked to borrow the same works to become part of an international water-colour exhibition to tour the United States.

However despite the detrimental American reliance upon her drawings rather than sculptures for exhibitions, Hepworth was also able to manipulate this fact to her advantage. When a British Council committee wished to include a sculpture in an exhibition entitled 'American Abstract Artists' for the Riverside Museum in New York in 1951, she made a point of offering her works on paper too-

'I hope the committee will be able to include my drawing Recumbent Form as I think the drawings and carvings help each other. I agree this exhibition is important.'<sup>337</sup>

I suggest that Hepworth realised that the (usually extreme) abstraction of her sculptures meant that they were not often easily accessible, and therefore that drawings and paintings were often the means to allowing viewers to gain a thorough understanding of her work. However, as during the negotiations for the Venice Biennale exhibition, the British Council wished to effect a certain impression of the sculptor's work. They clearly disliked Hepworth's attempts to control the way that her works were viewed-

'She really is the limit- we said it was a decision of our committee to exclude drawings... I don't think we will answer this!'<sup>338</sup>

In fact, as with the Venice Biennale, this American exhibition was selected by Herbert Read, this time with the aid of Basil Taylor. Once more Read is implicated in creating a distorted idea of Hepworth's work as being austere. As Lilian Somerville wrote,

'this is a very important exhibition in New York where British art is perhaps not so well known as it should be,'<sup>339</sup>

and it was indeed essential that a clear presentation of each artist's work was made. Certainly Hepworth was aware that, without her control, selectors were liable to create an exhibition of which she would not approve. Therefore, as with the Biennale and the Riverside Museum exhibition, she again attempted to manipulate the perception of her works for another American exhibition in 1951.

This was a travelling exhibition, organised by the British Council, which began in Vancouver, Canada, and then moved down the West coast of the United States to the various state art galleries. It was intended to

'introduce British art to a new public, and also to ensure that the museums will have the opportunity of purchasing only works of fine quality to represent British art in their permanent collections.'<sup>340</sup>

Once more, Hepworth wished to offer her own version of

'works of fine quality' and mentioned that 'my figure drawings sell well in U.S.A. I would suggest 10a, 114, 115, 116, 118, and 119. The operating theatre drawings seem to frighten them!'<sup>341</sup>



However, as usual the British Council committee wished to organise the exhibition as they had envisaged.

It must be apparent how the British Council, although important in proselytising the work of Hepworth in various countries, did produce exhibitions which were interpretations of Hepworth's career, rather than comprehensive expositions, or displays of her most recent productions. It is important that this fact be noted, because certainly if the Council had attempted to produce either truthful or imaginative exhibitions, the contemporary international understanding of the *oeuvre* of Hepworth would have been much different. Interestingly, it has been recorded that the French equivalent of the British Council (Association Francaise d'Action d'Artistique) was also responsible for producing selective exhibitions which acted in the long-term to distort the international interpretation of French art after the Second World War.

Kathryn Boyer has suggested that the French government also did not encourage new art. Matisse, Chagall and Leger were considered to be the acceptable elements within French art, and exhibitions which presented their work as contemporaneous proliferated even during the 1950s and 1960s. The French contribution to international biennial exhibitions is considered by Boyer to have displayed the restrictive

selection of the Association Francaise d'Action d'Artistique councils; for example, in 1954 Leger won the Venice Biennale prize once more for France, when in fact more representative French artists would have been Tanguy or Vols. Boyer states that

'when in 1957 and 1958 Chagall and Pevsner did not win, the government felt that a conspiracy had occurred, rather than that they had chosen wrongly. At the 1959 Sao Paulo Biennial, the prize went to Hepworth instead of to the French contribution, and when Rauchenberg won the 1960 Venice Biennale, this was a sign of the end of the French reign over the art world... the primacy of New York was established.'<sup>342</sup>

Obviously there are parallels with the situation in Britain after the Second World War. The Hepworth co-exhibitors in the 1950 Biennale were Constable and Matthew Smith, and Henry Moore had been the only living British entry for the 1948 Biennale, as the other exhibition was of Turner's works. Although, unlike the French council, the British Council was promulgating the works of contemporaneous and developing artists like Hepworth, it is apparent that an agenda was similarly in operation. The selection committees always comprised individuals who were not known for an interest, either in contemporary art, such as Sir Kenneth Clark, or those who were firm supporters of particular artists, as Sir John Rothenstein was of Moore. Often the

committees included Sir Philip Hendy whose selections, as it has been recorded here,<sup>343</sup> did not command Hepworth's respect. Herbert Read was also often a member of the selection committees and, for various reasons as has been previously expressed, chose not to assimilate Hepworth's post-war works. Therefore one might suggest that, in terms of Hepworth, Read was not an appropriate person to assess Hepworth for inclusion in various exhibitions.

Although Read made the vital contribution of his theory of the dialectic between abstraction and realism in Hepworth's work, one may observe from the actions of the British Council committees that he did not perceive that Hepworth's drawings enabled sculptures to be understood because they were often precursors of sculptures. As has been expressed in Chapter One, the Venice Biennale committee of 1950 did not promote the sculptor's drawings as a means to understanding Hepworth's three-dimensional works. Similarly Read and Basil Taylor omitted supporting works on paper by artists for the 'American Abstract Artists' exhibition in 1951 and, as has been indicated, Hepworth voiced her objections to this act.

Evidently, the American dealers were different to their British colleagues in at least appreciating the sculptor's works on paper; yet

Hepworth's sudden and detrimental decision to show her Operating Theatre works with Durlachers was apparently based on an insecurity about the American reaction to these representational works. To Valentin she wrote,

'An artist doesn't like to press his work on to people! and I really thought that the reason why you felt unable to commit yourself to a show of my paintings was because you didn't like them sufficiently. I know you like the abstract, particularly the sculpture- but these others are a new venture.'<sup>344</sup>

Perhaps the same insecurity was what made Hepworth write that the American audience did not particularly value her Operating Theatre Drawings,<sup>345</sup> but also the Durlacher exhibition of Operating Theatre works did not result in a large amount of sales.<sup>346</sup> However Valentin was obviously disappointed that these could not now be exhibited in his gallery-

'G.D. did, of course, pick the easiest part of your work as far as selling goes, and if I decide to show your work, I must be able to show all of it.'<sup>347</sup>

One may suggest that Valentin gradually became aware of the important relationship between the paintings and the sculpture, because indeed Hepworth often expressed this fact to him. She wrote,

'I realise now that I have made a fundamental mistake. I ought not to have shown drawings before the sculpture... Far better to have shown sculpture first or sculpture and drawings?'<sup>348</sup>

Indeed, as has been expressed, Hepworth was soon to realise the importance of exhibiting a balance of paintings and sculptures, because the Venice Biennale exhibition suffered greatly from the lack of new three-dimensional work, as did the Durlacher exhibition. Before the Biennale commenced, Hepworth pressed Valentin to attend her exhibition-

'I get two rooms in the British Pavilion... Any hope of seeing you in Venice? I am sending about 35 sculptures and 30 drawings.'<sup>349</sup>

However, she later felt it necessary to explain the unrepresentative display which the committee had produced. During the preparatory stages for a second proposed Bucholz exhibition with Valentin, Hepworth wrote

'tell me whether you would like drawings of figures in groups as

well. I think that they go with the sculptures and I hope that you felt this at the Venice Biennale... I was a little disappointed because so many sculptures were left out which I should have liked included... I am confident that we can present a show very different from the one at Venice because the things I am working on now will give both greater variety and vitality.<sup>1350</sup>

Almost certainly the Biennale exhibition did damage to Hepworth's international reputation, for the exhibition which Valentin was scheduled to stage in October / November 1951 never occurred. Once the Biennale had taken place, dealers, critics and the public must have found it difficult to reconcile Hepworth's assurances that her work was actually vital and dynamic with the overall effect and reception of the exhibition. Indeed by 1952, Valentin actually refused to stock Hepworth's work- despite the fact that his friend, George Dix of the Durlacher Gallery, considered that it was necessary for Valentin to be the New York outlet for Hepworth.<sup>351</sup> Quite probably, if it was not for Peter Gregory, the Managing Director of Lund Humphries, (and a mutual friend of Hepworth, Moore, Nicholson, Read and Valentin) her relationship with the American dealer would probably have disintegrated sooner.

Indeed Gregory was instrumental in encouraging Valentin to exhibit Hepworth's works, and therefore must be credited with the desire to

further the sculptor's international reputation. When Valentin protested financial insecurity as a reason for not producing a Hepworth exhibition, Gregory volunteered to pay for the transportation of works to the United States- 'As regards transport, we have Peter's excellent offer of help.'<sup>352</sup>

More importantly, he was even prepared to offer substantial financial support for the exhibition itself-

'Peter always said he would contribute to a show in America, and I think we should find out how much he would pay.'<sup>353</sup>

However it seems that Valentin was really involved with Gregory as a result of the former's role in the careers of Henry Moore and Ben Nicholson. Gregory had published monographs on Nicholson and Moore before he initiated the Read manuscript about Hepworth, and indeed Valentin's interest was captured by the male artists. Even to Hepworth he wrote,

'My idea really was to show your work and Ben's together- an idea which you might not even like. But as far as I can see, George Dix signed Ben up too.'<sup>354</sup>

Obviously a series of events and unfortunate decisions resulted in the loss of Hepworth exhibitions at the Bucholz Gallery, for even a joint exhibition with Nicholson could have helped to launch Hepworth's career in the United States.

Interestingly, the dealer Martha Jackson independently expressed real interest in Hepworth's work, in the way that Valentin had not done: she wished to include a Hepworth drawing in her gallery with the terms that it should be either sold or returned. The staff at the Bucholz Gallery reported to Hepworth that Jackson was keen to offer the public a work by the sculptor-

'Miss Martha Jackson has expressed an interest in the drawing, and wonders whether you would agree letting the Martha Jackson Gallery have the picture on consignment.'<sup>355</sup>

Hepworth was evidently pleased to have interested an American dealer and immediately offered her response- 'Yes- please let Miss Martha Jackson have the drawing on consignment.'<sup>356</sup> However the Gallery meanwhile acted independently and sold the work to the Museum in Ottawa, Canada.



One may suggest that this was an important incident during Hepworth's association with the Bucholz Gallery. She had offered various works and exhibition ideas to Valentin since the early 1940s, and yet had never been shown in a serious exhibition at the Gallery. Soon after Jackson made overtures about this drawing, Hepworth transferred her American business to Jackson. In 1954 Hepworth also arranged an exhibition with the Martha Jackson Gallery which breached protocol with the Bucholz Gallery. However one must observe that Hepworth realised the necessity to encourage international success such as Valentin had secured for Moore, and was concerned that the years were passing whilst Valentin had yet to decide whether he approved of the sculptor's work. Despite this important fact, Hepworth's London dealers, Alex, Reid and Lefevre, were concerned that Hepworth's actions would damage their reputation and even her own. They were prompt in corresponding with the Bucholz Gallery about Hepworth's collaboration with Martha Jackson-

'she was persuaded to agree to Martha Jackson's suggestion to include a group of her work in New York without consulting us. I told her that I thought this was very hard on you... but as the idea of a touring exhibition appeared to be chopped, we just gave it up as a bad job.'<sup>357</sup>

Evidently Hepworth approved of the initial work that Jackson did on her behalf, because she ensured that the covering page of the catalogue to the resulting touring exhibition in the United States was presented in her autobiography.<sup>358</sup> As Deepwell stated,

'Hepworth pursued a set of tactics to promote herself, as in her Pictorial Autobiography. The narrative of the book is as much structured by photographs as by text.'<sup>359</sup>

Hepworth did not offer insights into any disappointing aspect of her life in the autobiography, and therefore one may presume that she respected Jackson's efforts to promote her work in the touring exhibition.

Jackson was prepared to organise this important travelling exposition of Hepworth's work, and even end it with a large exhibition in New York, which Hepworth believed was essential for establishing herself in the United States. In contrast Valentin was not prepared to show Hepworth in New York, even if his proposed travelling exhibition had taken place-

'Miss Hepworth felt that for her work to travel for two years throughout the United States without the promise of a final exhibition in New York would not justify the initial expenditure.'<sup>360</sup>

Valentin was apparently relieved that Hepworth cancelled his limited travelling exhibition for, in a note scribbled on this same letter from Reid and Lefevre, he wrote, 'Yes, it is just as well.'

However it seems that if Valentin had been prepared to exhibit Hepworth from an early stage, there would have been an audience for such works. Letters from museums all over the United States who were offered the travelling exhibition, were enthusiastic about the opportunity to exhibit Hepworths on their premises. For example, the Director of San Francisco Museum of Art wrote

'I am delighted that this exhibition is available (travelling).  
Barbara Hepworth seems to me an important sculptor.'<sup>361</sup>

Similarly the Director of the Institute of Contemporary Arts in Washington D.C. wrote,

'The Institute is still very interested in presenting the Barbara Hepworth exhibition; and we are glad to have the opening at the Institute.'<sup>362</sup>

It is interesting that the board of artists who approved this exhibition in Washington included Naum Gabo, Mark Rothko and Bernard Leach.

Evidently these artists perceived no contradiction in Hepworth being exhibited in the United States- unlike Valentin. It seems as if there was indeed an untapped source of appreciation for the sculptor's work in the United States, which should be recognised.

Once more I suggest that if Valentin had juxtaposed Hepworth's drawings and sculptures he would have gained a greater insight into the sculptor's work. It is apparent that Reid and Lefevre realised the importance of the drawings, and attempted to inform Valentin of this. They wrote to their American colleague and emphasised the importance of producing a Hepworth exhibition which would be largely comprised of drawings, and advised Valentin to appreciate their importance within Hepworth's *oeuvre*.<sup>363</sup> Indeed, on this occasion Reid even agreed with the British Council's policy of simply offering photographs of sculptures to accompany the paintings, which would defray the costs of an exhibition of real sculptural works, for he insisted that Valentin should further recognise the value of the drawings and paintings.

Thus, one may conjecture that Valentin was instrumental in preventing Hepworth from being understood and appreciated in the United States during the 1940s and first half of the 1950s. This was a critical period in the sculptor's career and, as an international reputation was desired by

Hepworth, one in which it was necessary to have established that respect. Instead, Hepworth could only begin forming a real following for her work in America in the late 1950s, when she finally accepted Valentin's rejection and when was in her fifties. Conversely Moore had been creating such a reputation since the 1930s and had been supported in that endeavour by Valentin, Read and Gregory for example.

Another unfortunate occurrence is again evident from Valentin's correspondence with other large American galleries. The director of the Walker Art Centre in Minneapolis agreed to take part in the proposed travelling exhibition of Hepworth's work however, unlike the San Francisco Museum and the I.C.A. at Washington D.C., he included a condition. This was that the Hepworth exhibition should coincide with the important travelling British 'Young Sculptors' exhibition.<sup>364</sup> The latter was organised by the I.C.A. in London, and has been termed as a 'dress-rehearsal'<sup>365</sup> for the younger generation sculptors' seminal exhibition at the Venice Biennale of 1952.

This exhibition, along with the I.C.A. Unknown Political Prisoner Competition at the Tate Gallery in 1953, and the Biennale of 1952, served to project the new British 'school' of sculpture as the contemporaneous avant-garde. Mention has already been made of the

fact that Hepworth recognised that this exhibition in its American form served to detract from her Jackson travelling exhibition<sup>366</sup> and, certainly if the Valentin travelling Hepworth show had been realised, it is important that it would have merged at this point with the 'Young Sculptors' event. Perhaps rather than emphasising the division between the younger generation sculptors and Hepworth, as the Jackson exhibition did, the installations at the Walker Art Centre would have served to conjoin Hepworth with the younger sculptors. Indeed, in agreement with Hepworth, Baro wrote that she deserved to be considered as of the same generation as these new artists,<sup>367</sup> and it does seem as if a series of unfortunate circumstances contributed to the same poor understanding of Hepworth in the early 1950s as had previously been the situation.

However, throughout Valentin's relationship with Hepworth, he did effect one important event: in 1953 Valentin presented Helikon to the Museum of Modern Art in New York. He wrote to the sculptor to explain this action-

'They wanted the piece very much but did not have the money to buy it... everyone seems to be happy.'<sup>368</sup>

In fact, as has been stated, Hepworth believed that M.O.M.A. should have indicated independent interest in her work, rather than have been forced to accept a sculpture about which they had no concern.<sup>369</sup> Nevertheless it seems that this could only have been advantageous for Hepworth, and that her reaction is another indication of her reticent personality impinging upon her international success.<sup>370</sup>

On the occasion when the sculptor respectfully acknowledged Valentin's gift, she also referred to the fact that the Director of M.O.M.A. had drawn attention to it in her presence too- 'It was good of you to give Helikon to the Museum of Modern Art. I saw Alfred Barr at the opening of the Unknown Political Prisoner and he told me about it.'<sup>371</sup> Although Barr would have been aware of Hepworth previously, the gift must have helped establish his knowledge and understanding of the sculptor, for Valentin's reputation as a dealer in sculpture was excellent in New York. Barr had previously appreciated only Moore until the young English sculptors became noticeable, as his comments evince- 'For the first time in your history you have a group of young sculptors who have an international recognition... Now we foreigners... must realise that Moore is not a solitary exception.'<sup>372</sup>

Similarly, A. C. Ritchie, Director of the Painting and Sculpture Department of the Museum of Modern Art indicated that, even in the 1950s, the museum was still adhering to Barr's earlier paradigm of understanding Modernism in terms of the stylistics of previous movements. For the catalogue to his 'Sculpture of the Twentieth Century' exhibition of 1952-3, Ritchie

'identified these artists (Gabo, Lippold, Calder, Roszak, and Ferber) as descendants of the Cubists and Constructivists of early modernism.'<sup>373</sup>

Therefore Ritchie explicitly stated that contemporaneous American sculpture was rooted in the European modernism of which Hepworth was a part. As has been indicated, Hepworth had close relationships with both Gabo and Calder, and may even be perceived to have inspired facets of the work of both sculptors. Obviously the Museum of Modern Art required more examples of Hepworth's work in order to substantiate the paradigm, and Valentin was correct to ensure that this situation occurred. Indeed Ritchie himself had previously noted that Hepworth 'is only now beginning to be better known outside England.'<sup>374</sup>

Surprisingly Ben Nicholson, although, I suggest, responsible for repressing the most dynamic of Hepworth's works,<sup>375</sup> aimed to explain



the sculptor's position within the modernist paradigm to his American friends and associates. Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, Nicholson wrote on many occasions to Valentin and expressed his approval of Hepworth's work, and emphasised its international validity. He proffered samples of her drawings, photographs of sculptures and critical essays to the American dealer and, in 1954, even penned a long description of Hepworth's career and indicated how she was important in influencing her more respected colleagues. For example he wrote,

'Both Moore and Barbara... obviously benefited from contact with each other's work and their influence was not as many Moore-fans might think by any means a "one-way" street. I had thought till seeing your catalogue reproduction that Arp was virtually uninfluenced by either sculptor but evidently in 1938 Barbara's type of approach reached him... p.s. I miss from your collection of sculptures the work of Brancusi... Pevsner, Gabo and Hepworth- those sculptors in fact which are closest to my own viewpoint.'<sup>376</sup>

Despite the fact that Nicholson often voiced his anti-expressionism, which precluded proselytisation of Hepworth's experimental works, he evidently made efforts to disseminate awareness of Hepworth. It seems ironic that he could write to George L. K. Morris and state that 'the romantic movement still rages in London. I wonder sometimes if they

are mad or tame'<sup>377</sup> and yet, to the same person, could write that Hepworth's 'drawings have a new (and exciting) vitality.'<sup>378</sup> This 'vitality', I suggest, indicates a romantic and expressionistic aspect to Hepworth's work.

One must assume that Nicholson did not consider Hepworth's works to be at all romantic, despite the fact that he recognised their 'vitality'. However, Jack Burnham's theory of 'vitalism' which, I suggest, provides an appropriate means for comprehending Hepworth's *oeuvre*, is based upon the idea that romantic and classical elements are equally assimilated in art that is 'vitalistic'. Indeed he wrote,

'never before in the history of art had there been such a conscious merger- both intellectual and plastic- between these two opposing forces.'<sup>379</sup>

This flaw in Nicholson's understanding itself contributed to Hepworth's timidity in exposing her more dynamic works, but it is interesting that Nicholson felt comfortable with the term 'vital'. I suggest that, rather than acknowledge any 'romantic' or emotive elements in Hepworth's art, Nicholson termed the work 'vital'. In fact this term is appropriate, because I believe that Hepworth's work falls into Burnham's

intepretation of 'vitalistic' art- that which assimilates both 'romantic' and 'classical' elements.

I suggest that it was the public appreciation by figures such as Nicholson which aided Hepworth in gaining a significant reputation; however the type of support which she received meant that another, perhaps more effective, sort of interpretation was thereafter excluded. Nicholson's interpretation was understood to be authoritative and therefore it was widely believed that there was no need for a divergent explanation of Hepworth's work. However Nicholson was averse to understanding Hepworth's art as displaying expressionistic tendencies, when in fact it seems that her works often did display such directions. It is widely acknowledged that Hepworth's art has never been effectively understood and, I suggest, this is due to the fact that emotive or dynamic aspects to the sculpture have been continually ignored. If Nicholson's interpretation of the work had not been so readily accepted, then perhaps Hepworth's international standing as a sculptor might have been improved. In fact, an acknowledgement of supposedly 'maverick' aspects to her art might have benefited Hepworth's international status as an artist, because knowledge of the *variety* of her work would have been improved. This explains the seeming contradiction between

Nicholson's public support for Hepworth, and his private disapproval of her supposed deviant attempts at expressiveness.<sup>380</sup>

Nevertheless, despite the partial support of such friends and colleagues, Hepworth's work continued to be relatively unappreciated on an international scale. Conversely, Moore was rather more valued in countries outside Britain than inside his own country-

'Ironically Moore received as many if not more official commissions abroad where his reputation was stronger, thanks largely to massive British Council support,'<sup>381</sup>

and one may suggest that this was because Moore and his supporters sought at an early stage to ensure that his reputation would pervade many countries throughout the world.

As has been stated, on the occasions when Hepworth was selected by a committee such as the British Council, her work was usually presented as part of an agenda by that organising body. Therefore the exhibitions in which Hepworth played no part in organising may be considered to be unrepresentative displays of her production because she was not able to direct the Council committee. However, an important occasion for which Hepworth independently chose to offer her sculpture, also had a

detrimental effect upon her career. This was the Unknown Political Prisoner Competition which was organised by the I.C.A. in London, and resulted in an exhibition of winning entries at the Tate Gallery in 1953.

Hepworth was most excited to have an opportunity, in the form of an official competition, to work for a theme which was obviously significant to everyone within society-

'What did excite me was the realisation that the very things that society needs can be pulled out of these artists once society itself makes an acknowledgement.'<sup>382</sup>

However it was unfortunate that this competition exacerbated the problems which, I suggest, had prevented Hepworth from previously establishing a successful international reputation. The exhibition was intended to pay tribute to

'those individuals who, in many countries and in diverse political situations had dared to offer their liberty and their lives for the cause of human freedom.'<sup>383</sup>

However the public, critics and press universally interpreted it as a competition to find a monument to honour concentration camp and

prisoner-of-war camp victims of the Second World War. For example, a typical comment is as follows-

'Emanuel Auricosto in Touts les Arts... felt the theme "Unknown Political Prisoner" to be an insult to all his comrades who suffered and died in Nazi camps.'<sup>384</sup>

Therefore the exhibitors found that they were all censured- whether they produced 'abstract' or representational work- simply because the public at this point apparently believed either to be inappropriate for memorials to the victims of the recent war. Even established art critics considered this competition to have been an unmitigated failure for this reason-

'It would have been comforting to report a dead-heat between Aesthetics and Symbolism, or even between Aesthetics and Realism... (but) the realists have no sense of the monumental, the symbolists wander in a mist, the formalists are not interested in Propaganda.'<sup>385</sup>

As has been expressed, the relationship between abstraction and realism in Hepworth's work had always been difficult for people to understand, and it was unfortunate that the competition was unsuccessful largely as a result of the mixture of abstract and representational work. To have won second prize in a competition which was notorious for unsuccessful

entries, must have linked Hepworth in the minds of critics and public, with confusion and mediocrity. This must have been harmful for Hepworth's international reputation. Indeed the critical confusion over how to classify Hepworth's maquette indicates that her genre was now even more confusing to observers and critics. For example Newton wrote, there is 'pure abstraction at one extreme, like... Barbara Hepworth,'<sup>386</sup> whereas the reporter for The Times stated that 'Hepworth is the least abstract, but she is not naturalistic.'<sup>387</sup> The general comprehension of the work of Hepworth- now exposed on a truly international scale- was of a sculptor who was not 'modern' in that she was not known yet to have employed metal as a material, and yet was unintelligible to all except the artistic elite. Conversely, the popular Henry Moore was sadly missed as a competitor-

'The abstention, moreover, of such eminent artists as Epstein, Moore, Lipchitz... has robbed the competition of much of its representative character.'<sup>388</sup>

Evidently Moore astutely assessed the competition and foresaw how its outcome could affect his career. Berthoud reported that Moore did not enter because he

'avoided the danger of not winning... (but also disliked) being

pinned to a specific theme,<sup>1389</sup>

whereas the Daily Worker hinted that he realised that

'the work would be used as propaganda against the Soviet Union... For that reason progressive artists refused to take part. The result is one of the biggest artistic flops for years.'<sup>390</sup>

However the fact that Moore was on the British advisory committee, and that he heavily supported Reg Butler's entry as he had previously for the latter's appointment to the Leeds University Gregory Fellowship, were only positive aspects of Moore's involvement with the competition. In retrospect, one might speculate that if Moore had been a competitor and not won, he too might have damaged his international reputation and, importantly, might have established himself as outdated.

Indeed, the most detrimental outcome of Hepworth's involvement with the Unknown Political Prisoner competition, was that she was notionally relegated to the early stages of modernism. In contrast to Hepworth, the works of Butler, Chadwick and Armitage looked avant-garde. The open forms and medium of iron were perceived effectively to express the existential angst of the world after the Second World War- thereby creating the impression that the era of which Hepworth was a part was



over. Herbert Read's phrase, that the younger generation sculptors expressed the 'geometry of fear', seemed most appropriate. Because Moore could not be both competitor and advisor, he was not squarely juxtaposed with the younger generation sculptors as he would have been had he been a fellow competitor. Therefore Moore avoided the same type of relegation as Hepworth and, being on the advisory committee, was seen as a public spokesman who was perceived to be central to the sculptural world. Furthermore, the absence of Moore and other established sculptors perhaps forced a premature emphasis to fall upon the younger sculptors. The non-appearance of Hepworth's contemporaries was regularly commented upon by the press, however it has never been suggested that perhaps this non-appearance might have beneficially influenced the reputations of the younger sculptors. Perhaps this might have contributed to a false impression that existential subject-matters and a revival of the uses of metal as a medium were the new issues for a large amount of artists, and that the younger group was already a firm force in the sculptural world.

Indeed, Robert Burstow has emphasised that Butler came from the background of modernism and did not in fact arrive as a new prodigy with ideas that were completely refreshing:

'For all of Butler's and his generation's professed rejection of the truth to material morality of the old "school", they still continued to exploit the qualities inherent in the new material they were using and to create forms appropriate to those materials... Butler's sculptures... are manifestly hand made, and... reveal a rural, craft-orientated kinship.'<sup>391</sup>

Indeed I suggest that Burstow's interpretation helps to blur the boundaries between the two sculptural eras, and therefore prevents one from clearly separating Hepworth and her generation from Butler and his age.

Perhaps more importantly, because no author has yet examined the significance of Hepworth's competition maquette, it has never been understood that Hepworth was, at this period, attempting to change her work. I suggest that she wanted her sculptures more effectively to convey the emotive sensations which Hepworth experienced during their production. It seems that, having had a grounding in Modernism, Butler had, by the time of the competition, already managed to make his sculpture a more direct expression of his sensations. I suggest that it is in this sense that there is a large amount of overlap between the two sculptors- although not in any stylistic or conscious degree. More specifically, Butler stated that his inspiration was often gained from the same Cornish countryside which aided Hepworth in conceptualising her

work. He believed that he owed much of his idea to the landscape of that area, for at the period in which he conceived the idea of the winning maquette, he was spending a great deal of time on

'the bleak and rocky strips of the north Cornish coast... the idea came to me that it would be wonderfully exciting to construct a great towering fetish... to stand on the rigid rocks.'<sup>392</sup>

Interestingly, he also wished to create a work with an aperture located at its centre, so that 'the waves could wash in through the hole.'<sup>393</sup> Obviously this concern bears much comparison with Hepworth's imperative, and perhaps Butler was even informed by her work. However the most important reason for my examination of Butler's work and the Unknown Political Prisoner Competition is that, as for Hepworth, two-dimensional work was vital for the *alteration* of Butler's style and his international success. An examination of Butler's experience is useful because it enables one to comprehend Hepworth's developments. Of course many sculptors explore ideas for sculptures first on paper or canvas, but it is significant that both Butler and Hepworth found certain periods of drawing and painting to be *pivotal*. They were then able to effect an important change in sculptural style.

In fact Butler attributed his development into the use of metal as a medium to the essential drawing process. He expressed that at one time his work was 'much more formal, much more concerned with purity of shapes, much less concerned with expressive possibilities,'<sup>394</sup> and was effected in stone and wood. Butler almost accidentally produced a drawing which was called A Sketch, and immediately realised that this was an important work; however the ideas and forms were too dynamic to be given plastic expression in his usual materials. Evidently iron was chosen as the appropriate medium for the expression of these dynamic concepts; its malleability and flexibility meant that it was possible for him to be able to produce forms which would have been impossible to realise in stone or wood.

Indeed, in Chapter Two<sup>395</sup> I have made reference to the fact that Hepworth also conceptualised forms which were impossible to realise in stone or wood. Hepworth's drawings too are the means by which one may interpret her sculptures effectively. As Butler's sculptures, before he explored the possibilities of iron, would not have been a true reflection of his ideas, so Hepworth's sculptures between perhaps 1948 and 1956 were not successful in terms of realising the sculptor's, often expressive, aims. Hepworth desired to produce new forms which were more directly expressive of her ideas and intentions, but was unable to

effect such forms in stone or wood. It was fortunate for Butler that his international profile was achieved after the successful manipulation of a material which was appropriate for the concepts. It was much more difficult for Hepworth to alter a successful formula, even though it patently had limitations but, more importantly, it was very difficult for commentators to accept that the sculptor was capable of change.

Therefore it is safe to assume that Hepworth's submission for the Unknown Political Prisoner competition was an unsuccessful attempt to evoke the sculptor's genuine concern for the theme. It has been suggested that the maquette exhibited Hepworth's lack of interest in the theme; for example, Stephen Bone in Building magazine stated that 'Hepworth is indifferent to the subject matter whereas everyone else is struggling with it.'<sup>396</sup> This is a common argument in the press, and is a result of the fact that the maquette did not differ significantly from other works of Hepworth's production. However, although this idea contributed to a significant diminution of esteem from writers and the public, it was a *condition* of the competition that the proffered maquette should bear relation to previous completed works within the sculptor's *oeuvre*. Consistency was essential in order to gain any place in the competition, and both Butler and Hepworth had displayed such characteristics. However the public and press obviously believed that

the theme of the competition was such that it demanded a strikingly new approach in order to emphasise how important were the issues of freedom of speech and personal liberty. Presumably any entrant, however important, would have been criticised because the theme and the plans to site the winning sculpture near East Berlin were so tendentious. As Eric Newton wrote,

'A more or less realistic extract from Belsen will not do. Not for that matter, will a more or less symbolic rendering of crushed or suffering humanity.'<sup>397</sup>

However, another important reason for examining the Unknown Political Prisoner competition in order to understand how Hepworth's international standing was affected, is that the event proved to be most attractive to American sculptors. In Chapter Two I referred to the fact that by exploring the developing Abstract Expressionist movement in juxtaposition with Hepworth's art one may gain useful insights about the sculptor. Although the American movement was ostensibly so different to Hepworth's art, the extremity of the juxtaposition enables one to perceive previously unexamined aspects of the sculptor's work. Indeed, the I.C.A. competition, being a popular event for young American sculptors seems to justify my findings. These sculptors included

Richard Lippold, Herbert Ferber, and Theodore Roszak, and they can be credited as avant-garde because as Joan Marter writes,

'Five sculptors among the preliminary winners- Calder, Ferber, Gabo, Lippold, and Roszak- were already represented in M.O.M.A.'s collection.'<sup>398</sup>

If one examines the offering, for example, by Roszak (fig. 35), it is apparent how his work illuminates both Hepworth's intentions and failings, in a way that more seemingly comparable sculptors would not do.

Roszak's sculpture (fig. 35), like those of the young generation English sculptors, is made from metal and seems to be a product of the global post-war angst which encouraged the sense that modernists like Hepworth were suddenly outdated. The work is an 'open' form, and exhibits tortuously twisted pieces of metal which are reminiscent of Pollock's violent and intermeshed skeins of paint. Superficially it could hardly be more diverse from Hepworth's stone masses (fig. 36), and indeed the public assumed that its message was one of anger and bitterness. However Roszak's personal interpretation of the work is most reminiscent of Hepworth's competition statement; he wrote that the theme

'comes perilously close to the embodiment of man's finest moments- particularly when he stands defiant in the face of oppression and ultimately vindicates his stand as an individual, in social triumph... I wanted that to become a heroic thing, instead one of dejection and confinement.'<sup>399</sup>

This is not however confined to the American contingent, for even the supposedly 'angry' Butler attempted to convince the press that the unknown prisoner was absent from his sculpture because his soul had risen from the platform. The prisoner's physical torment had ended, and he was to receive untold joys in a higher realm. These concepts obviously bear comparison to modernist Hepworth's message; she wrote,

'I know that many of the others are pessimistic... but I believe... that truth and knowledge support man through his imprisonment.'<sup>400</sup>

It is surprising to note that most of the avant-garde sculptors, from their own accounts, were creating lyrical sculptures rather than producing works which depicted the violence and brutality of war, as is conventionally thought. For instance, the fact that many young artists employed angular, 'open' metal as a medium should not lead one to



suppose that their message was one of pessimism- as perhaps the phrase 'geometry of fear' implies. It does not seem convenient to separate, for example, Hepworth and Gabo from Butler and Roszak- either in terms of medium or message. All of these sculptors worked with the various media available during their careers, and all intended the same message to be expressed in the competition.

Nevertheless commentators have divided the artists of the 1950s into convenient groupings, which have seemed previously to be logical. Stylistically, how could one juxtapose Hepworth and Butler, or Hepworth and Roszak? Conversely, I suggest that as research about the sculpture of Hepworth has been restricted, convenient classifications have been allowed to stand. Whereas the British Council and various dealers have preferred to exhibit Hepworth as an understated example of English elegance, it has been difficult for writers to explore the more expressionistic and even violent tendencies which the sculptor manifested. It is for this reason that I have juxtaposed Hepworth here with Abstract Expressionist artists. These tendencies in Hepworth's work have most often been expressed in paintings and drawings, but the exhibition of these has also been restricted and, as a result, the only writer to have explored this facet of the sculptor's production is Alan Bowness.

In 1966, Bowness and Hepworth produced a book entitled Drawings from a Sculptor's Landscape which should have effected a redress of the balance that critics place upon her monolithic sculptures.<sup>401</sup> In her introduction Hepworth expressed how important the process of drawing was to her; she wrote,

'When I start drawing and painting abstract forms I am really exploring new forms, hollows, and tensions which will lead me to where I need to go... Out of all these components I search for new associations of form and hollow and space, and a new tautness and awareness for the growth of new sculptures...It is through drawing and observing, or observing and drawing, that we equate our bodies with our landscape.'<sup>402</sup>

Evidently it is a process which is both independently important, but which is also essential for the production of sculpture. Conversely and detrimentally, Bowness wrote, 'sculptors' paintings are of less general consequence for the art of our time than the painters' sculptures.'<sup>403</sup>

However, Bowness did interestingly emphasise how dynamic Hepworth's drawings became over time, both obviously the figure

drawings of the 1940s and 1950s, but also the under explored abstract works of the later 1950s. He wrote,

'the drawings themselves were growing more free, and escaping the tight control that had once been so typical. The coloured grounds were no longer so discreet, but began to break into the drawn form itself.'<sup>404</sup>

Unfortunately, although Bowness made some important statements here, which have never since been reassessed or appreciated, he then stated that the works

'seemed at the time almost totally unrelated to everything that had gone before, and a contradiction of much that the artist stood for.'<sup>405</sup>

As I have previously expressed,<sup>406</sup> Hepworth always valued her drawings and had created works which she considered to be 'violent' and 'turbulent' from the 1930s onwards. Importantly, although Bowness did necessarily illustrate that Hepworth's expressionistic 1950s drawings presage her development into plaster and metal, he did not confer upon the sculptor any greater international relevance as a result of this fact. He wrote that 'the ideas were translated into such bronze sculptures as Meridian<sup>407</sup> (fig. 14), but did not make reference to the international

currency of ideas to which Hepworth was attuned during the making of such works. In contrast I suggest that Hepworth instinctively understood the current *Zeitgeist*, and wished to contribute to it.

Indeed, one may perceive from Hepworth's eager correspondence with her American contemporaries, just how keen she was to contribute to the international trends. To the artist George L. K. Morris, she wrote,

'It is possibly difficult for you to visualise how good it is to have a letter from a friend in U.S.A. A sort of link with the outside world that saves me from having too much of a moored feeling!... How marvellous it is to see you Americans side-tracking the hideous morass of muddled thought that Europe has gone through.'<sup>408</sup>

It is apparent that Hepworth was not actually more comfortable when juxtaposed or communicating with European artists. Also, records at her Gimpel Fils dealers indicate that she did not particularly request exhibitions in Europe. I have made mention of the fact that Hepworth aggressively urged her dealers to provide more American exhibitions for her work and, indeed, it was almost as an afterthought that Hepworth considered Europe. For example, whilst in correspondence about the 1959 Galerie Chalette exhibition in New York, she wrote, 'Later on I would like to have a proper retrospective exhibition arranged in

Germany.<sup>409</sup> In fact even when there was no American issue at question, Hepworth still often thought of the American reception of her work in case there was some advantage to be gained in the United States. For example, when a work was sold from Gimpels she wrote,

'Thank you so much for selling the Winged Figure... can you tell me... whether it is for England or U.S.A.?'<sup>410</sup>

It seems paradoxical that, although Hepworth seemed to be much more concerned about her reputation in the United States, she had been gaining greater success critically from Europe. For example, it has been noted that

'Hepworth felt particular regret at not showing at the Kassel *Documenta* exhibition because she had good feedback from the German press, and more reviews about her U.N. project from there than anywhere else.'<sup>411</sup>

I suggest that for an artist who was unusually concerned with her general international reputation, she was certainly much more anxious about the American reception, and was actually slow to realise the significance of new European ventures in the sculpture world. As Curtis has indicated above, Hepworth did not exhibit at the third Kassel *Documenta* exhibition, and she blamed the Gimpel gallery for not

effectively publicising her work in Europe. She felt that she was not granted an invitation to exhibit at this important European event because Gimpel Fils had been neglecting her needs as a client. Perhaps Hepworth's confidence in Gimpel Fils had been shaken because she felt she had also been badly represented in the second *Documenta* exhibition.

Indeed, Hepworth failed to foresee the significance of the second *Documenta* exhibition in 1959. She allowed Gimpel Fils to select the works for the show and, with hindsight, Hepworth realised that they had chosen inappropriate works. Once the international press had indicated the importance of the exhibition, Hepworth railed at the gallery for not emphasising to her how such a contribution would affect her international reputation. She wrote,

'I consider these international exhibitions to be of quite vital importance... I just cannot afford to be represented by works ten inches high at International Shows.'<sup>412</sup>

I suggest that on this occasion it was Hepworth's preoccupation with the new American ventures which precipitated her loss of control of her European exhibition. One may contrast her attempts personally to select sculptures and drawings for American exhibitions<sup>413</sup> with her acceptance

of the Gimpel brothers' choice for European events. It is indicative of Hepworth's relative lack of interest that she had not encouraged Gimpel Fils to conduct a campaign of exhibitions in Europe for example, to ensure that she would be invited in 1964 to the third *Documenta*. Again with hindsight she could only write complainingly,

'Of my age group and reputation, I was pretty well the only one left out.'<sup>414</sup>

It did not occur to Hepworth that perhaps her dealers had no control over which artists were invited to the *Documenta* exhibitions. Although her reaction might be perceived as unfair, Hepworth blamed Gimpel Fils for not securing her a place.

It is interesting that Herbert Read's accounts of the importance of an international reputation conflict with regard to Hepworth. For example, Curtis has recorded that of the third *Documenta* exhibition, Read 'told her that she was "well out" of it, as the sculpture resembled a "scrap-yard."<sup>415</sup> However Curtis also states that Read hinted to Hepworth that she too ought to begin using metal as a medium- even though, for her, he recommended the more traditional bronze-

'thus an almost overt suggestion had been made to Hepworth

that if she had used bronze she could have been alongside both Moore and the next generation in Venice.'<sup>416</sup>

Although bronze is traditionally the medium of establishment artists, Curtis indicates here that use of it would have enabled Hepworth to be juxtaposed with younger artists at the 1952 Venice Biennale. One might suggest that to employ plaster in readiness for casting into bronze, must have been a retrogressive act for Hepworth, but Curtis seems to suggest that it was beneficial for Hepworth to produce sculptures in metal- even though this metal was bronze cast from a plastered armature. However both Read, and now Curtis, failed to acknowledge that Hepworth's early antipathy towards metal of any sort had already begun to waver in the early 1950s. As early as 1951 she had already employed rods of iron for the sculptures and set designs that she had produced for a theatrical production of Electra (fig. 6). Thus Read's statements about the need to be exhibited abroad, and in a new medium, vary greatly with regard to Hepworth.

Similarly, Read offered the opinion that the Gimpel gallery was not promoting Hepworth enough on an international basis, and he suggested that Hepworth should involve herself with the Marlborough Gallery- to which many of his friends belonged. He wrote, 'obviously you can't continue the present unsatisfactory position,'<sup>417</sup> and yet paradoxically,



Read had chosen not to assess Hepworth's later works and, instead, maintained interest in her early works which typified the 'classic' era of High Modernism. Although Read legitimately exercised his free will to write about, and approve of whom he wished, Deepwell has stated<sup>418</sup> that from the 1950s onwards Read did not assess Hepworth as the sculptor would have wished. This is interesting because Deepwell has also drawn attention to the fact that Hepworth still relied upon Read's ideas and interpretations, rather than placing her confidence in another writer who perhaps had more of an enthusiasm for her later work. Deepwell stated that Hepworth continued to look to Read for support to such a degree that in the sculptor's autobiography,

'the narrative sub-text on Read is the only sub-text that she allows. She uses this to re-write the historians' perception of her.'<sup>419</sup>

Perhaps if Hepworth had looked to the comments of other writers for opinions and advice her international reputation would have become much more firmly entrenched. Instead, Hepworth was not always completely confident about each new venture- either in Britain or abroad- because she unfairly expected advice from Read. Read however, opted not to assess the new works by Hepworth as they

occurred, although he still remained open to writing about her earlier sculpture and drawings.

This, interestingly, was noticed as early as 1952 by Rainer Banham; his observations on Hepworth's work and Read's support are most pertinent to my text. His words entirely support my argument that Hepworth's open and expressive style which seems to be peculiar to her later works in bronze, was actually a life-long occurrence, and he is worth quoting at length-

'Her drawings, in the early 1940s, continually reveal a linear intention which is observed in the sculpture. Her own notes make no reference to this development but Mr. Read's introduction does not mention it either, and this seems a serious matter. He appears to have regarded a routine request for an introduction... in a routine manner; to have mulled over some old notes to produce a piece so full of quotation marks as to give the impression he does not believe a word of it.'<sup>420</sup>

Indeed I suggest that by 1952 Read's interest in Hepworth as a *developing* sculptor, but not as an historically important sculptor, had long since dissipated.

Interestingly perhaps this waning interest is a result of Read's personal developing ideas which ensure his own success. Indeed, Thistlewood has explored the fact that Read became gradually more concerned with the biological significance of art, and its role in the development of the unconscious and in evolution.<sup>421</sup> However Hepworth's art eludes neat categorisations, such as whether it is 'organic'; and whereas Read's concept narrowed with time, Hepworth's sculpture required a broader approach- such as that which Burnham's concept of vitalism provides. Interestingly, Burnham questioned the tardiness of Read's understanding of vitalism as a concept. Although Read wrote of 'vitalism' in 1924, his understanding of it was different to that which Burnham formulated much later. Burnham's concept referred to that which is created once organic and geometric elements in sculpture are combined. He expressed admiration for Read's observation of the axis which characterised art, but wrote,

'why did it take Read until 1951 to recognise the nature of vitalism, and the apparent schism between organic and constructive (i.e. geometric) sculpture?'<sup>422</sup>

Once Read addressed this schism, rather than concluding that vitalism was the product of the *conjunction* of the two poles in art, as Burnham suggested in 1968, Read was able to formulate his concept of

*organicism*. If one examines Hepworth's work with the concept of organicism, rather than vitalism in mind, then a large portion of Hepworth's work is neglected- specifically the assimilation of the organic and geometric which occurs in the sculpture. Conversely, vitalism enables one to encompass all elements of Hepworth's *oeuvre*.

Despite the fact that Burnham considered Moore to be the epitome of vitalism,<sup>423</sup> he defined this concept as the homogenisation of geometricism and organicism- which is surely exemplified in the work of Hepworth as well as Moore. As has been expressed, although Read crystallised his understanding of what ought to be vitalism after corresponding with Hepworth,<sup>424</sup> this was actually his concept of organicism. Burnham conferred upon Read the honour of having discovered vitalism and yet, I suggest, the latter is Burnham's concept, and he misjudges Read's organicism for his own vitalism. What Read mentioned as 'vitalism' in 1924 in Form in Gothic, was another concept altogether, and what he continued to term 'vitalism' in the 1950s, was actually his 'organicism'.

Indeed it is more surprising that Burnham believed that Read eventually comprehended vitalism, for I have drawn attention to the fact that

Burnham clearly stated that vitalism is the conjunction of the organic and the geometric.<sup>425</sup> Burnham later stated that

'it is clear from many of Read's statements... that linear, mechanical, or geometric characteristics do not satisfy his ultimate concern for what sculpture should be.'<sup>426</sup>

Therefore how could Read appreciate vitalistic sculptors such as Hepworth- in whose work geometrical elements are as equally subsumed as organic elements? During this chapter I have attempted to indicate that Hepworth may not easily be classified, and that in the 1950s she did intend to continue developing in an avant-garde style, such as that which the younger generation sculptors were producing. However Read wrote of newer styles saying,

'Virtually everything, one must say, has been lost that has characterised the art of sculpture in the past. This new sculpture (linear, welded metal sculpture), essentially open in form, dynamic in intention, seeks to disguise its mass and ponderability.'<sup>427</sup>

It is most obvious that the direction in which Hepworth was developing was towards the style of sculpture which Read expressed was new; although he did not compare Hepworth with the new work. Evidently,

in the late 1950s and 1960s Hepworth was becoming increasingly interested in open forms, linearity, and the square, circular and rectangular shapes which were popular with artists during this period. Typical examples of the style in which Hepworth was becoming more interested, are Square Forms with Circles 1963 (fig. 37) and Meridian 1958-59 (fig. 14). Although she did not usually weld metal, but worked on plaster in order that it might be produced in bronze, she still used the greater flexibility of the process in order to achieve effects which were similar to those effected by sculptors who welded for example.

In a similar manner to his comments with Hepworth, Read famously argued with Naum Gabo, because the latter's sculpture crystallised the emphasis upon linearity and space which Read noted was increasing in art. In fact Burnham too perceived significance in this disagreement between Read and Gabo:

'Read's friendship with Gabo was strained by Gabo's insistence on "space" and linear elements as a legitimate path to sculptural exploration.'<sup>428</sup>

These were the aspects of sculpture which Hepworth increasingly explored during the 1950s. I have emphasised the importance of Hepworth's drawing as a means to aiding her shift in concern from mass

to space in sculpture, and indeed this is accompanied by the change of medium from wood and stone to plaster and metal. Read commented negatively on the type of linear sculpture which 'seeks to disguise its mass and ponderability', and yet Hepworth learned to produce linear sculptures after experimenting with painting and drawing in order to induce such free forms. 'Mass and ponderability' were of instinctive import to Hepworth throughout the earlier part of her career, and the late 1940s and 1950s was a critical and difficult period during which she attempted to reject the solidity of many of her previous forms. I suggest that Hepworth drew and painted during this period in order to explore tentatively ways in which she could later penetrate the essential massiveness of her three-dimensional work. Hepworth realised that greater penetration of her solid sculptural forms would convey more effectively greater expressiveness and dynamism.

In contrast, throughout the 1950s and 1960s, Moore's work remained largely solid in appearance. Initially, after witnessing the results of the Unknown Political Prisoner Competition, he too created sculptures such as Reclining Figure 1957 in metal which were angular and spare. Nevertheless he did not long continue to create bronze sculptures which were linear or 'open'. Although he continued to employ clay and plaster which were then cast into bronze, he still modelled rather than carved

the materials so that the final result was largely a 'solid' sculpture. He enjoyed the fact that plaster or clay captured sudden movement and was malleable but, unlike Hepworth, he did not exploit the light weight and flexibility of plaster which could be translated into a sinewy bronze sculpture such as Hepworth's Cantate Domino 1958 (fig. 38). He still continued to produce sculptures such as Draped Reclining Figure 1952-3, Three Piece Reclining Figure No.1 1961-2 and Two Piece Reclining Figure. No. 2 1960 (fig. 39). It is therefore no surprise that Moore remained Read's passion and seemed to exemplify the morality of organicism. Burnham expressed that for those, like Read, who associated solid forms with morality, 'the *contemplative* aspects of Moore's ponderous reclining figures finally provide the only sanctuary for a mind aroused by the "horror and hatred" of the newest modes.'<sup>429</sup>

However I suggest that the move towards exploring the qualities of metal, as well as being concordant with Hepworth's estimation of the 'truth to materials' doctrine, actually was part of the 1950s *Zeitgeist*. Indeed, although the sculpture which was part of the Abstract Expressionist movement in the United States has been under-researched, it is apparent that, like Hepworth, American sculptors were dissolving the boundaries between painting and sculpture. Sculpture was being more effectively produced as a result of preparatory drawings, and



qualities peculiar to two-dimensional work, such as painted surfaces or freely drawn lines, were being reproduced in three-dimensional work. This is not something which Moore chose to do. For instance Moore's sketches were either preparatory sketches of his three-dimensional works, or they were entirely independent ventures, such as the underground sleepers series. Although his drawings were often exploratory, they were not used specifically in order to test and prepare for an entirely new venture, as occurs with Hepworth's drawings in the mid 1950s. These drawings are particularly interesting because it seems that they enabled Hepworth to begin working with more open and linear three-dimensional forms. I suggest that the drawings of this period are pivotal: their greater freedom helped Hepworth to envisage and prepare for an important change of style- that which relied upon the flexibility of plaster material in order to effect sculptures which were more dynamic and lithe.

The same complex relationship between two and three-dimensional work is evident in the art of the Abstract Expressionist sculptors. Once more this movement is useful as a means for providing a context for Hepworth's work. For example it is important to examine David Smith's sculpture which was evidently informed and pre-empted by his painting. One may perceive that, as Hepworth and Butler observed, the drawings

and sketches proved a useful aid for crystallising fleeting ideas which could then be homogenised into a new style or group of sculptures. For example the sculpture Star Cage 1950 (fig. 40) and his Drawing for Star Cage 1950-54 (fig. 41) illustrate how easily his ideas may be translated between media. There is an apparent dialogue between Smith's two-dimensional and three-dimensional work, just as Hepworth's violent drawings relate to sculptures such as Meridian (fig. 14) or Forms in Movement (Galliard) (fig. 15). In fact, Harold Rosenberg surprisingly juxtaposed the acts of carving and expressive painting, because both were 'organic' actions,<sup>430</sup> and this encourages one to assert that in the post-war period there were many interesting examples of artists transcending the traditional limitations of dimensions in preparation for Minimalism and other movements. One of Hepworth's favourite critics- Carola Giedion-Welcker- wrote of Meridian (fig. 14) that it

'attained a thoroughly individual character, as if created in an immediate manner.'<sup>431</sup>

This too supports my premise that Hepworth's late sculptures may often surprisingly be related to the act of painting and to certain foreign expressionistic paintings.

Indeed Virginia Button has expressed how Ben Nicholson was also influential on Hepworth for his role in disintegrating the boundaries between painting and sculpture. She emphasised how Nicholson was attracted to the work of Alfred Wallis, precisely because the latter

'produced art that was an object on a board as well as just a surface. In response, Nicholson flattened perspective until it became vertical.'<sup>432</sup>

She also expressed how Nicholson's interest in perspective was heightened by the experience of examining Hepworth's three-dimensional works and, most importantly, emphasised that his white reliefs were paintings but were also raised to become semi-sculptural. Obviously this was an early example for Hepworth of how it was possible ambiguously to blur the boundaries between two and three-dimensional art, as was to occur more generally in the 1950s and 1960s.<sup>433</sup>

I suggest that space became increasingly more important for Hepworth during this period, and yet it is largely with the advantage of hindsight that this development becomes clear. Although Hepworth did comment on this increasing interest and produced the informative works on paper, she never made an overt statement about it. It is therefore unsurprising

that contemporaneous exhibition selectors often chose works for exhibition which Hepworth believed to be more representative of the period before which she began her informative spatial dialogue with Nicholson. The fact that she was entering a new creative period was not made clear to others and, indeed, typical works from the 1950s and 1960s have proceeded to mystify and confuse commentators. Interestingly these concerns also align Hepworth with a most unlikely contemporary- Mark Rothko.

Rothko's paintings (fig. 31) at first appear to be flat areas of colour without reference to space; they seem to exemplify Greenberg's ideal of the flat canvas. For example he wrote that

'the picture no longer divided itself into shapes or even patches, but into zones and areas and fields of colour. This became essential, but it was left to Newman and Rothko to show how completely so.'<sup>434</sup>

This also leads one to suggest that they, like the works of Nicholson and Wallis, are both object and surface. However, with the aid of time, Rothko's

'volatile and suffusing skeins of colour... appear to break up into illusory depths... (and) advance almost to engulf the viewer.'<sup>435</sup>

As in the paintings of the colourist Josef Albers, space is tested and explored. There appears to be simultaneously several layers of colour and therefore space, and yet a completely flat plane, which effect creates perceptual turmoil for the viewer. In fact as Ashton has stated,

'the paling edges, the quavering forms of light, the completely ambiguous extremities of Rothko's forms... are the crucial carriers of Rothko's complex expression.'<sup>436</sup>

This expression, as with Hepworth's, is essentially social and moral because it works upon the viewer and may therefore change his or her perception of society. Despite the fact that Hepworth's style and medium changed in the post-war period, I suggest that Hepworth's social concern was unchanging. As the sculptor stated,

'I became more and more pre-occupied with the inside and outside of forms... forms to lie down in or to climb through... Piercings through forms became dominant.'<sup>437</sup>

Obviously space and the impact that it may have upon the human body became increasingly important. Indeed the spatial complexities that are produced by the confusion of dimension in her later work, only add to

her multivalent reflections upon society. As Cernuschi has written about Rothko, it is possible to consider

'the iconography of Rothko's mature paintings (as) the inner layering of the mind.'<sup>438</sup>

Similarly, one may perceive that the dissolution of boundaries between painting and sculpture in Hepworth's work allowed her to express more varied and comprehensible messages to society. Her society seemed to relate more easily to sculpture which relied more upon metal as a medium, and space rather than mass, and Hepworth responded to this. Perhaps one may even posit the idea that the various stages between painting and sculpture in a work may, as with the complex gradations of paint in a work by Rothko, represent the levels of human consciousness, which Kierkegaard suggests is the self's 'qualification before God.'<sup>439</sup>

Indeed, despite the fact that the question of content within Rothko's painting has been regularly debated, it has been recorded that the artist 'did not like being called a colourist, but wanted to be called a humanist.'<sup>440</sup> The same humanistic concern is apparent in Hepworth's *oeuvre*; for she wrote, 'all landscape needs a figure.'<sup>441</sup> Yet the general consensus about Rothko's painting is that it is depressive, and does not relay a message to society, as it purely concentrates on formalistic

issues. Interestingly it seems that an exploration of these problematic issues in Rothko's work, are greatly of benefit when one reassesses Hepworth's intent and result, for I have indicated that Rothko's positive message to society resides in the complex spatial manipulations in each painting. The perceptual turmoil which is effected by the layering of paint and problematic boundary to each work allow the observer to meditate and transcend: they offer a religious alternative for a modern society. In fact as Rothko wrote,

'The people who weep before my pictures are having the same religious experience I had when I painted them.'<sup>442</sup>

It seems that a paradox which applies to both Rothko and Hepworth is that their art aided themselves and the viewers to transcend to spiritual heights, and yet 'it was this world that (they) aspired to characterise.'<sup>443</sup>

Indeed although the art of Rothko and Hepworth often prompted this spiritual reaction from the public, I suggest that an emphasis upon space in painting or sculpture does not preclude a certain dependence upon either organic or humanistic elements. It is often believed by critics<sup>444</sup> that objects such as 'open-form' sculpture or colour-field painting may not also be organic or humanistic for example. However it is especially

interesting that whilst discussing Read on certain artists, Burnham wrote,

'for Read what seems to identify them all as vitalist is a certain sympathetic affinity with the natural environment. In other words, vitalistic art is not an art of alienation; the vitalistic sculptor is bent on extorting humanistic life symbols from his surroundings, rather than fabricating icons of despair and rejection.'<sup>445</sup>

The fact that Burnham credits Read with developing a vitalistic theory is clearly exhibited here; however, as I have I suggested, Read is here actually formulating his *organic* theory. It seems likely that in contrast to organicism, vitalism, particularly because it is composed of both organic *and* geometric elements, may actually be displayed within art works (such as 'open-form' sculpture or 'colour-field' painting) which are traditionally believed to be 'icons of despair and rejection'.<sup>446</sup>

As Hepworth began to produce sculptures which employed space more actively, Read, and other critics from the 1930s and 1940s such as Adrian Stokes, began to display less interest and confidence in the sculptor's work. Conversely, Moore became increasingly concerned with



'sensitivity to volume and mass, the interplay of hollows and protuberances, the rhythmical articulation of planes and contours,'<sup>447</sup>

which meant that Read felt Moore was the sculptor who most obviously cohered to his own conception of successful sculpture. It is surely no coincidence that during the period when Hepworth was developing her, often spare, use of plaster and metal, Read was crystallising his ideas about the correlations between mass and humanism, linearity and pessimism. Indeed, Deepwell has referred to the fact that Read felt equipped to continue asserting the international importance of Moore, but that 'he felt he had little to say'<sup>448</sup> about Hepworth's international significance. However there has never been any discussion about the *reasons* for Read's diminishing appreciation for Hepworth's work. In fact, whilst writing of Read's excuses for not commenting upon Hepworth in the late 1950s, Deepwell simply exclaims, 'This is an extraordinary statement from such a prolific and committed advocate of English Modernism!'<sup>449</sup> In contrast I suggest that Read's altered criteria for sculpture, along with his preference for works which do not greatly incorporate space and linearity, are the reasons for his diminished appreciation of Hepworth's later works.

Ironically whilst Read considered that Moore was the example of a sculptor who was developing logically and with integrity, one may perceive that, if my thesis is accepted, Hepworth was in actuality moving more in accordance with the avant-garde. I have suggested that Hepworth's employment of space was more concordant with the perceptual manipulations exhibited by American artists, such as David Smith, and by refugees such as Josef Albers. I have also proposed that the synthesis of both painting and sculpture, as effected by Hepworth, is something which was being explored in the United States. Conversely, Moore's emphasis upon mass is perhaps more comparable with the common aims of sculptors during the High Modernist period, when direct carving was pre-eminent. Indeed Hall emphasised how, during this critical period for sculpture of the late 1950s and early 1960s, Moore explored weight and density to a greater extent than ever before. Of Moore's four reclining figures during this era he wrote,

'massiveness hangs in the air with a sense of arrested motion. In the second, the leg part settles into the base like a sheer cliff, precisely *unhollowable*... Moore has never made another group of sculptures which so completely fulfil his desire for three-dimensionality. Though they are massive and monumental, as you walk around them they open up and lighten at certain angles, apparently changing their shape utterly.'<sup>450</sup>

In fact Hall also provides further insight here into why Moore so fulfilled Read's conception of a successful sculptor; for he not only illuminates the extent of Moore's reliance upon massiveness as a convention, but he expresses that the figures also seem to metamorphose into landscape.

To Read, the fact that an artist's work should not be predictable was an essential feature of his theory of organicism. Indeed, Thistlewood has observed how Read absorbed D'Arcy Thompson's scientific thesis of growth and form, and construed it in artistic terms. The idea was that

'in a very few simple organisms the results of growth could be predicted; but in organisms possessing several "growth points"... though generalities might be anticipated, the particular results of growth were always individuated, complex and unpredictable.'<sup>451</sup>

Moore actively adhered to this premise: whilst still producing sculptures which retained the qualities of 'organic' irregularity and massiveness, he was able to combine these with dynamic form mutations which surprise the viewer. Conversely Hepworth's sculpture, even if a particularly dynamic example, did not possess the qualities of formal irregularity and unpredictability which indicate reference to D'Arcy Thompson's

theories of growth and form. Therefore in terms of Read's developing concept of organic sculpture, Hepworth's 1950s and 1960s work must be understood as inorganic.

As a result of this problematic interpretation, it must also have been difficult for Read to ascertain another range of concerns which Hepworth wished her sculptures to manifest. I have indicated in the previous chapter how the sculptor attempted to effect a better understanding of her latent desire for expression and dynamism in her work, and an example of this is the increasing mysticism of the later works. Once Hepworth understood the flexibility of plaster as a medium, it seems that this allowed her to produce durable sculptures (when cast in bronze) which more directly exhibited her spirituality. Evidently Read warned Hepworth about this tendency, for she responded to his chide:

'The remaining bronzes in my garden are booked for my New York show... If I claimed... a spiritual or metaphysical intention, then I was too proud. This does not alter my belief that if we have the wits to be quiet and "intake" then those qualities flow in.'<sup>452</sup>

Obviously Hepworth believed that whilst a work may seem to be inexpressive and classically calm, in actuality it may crystallise the sculptor's spiritual or metaphysical concerns. As Doherty wrote, Hepworth explored

'the unfixity of the gaze, the polyvalent meanings of the works... the opening up of spaces between solid forms, the deconstruction of stability and the unusual play on the mythic and Utopian through the manipulation of geometrical forms... She produced multifarious syntaxes, some of which required a Zen-like concentration of thought, some exposed the fiction of 'the natural' and others explored the biotechnics of D'Arcy Thompson.'<sup>453</sup>

In fact it is interesting that Doherty refers to Hepworth's 'Zen-like concentration of thought', for this aspect of the sculptor is entirely unexplored and yet accounts for her later preoccupation with the cosmic, and the multivalence of two and three dimensions, and geometry with the organic. It is a striking parallel with Abstract Expressionist interests, that Hepworth wrote,

'I was delighted with Mrs. Stanley Young's book on Zen... The younger ones have sacrificed much that is eternal in their own work under terrible pressure of world events.'<sup>454</sup>

Evidently, in the early 1960s, Hepworth explored Zen philosophy as it seemed to provide confirmation that it is appropriate for artists to reach a higher spiritual plane in their work, which removed them from the necessity of dealing with everyday events. By simultaneously producing work that seemed timeless and spiritual, Hepworth presented interested members of society with the opportunity to revive themselves by experiencing the steadying influence of communing with the archaic and with features in the collective unconscious. This then enabled people to cope more easily with the pressures of society. As the sculptor wrote,

'in all those works of art which move me most I find this special sense of timeless praising of affirmative creation... It is extremely easy to be a God reflecting power, despair, one's own personality or one's own time... Suddenly, either in unconscious acknowledgement of life or in the silent tribulation of overcoming despair one lets in the divine force and there is the work- unresistingly complete, timeless and unalterable.'<sup>455</sup>

These comments were also made in response to Read who must have been criticising Hepworth's increasing interest in metaphysical concepts as well as in the spirituality which coincided with her new linearity. Ironically, Burnham illustrated how Read approved of a certain mysticism, which Burnham actually believed was indivisible from his

vitalism (which was actually organicism). Burnham quoted Read on this subject whilst the latter was discussing Picasso-

'from 1930 onwards he was to be more and more exclusively preoccupied with *magic*: he is concerned to represent in his figures certain forces of social significance- the *anima* that we project into all subjects... the universal force that flows through all things, and which the artist must transmit to his creations if they are to affect other people. This *vitalism*, as I prefer to call it, has been the desire and pursuit of one main type of modern sculptor.'<sup>456</sup>

Evidently in Read's theory of the organic, sculpture is required to exhibit 'universal force' in order to become complete; and yet in discussion with Hepworth, who elides easy classification, Read was compelled to denounce such 'magic'.

Surely this is conclusive proof that the theory of 'vitalism' which Burnham ascribed to Read, was actually Read's theory of 'organicism.' Hepworth patently produced more geometrical and spare sculptures at this period, in which case, according to Read's late definition, she may not be considered as an organic sculptor, and yet her work exhibited the mystical elements of Read's theory. However in the theory of vitalism

which I ascribe to Burnham, it is possible for a geometrical sculptor to explore the supernatural, the mystical, spiritual and expressive. It is not surprising therefore that Read- who was not as embracing as Burnham- discussed these issues with Hepworth, and even attempted to dissuade her from deviating from the conditions of sculpture as he understood them.

Indeed Hepworth was forced to clarify her concept of these sculptural issues in response to Read's comments. It is most interesting that the sculptor confirms my theory of there being two methods of approach- exemplified by herself and Moore- and both of which she explored. She wrote,

'Sculpture to me is something so primitive and deep in one's unconscious it simply must, by its mass, hit you in the stomach so that your spine straightens... or it must envelop you in love and sensuous tenderness of archaic touch- so that one is, as ephemeral flesh and blood, caught up in the pulse of life.'<sup>457</sup>

She explained that one had the option to create an impact either by mass, as I have explained that Moore has done, or by 'archaic touch' which attracts by its permanent vitality. One must conclude that this latter approach is the most visible in Hepworth's works in plaster



(subsequently cast into bronze). It was surely her more recent experience of the second approach to sculpture which also enabled Hepworth to justify Gabo- patently in response to Read's criticism. She commented,

'but Gabo is different- his forms are the true forms of dreams when one's body relaxes and moves through and around. Gabo allows one no point of rest or fullness, or hollow, to give content or strength.'<sup>458</sup>

This is a clear explanation of why Read disapproved of Gabo's work in the 1960s, after lauding it during the 1930s. Earlier<sup>459</sup> I have indicated that Read's appreciation of Gabo's sculpture diminished because the latter increasingly relied upon space as a major sculptural component. In asserting that Gabo negated hollows and fullness in his sculpture, Hepworth confirmed for Read that Gabo's sculpture had become less successful during this period. Conversely, Moore's balancing of hollows and mass are to Read the epitome of moral and restorative art for they were simultaneously reminiscent of the human form and landscape. When Hepworth's style changed in the late 1950s, the correspondence which her work had previously had with humanism and landscape became less noticeable. Her latent interest in archaic symbols, dreams, myth and movement found more convincing expression with her

discovery that a plastered armature was malleable, could even be attenuated, and yet still retain equilibrium. The variety of formal options which this new freedom offered enabled Hepworth to more clearly express her conceptual interests, and works such as the groups of outdoor bronze figures ( fig. 47) followed.

It might seem that, for Read, only 'organic' sculptors such as Moore could effectively explore themes such as the primeval. Moore's work evidently displayed the contemplative aura and fullness which seemed proper for a conjunction of the organic and archaic. Indeed he implicitly stated that for him, 'magic' was an issue which divided Hepworth and Moore. By 'magic', Read meant an evocation of the spiritual, mysterious or primitive. Despite the fact that Read seemed to disagree with Hodin when he wrote that the latter 'relies on the distinction between Barbara Hepworth's "classic" conception and Moore's dynamic or magical conception of art,'<sup>460</sup> in actuality his criticism was with Hodin's neglect of the fact that both sculptors were 'inspired by a new understanding of the processes of growth and form in nature.'

Conversely to Read's opinion, it is interesting to note that artists who were fascinated by myth, the archaic and the supranatural often, like Hepworth, relied upon manipulation of spatial elements in order

effectively to express their themes. For instance in the United States, the artists who have explored twentieth century fascinations with the unconscious and primitivism have often been those whose work depended upon spatial ambiguity for its effects. In particular, the Abstract Expressionist artists have relied upon complex manipulations of space in order effectively to express a new consciousness of the power of ancient patterns and symbols. Indeed, this propensity was strong enough to inspire Greenberg's critical analyses of space. For example he wrote,

'the flatness towards which Modernist painting orients itself can never be an absolute flatness. The heightened sensitivity of the picture plane may no longer permit sculptural illusion, or *trompe-l'oeil*, but it does and must permit optical illusion.'<sup>461</sup>

By the 1960s Greenberg's theories about space in Modernist painting had relaxed so that no longer was space denied, but simply 'the kind of space that recognisable objects can inhabit.'<sup>462</sup> Evidently Greenberg was writing in response to the works of Rothko, Pollock and Newman, who produced dynamic optical illusions which were effectively the carriers of complex expression about myth and symbols. Greenberg also related to sculpture the deep space which often inhabited representational works. For example he wrote,

'three-dimensionality is the province of sculpture. To achieve autonomy, painting has had above all to divest itself of everything it might share with sculpture.'<sup>463</sup>

The fact that Greenberg here illustrates no understanding of the tendency for artists to explore the dialogue between painting and sculpture, reminds one that his reputation as possibly America's most authoritative critic was insecure in the 1960s. Not only were Hepworth and Nicholson interested in examining the relationship between drawing and sculpture,<sup>464</sup> but other artists were becoming increasingly aware of this ambiguous area. These include Richard Morris, David Smith, Lucio Fontana, Donald Judd and John Hoyland.

In fact by negating the valuable dialogue between sculpture and painting, Greenberg was performing a disservice to the contemporaneous American painters who, like Hepworth, had been exploring the intriguing contiguity between painting and sculpture. Interestingly, even Pollock, whom Greenberg considered was producing the typical uncompromisingly 'flat' Modernist paintings, had experimented with making sculpture, and this has never before been explored. For example, in 1935 Pollock produced Sculpture (fig. 42), which was reminiscent of the twisted forms which were later to be

manifested in semi-representational paintings such as She-Wolf of 1943 (fig. 43), and, more obliquely, in the classic Pollock paintings such as Lavender Mist of 1950. More obvious is the example of David Smith, who traversed the regions of small and large scale sculpture and paintings and murals, and Ibram Lassaw and Seymour Lipton, who also indicated the multivalence of Abstract Expressionism. Perhaps most pertinent however, is the example of Newman, who could simultaneously produce 'colour field' paintings such as Tertia 1964 (fig. 44), and totemic sculptures such as Broken Obelisk 1963-7 (fig. 45).

An examination of the literature which surrounds the Abstract Expressionist movement does not provide an explanation for the artists' ability to work with both sculpture and painting. This seems a similar problem to that which surrounds the *oeuvre* of Hepworth: I have suggested that there is no suitable critique which accounts for Hepworth's successful production of drawings and paintings. However it does seem plausible that, as Hepworth's sculptures benefit from her experience of working with a different type of space in paintings so, presumably, the Abstract Expressionists' paintings are benefited by the artists' abilities to transcend one particular medium. In fact I suggest that the shallow and shifting space in the paintings of Rothko, Pollock

and Newman acts as a metaphor for a primeval world, in which symbols are potent and resonant from within the collective unconscious.

Indeed, were it not for the 'stripe' in a painting by Newman (fig. 44), it would be impossible for the complex layers of meaning to become available to the viewer. As Polcari wrote,

'different elements have been fused into a primal unity of the formerly disparate figure and ground, organism and space. In other words, Newman blended and expanded the planes and eliminated specific phenomena.'<sup>465</sup>

The result is a more powerful and synthesised painting which carries a greater variety of meaning for the viewer. For example, the stripe acts to divide the painting, thus seeming to provide the threshold behind which light may appear in a symbolic manner. In fact Polcari supports my thesis by stating that

'light has always been a symbol of magical, mythical, and religious power in Judeo-Christian and Eastern cultures.'<sup>466</sup>

and obviously Newman was able to produce resonant paintings which are effective in the compaction of these many meanings. In Chapter Two I have explored the meaning of the concepts of thresholds and

creation with regard to Newman's paintings and, at this juncture, I propose that Newman was able to incorporate these complex meanings as a result of his supposed deviations into other media such as sculpture.

It is ironic that even E. H. Ramsden- the proponent of classicism, indicated an awareness of similar traits within the work of Hepworth. She wrote,

'man's... approach to reality is in proportion to his command of the gamut and in the degree of his ability to order the diverse modes of conscious and subconscious experience and to resolve them into harmony.'<sup>467</sup>

The admitted approach of both Hepworth and, for example Newman, was to compact conscious and subconscious experiences so that they combine to produce a moving and powerful experience for the viewer. Perhaps this was reminiscent of the experiences of primitive man for, in his lecture Art and the Evolution of Man,<sup>468</sup> Read expressed that art was partly responsible for effecting human development. Art was perceived to have aided the division between man's conscious and unconscious mental states- the initial homogenisation of which was natural. Similarly, the perceptible layers of Rothko's paintings resonate visually, but may also be considered to do so between the levels of human

consciousness.<sup>469</sup> And the various planes of space in a painting by Pollock, which was produced as a result of the layering of levels of paint, also perform as levels of consciousness.

Evidently Hepworth was increasingly attempting to reproduce similar effects in her sculptures of the 1960s. To one reporter she said,

'I see the present development in art as something opposed to any materialistic, anti-human or mechanistic direction of the mind... What we really suffer from is spiritual malnutrition.'<sup>470</sup>

It is clear that Hepworth wanted a closer unity of the spiritual and rational aspects of human nature, and that she also believed art was the means to achieving this because it may unite the conscious and unconscious minds.

The above text is also valuable precisely because the author reported Hepworth's comments so accurately. Another writer who provided a useful insight into Hepworth's intentions, was Mervyn Levy. Hepworth's ideas have been allowed to be expressed, almost as if the article was unedited, and the effect is rather like reading her expressive correspondence. The article also allows one presumably to understand the type of comments that were usually made to writers, which yet



normally went unrecorded. She stated that 'in sculpture we have a complete orientation of mind and body',<sup>471</sup> which is perhaps why, although the drawings were more successful in communicating with the viewer, Hepworth still experimented with different sculptural modes such as plaster, which could also more effectively convey spirituality to the spectator.

The fact that viewing sculpture necessitates both an intellectual and physical response, was a means for Hepworth to attempt to reverse the perceived absence of spirituality and creativity in society. The spectator was forced to explore neglected facets of his or her personality and it was Hepworth's aim that this would encourage an appreciation of creation. Ideally such a response would have fostered a greater feeling of community and spirituality. Indeed, Levy once more enables one to access Hepworth's personal thoughts about this difficult act which she demanded that the viewers of her work undertook. Her words are obviously closely paraphrased by Levy:

'her sculpture, which more than anything praises creation, derives an intense awareness of the omnipresence of the life force... the gap between impulse and expression must be minimal... The impulse and its technical expression must be synchronised in a sustained flow.'<sup>472</sup>

This small margin between impulse and expression was the crucial factor in responding to a Hepworth sculpture. It is the sculptural equivalent of the fluctuating planes in an Abstract Expressionist painting, for the viewer must be able instantly and instinctively to sense the emotions by which Hepworth was inspired to carve.<sup>473</sup> Moreover, the importance which Hepworth placed upon the minimal gap between impulse and technical expression is remarkably similar to the aims of the Abstract Expressionists who wished to eliminate the intrusive presence of the conceptualising stage. It is this for this reason that I have chosen to juxtapose Hepworth with such a 'distant' movement as the American Abstract Expressionists: not because I wish to imply that Hepworth should be considered as one of that movement but, by removing the usual context in which Hepworth's work is placed and substituting it with that of another context, it is possible to perceive aspects of the work which have previously been concealed.

Unfortunately, partly due to the repetitive criticism which Hepworth has always received, critics have been unwilling or incapable of simultaneously examining a work with both their intellectual and emotional faculties. It is apparent that Hepworth was not entirely aware of the difficulties that the audience of her works was under. To Levy

'she explained that her work often sprang from a turbulent desire to express some particular emotion, idea or thought; a turbulence which, as the work proceeded, was gradually resolved into a rhythmic calm. These qualities she felt were communicated to the spectator.'<sup>474</sup>

Evidently this was not the case for, in Chapter One, Hepworth's frustration at being misunderstood as a lyrical but impassive sculptor was made clear. In fact this may have been a great problem for the American audience, for New York's foremost critic- Hilton Kramer of the New York Times- indicated his interpretation of Hepworth's work.

He wrote,

'she is not, I think, the equal of either Moore or of Brancusi... In Brancusi one feels that the ultimate concision of form has been reached through a triumphant struggle with passions that are suppressed.'<sup>475</sup>

It is therefore apparent that Hepworth worked in a turbulent state of mind but, with great difficulty, achieved a resolution of the tensions so that a calm exterior to the sculptures was the result. However it is necessary to acknowledge that Hepworth was essentially unsuccessful as a sculptor because her emotions and communications were not conveyed

effectively to the observer. The success that Hepworth did receive arose largely from factors such as her gender, relationships with Nicholson and Moore, or the superficially classical appearance of many sculptures. Yet these factors were actually not as critical to her as the conveyance of emotion or vibrancy for example.

One might speculate as to the impact that Kramer might have had upon Hepworth's reputation in the United States if she had been more successful about expressing her real intentionality. Kramer was widely read in New York on a general level, because he was a major art critic for the New York Times. Although perhaps his opinion might not have been accepted as readily by those who read esoteric journals such as Arts Magazine- to which writers such as Donald Kuspit contributed- one must assume that he influenced public taste in New York. Conversely, although Abstract Expressionism was often criticised for being incoherent, the public realised that its primary focus was *emotion*. Immediate impact was gained from working with vast expanses of colour and dynamic swathes of paint, although the positivism and intellectual interests of many of those artists has since been disturbingly negated. It is problematic that, although Hepworth's concerns and experiences were surprisingly similar to those of the Abstract

Expressionists, the fact that she was able successfully to resolve her tensions nullified her significance in the opinion of many people.

Indeed it is apparent that the subtlety of Hepworth's approach was not conducive to the conveyance of her mystical or spiritual meanings; even Bowness unwittingly expressed that only an *overt* approach is successful when attempting to evoke a spiritual response. He wrote,

'for all their forceful originality however the bronzes of the later 1950s remain closely associated with the earlier sculpture... sometimes the relationship is intimate, if somewhat formalised, like the Three Figures in Conversation... at other times the totemic, icon-like quality of the standing forms is emphasised, as in the two wood figures that are called Menhirs.'<sup>476</sup>

Bowness understood grouped sculptures literally to signify human relationships, whereas isolated tall forms are perceived to be capable of conveying mystical ideas, because they are reminiscent of the menhirs of Cornwall. He made no concession to the fact that, during the 1960s, Hepworth may have been producing works as a result of pressing concerns which existed in reaction to the general materialistic environment. Critics relied upon the Cornish environment as an explanation of Hepworth's increasingly mystical sculptures.

Although Hepworth's sculptures during the 1960s were more overtly concerned with spirituality and mysticism, I suggest this had always been a concern of the artist, which had perhaps been more hesitantly expressed in the earlier work. Indeed, it has been recorded above that Hepworth was able to understand Gabo's sculptures after Read had experienced difficulties with them, because she understood their effect upon the unconscious.<sup>477</sup> Evidently, by the 1950s Hepworth realised that her works were not being comprehended properly, and therefore experimented with more expressive materials such as iron rods, copper sheets and plaster. Of course plaster, in particular, immediately took on and relayed the vigour and emotions of the artist, and these states were then made durable in bronze. It might be argued that critics believed Hepworth began to accept the bronze casting process because she was perceived as an establishment artist; however I believe that she felt it was a means effectively to re-invent herself in preparation for the expression of fresh ideas. Indeed Hepworth seemed to believe that her essential concepts would be more easily apparent to observers through the medium of bronze, for she hoped that 'my bronzes may help them to "see" the carvings in due course.'<sup>478</sup> This is a clear statement that Hepworth had been dissatisfied with the general level of understanding of her works. The bronzes were patently a more overt attempt to clarify her programme to the viewer.

It is clear however, that despite these changes in Hepworth's style, most critics still preferred an even more immediate form of art, such as Moore's reclining figures (fig. 39), and one in which less effort was required on the part of the viewer. Although Hepworth's bronzes were intrinsically more comprehensible than the carvings, because they followed on from the wood or stone carvings, they made Hepworth's *oeuvre* even more confusing. As Bowness has been perceived to refer the bronzes to Hepworth's earlier work in an effort to explain them, so Kramer had to rely upon Hepworth's earlier carvings when assessing the bronzes. He wrote,

'Exactly how much has been lost in these technically impressive- and, occasionally, even handsome- bronzes is clear when one examines the few original wood carvings.'<sup>479</sup>

Although it is important to understand Hepworth's entire *oeuvre* as an attempt to provide a spiritually uplifting refuge for a materialistic society, one must recognise that the bronzes represent Hepworth's efforts to offer her viewers a new, and clearer, means of accessing her agenda. By employing the carvings as an aid to understanding the bronzes, the spectator is indulging in a confused and self-defeating act. I suggest that the sculptor actively sought to 'lose' elements peculiar to

the earlier carvings because they hampered understanding of her motivation and ideals.

Throughout the previous chapters, I have suggested that a series of unfortunate associations with critics was responsible for many viewers' inherited responses to Hepworth's work. Interestingly this fact was observed, even by Kramer, who himself contributed to the problem. He wrote,

'Miss Hepworth is now not only an established figure, but an establishment figure. The catalogue of her exhibition carries the inevitable preface by Sir Herbert Read... In the preface to the catalogue of the Hepworth show, Sir Herbert himself reveals a certain nostalgia for this forgotten sculptural probity.'<sup>480</sup>

This is a most revealing comment for it indicates once more how, by consistently demanding the critical attention of Read for exhibition catalogues, Hepworth was limiting the range of appreciation which might have been beneficial- particularly in an American environment. Read also did not value Hepworth as much as Moore, of whom he always publicly approved, and was noticeably more comfortable when performing the function of an art historian of the High Modernist period, rather than that of critic in the 1950s and 1960s.



These reasons for the problematic reception of Hepworth in the United States are significant. It is unfortunate that they dogged Hepworth's career with regularity. Another detrimental occurrence was that one of the most successful exhibitions of Hepworth's career- her retrospective at the Whitechapel Gallery in 1962- almost exactly coincided with the publication of a book about her work by Hodin.<sup>481</sup>

This book received much publicity in terms of reviews, and yet it strongly reaffirmed Hodin's concept that Hepworth was a traditionally classical sculptor. For example, he served to confirm the common misconception that Hepworth was influenced by living in Italy-

'The impression which Italy made on the young artist was jubilant and lasting... Italy also gave her a deep sense of historic continuity.'<sup>482</sup>

Indeed the multitudinous references to the classical tradition illuminate the fact that Hodin wished to present his agenda. For instance he wrote,

'The abstract classicism of Barbara Hepworth's work... has made her a representative of the art of our industrial age,'<sup>483</sup>  
[and] 'she is: the personification of early Greek mind and taste.'<sup>484</sup>

However it is indicative of the dubious nature of Hodin's assertions, that- as with his writings of the 1950s<sup>485</sup>- he was forced to provide answers to the questions which the reader of his book must be posing. He rhetorically stated 'why of all the formal possibilities select the Greek ideal?' and even realised the need to admit that Hepworth had not easily incorporated the classical ideal (if she had at all). He confessed that she had actually assimilated many different ideologies:

'born into the European culture whose two main streams of ideology are to be recognised in its Greek and Judeo-Christian components, and living in an age when Europe enters upon a third heritage- that of a universal and even prehistoric cultural consciousness, Barbara Hepworth has after many trials found her self and her way.'<sup>486</sup>

It is unfortunate however, that the resulting impression is that Hepworth was able, after an initial struggle, to produce traditionally classical sculptures.

The fact that the dynamic Whitechapel exhibition occurred slightly later than the publication of Hodin's book, surely presented conflicting interpretations for the spectators of Hepworth's work. More specifically, the exhibition was organised by Bryan Robertson, who was also the inspiration behind Hepworth's 1954 exhibition at the same gallery.

Robertson was a most perceptive and accurate writer on Hepworth's sculpture, and he did attempt to encourage a more enthusiastic reception for the sculptor's work in countries such as the United States. The 1954 exhibition that he had organised was fundamental in establishing the reputation which Hepworth carried throughout the 1950s- it 'brought the artist complete recognition in her own country and a radical increase in personal stature';<sup>487</sup> and the same must be said of the 1962 exhibition.

Indeed, Robertson served to confirm all of the opinions which have been proposed in this chapter. As an unusual endorsement of Hepworth's emotive urges, he wrote,

'The English have always equated passion with thick paint or a roughened surface and laboured under the misconception that only a rather frenzied gesticulation of form can reveal true feeling.'<sup>488</sup>

Conversely he acted to assure the reader that the new bronzes were capable of crystallising energy and vigour which, I suggest, is more characteristic of the work of contemporaneous American artists-

'The new carvings and bronzes have a strength and a presence which few earlier sculptures fully realised. They are not simply larger. They are dynamic, and instinct with a compressed energy

which is quite new... the articulation is even more refined and subtle than in earlier forms, and completely synthesised with an expanding sense of form itself.<sup>489</sup>

It is important to note that, in contrast to Bowness,<sup>490</sup> when writing of Hepworth's carvings Robertson also perceived the elements of mystique which are more overtly present in the later bronzes. He wrote,

'weight is utterly denied, and its volume evaporates under the mystery of her own created form imposed over it- and this form *is* essentially mysterious.'<sup>491</sup>

It is important to remember that Robertson too emphasised that Hepworth was an individualistic artist, who was not easily judged on the same terms as her contemporaries. It has been my aim throughout this thesis to explore the reasons why a new interpretation of Hepworth is necessary, and to offer an alternative approach. It is most interesting that Robertson also stated,

'Hepworth was affected rather than directly influenced by the work of these innovators (Brancusi and Gabo), standing in direct spiritual opposition to each other; and the steadily growing strength of her imagination rapidly engendered a conception of sculpture which is entirely her own.'<sup>492</sup>

It is certainly essential to question the received paradigms which usually provide the only means of access to a study of Hepworth's sculptures. It is surely not coincidental that even Robertson's vocabulary seemed to hint that an alternative method of accessing Hepworth's work was possible: he wrote that she offered

'an invincibly *transcendental* sense of what might be if the world were better. Her own sculpture is a large and splendid gesture towards that happy state... Hepworth is in fact an energetic, supremely *disciplined* north countrywoman with an extremely *passionate* and *sensual* idea of beauty and of life.'<sup>493</sup>

I suggest that it is the combination of discipline and passion which has hindered the interpretation of her *oeuvre* for so long. Indeed it has already been recorded<sup>494</sup> that Hepworth acknowledged that her working process successfully resolved the tensions and turmoil with which she began each sculpture, but Robertson's statement confirms how comparable to the practice of certain Abstract Expressionist artists Hepworth's practice was.

For example Rothko produced resolved and minimalistic- almost barren paintings; but one must recall that, for him, the definition of transcendence was described negatively- as absence-

'the familiar identity of things has to be pulverised in order to destroy the finite associations.'<sup>495</sup>

The process of 'pulverising' identities, is one which requires great discipline, because much turmoil and emotion are necessarily subsumed in order to allow the viewer to transcend. As an artist who aimed- like Hepworth- to aid society, it was essential to deny the easy temptation to confront the viewer with his reaction to the materialistic and amoral society. It is much more difficult (but peculiar to both Hepworth and Rothko) to suppress the violent emotions which arise as a result of society; however it is therefore possible to engage the attention of viewers, who may then be coaxed into a transcendental realm, from which one is reluctant to remove.

It is significant that Robertson's Preface to the 1962 exhibition catalogue acknowledged these vital elements to Hepworth's sculpture, and one may question why this writing (despite the problems of Hodin's book and the lack of critical support) did not have greater effect. There was an initial and temporary reassessment of Hepworth's work, because many members of the press had read Robertson's Preface, and regurgitated his ideas in various texts. For example, The Burlington Magazine stated that

'perhaps the most intriguing thing about them is the way in which a number of emotional continental influences... have been resolved into an *oeuvre* of completely personal balance... above all is the sense of growing power and untrammelled exploration of form.'<sup>496</sup>

Similarly, the critic from The Times reported an unexpected impact-

'the first impression it gives... is not of coldness or austerity, but of colour... excursions into looser, more agitated forms than had been usual with her, seem to constitute whatever discreet shifts in tone or emphasis her work has undergone since.'<sup>497</sup>

However perhaps one lasting effect of Robertson's writing is that he made it clear that Hepworth was a political artist. Previously, Modernist artists had usually been associated with idealistic aims for society which had perhaps not been manifested.<sup>498</sup> For example, Anne Massey has referred to the fact that in the 1950s, many individuals such as Read, 'denounced their pre-war allegiances.'<sup>499</sup> Similarly, Robertson admitted that ideals for many did not remain; yet, with remarkable foresight, he chose to refer to Hepworth's relationship with the Secretary-General of the United Nations- Dag Hammarskjold. He wrote,

'She has kept, invincibly, a sense of truth embodied in a series

of responses to life in terms of social and political consciousness. Most of our ideals and principles get a little tarnished on the way, but Barbara Hepworth has still the indignation at political shabbiness and contempt for indifferent human behaviour. Dag Hammarskjold owned several of her works and admired her greatly. This sympathy was warmly returned and the bond is understandable.<sup>500</sup>

It is important that Robertson acted to deny the interpretation that Hepworth's works were socially indifferent and 'aloof'. This too helps to refute the idea that works which result in an inactive appearance, are actually the products of a passive imagination. As Rothko's paintings initially seem inactive, so Hepworth's sculptures have been resolved into an harmonious state after the artist's passions have been exorcised. Although it does not seem as if this latter connotation was subsequently observed by the press, it is apparent that many writers were interested in the fact that Hepworth had political consciousness. For example, in response to the 1962 Whitechapel exhibition, it was written that

'she has retained a passionate interest in world affairs, and has been quick to support such causes as racial equality, political freedom... and nuclear disarmament. In character she has something of the idealism and austerity of the late Dag Hammarskjold.'<sup>501</sup>



It is most interesting that Hepworth's relationship with Hammarskjold was mentioned on several occasions during this period. Obviously Hammarskjold's recent death had made him a subject for the newspapers, but his interest in Hepworth's sculpture was also frequently dwelt upon. Indeed the relationship between Hammarskjold and the sculptor was significant for it resulted in the creation of Hepworth's most important international commission.

In response to Hammarskjold's desire to erect a sculpture which epitomised striving towards peace, the United Nations commissioned Hepworth to create a sculpture. It was to fulfil the functions of being both a memorial to Hammarskjold and being the emotive work which he had originally envisaged. At the time when Robertson and various critics were writing of the mutual respect between Hepworth and Hammarskjold, it was not known that it was to lead to the most internationally significant work that Hepworth ever created. Indeed this work, which was entitled, Single Form. Memorial to Dag Hammarskjold (fig. 13), was positioned outside the United Nations Headquarters in New York in 1964, and thus occupied an internationally significant space for art. It is perhaps indicative of Hepworth's failure to clearly communicate her intentionality that little is known about this sculpture. Being positioned on such a prestigious site, it is all the more

significant that it has not since become an icon which represents freedom and morality. Hammarskjold's good reputation was such that one would presume such an important and charged commission would have resulted in the confirmation of Hepworth's status and fame on a more general level in the United States. Moore's status was, after all, assured in the United States, and he had not even experienced the same relationship with the prominent and universally respected Hammarskjold for example. However this state of affairs was never achieved and it is necessary to explore the reasons behind the situation. Indeed for the remainder of this chapter I shall be examining the issues which surround the United Nations Memorial sculpture.

From the initial stages of planning for this commission, Hepworth was aware that her international reputation was at stake to a much greater extent than ever before. Having learned from the problematic public reception of her maquette for the Unknown Political Prisoner Competition, Hepworth was careful to conceal from public eyes the small studies for the Memorial. She wrote,

'I would like to ask you at this point that the photos of the mock-up sent to me are not allowed to leave your hands as I am afraid they would do my reputation considerable harm.'<sup>502</sup>

In fact throughout the proceedings of the commission, Hepworth was particularly careful about the photographs of her work; for example she was reluctant to allow the commissioning committee to monitor the progress of the sculpture-

'Plaster is hideous material to photograph. I know that this form is right for the site and for the architecture.'<sup>503</sup>

Another example of Hepworth's caution was that she stated,

'I would be grateful if Bryan Robertson, Director of the Whitechapel Art Gallery could be present when the mock-up is placed in position.'<sup>504</sup>

Clearly, having been impressed by the handling of her second exhibition at the Whitechapel Art Gallery in 1962, Hepworth was confident that Robertson understood her intentions. She relied upon his judgement during this critical assessment of the sculpture, perhaps in the way that she had previously depended upon Read. One may therefore suggest that Hepworth had finally become more aware of the fact that Read's interest lay largely in her art of the 1930s and 1940s rather than in her more recent works.

Interestingly, the commissioners at the United Nations seemed to betray several anxieties about Hepworth's project- presumably because her work was not as internationally significant as sculptures by Henry Moore. They suggested juxtaposing the Hepworth sculpture with one by Moore, although this idea was mooted-

'Barbara is passionately devoted to the memory of Dag Hammarskjold... (Moore's) real interest is not so much Dag Hammarskjold... but his overmastering only passion, namely, to get his finest works displayed in the finest positions for the next centuries all over the world. On the whole, I think Hepworth might give up the project altogether rather than have a Henry Moore and a Barbara sited too near each other.'<sup>505</sup>

It was obviously recognised that dealers had successfully marketed Moore's sculpture, whereas Hepworth's international reputation had suffered in that respect. Perhaps one may suggest that if Hepworth too had succeeded in making productive contacts, her international reputation would have been established sooner and to a greater extent.<sup>506</sup> It is also instructive that, having selected Hepworth for the United Nations commission because she shared the ideals of Hammarskjold, the organisers began to hanker for the attractions of the more famous but less esoteric and emotive artist.<sup>507</sup>

Hepworth was, as usual, difficult and demanding during the arrangements for the Memorial; she wrote,

'I am very disturbed in case I lose my inspiration with all this messing about.'<sup>508</sup>

Moore was certainly perceived by the United Nations committee as a more reasonable personality,<sup>509</sup> however Hepworth was genuinely sensitive about the death of her friend Hammarskjold, and this perhaps limited the extent to which she was willing to compromise her ideas and listen to those of the committee. Hepworth had to effect several aims during the production of this sculpture, and perhaps these became prescriptive in her attempts to acquire a more prestigious reputation. Hepworth understood her United Nations commission in multivalent terms: not only was it a homage to Hammarskjold as a man and friend, but it was to reflect his philosophies which were behind the concept of the United Nations. She also understood her sculpture as a personal message to society; she wrote,

'If the arts, in all new forms can be recognised as valid, than all other forms of thinking (through U.N.) will be understood and become acceptable and part of our life in the future?'<sup>510</sup>

Indeed the social concerns and spirituality of Hepworth's work and philosophy were increasing throughout the 1960s, and this is manifested during the creation of this Memorial. Unusually, the sculptor began to employ more expressive vocabulary in order to present her idea: she wrote,

'I think the symbolism will be apparent to you. The sculpture is significant and my finished surface is expressive. When water plays on it the forms should appear to be rising up and expanding.'<sup>511</sup>

Evidently, as a result of the success of the Abstract Expressionist movement in America, the new acceptability of symbolism and expressiveness have influenced Hepworth to feel confident in employing these terms in correspondence with an American. Previous to the 1960s, Hepworth's use of these terms were confined to private correspondence such as to Read or Nicholson. Significantly, during her communications with United Nations personnel, Hepworth actively emphasised that her sculpture was dynamic- perhaps in a way which was not immediately obvious to most people- 'the surfaces are so different now ("expressive")'.<sup>512</sup> It might be suggested that Hepworth actively asserted these qualities because they were esteemed at that time by the

American audience, and because her work was particularly misunderstood in this respect- even in her own country.

Similarly Hepworth consistently expressed herself to Americans in terms which indicate her delight with the ambiguity between the conscious and unconscious mind. Presumably she realised that these interests would also have been easily understood in the United States, where the writings of Freud and Jung had long since been assimilated. For example she wrote,

'I feel that the really big events rise up to one's consciousness in an ever increasing image.'<sup>513</sup>

These comments must, however, also be seen as a further example of her increasing desire to explore the unconscious and the spiritual or mystical. It is apparent even to Bowness (who, like Hodin and Ramsden, prefers usually to perceive within Hepworth only classical ideas) that after the erection of the United Nations sculpture, Hepworth's interests had developed to encompass more. His remarks about her work after 1964 often take more account of her professed interest in what is usually considered to be 'surrealistic'.<sup>514</sup> Hepworth experimented with her work during the 1960s more than ever before,

and even wished to make her sculpture dematerialise with the aid of water-

'It would be very exciting to have a satisfactory scheme for the pond, and very exciting if occasionally the sculpture almost disappeared and then reappeared again.'<sup>515</sup>

This desire is most significant for it manifests an intention to challenge the whole concept of sculpture. No longer is the work to impact by its mass and size; the effect will be gained by confusing the viewer's faculties and stimulating the collective unconscious. It is apparent that this aim became only more confirmed over time, for even in 1971 Hepworth stated that 'I began to imagine the earth rising and becoming human.'<sup>516</sup> From 1963 onwards she exhibited a tendency to discuss the transmutations, obfuscations and sudden manifestations of her sculpture which, to Burnham at least, indicated the essential vitalism of her art.<sup>517</sup> These references confirm my earlier suggestion that Hepworth was interested in questioning the basic properties of sculpture.

It is interesting that, in 1963, Hepworth considered that the water of the accompanying site pool was the ideal means by which to achieve her aim of confusing or extending the definition of sculpture. She wrote,



'my first impression still remains and that is a great pity there are no vertical shafts of water... I find the horizontal water rather depressing and would like to have had the exhilaration of some vertical jets?'<sup>518</sup>

Water would have the advantage of constantly changing according to the prevailing winds, and therefore the effects of the sculpture would have been diverse. There is also the fact that the spray upon the surface of the work would have been another means to extending the sculptural repertoire. Hepworth was experimenting with the limits of sculpture: no longer did the range extend only to colour, material, shape or size. Many outside factors were available with which to create a much more intense and psychologically affective sculpture.

These concepts are all those which would have appealed easily to the American commissioners and critics. I suggest that rather than deliberately writing in this way to manipulate her audience, Hepworth was doing so because she was genuinely moving towards the American concepts of sculpture and art. Previously I have expressed how Hepworth was keen to be advised of the situation in the United States, and how she wished to be represented by a powerful New York dealer. Brumwell also interestingly reminded the United Nations staff of an incident over the Seagram Building in New York. He related that the

architect- Philip Johnson- had requested Henry Moore to create a sculpture to accompany Rothko's murals for the building. This greatly upset Hepworth who knew and admired Rothko, and wished to work with him, and it was left to Read to mediate between the two sculptors.<sup>519</sup> I have also previously emphasised how Hepworth wished to be considered as a developing sculptor, who wanted to experiment with the new contemporaneous concerns. Certainly an example of this is the description which Hepworth presented of the structural organisation of the United Nations sculpture.

In accordance with the fashionable Greenbergian principles of the day, Hepworth wrote of the importance of reminding one of the strictures of the medium-

'I would however, like to keep the grooved lines which show aesthetically the construction, as well as, include the powerful interior structure inside the sculpture itself... the indication of the structure adds great power on so massive a form and scale... I just hate faking and pretty-fying so large and strong a form... These grooves will hold added patina and colour and seem to me vital.'<sup>520</sup>

These comments are surely an indication of how Hepworth had become aware of the issues of art which were debated in the 1960s- particularly

between Greenberg and Rosenberg in the United States. However one must also acknowledge that these issues were also those which Hepworth had pre-empted, for she had always been concerned with the essential form of each material. The essential structure of each piece of stone and wood had always to a large extent dictated the form of a finished Hepworth sculpture. Therefore it is no real surprise that Hepworth was later able to assimilate the principles of Greenberg, which had so transformed American art, and it is important to finally record these facts.

The certainty with which one may state that the American staff at the United Nations building understood and were impressed by this reference to American culture, is as a result of the official press releases. One press release dealt exclusively with Hepworth's emphasis upon the limitations of the medium, and actually quoted from the sculptor's private letters to Bunche. It was written that

'each of its six sections is as large as can be cast in one piece of bronze. The lines of those sections have been maintained on one side of the sculpture to show aesthetically the construction and to indicate the powerful interior structure of the sculpture itself.'<sup>521</sup>

Hepworth was clearly writing with recent artistic arguments in mind, and one may speculate as to the extent of critical perceptiveness about her statements. She was clearly exhibiting a concordance with general artistic principles which were becoming increasingly important to the American art world in particular.

Perhaps a reason for the surprising subsequent neglect may be that, as had so often occurred, the commissioners of the United Nations project did not allow every one of Hepworth's ideas to materialise, and therefore her entire conception could not be realised. For example, the sprays of water were finally much smaller and less dramatic than the sculptor had originally hoped for, also the plinth in the centre of the surrounding water was not of the material and size that Hepworth had requested. The projected figures for the project were prematurely exceeded which meant that the desired granite plinth could not be purchased by the U.N. commissioners.

It is unfortunate, but true, that once more Hepworth's entire sculptural conception could not be effected. The United Nations Memorial, although much more pleasing to Hepworth than the Venice Biennale exhibition, was a similar example of the final effect being diluted by the strictures of bureaucrats. Hepworth also found it necessary to convince

the commissioners that the fountain area was an appropriate place for her sculpture to be sited. She wrote that,

'the existing form having come about through the inspiration of the pool and its location in relation to Mr. Dag Hammarskjold's ideas,'<sup>522</sup>

must be realised as she had imagined. It is important to record also that Hammarskjold had also wished for water to play on the proposed sculpture,<sup>523</sup> and therefore Hepworth was responsibly fulfilling her commission. In fact Hepworth did modify Hammarskjold's idea, for he had not taken into account how the stream of water that he had requested would affect the form of the sculpture,

'I feel that the blown spray is enough. We do not want a tumble of water drowning the form- but need instead, the glisten of spray on the texture of the bronze.'<sup>524</sup>

However after taking into account Hammarskjold's ideas, and modifying these with the sculptor's understanding of form and material, it is disconcerting that the Chief of Maintenance and Engineering Section should proffer his opinions which were not those of the artist. He wrote,

'I am not convinced that this sculpture should be used in the

fountain area.'<sup>525</sup>

Hepworth wanted the sculpture to be its present size of twenty-one feet high, whereas the extra expense involved was not greeted with support from the Headquarters. The commissioners also did not understand how this large and mainly solid form was to blend with the massive structure of the building behind- especially as the latter was primarily composed of windows. It was left to Hepworth to demand that her conception be accepted, as indeed these two latter ideas were finally-

'The question of size is a human one and related to human beings. It is not a decoration to architecture. I know the form will harmonise with the architecture and I know how Dag would have wished it to be.'<sup>526</sup>

Throughout the proceedings Hepworth asserted that her conceived form would exhibit the necessary qualities that had always been Hepworth's aim for vitalistic sculpture. She wrote,

'I feel it is just the right size and has the right amount of vigour as well as purity of form for the site... it has a real vitality and strength.'<sup>527</sup>

Indeed it is interesting that Hepworth stated that several critics concurred with her over this issue-

'three eminent critics have agreed with me about the power and vitality which exists in the bronze as it now appears. It was quite deliberate on my part of course and is part of my method of reinterpretation to scale.'<sup>528</sup>

One may presume that the three critics may have been (definitely) Robertson, and presumably Read and J.R.M. Brumwell.

Evidently Hepworth hoped that the United Nations commission would be received as the finest work of her career, and certainly the most prestigious. From an early stage she sought the advice of people such as Robertson, who were supportive in their assessments of the sculpture. In fact these critics may have been contacted for their opinions by the United Nations independently because another press release had the effect of preparing the journalists to see her finest work to date. For example The Times wrote that

'a report by the general purposes committee says that they are advised that this is the finest piece that Miss Hepworth has produced in recent years.'<sup>529</sup>

It is apparent that the American press did contemporaneously perceive this work to be Hepworth's most successful, and noticed many concordances with the art of their own country. In terms of general criticism of Hepworth's art, it was unusually noted that her sculpture exhibited characteristics such as turbulence and agitation, which were being increasingly explored by movements such as Abstract Expressionism in the United States at the time. For example, Breen wrote in a refreshing manner,

'Single Form... pulsates with a *dynamism* new to Miss Hepworth's work. She has always been interested in *movement*, in *rhythmic* curves and in height... Before Mr. Hammarskjold's death, Miss Hepworth explained that her work often sprang from a desire to express some particular *emotion*, idea or thought: a *turbulence* which, as the work proceeded, was gradually resolved into a rhythmic calm.'<sup>530</sup>

One may recall that, previous to the Venice Biennale exhibition, Hepworth emphasised that her work did actually refer to her turbulent emotions.<sup>531</sup> It seems that the Memorial sculpture did, to some extent, convince the American audience that Hepworth's sculpture was, like Brancusi's, a calm resolution of violent emotions.



It is apparent that, when discussing Hepworth, the American press employed vocabulary which was noticeably different to that which was used by art critics of other countries. For example, Whitman wrote,

'It was this *passion* that gave Dame Barbara's sculptures their warmth and seriousness. Even when the scale was huge, they conveyed a sense of *intimacy* and of *energy* that drew viewers to them.'<sup>532</sup>

It was rare for members of the English press to write of Hepworth's work in terms of 'passion' and 'energy', but this was not at all uncommon with American writers. Even Kramer, who did not like Hepworth's work, wrote that her work exhibited

'two views of feeling representing two attitudes towards art- one absorbed in the spiritual world of pure ideated form, the other deeply responsive to the morphology of nature.'<sup>533</sup>

This was a sophisticated argument which exhibited an understanding of the dialectic within Hepworth's work, and indeed Dore Ashton, who had always understood this quality, was able to write in response to the United Nations sculpture,

'Hepworth's is still the most compelling example of publicly-sited

sculpture in my city... proving that there can be a poetry of exchange between nature and metropolis.'<sup>534</sup>

In fact this understanding of the compatible duality of strict formal qualities and fierce emotion is something which Hepworth always wished everyone to know. One reason why she felt such compatibility with Hammarskjold was that he too understood the delicate balance in her work which increasingly enabled the exposition of her spirituality. At the unveiling of the United Nations Memorial, it was made clear to the audience that this was why Hepworth had been selected as the sculptor. Astrom said,

'(Hammarskjold) held that only through the sensitive application of strict form can the chaotic elements of human experience be controlled and organised in meaningful artistic patterns. He conceived a form not as a shackle but as a liberating force, as the very vehicle of expression.'<sup>535</sup>

These comments illustrate the similarity between Hepworth's working process and philosophy, to those of the contemporaneous American artists. For example Rothko wrote,

'On shapes... They have no direct association with any particular visible experience, but in them one recognises the principle and passion of organisms.'<sup>536</sup>

Rothko, too, employed a restrictive form in order to manipulate the 'passion of organisms'. Hammarskjold had, at an early stage in his relationship with Hepworth, realised this quality in her sculptures. He attempted to explain these sensations which have eluded many writers, in the form of poetry, which is perhaps an easier medium for the explication of complex concepts. He wrote a poem entitled Single Form as a response to the small sculpture of the same name which Hepworth had presented to him and which was a precursor to the Memorial sculpture:

'The breaking wave  
and the muscle as it contracts  
deny the same law.  
Delicate line  
gathers the body's total strength  
in a bold balance.  
Shall my soul meet  
so severe a curve, journeying  
on its way to form?'<sup>537</sup>

Hammarskjold captured the same concept that Rothko and Hepworth desired their viewers to understand: the controlled power and emotion

which is inherent in even the most restrictive of forms. In fact Hepworth read Hammarskjold's poetry and wrote,

'I read the proofs of Markings by Dag Hammarskjold. Strange- it all fitted my letters. There seem to be many key points in these writings.'<sup>538</sup>

It may therefore be apparent that American art critics at last were beginning to understand Hepworth's sculpture- perhaps as a result of the experience of learning to comprehend the dualities of Abstract Expressionism. It is important to record that in the United States- unlike anywhere else in the world- Hepworth's sculpture and painting was collected and exhibited freely and juxtaposed with works which, until now, would have been considered discordant. Indeed, the most notable American collectors often related Hepworth to Abstract Expressionist painters in terms of the position of her sculptures within their collections. For example Jack Greenbaum, an important collector of Abstract Expressionist paintings, apparently did not consider Hepworths to be at all inconsistent with his other works- none of which were by English artists. He owned Hollow Form (Penwith) and exhibited it, according to photographs, with Noguchi's Bird C (Mu).<sup>539</sup> He was an intimate friend of De Kooning, Kline and Weber, and indeed apart from the Hepworth work that he owned, all others were by prominent

American artists, most of whom were associated with the Abstract Expressionist movement. His scrapbook<sup>540</sup> illustrates his interests which extended to Segal, De Kooning, Kline, Noguchi, Newman, Hepworth and Bolotowsky.

A similar approach to the acquisition of art is apparent in the collection of Joe Hirshhorn, which has resulted in the Hirshhorn Sculpture Garden at Washington D.C. Most of the collection is taken up with works by Noguchi, Smith and other American sculptors, however the Hirshhorns were particularly keen to own works by Hepworth, and they developed a good personal relationship with the sculptor. As Olga Hirshhorn writes,

'Joe was most enthusiastic about her work and considered her on the level of Henry Moore... we attended the unveiling of the U.N. sculpture. At that time I know Joe felt she was an acclaimed artist... Our Greenwich grounds held over 150 pieces of sculpture including Porthmeor.'<sup>541</sup>

Generally, American collectors may be perceived to relate British and American artists with no difficulty. There is not the same British consciousness of the personal background of each artist, because the formal qualities, message and philosophy of each artist are considered to be more important for the collection of art. One need only examine

localised documents to perceive how previously unrelated artists are juxtaposed. For example Marcia and Fred Weissman exhibited Moore, Pollock, Albers, Rothko, Calder, Lipchitz and Giacometti together.<sup>542</sup> Similarly, American journalists were not afraid to link European and American artists, but this characteristic is not noticeable in the works of their British counterparts. Indeed in discussion of Nevelson- a sculptor who bears much comparison with Hepworth- Brenson wrote that in Black Crescent of 1971

'the crescent shaped wall bends around and encloses the viewer like Pollock's largest drips.'<sup>543</sup>

Therefore it is apparent that, in the 1960s, both American collectors and writers were prepared to effect interesting and enlightening juxtapositions between artists, when perhaps their only noticeable equivalent in Great Britain was Robertson. Importantly, Americans also did not consider it paradoxical to discuss the critical issues of Abstract Expressionism in personal conversation with Hepworth. Indeed Nicholson related how

'(Wittenborn) and Barbara raised one conversation which brought up all sorts of interesting points- it commenced in reference to 'magic' in sculpture- some of Barbara's points- she said she ought to write about in between making

sculpture.<sup>1544</sup>

Evidently Hepworth became increasingly interested in 'magic'- which is the powerful impact which art may have upon one's unconscious- and perhaps even in myths, the occult, and ancient cultures: all of which were vital for the most important post-war American movements. It has already been expressed<sup>545</sup> how Read considered that Moore was a sculptor who explored 'magic' and yet, for Read, as for the majority of his English counterparts, Hepworth was to remain an essentially classic sculptor for whom myths were irrelevant.

There were attempts to comprehend the increasing difficulty which writers in Britain were having in understanding Hepworth's work of the late 1950s and 1960s. For example Shepherd wrote,

'One cannot sum up the work of someone who in 1963... seems to have taken on a new strength and widened her range of expression.'<sup>546</sup>

It was evident at this period that Hepworth's work was changing, and it was becoming impossible to reconcile new work- especially those in bronze- with earlier sculptures. However it would certainly have resulted in a more successful body of criticism if authors had attempted

to expel preconceptions and overwrought paradigms in favour of an American-type critique. For Shepherd illustrated how, despite acknowledging problems in assessing Hepworth's latest work, British critics could not release Hepworth's *oeuvre* from the strictures of classicism-

'time spent in quiet meditation in front of her work, indicate Hepworth's imagination and innovations, the classical qualities... the classical grace and proportion of this expression.'<sup>547</sup>

Clearly there is some confusion in Shepherd's approach, for it is difficult to reconcile imagination and expression with proportion and classicism without recourse to a concept such as vitalism, which encompasses all of these qualities.

Similarly, after the erection of the United Nations sculpture, although there are signs that writers may have been approaching this present interpretation of Hepworth's later work, criticism is awkward. Although Hepworth should, and could not be classed as an Abstract Expressionist, it is useful to explore the preoccupations and progress of that movement as a means effectively to understand Hepworth's *oeuvre*. As I have previously indicated that Hepworth's sculpture, as a result of the assimilation of new- particularly American- movements, shared



characteristics such as planar ambiguity with painting, so contemporaneous authors occasionally express a similar idea. For example, Whittet seemed to concur with my interpretation, for he wrote,

'The surfaces of rough cast bronze and perfectly engraved circular outline suggest the ambiguity of paint and canvas.'<sup>548</sup>

Interestingly this interpretation also results in my own conclusion- that this ambiguity 'increases the sculptor's stature as an international "star."<sup>549</sup> Baro, too, examined the works of the mid-1960s in terms of planar ambiguity which, I suggest, is the technique that relates Hepworth's sculpture to her painting. He wrote,

'Sphere with Colour (Grey and White) 1965, creates the illusion of an interior space... with the contrasting painted discs carved in slightly different planes... the forms are at once open and the same time in a fixed and in a fluid relationship.'<sup>550</sup>

It is unfortunate that these interpretations have remained unexplored, and thus appear as aberrations outside of the general consensus. If attention had been paid to this small 'maverick' quantity of criticism, then perhaps the current general comprehension of Hepworth's work would have been enriched.

Similarly there are also more occasional references to 'magic' during the 1960s which should have encouraged critics not to perceive Hepworth and Moore as polarised alternatives. For example, Marchiori wrote that,

'Moore... turn(ed) to that kind of modern expression that, with a general word, can be defined "magic"...The same shining magic is the result of the first artistical experiences of Barbara Hepworth.'<sup>551</sup>

However Hodin still wrote prolifically on Hepworth and acted to reverse the internationalisation of the sculptor if possible. He disapprovingly stated that,

'all these artists have lost, not only their provinciality but even their nationality, for one would not now describe either Moore or Sutherland as typically "British", and even Ben Nicholson and Barbara Hepworth... are equally acceptable to Venezuela and Japan.'<sup>552</sup>

It is important to recognise that even Hodin had, by 1965, reluctantly recognised that Hepworth was an internationally significant sculptor. Why, therefore, has this reputation not survived until the 1990s? Presently it is not at all accepted that Hepworth ever enjoyed real

significance in countries such as the United States, even though it is understood that her works are held in significant locations.<sup>553</sup>

Throughout this chapter I have asserted that Hepworth's international reputation suffered as a result of the network of critics who were ostensibly prepared to offer the sculptor critical support. Instead of actually promoting Hepworth, I suggest that each writer adhered to a personal agenda. They did not effect in reality the steps that they assured Hepworth were about to be undertaken. As evidence for my claims I refer to a statement made by Herbert Read. Having been an advocate of High Modernism, it becomes clear that Read appreciated the intimacy of that movement, to the detriment of resulting manifestations in Hepworth's style. For example he stated,

'In the past fifty years two developments have taken place that have as their aim the promotion of an international style in the arts. In the capitalist world the motive is economic... To meet the demands of an international market art is now subject to international methods of promotion and distribution... The motive behind a similar phenomenon in the communist countries is political. Art is conceived as a powerful instrument of propaganda.'<sup>554</sup>

Perhaps for Read, as well as others such as Hodin, Hepworth's later attempts to enlarge the size of her sculptures, to alter their style until they became more 'open-form', and to have them cast into bronze, might have had negative connotations of placing economic viability above the subjective need to express. It is possible that, by effecting a dramatic change of priority, accompanied by changes of style and medium, Hepworth might have been observed to value income and public attention above real artistic vision. Read seemed to support this interpretation for he stated,

'Art is no longer the expression of a personal vision or of a subjective experience; it becomes an objective record of contemporary events. Such an art is also international in its scope and uniform in its style.'<sup>55</sup>

He obviously emphasised the importance of the subjective and personal-qualities which deteriorate as art becomes of greater international appeal.

As soon as Hepworth accepted the possibility of her works being cast into bronze editions, her sculptures began to become more economically successful and, because they were then durable, sold well to foreign countries. Presumably Read interpreted Hepworth's United Nations

sculpture as an example of the dissolution of a private and subjective programme, and did not completely approve of the event. The large size of the sculpture also detracted from his prescribed aim of intimacy. Ironically, although Hepworth came to rely upon younger critics- such as Robertson- she never understood that Read, for example, unwittingly had a negative impact upon her career. Indeed, even in 1965, Hepworth wrote to Read to say, 'without you the course of "history" might have been different.'<sup>556</sup> Undoubtedly this is true with regard to her early works, and the *oeuvres* of many other artists such as Moore, but he respectfully chose not to support Hepworth's later sculpture. It is certain that the sculptor considered herself fortunate to have received Read's attention; however one may suggest that if she had been more accepting of the critiques of other writers, perhaps the contemporary interpretation of Hepworth's significance and importance would have been different.

## **CHAPTER FOUR. The Final Phase: Provincial Content but Critical Anxiety.**

'Some artists take time to come to terms with themselves: they have to make inspired improvisations as to what is their natural style of expression. Intelligent ones evolve, perhaps through several styles and technical devices to a final discovery of themselves.'<sup>557</sup> - A. Gordon- The Connoisseur.

The previous chapter examined the events which led up to the production of Hepworth's most prestigious commission- the United Nations Memorial sculpture. Particularly important events included the Unknown Political Prisoner Competition at the Tate Gallery in 1954, and the exhibitions at the Whitechapel Gallery in 1954 and 1962. All of these occasions were instrumental in improving Hepworth's status as an internationally important artist- although they ought to have been more effective in doing so. Often the reasons why an event was not as effective as it ought to have been were beyond the control of Hepworth and her promoters; however, there seem to have been many occasions on which true success was impossible to achieve because vital critics and dealers lacked confidence.

A most important factor which one has to consider was the attitude of the British specialist press, because if Hepworth was to succeed outside of the United Kingdom, it was essential first to gain the approval of the commentators in this country. The various reactions of the press to certain points within Hepworth's career have been examined earlier, however it is necessary to perceive how the British contingent assessed the most important work of her career. It has been noted earlier that the American reaction to the United Nations sculpture was positive and, in particular, displayed insight. Also it must be recorded that

'she had good feedback from the German press, and more reviews about her U.N. project from there than anywhere else.'<sup>558</sup>

Unfortunately a most typical British reaction to the United Nations sculpture is that expressed by Robert Melville. He regretted the change in style, size and medium which should have meant that Hepworth was reassessed as an artist in her later years:

'Her fame has brought her many large commissions in recent years, but she is not a monumental artist, and her very big works look rather vacant. From time to time she attempts to refer to the human image, but she only succeeds in spoiling her abstract forms with a weak and irritating anthropomorphism.'<sup>559</sup>

Like most members of the British critical body, as well as the public, he found the bronze works, but particularly the largest sculptures, to be alienating. Hepworth was forced for many years to create small works for financial reasons; as soon as it was possible to do so, she made sculptures of the size that she desired, but the critical response to larger sculptures is usually disappointingly negative. Melville's response is a typical indication of the critical understanding of Hepworth's late work.

The 1960s are characterised by writings which regretfully observe that Hepworth's sculptures had become too large, and were not as often worked from beautiful and unusual woods and stone. For example The Burlington Magazine wrote that,

'her grander pieces appear large rather than monumental and...  
unlike Moore, she is also at her best on a small scale.'<sup>560</sup>

As has previously been observed of Read's later interpretation of Hepworth, it is evident that critics had neatly compartmentalised the sculptor. She was observed to have made an impact during the 1930s, and although Moore was perceived to develop as an artist, changes in Hepworth's *oeuvre* went unremarked- and may have been avoided or ignored. In bibliographic terms the 1960s were ostensibly important years for the sculptor, as there were many reviews and texts written



about the plethora of exhibitions which were compiled about Hepworth. These seem to confirm an international standing, but in fact they are almost all written retrospectively, with particular emphasis upon the 1930s. Few refer to Hepworth's contemporaneous production, and certainly not as a significant body of work.

A particularly ironic year was 1968. This was the year which saw the supposedly most significant exhibition of Hepworth's career- the major retrospective at the Tate Gallery. It also witnessed the production of another book<sup>561</sup> about the sculptor which was written by A.M. Hammacher, who was a friend who had made useful comments on Hepworth in the past. It is apparent that these events were detrimental to one who wished to be considered as still contributing to the field for, obviously, they were both historical in interpretation. To Hepworth they must have seemed beneficial because large-scale retrospectives confirm the importance of an artist, as do biographies; however, with the advantage of hindsight, one might assert that they reaffirmed the tendency of the press to historicise the sculptor. Hepworth believed that her work was still developing, and that she should still be considered as avant-garde, yet this opinion was not easily held by others as a result of the events of 1968.

Indeed to an American this was even more apparent. Barbara Reise (who was an important critic of the post-Greenbergian era) commented on the alienating qualities of Hammacher's book. She wrote,

'to a foreigner it all seems terribly British, terribly upper-middle-class, and terribly dated: Cornwall and Hampstead, Delos and Siena, and cosy bohemian domesticity is *not* where its happening *now*, baby. And in the internationally-minded 1960s it is unnerving to read a book which seems proud (smug?) about indigenous provincialism, no matter how creative... the book is obviously aimed at the general British reader... For she emerges justly as a very likeable person, whose artistic activity will shock few, terrify nobody, and be respected primarily by the general British reading public.'<sup>562</sup>

Reise's review was significant because it noted that Hammacher's book emphasised 'indigenous provincialism'. Interestingly Reise also expressed how inappropriate this was for the cosmopolitan tendencies of the 1960s even though she (I suggest, wrongly,) believed that it characterised Hepworth. To an American audience, Hepworth's 'provincialism' must have seemed even more marked and more anomalous than it did to the British audience. Evidently, despite making interesting observations about Hepworth's work,<sup>563</sup> Hammacher attempted to portray Hepworth as provincial, even to the British, and therefore her work was marginalised to the majority of people even in

this country. In fact Hammacher acted to separate Hepworth's attempts to become known internationally and the actuality of her existence in Cornwall- thereby confirming the usual consensus that Hepworth was a provincial artist. He wrote,

'These bronzes heralded the latest phase in her work- a phase in which international recognition has at last brought her commissions, prizes, distinctions. They do not interfere with the solitary, creative life she had been leading, at her work in her Trewyn Studio at St. Ives.'<sup>564</sup>

It seems that Hammacher recalled the reader to the fact that Hepworth worked in Cornwall, and that this was more or as important than the fact that her sculptures stand outside the United Nations Headquarters and in the Museum of Modern Art in New York. In fact this trivialised Hepworth because she was then perceived as an eccentric small-town figure, rather than an historically and, I suggest, contemporaneously important artist.

This text must certainly have been detrimental, coinciding as it did with the similar interpretation of Hepworth's work which was provided by the Tate Gallery in 1968. Yet the content of all of Hepworth's correspondence leads one to assert that attaining international

significance was vital to her self-esteem and artistic programme. Indeed the fact that, in 1964, Hepworth presented the Tate Gallery with some of her works, only supports my interpretation. The Tate Gallery had not acted to pursue the collection of Hepworth sculptures, as they had done with works by Moore, and this was parallel to the policy of the Museum of Modern Art in New York, which has been examined in Chapter Three. Evidently Hepworth was aware that the Tate did not contain a representative collection of her works, and therefore decided to present quite a substantial body to the institution. It is noticeable that, with this presentation, Hepworth did not exhibit the same caution and self-consciousness that she had when Valentin announced the offer of his sculpture to the Museum of Modern Art in New York.<sup>565</sup> This therefore suggests that Hepworth had become, like Moore, more aggressive about promotion of her work, which is perhaps a reason why the 1960s did actually lead to a higher international profile for the sculptor- despite the derogatory quality of exhibitions and critiques.

It is interesting to note that some writers observed the previous dearth of Hepworth sculptures at the Tate Gallery, for Nicolson wrote

'The acquisition in 1964 of seven pieces of sculpture and two drawings by Barbara Hepworth fills an outstanding gap in the Tate Gallery's collection, which previously included only five

examples of her work from the late forties and fifties. This brings the Gallery's representation of Barbara Hepworth in line with that of Henry Moore and gives a more balanced idea of her development.'<sup>566</sup>

Certainly this act must have drawn attention to Hepworth for, in 1965, she became a Trustee of the Tate Gallery. In 1967 Hepworth once more made a substantial gift of her own work to the Tate Gallery by presenting a further nine sculptures. Perhaps this act, in addition to the donations of 1964, contributed to the Tate Gallery's decision to hold a major retrospective of her work in 1968- perhaps they almost felt obliged to return the favours. The Gallery now had a large holding of Hepworth sculptures and drawings, and perhaps Hepworth's donations could be construed as acts of pressure upon the institution?

Hepworth was undoubtedly delighted to have been granted this important exhibition which even pre-empted the one granted later to Ben Nicholson at the Tate Gallery. She wrote,

'I have, myself, been richly rewarded by the high attendance at the Tate and the huge sale of catalogues.'<sup>567</sup>

However although it aroused much attention, and attracted large crowds, one may now perceive that it acted to historicise and compartmentalise the sculptor. For example, Alley's catalogue introduction stated,

'That in the course of the 1930s British art emerged from a more or less provincial condition and became part of the international mainstream was largely due to three artists... Henry Moore, Ben Nicholson and Barbara Hepworth... (these were) the first British artists fully to understand the revolutionary developments of the School of Paris.'<sup>568</sup>

Ostensibly Alley understood Hepworth as an internationally important artist. However it is surely significant that although this was an exhibition of Hepworth's work, he referred first to Moore and Nicholson. Similarly, although it appears that Alley emphasised Hepworth's international significance, in reality he acted to relate the sculptor only to past *French* traditions. This must mean that Hepworth was not currently significant in Alley's perception, because the School of Paris was acknowledged by most to have given way to American artists by 1968. The Second World War meant that Paris in particular was no longer a safe place for artists to reside, consequently many emigrated to the perceived safety of the United States which, of course, did not enter the war until December 1941. This meant that New York became a place where artists of many nationalities mixed and influenced

each other and, it has been suggested,<sup>569</sup> this led to the formation of the first avant-garde American movements. The School of Paris therefore, is usually stated in reference to French art movements of earlier centuries- or to movements in the early part of the twentieth century. Furthermore, as was usual, Alley referred to Hepworth in tired and inappropriate terms as a 'classical' sculptor-

'Barbara has always striven for a kind of classical, timeless beauty and order.'<sup>570</sup>

Evidently Alley had difficulty in assessing Hepworth's most recent developments, which included the 'anomalous' Construction (Crucifixion) 1966, (fig. 46)<sup>571</sup> of which Hepworth was extremely proud. He wrote,

'Looking at Barbara Hepworth's recent work we can see that it is more varied than that of any of her earlier periods with possibilities leading in a number of different directions.'<sup>572</sup>

It becomes apparent that Alley was largely referring to the variety of materials and the size in which Hepworth worked. The fact that many new styles were explored was not understood, and certainly Alley did not attempt to explain this.

In fact the catalogue on the whole is flawed. For example, Nicolette Gray's essay, 'Barbara Hepworth 1927-1936. The English Background'<sup>573</sup> served to anchor Hepworth's work once more in the English paradigm. Certainly the work of Moore or Nicholson would not have been so overtly related to the concept of 'Englishness' despite the fact that both those figures could also be associated with the remote English countryside. Gray's essay becomes even more ironic for it is juxtaposed with a colour plate of Hepworth's recent painting, Genesis III (fig. 25). This is precisely one of those works which the catalogue did not attempt to assess. This painting, as has been described in Chapter Two,<sup>574</sup> is similar in style and concept to works by the Abstract Expressionists in the United States; and surely it has to be understood as one of the most widely referenced works that Hepworth had ever produced. It is paradoxical that this painting was chosen to accompany an essay which relegates the sculptor to a simply English paradigm.

It might in fact be suggested that Hepworth was rather more pleased with the public reaction to the 1968 exhibition, than with the exhibition itself. Her comments often referred to the public perception: for example she wrote that she had received,



'so many moving letters from strangers all of whom loved "touching" the sculptures altho' against orders... In my crits. many have spoken of the sensuality contained in my sculptures despite the outward classical and disciplined exterior. All want to touch. That is as it should be.'<sup>575</sup>

It is possible that Hepworth was unhappy with the Tate Gallery's policy that no works should be touched by the public. Individuals have recalled<sup>576</sup> that if Hepworth was present in the exhibition rooms, she argued with invigilators if they instructed members of the public not to handle the works. It is interesting that Hepworth also confirms my interpretation of her works as innately sensuous here; despite an apparent classicism, they are actually not compatible with the traditional understanding of 'classical'. Evidently she believed that the public was unconsciously expressing a reaction to the sensuality of her sculptures when they touched a work. The policy of preventing such a reaction was detrimental to an exhibition of the sculptures.

It is almost certainly for the reason of providing a more direct sensuous experience for the viewer that Hepworth commenced a series of 'walk-through' sculptures (fig. 34) during the 1960s. Viewers were meant literally to walk through the body of the sculptures, thereby experiencing each work in a sensual and personal way. It is often not explored, but

Hepworth wished to provide overt and direct physical sensations for the spectators of her sculpture, as exemplified by her comments to Nicholson. She wrote,

'I'm just finding the strength to finish a huge one for a glorious site. It's a "walk-into"- a starred maze- a moon form. You'll hate it no doubt. But it gives me spiritual and physical joy. You've never liked arrogant sculptures nor fierce forms- but I do.'<sup>577</sup>

This statement is a most interesting confirmation of my earlier suggestion<sup>578</sup> that Nicholson had been a repressive force throughout Hepworth's career. Even in the 1930s he had disliked any 'expressionistic' form, but when Hepworth attempted to produce overtly affective works in the 1960s, it was impossible for her not to produce obvious dynamic, or 'fierce forms' which, she knew, would offend Nicholson.

Evidently the decision to make larger and more physically engaging sculptures throughout the 1960s and 1970s was also stimulated by the realisation that many people were being presented with a distorted perception of the sculptures from exhibition catalogues and other visual material. Hepworth regularly expressed irritation about the inadequacy of photographic illustrations of her sculptures. For example she wrote,

'No photo. ever reveals the detailed emotion of a huge one of 15 ft. It just looks empty.'<sup>579</sup>

Therefore one might assert that, by creating such physically affective works, the sculptor was attempting to provide a more direct experience for the viewer. A photograph of a sculpture which patently required the viewer to move through it, would perhaps better explain Hepworth's intentions for sculpture generally, and give a indication of how one would want to react to the work in reality. Moreover, when a spectator actually experienced such a work, Hepworth believed that there would be no further possibility of misunderstanding her intention. An imposing monumental sculpture such as Walk-Through 1966 (fig. 34) would directly inform the viewer that his or her body was required to offer a response to the work. In fact this suggestion is confirmed by Hepworth's comments to Bowness-

'You can walk through these works just by looking at the photographs. You can climb through the Divided Circle- you don't need to do it physically to experience it.'<sup>580</sup>

Hepworth believed that such clear efforts on her part to engage the spectator would prevent the increasing evaluation of her sculpture as

inexpressive. She clearly expressed to Nicholson that sculpture, for her, was highly sensual; she wrote,

'In fact I get so much intense and sensuous pleasure out of it that it is almost a Yorkshire sin!'<sup>581</sup>

However it is interesting that Hepworth also justifies my thesis, for she wrote that,

'I have deliberately studied the photos. of my early dreams of large works done in 1938-39... these dreams have matured and so have my abilities. This is not retrograde- it is for me, a fulfilment of my life-long ideas.'<sup>582</sup>

Hepworth stated that her work was sensual, and yet also commented on how like it was to her earlier productions. These words therefore support my understanding of Hepworth as a consistently dynamic and affective sculptor who, like her American contemporaries, wished to provide work which was an aid for spiritual and physical exploration. Earlier works may have been unsuccessful in conveying Hepworth's message, but the intention behind them was the same as for the later works. Clearly even the large bronze sculptures were not an aberration or a deviation from the sculptor's usual course- but they were a later manifestation of a consistent programme. To most writers the later

works are difficult to criticise and classify for they appear to be motivated by new concerns;<sup>583</sup> however it is interesting that, in the statements quoted above, Hepworth confirms my understanding of her entire *oeuvre* as an attempt to simultaneously engage both one's spiritual and physical capacities.

Evidently Hepworth's works had failed in the past to convince her viewers and critics of their intention. During the 1960s the sculptor seemed to appreciate this fact and wished to alter the general consensus about her production. A more overtly spiritual and physical approach was put into operation, as has already been expressed, but this simultaneously had the advantage of allowing Hepworth to more clearly express her consistent interest in ancient cultures and the metaphysical, as will be explained below. Curtis has indicated how Hepworth had been influenced by Christian Science,<sup>584</sup> and one may question how this concern was, for example, manifested visually in the earlier, supposedly intellectual and classical sculptures. She was influenced by Christian Science, but was unable to find the best means of expression for such interests. Similarly Hepworth's friendship with Mondrian made concrete the interest which she had exhibited in the ideals of Theosophy since her student days in Leeds. Throughout her career the sculptor was fascinated by ancient rituals and cultures, and the evolution of man's

consciousness and the importance of the unconscious. Often these concerns are not immediately apparent in Hepworth's sculptures, and yet they were actually permanent interests. However, as has been expressed in Chapters Two and Three, bronze was a much more suitable material for allowing these interests to become evoked. Sculptures of the 1960s and 1970s are more clearly concerned with the issues which had actually intrigued Hepworth throughout her career. The new large forms and powerful shapes enabled this latent interest to be, for once, effectively expressed.

As the sculptor wrote,

'Re curves and straight lines- there's nothing intellectual about this... you instinctively obey all the very primitive laws when you work on a big scale.'<sup>585</sup>

Although the 'primitive laws' had always been fundamental to Hepworth, she found it necessary later to work on a more expressive large scale, and in turn, this necessitated a greater attention to these laws. Hepworth had always understood that

'I rarely draw what I see- I draw what I feel in my body.  
Sculpture is a three-dimensional projection of primitive feeling:  
touch, texture, size and scale, hardness and warmth, evocation

and compulsion to move, live and love.'<sup>586</sup>

However this was only occasionally understood by critics such as Robertson. It has been indicated in Chapter Three<sup>587</sup> that the latter was unusual in emphasising these qualities about Hepworth's sculpture. It is largely for this reason that Hepworth approved so of Robertson for, as she wrote,

'I have been surprised to find how terribly muddled people are. Only a few, in the whole of one's life experience can think clearly... Fortunately for the growth of my show Bryan is a wonderfully clear person of great integrity and purpose.'<sup>588</sup>

It is apparent that the majority of viewers and critics were unable to understand the subtlety of Hepworth's approach. She was perceived, as has previously been expressed, as a classical sculptor simply because geometry was an important element within the works, and any difference between Hepworth and Moore (such as Hepworth's greater use of geometrical elements) was over-emphasised in an attempt to locate them in significant relationship. Despite having gained a reputation as an intimidating and intellectually rigorous sculptor, Hepworth's status did not subsequently rise as a result of attempting more overtly dynamic and less visually severe sculptures. Her

international significance did increase throughout the 1960s, but this was as a result of a more prolific output with the aid of bronze, and was also a result of belated recognition of the 1930s and 1940s sculptures. She never received serious critical attention as a result of contemporaneous reactions to her new works of the 1960s and 1970s, even if she did receive notice as a result of her earlier sculptures. It has already been expressed that Construction (Crucifixion) (fig. 46) irritated many commentators because it seemed to be a deviation; yet as Hepworth wrote,

'Look back at my drawings. I wanted to go free. I'd been experimenting with colour in relation to bronze, and I wanted to go free and hang up a circle. Why shouldn't I? It seems to upset people: I find it very serene and quiet.'<sup>589</sup>

Evidently the art press retained preconceptions about Hepworth's work for, earlier in her career, writers, such as reporters from The Times, The Observer and The Telegraph, had (often negatively) understood the forms to be severe and intellectual, whereas later most believed that Hepworth was deviating, ironically to her detriment. It was never understood that Hepworth's later large bronze works, in their difference, indicated a continuity with her earlier sculptures. Paradoxically critics always referred to her later stone or wood sculptures, such as Elegy III



1966, as the work of one who consistently refined one theme. It is exactly this contradiction which is evident in the catalogue to the 1968 Tate Gallery exhibition. Alley wrote,

'she is an artist who is constantly building on her own achievement by developing and enervating it.'<sup>590</sup>

Yet he also acknowledged the fact that the later works were far more diverse, particularly in terms of material and size. There was a clear intention to avoid referring to the bronze sculptures which, critics seem to concur, constitute a maverick period during the sculptor's career. This tendency continues in the 1990s, for the recent retrospective at the Tate Gallery Liverpool contained very few works in metal- thereby confirming the general prejudice in favour of the sculptures made from wood or stone.

Nevertheless, Hepworth herself acted to de-mystify both the large sculptures, and those which were formed out of bronze, for she wrote,

'I always wanted to mature the Monumental Stele of 1935-36 (which was lost in the war) and have done so.'<sup>591</sup>

By writing this, Hepworth importantly acted to remind one that not only were the bronzes and larger sculptures only a natural progression from the earlier works, but also that the earlier works have been consistently and completely misinterpreted. If a 'matured' Monumental Stele is an appropriate sculpture to add to the later collection, then there is not the division between periods which one has been led to believe. Similarly Hepworth reminds one that large sculptures and their concepts were always the sculptor's intention; small sculptures were usually only that size because it was impractical to produce larger ones.<sup>592</sup> Hepworth had always thought in terms of monumental sculptures, and although writers have often expressed that her small works seem monumental, it is still believed to be paradoxical that Hepworth, of all artists should produce such large works.

It is evident however that, being at last able to produce large-scale sculptures, the new problems which these posed actually emphasised the issues with which Hepworth had been grappling throughout her career. Specifically I am referring to those underlying concerns which have enabled me to juxtapose Hepworth with the Abstract Expressionists. As the sculptor wrote, 'dealing in bulk and depth poses very different problems.'<sup>593</sup> The new requirements of the massive bronzes of the 1960s and 1970s- such as how to move the heavy weight and how physically to

react to the large scale- meant that permanent interests, such as archaism and the primeval, were particularly well expressed as the themes for these works. No longer did Hepworth's body tower over small sculptures or match them in size; she now realised that she could climb in and out of the apertures of large bronze works, and the sculptor became more aware of an instinctive primal reaction to the huge forms which had lain dormant in the collective unconscious. The primitive instincts which are encouraged by the production of a huge sculpture relate easily to the consistent interest in the primitive and instinctive which the sculptor had always subtly, and perhaps not successfully, indicated. Hepworth found that her instinctive reaction to these large forms enabled her more overtly to express interest in myth, anthropology and the primeval in sculptures such as The Family of Man (fig. 47) and Conversations with Magic Stones (fig. 48). Hepworth stated that these issues had always been a concern to her, for she wrote,

'I have tried all my life to be sophisticated and reasonable, with little effect. I am a pagan at heart... Have you read that marvellous book On Aggression by Konrad Lorenz? If so you will know what I mean.'<sup>594</sup>

Having described her attitude to life and art as influenced by being a 'pagan', Hepworth supports my thesis that raw emotion and instinct had

dictated the production of her previous works, as it was doing during the 1960s. A sensibility to things ancient and primitive was also acknowledged as being a life-long concern, whilst justifying the appearance of the more recent sculptures. Although writers had always associated Hepworth's works with the menhirs and dolmens of the Cornish landscape, in the 1960s, for the first time, Hepworth was herself making overt reference to these ancient forms. For example she created Two Figures (Menhirs) 1964, (fig. 49)<sup>595</sup> which is composed of two blocks of slate which are indeed totemic as a result of their standing figure presence. The apertures are now specifically reminiscent of the 'Men-an-Tol' in Cornwall for example, and the local slate material recalls one the fact that they seem overtly 'Celtic'.

Once more, the relationship of the later works to earlier examples is expressed. Nicolson wrote, that Two Figures (Menhirs) (fig. 49)

'is a recent exploration of the same theme as that of Forms in Echelon 1938, although changes in style, material, and the bolder piercing of the forms show a different approach to the subject... the ancient associations of the menhir combined with those of the human figure in landscape seem to indicate the train of thought behind the carving.'<sup>596</sup>

Therefore my interpretation of the earlier sculptures as concerned with the mystical is supported. Although Bernal had foreseen the relationship of Hepworth's sculptures to the Cornish menhirs,<sup>597</sup> paradoxically Hepworth has not been understood as one who was intrigued by myths, mysticism and the primeval. Conversely I suggest that she was always interested in these issues, but it was only in the later works that Hepworth made overt reference to their *Cornish* application.

It has always been assumed by other authors that the references to landscape were inspired by the Cornish environment; however I believe that only in the last two decades of her life did Hepworth acknowledge specific aspects of her locale. The permanent interest in the spiritual and mystical had however been subtly apparent throughout her *oeuvre*; it was simply that, when the sculptor finally chose to acknowledge her environment, these issues became more evident. Indeed my thesis is confirmed by the fact that Hepworth added titles to earlier sculptures at a later date-

'But I don't start with a title: I make a shape, and there may or may not be an association with it- but this comes afterwards.'<sup>598</sup>

Often works were titled many years after having been created, and these were then specifically related to places in Cornwall or to Cornish myths

or forms. It is possible that the sculptures originally had no relation to the locality of their titles, even if they did relate generally to myth or primitivism.

It is exactly these interests in Cornwall which seem to justify the usual interpretation of Hepworth as parochial when, in fact, they are what has previously made Hepworth seem more concordant with the international *Zeitgeist*- specifically in the United States. Polcari, as well as other authors such as David Anfam, Dore Ashton and Anna C. Chave, has explained the situation in the United States which encouraged the advent of movements such as Abstract Expressionism. He wrote that,

'artists sought to revive the use of symbolic gods, folk legends, classical mythology, and Christian and biblical rituals to parallel, condense, and highlight historical process.'<sup>599</sup>

These are the roots of American art, and particularly Abstract Expressionism and yet, to other authors, these parallel interests are what make Hepworth seem parochial. Like Hepworth, as soon as the Abstract Expressionists had become established, they also rekindled their earlier interest in ritual and myth, after having referred to them less overtly during the early 1950s. Indeed of Roszak, Polcari wrote,

'he too changed to an Abstract Expressionist aesthetic, that is, to mythological, ritualistic, naturalistic, and psychological primitivism and archaism as part of the search for new beginnings and spiritual regeneration that ultimately underlies much Abstract Expressionist art and thought.'<sup>600</sup>

Therefore one may suggest that the instinct which Hepworth followed to produce her most overtly 'Cornish' works, could be juxtaposed for an enlightening result with contemporaneous American artists.

In fact Hepworth was one of many artists selected to be part of an important exhibition in 1964, which also now serves to support my interpretation. This was an event entitled 54/64. Painting and Sculpture of a Decade, funded by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, and staged at the Tate Gallery between April and June. Perhaps for the first time, a large selection of British and American artists were combined in an important exhibition which was designed to illustrate the concordances between British and American art, and it was not perceived to be incongruous that Hepworth was juxtaposed with Rothko, De Kooning, Pollock and Albers. Each artist had several paintings in the exhibition, and Hepworth had three sculptures- including the new Monolith (Squares and Two Circles) 1963.

It is interesting that there has never been any critical acknowledgement of this exhibition, which denies all the preconceptions and paradigms of the past and present. The event affirms the notion that there was not necessarily a division between the art forms of Britain and the United States- something which commentators still have difficulty in accepting. It has been much easier to comprehend the fact that American art might have a relationship with that of Europe in general- but not with Britain. This is the only indication that I have of Hepworth's international significance and breadth of approach being to an extent recognised. It is therefore no surprise that the sculptor herself wrote, 'What a marvellous show the Gulbenkian 54/64 is.'<sup>601</sup>

This was not the first occasion on which Hepworth saw the work of Rothko, for she was aware of it by the time that he visited St. Ives in 1959; though one may assume that this event only acted to confirm Hepworth's previous admiration for the American's work. It has already been noted that Hepworth corresponded with the artist,<sup>602</sup> who obviously knew the sculptor well enough to comment on her personal situation. Indeed in correspondence with Nicholson, Hepworth expressed her full approval of Rothko's work, and thereby confirms how it is possible for one to juxtapose the sculptor and the artist. She wrote,



'Rothko yes. He was a wholeness. I was so sad that we could not help at the end. I wish I had a painting of his.'<sup>603</sup>

It may seem paradoxical to relate Rothko to Hepworth and yet, especially when the sculptor began to refer more overtly to myths and legend, there are interesting conceptual concordances. The fact that Rothko travelled to St. Ives has, until recently, remained unresearched, and it is still not accepted that Rothko gained anything from the visit except the satisfaction of his curiosity about the work of artists such as Lanyon and Heron for example. However there have recently been some indications that he may have been himself encouraged and directed by his visit.

A recent exhibition<sup>604</sup> of Rothko's art focused upon the time that he spent in Cornwall. Rather than simply viewing this fact as evidence for the St. Ives School attracting attention as a result of being inspired by Abstract Expressionism, the exhibition dwelt upon Rothko's appreciation of Cornwall and its artists. For example the catalogue interestingly stated that Rothko wished to live and work in a converted chapel near St. Ives-

'Though Lanyon's suggestion that Rothko buy the chapel as a

Cornish studio was probably just a light-hearted comment, Rothko's biographer says he considered buying the chapel for his work.<sup>605</sup>

In fact Rothko is quoted as confirming his approval of this idea-

'Rothko, who referred to museums as mausoleums, liked the idea of showing individual paintings in small wayside galleries. "It would be good," he had once said, "if little places could be set up all over the country, like a little country chapel, where the traveller or the wanderer, could come for an hour to meditate on a single painting."<sup>606</sup>

This writing indicates that perhaps one might consider Rothko's de Menil chapel in Houston as inspired by his approval of the Cornish environment. Of course the chapel is similar to a Cornish country chapel in that it is located in isolation within the landscape and is a total environment. Although it is composed of several individual paintings they construct to form one work- the environment of the chapel itself. It must be obvious why Rothko approved of Hepworth's work and intention as a sculptor, for she too wanted her sculptures to be finally part of a total environment, and ideally located as a haven within the landscape. Hepworth and other artists in St. Ives tried to provide a service for society by ensuring that the public had access to works of

art by siting them in public places. These works were meant to act as uplifting aids for social health by reminding passers-by about creativity and beauty. For example Hepworth chose to site a sculpture entitled 'Madonna and Child' in St. Ives Parish Church as a memorial to her son, and another is placed on the rocks above the 'bus station in St. Ives, where 'the traveller or the wanderer' may examine it against a panoramic view of the sea and Porthminster Beach.

The tendency for St. Ives artists to place their works in these settings must have encouraged Rothko in his latent desire to see his own paintings in a more spiritual environment. It is most interesting that Cross, like Stevens, states that Rothko 'considered working there, but no studios were available and the idea came to nothing.'<sup>607</sup> Ironically, Hepworth had previously requested that the British Council should fund the building or conversion of several studios for foreign artists.<sup>608</sup> Hepworth desired St. Ives to contain artists of many nationalities and indeed, if Rothko had worked in the town, there would have been little possibility of St. Ives being considered 'provincial.' It is for this reason that the recent exhibition of Rothko's paintings made such an important statement. It asserted that

'Rothko's visit reflected a dialogue between British and American artists that was part of the increasingly international

nature of contemporary art production... serving to validate the town's importance as an artistic centre and to assuage any anxieties of parochialism.<sup>609</sup>

In fact it is not surprising that Rothko appreciated Cornwall and its atmosphere, if only because the legacy of the Celtic history is so apparent on the peninsula. As has already been explored in previous chapters, authors like Chave and Ashton believe that Abstract Expressionists on the whole were keen to examine myths, legends and the primeval. It should not therefore seem incongruous that Rothko travelled to Cornwall and yet, as a result of restrictive paradigms, it is never referred to as a significant fact. Even Polcari has not written about the connection, even though he has dealt extensively with the Abstract Expressionist desire to 'create' a past for themselves as Americans. It is in fact easy to reconcile Rothko's appreciation of St. Ives with his life-long interests and concerns. Ashton's book About Rothko thoroughly exemplified Rothko's fascination with archaic symbols and ancient philosophy and myth, and it is not surprising that she was also Hepworth's favourite American critic.<sup>610</sup>

It is interesting to note that, having conversed with British individuals such as Read, Jung visited the United Kingdom and found that the

landscape and atmosphere of Cornwall made him feel greater security about his theory of the collective unconscious.<sup>611</sup> As Polcari stated,

'the themes of Abstract Expressionism and their sources and reflections in Frazer, Jung, Levy-Bruhl, Campbell and others are both old and new in the context of modernism. These writers and their ideas must be considered in one sense as the contemporary variants and dress of traditional modernist interests while at the same time they were absorbed, adapted and reinvigorated to meet the profound needs of American life and culture in the 1940s.'<sup>612</sup>

This supports my notion that, although an interest in the primeval for instance might be considered to be peculiarly 'Cornish' in terms of Barbara Hepworth, it is equally necessary for Polcari to remind us that it is not necessarily peculiarly 'American,' as is always taken for granted. Simultaneously with being considered a parochial sculptor by critics, Hepworth was being unconsciously perceived as one with an internationally relevant programme. To assert that she explored these issues reminds one of how central they were also to American artists.

Superficially, when Hepworth began late in life to make much more overt reference to the Cornish environment, by retrospectively naming earlier sculptures after local places for example, it seems that she was

actually submitting to the negative reputation which had been created for her. She began to produce multiple works such as The Family of Man 1970 (fig. 47) and Conversation with Magic Stones 1973 (fig. 48) which exemplified her interest in ancient cultures and the collective unconscious. As Hammacher wrote,

'the former developed as a "family" of nine bronze figures, individually made to represent *Ancestors, Parents* or *Children* and culminating in *Ultimate Form*.'<sup>613</sup>

Hepworth was exploring the 'landscape of prehistory' and universal ancestral characteristics which seemed, to most writers, to be a confirmation of the perception of her as peculiarly 'Cornish.'

However Hammacher made an interesting point when he wrote that

'I find it immensely illuminating to bear in mind the experiences of the younger generation around 1960, when the Minimal and Conceptual sculptors discovered emptiness and reworked the spatial experience of prehistory.'<sup>614</sup>

He was able to separate Hepworth's internationally relevant understanding of prehistory and the interpretation of this in her sculpture, from her Cornish reputation. In fact Hammacher perceived

this later manifestation in Hepworth's sculpture to pre-empt important international developments in art. However this was a view which the author added to his monograph of Hepworth in 1987 after the sculptor's death when perhaps hindsight had altered his view of her. It has already been remarked<sup>615</sup> that during Hepworth's lifetime he seemed to understand her work to be more parochial. Similarly Hall proffered the suggestion in 1976 that the sculptor might be 'influenced in her old age by the reductiveness of the past decade,'<sup>616</sup> but this is always only a question and is not at all expanded upon.

Even more pertinent are Polcari's comments. He wrote of Wilder's influential play, The Skin of our Teeth, and told of its impact upon the Abstract Expressionists-

'The references to archetypal and biblical figures and situations; to the beginning and continuity of history; to the constricted *Family of Man*; to the polarity of the sexes; to cosmic, timeless events and figures; to ancient wisdom; to conflict, catastrophe, and struggle; to death and destruction as natural forces; to human treachery yet hope and endurance; and to the perpetual need to rebuild after destruction as the perpetual life cycle- all foretell Abstract Expressionist themes as they document and elaborate on contemporary events.'<sup>617</sup>

It is evident, simply from Polcari's language, that in later years Hepworth was overtly expressing the same inspiration which was behind that of Abstract Expressionism. The theme of the Family of Man was applicable both to the major international movement and to Hepworth's sculpture. The Abstract Expressionists were influenced by The Skin of our Teeth because the portrayed

'family represents the twenty-thousand-year-old human race, as the play takes place simultaneously in layers of primordial and modern geological and biblical time.'<sup>618</sup>

Similarly Hepworth employed the same theme in the sculpture of the same name because she too was made aware (through reading and the local environment) that humans were indivisibly connected to their ancient ancestors and that the primordial and modern simultaneously combine in her experience.

Therefore this late admittance of the powers of the Cornish environment does indicate that Hepworth, in the 1970s, genuinely might have increased her appreciation of her environment. Despite relating Hepworth's 'Cornishness' to similar trends in the United States, it does seem as if, later in life, the sculptor realised that she was being appreciated in St. Ives, and therefore chose to make the most of this. In



some ways this can be seen as the sculptor utilising her most appreciative audience, however by being more closely associated with the area than ever, she was increasingly considered to be the 'eccentric' figure of St. Ives which minimised her international reputation. The production of overtly archaic works had not helped the public to better understand her previous sculptures, but it had increased the understanding of Hepworth as eccentric and not of the mainstream. This was heightened when, in 1968, the sculptor accepted the honour of becoming a Bard of Gorsedd in a ceremony in St. Ives.

This was exactly one of those occasions which have served to encourage a negative interpretation of Hepworth. She selected the name of 'Gravyor', meaning 'sculptor', and there was also a Celtic ceremony during which everyone wore robes and carried staffs. The language for the day was the genuine Cornish tongue, and songs were ancient and reinterpreted from the Celtic. The ceremony was also provided for the potter, Bernard Leach, who had travelled extensively in the far east and explored the mystical traditions and legends of Japan. Therefore Hepworth seemed to be significantly juxtaposed with the 'cult' reputation which surrounded Leach, and was relegated to the specialist interest audience and the marginal. They were both granted Honorary Freedom of the Borough of St. Ives 'in recognition of their international

contribution to the arts.'<sup>619</sup> It is ironic that this ceremony was considered to honour the international significance of Hepworth when, in fact, it is the most concrete example of the sculptor being portrayed to those outside St. Ives as parochial and esoteric.

A most significant act was performed by Ben Nicholson who was also offered the Freedom of the Borough, and the opportunity to become a Bard of Gorsedd. He rejected the honour because, one might suggest, it would restrictively compartmentalise his work and threaten his international reputation. This was to the surprise of the Borough of St. Ives who had not expected such a response to their honour, for Hepworth wrote to inform him that three caskets for the presentation of the certificates had been prematurely crafted.<sup>620</sup> In fact it has never previously been acknowledged in a critical text that Nicholson was offered the Freedom and that he deliberately refused the honour. In contrast Hepworth was touched and honoured by the event and wrote that,

'every detail was quite perfect and indeed terribly moving because of the sincerity and good taste... Our 'caskets' proved to be the most superb and beautiful silver and walnut boxes made locally.'<sup>621</sup>

Thus even the caskets indicated the emphasis on the local nature of the event, which of course served to detract from the sculptor's international worth.

However Hepworth was delighted with this acknowledgement of the respect with which the Cornish people held her. Perhaps this is one reason why she approved of the event without perhaps considering the negative consequences which only proved Reise<sup>622</sup> correct. It is noticeable that despite Nicholson's negative reaction to the event Hepworth had not even altered her opinion by the time that she and Bowness published the first edition of her autobiography. An unprecedented five pages are given over to the occasion, which is real proof of the sculptor's appreciation of her honour.

Clearly there was a contradiction in Hepworth's targeting of an audience for her work. Throughout her entire life she had appreciated St. Ives because it gave her the first real sense of being part of a community, which was essential for creating rich work. She wrote to Read saying,

'this has been good- we have been de-centralised- we are each of us more a part of a responsible community... this 2 1/2 years in this small town has been the most intense vital time of my life.'<sup>623</sup>

Indeed her joy at the Barding ceremony evinced the continuation of this sensibility and the ceremony itself justified her positive opinion of the people of the area. Conversely Hepworth wrote to Nicholson on the subject of being made a Dame of the British Empire in 1958-

'Re "Dame"! Nobody uses it here of course but gradually it has helped me on the credit side... I'd always hoped for a C.H. as there are women in that list... Oh I believe you have one woman O.M.?'<sup>624</sup>

Evidently the sculptor desired simultaneously to increase her international reputation further, and was pleased that being a D.B.E. had helped somewhat in improving her significance. Nevertheless this was not perceived to be impressive enough, and Hepworth believed that greater honours were paid to her male contemporaries. In fact this opinion is borne out by the fact that, in order to represent her D.B.E. in her autobiography, there is only a small and insignificant photograph of Hepworth under which is written 'Created C.B.E. in New Year Honours List, 1958'.<sup>625</sup> The greater prominence with which Hepworth saw the Barding Ceremony is clearly obvious.

Perhaps the sculptor confused the press and public by endorsing both the image of being a local celebrity and an international artistic star. One might suggest that, had she behaved in the same way as Nicholson, the press would not have been able to classify her narrowly. Indeed the comparison with Nicholson is appropriate, for he too lived for many years in St. Ives, but was never constricted by that fact. Instead Hepworth appeared to embrace the culture by delighting in the ritualistic Barding ceremony for example. Interestingly this point has previously been noted by Keith Roberts, who advised one to

'Ignore the cross references to the work of Henry Moore... and Ben Nicholson... and eliminate, if possible all those associations with landscape that commentators are always describing and on which the artist herself insists. For by dismantling the apparatus of comment and criticism which has been built up round her work over the years, one comes to see her achievements in their true light.'<sup>626</sup>

In fact the Barding ceremony is by no means the only example of the sculptor actually restricting her own assessment, for she intimated to the British Council that she had accepted a Cornish lifestyle. She wrote to explain the meaning of a title given to one of her sculptures and, in doing so, indicated that she had researched the history of the Cornish word. For instance she stated,

'In 1283 there was a written reference to this place name as Chiwoen. By 1623 the word had become Chiwone, later in 1760 Borlase referred to it for the first time as Chun.'<sup>627</sup>

Surely this type of letter to the British Council must have been detrimental, for it suggested that Hepworth was a parochial artist and was content to be assessed within that context. In reality I do not believe that this was true; Hepworth valued the concept of a community and wanted to contribute to her own, but valued herself as a developing and noted artist. The importance of the British Council for Hepworth has previously been recorded here, for the committee members were responsible for selecting her work as representative of British style for exhibitions around the world. The difficulty with Hepworth's work once it was intimately associated with 'Cornishness', was that it then became representative, not just of 'Britishness', but of a very particular regional area. One might suggest that Hepworth's seeming dependence upon her environment could only have been detrimental to her relationship with the British Council. I have previously examined<sup>628</sup> how that institution was at least partly responsible for the contemporaneous and subsequent neglect of the sculptor, and it is quite possible that Hepworth's conflicting comments to the institution might have added to the problem.

Although the British Council did still exhibit Hepworths during the early 1970s, this was by no means to the same extent as had occurred during the 1960s, when they promulgated Hepworth in areas such as Scandinavia, Italy, Japan and Australia. This was perhaps due to the fact that she became increasingly regionalised in individuals' minds, but also partly because Hepworth had changed her dealers from Gimpel Fils to Marlborough Fine Art, the latter of which was comparatively vigorous in their marketing of the sculptor in other countries. Marlborough therefore replaced the British Council in promoting and exhibiting Hepworth's sculpture abroad. Thus even the issue of Hepworth's foreign exhibitions is ambiguous: these decreased under the British Council because, I suggest, the sculptor was there perceived as parochial, but they increased under Marlborough, whose task it was to improve the sculptor's foreign status. Hepworth did realise that her former dealers, Gimpel Fils, had 'made her reputation' and they, in turn, 'described her as having now achieved "definitive international standing,"<sup>629</sup> but the sculptor still envisaged for herself a far more impressive international reputation.

Hepworth had been hoping to be represented by Marlborough for just this reason. The sculptor had, for several years, been emphasising the

importance of reputation to Gimpel Fils but, despite a good relationship with Max Weitzenhoffer of Gimpel and Weitzenhoffer in New York, in her opinion they still were not doing enough. Compared with the Gimpels' few foreign branches, Marlborough had a large variety of galleries around the world in which to display her work, and they certainly took advantage of these opportunities during the 1970s. From 1965 until 1972 Hepworth was represented by both Gimpels and Marlborough with a rather complicated agreement, after which she was exclusively served by Marlborough, which had in the 1960s already been 'breaking the ice on the continent and in America also'.<sup>630</sup> Even after Hepworth died in May 1975, Marlborough still exhibited Hepworths extensively as, for example, between August and October 1975 in Zurich. The catalogue to this exhibition contained a preface by Giedion-Welcker of whom, as Curtis expresses, Hepworth had always greatly approved. Curtis writes, that Hepworth 'particularly welcomed the work of two other female critics- Herta Wescher and Carola Giedion-Welcker.'<sup>631</sup> This attention to detail (as exemplified by selecting Giedion-Welcker as an author) might be perceived as an indication of why Hepworth gradually transferred the majority of her business to Marlborough.



Hepworth was evidently pleased with the progress that Marlborough made when compiling exhibitions of her work, and yet the fact that she needed to transfer to them is another example of the many contradictory issues which surrounded the sculptor during the 1970s. She undoubtedly wished to increase the amount of important foreign exhibitions of her work, and yet was producing sculptures which were increasingly being classed as 'totemic' or 'iconic', as will shortly be explored. These are simply the works which seem to have most relation to her immediate environment. One must question the impetus behind these sculptures, for did Hepworth believe that they would aid her international reputation, or was she genuinely and newly immersed in the Cornish history?

One advantage, which arose from the critical consensus that Hepworth was immersed in the Cornish atmosphere, was that after a disappointing initial British reaction to the United Nations sculpture, the 1970s saw a sudden interest in that work. Critics were beginning finally to assess the sculpture, and usually in positive terms which laid particular emphasis on the 'primitive' appearance and sensations which arise from contemplation of the work. It is as if the appearance of totemic sculptures such as Single Form (Aloe) 1969 (fig. 50) suddenly offered a viable context for Single Form. Memorial to Dag Hammarskjöld (fig.

13). Previously the vast size and form of the United Nations sculpture had publicly suddenly exposed<sup>632</sup> Hepworth's interest in the expressionistic and primitive which, as I have suggested, were actually a dormant but consistent force throughout her career. Authors had no means with which to deal with this problem until, that is, the later creation of overt references to the 'primitive' in sculptures such as Conversations with Magic Stones 1973 (fig. 48). For example, Hammacher illustrated the beginning of this process by reassessing the United Nations sculpture in the late 1960s:

'The mystery of clarity, the mystery of the inscrutable eye, which had been a closed depth in a large, grand and universal form like a shield, was ultimately pierced, transmitting the light like an eye in Barbara Hepworth's memorial to Dag Hammarskjold.'<sup>633</sup>

At that point Hammacher was able to perceive the mystery and symbolism which was reminiscent of Ashton's interpretation of the same sculpture and, as has previously been indicated, Hepworth was impressed with Ashton's ideas and expression. Ashton wrote,

'there is the interior vision which transforms a simple circular opening into an apprehensible symbol. My allegiance to Single Form then, is based on my instinctive awareness of the meaning embodied there- a meaning which surpasses its physical

This statement is from an exhibition at the Marlborough-Gerson Gallery in New York, which is another example of the company's sensitivity to Hepworth's wishes and taste at least in terms of commentators. It is also significant because Ashton was a prolific writer about Rothko, and often viewed Hepworth in the same way that she did the painter. Specifically, she employed references to myths, legends and symbolism in her writing, which often characterises the later 1970s literature about Hepworth; however the majority of writers similarly do so because they sense a reversion towards appreciation of the Cornish history and landscape on the sculptor's part. However Ashton wrote in this way because she speculated on the history and impulses of Abstract Expressionism, as did Polcari, and she was able easily to assimilate Hepworth as a result. Authors such as Hammacher wrote in a superficially similar manner because they perceived in Hepworth a new interest in Cornish myths and forms. I suggest that it is this confusion which is at the root of the critical difficulties with Hepworth in the 1970s, more than in any other period.

It is interesting to observe that, in the 1975 Marlborough catalogue of Hepworth's work, Giedion-Welcker also reassessed the United Nations sculpture in similar terms to Ashton. She wrote that

'it functions like a primal form, sensitised to a modern expression through gentle profiling and perforation... the monumental yet gentle object appears primarily like a meditative sign of peace and contemplation.'<sup>635</sup>

There was certainly a new tendency to refer to Hepworth's forms as 'primal' during this decade and, apart from the impact of occasions such as the Barding ceremony, one might suggest that this was largely as a result of the new, and overtly 'primitive', large group sculptures. The Family of Man 1970 (fig. 47) and Conversations With Magic Stones 1973 (fig. 48) seem at once new to the sculptor's repertoire, but also concordant with past works. They also confirm the general impression that Hepworth was exhibiting a new fascination with the primal forms of Cornwall- such as the 'Men-an-Tol'. Giedion-Welcker approvingly wrote of The Family of Man (fig. 47) that it was an

'ensemble of menhir-like objects in a quasi-modern form that fuses the distant past and the present in a sculptural symbol of temporal simultaneity.'<sup>636</sup>

The sculpture is perceived to refer simultaneously both to an ancient past and to the contemporary world. It also reminds one of Hepworth's past work, and yet, seemed to be a new venture.

Hammacher also expressed this critical confusion when he wrote that

'We are delighted, and perhaps at times a little disappointed, by an encounter with the familiar, which we experience anew and savour as a continuing statement of belief... But there is also a second and rarer reaction to Hepworth's sculpture... it offers something new and strange which we cannot relate to what she has done in the past.'<sup>637</sup>

This dialectical interpretation of Hepworth's late sculptures seems in fact to characterise the most astute writing of the 1970s- such as that by Giedion-Welcker. For example Hall wrote,

'The forms themselves are somehow familiar and strange at the same time.'<sup>638</sup>

It is more usual to find that authors only attempted to assimilate Hepworth's late multi-part sculptures by relating them to earlier works. This latter approach has validity, but it is extremely rare to observe an author who also genuinely assessed the later works on their own merits

as works. It is rare to discover any real criticism of late large bronzes, perhaps because they were visually different to her earlier works, even if they were conceptually the same. It is also rare to find criticism of the public works in general. The catalogue to the 1994 Hepworth Retrospective at the Tate Gallery Liverpool interestingly included a Chronology of Public Commissions,<sup>639</sup> but the exhibition itself contained little reference to such large bronze works.

The most interesting comments are by those such as Hammacher, who observed the temporal duality which Hepworth employed. Therefore Hammacher did make an important contribution to the literature at this point. He was also important here for explaining in which ways the 'architectural' sculptures differed from earlier works. It is perceived that the piling of forms on top of others and the lack of relationship between each form are responsible for the individuality of the later sculptures. Hammacher also noted that there was a new tendency for Hepworth to roughly gouge out the interiors of the forms, and to leave the marks visible upon the surface, whereas she had previously smoothed away the initial marks. Hall added to this information, for he wrote that,

'This was the first occasion when the artist had committed herself to an *additive* method, staking everything, so it would seem, on skill in combining separate forms.'<sup>640</sup>

However these various later developments are, to Hammacher, indicative of a previously unexamined strain throughout Hepworth's *oeuvre*- which in fact has largely been the focus of attention here. He wrote that a new desire to achieve a non-vertical balance of forms in The Family of Man (fig. 47), was

'not completely in line with the emphasis which has so often been laid on the classical dominant in Barbara Hepworth's work. Gene Baro alone once risked mention of a baroque element in connection with the spiral in her work. Now there is more reason to speak of this.'<sup>641</sup>

Although I suggest that this has been a permanent strain within Hepworth's art, Hammacher attributed the new emphases to personal events such as illness but, more interestingly, he understood these occurrences to have increased her sense of the spiritual. He wrote that,

'illness and accident... are the accelerating forces, which can lead to spiritual revelations.'<sup>642</sup>

Although Hammacher made an important contribution in recognising a spiritual alternative to the classical in Hepworth's work, the reference to illness is a typical critical attempt to explain new sculptural tendencies.

Writers presented various reasons which account for an overt spirituality in the new large-scale sculptures, but this just indicates that authors were unable to assimilate the new style, even if they have recognised it. However I suggest that if one understands Hepworth's entire *oeuvre* in the manner that has been proposed in this text, then there is no difficulty in comprehending the later works.

There is certainly a confusion for, whereas most authors perceived the visual references to menhirs, for example, to be a sign of a new mysticism, Hall conversely wrote that

'The later work is, in fact, more wide-ranging and international in scope, less concerned with origins and more with results.'<sup>643</sup>

This is surely clear evidence that Marlborough's techniques of promoting Hepworth as an internationally important artist had worked. There are two critical responses to the later sculptures: either they are seen as a fulfilment of Hepworth's ambition to attain international significance; or they seem a return to emulating the ideals of Neolithic man. It is my opinion that here lies a major reason for the subsequent lack of appreciation of Hepworth's work. The late works have drastically added to the confusion which has always surrounded Hepworth's *oeuvre*. For if it is largely believed that the late sculptures



are a reversal in Hepworth's ideals and ambitions, then we are left with the sense that she was, in the end, either not internationally significant or that she had no desire to be so. I would like to propose that there is actually no reason to suppose that the individuality of the late works is incompatible with the desire for international significance. Personal changes such as the onset of cancer and the physical inability of the artist to leave St. Ives, as well as visual changes in the sculptures, are not valid reasons for supposing that subject-matter and intentionality have altered.

In fact I believe that the final phase of Hepworth's career might be perceived to prove my interpretation. The relationship between two and three-dimensional work has become much closer, expressiveness is apparent in the sculptural work and her latent spirituality is now visually evident. Other authors have been bemused by these supposedly 'new' concerns and have largely understood them as indication that Hepworth had finally adopted Cornwall as her spiritual as well as physical home. However it has been my aim throughout to assert that the sculptor's work has been consistently misinterpreted and subject to manipulation and distortion when examined critically or exhibited. It seems clear that one might interpret the late works as confirmation of my thesis. Hepworth was finally forced overtly and unequivocally to state her aims

and interests- which do not actually make her intentionality much different to that of many American artists. It is ironic, but perhaps predictable, that the critical response to a such final stand, is one of confusion.

Out of this confusion it is sometimes possible to perceive that writers, even in their confusion, still prove my thesis correct. For example it is finally noted that

'there was always the desire for the grand gesture in her, which in earlier days could only find expression in drawings such as the rectilinear monoliths she drew in 1947 (Drawing for Stone Sculpture).'<sup>644</sup>

The 'gesture' and the 'grand' would previously have been considered as impossible interests for Hepworth to hold and, outside of this thesis, it is still believed to be so. However Hall, as an unusually perceptive late writer, has effectively supported an idea that has been presented here. Moreover he made the important connection between the paintings and the sculpture- the former of which is usually considered to be a side-interest that Hepworth has pursued. He also understood that the drawings played a vital role in formulating ideas for Hepworth's later

sculptures and that, in drawings, Hepworth could be as bold as she wished to be in carving.

Hall also interestingly commented on the impact that the development into bronze had for Hepworth. He wrote that

'her approach to natural materials became more free and abstract as a result of her work for bronze-casting... She elicited more varied forms and textures from them than in earlier years.'<sup>645</sup>

It has here earlier been proposed that painting and drawing first enabled Hepworth to take the step of producing plaster sculptures in preparation for their casting into bronze; but also that the new material of plaster allowed the sculptor to express ideas and forms which had always presented themselves to her subconscious. Hall therefore supports my proposition that there are a series of complex relationships between media for the sculptor- many of which she explored in order to attempt effective exposition of dormant ideas. In fact the sculptor used various media in order to trigger new ways of expressing permanent, but dormant, ideas. Despite the fact that there are several authors in the 1970s who observe Hepworth's latent expressionism, there has never been any concrete collective statement about these alternative assessments. This thesis is important, both for openly stating what

various writers have intimated, and for employing just those writers. Indeed I aim here to collate statements by others who, unusually, concur but who at the time of writing had no possibility of finding a body of writing to which they could contribute.

For example, it was written of Hepworth's late sculptures that

'Stillness, perfect equipoise, abstraction are hard-won out of mental and emotional struggle, an "abstract art" less akin to geometry than to the last quartets of Beethoven... The secure stillness of the closing works of Barbara Hepworth was no tranquil acceptance of achievement, of an assured and mastered technique; it held in its quiet security an exploration of new forces, of unexplored forms, an exploration of which led to the massive achievement of the landscape of The Family of Man.'<sup>646</sup>

Moelwyn Merchant is here reversing the traditional understanding of Hepworth's work. Despite still not overtly stating that Hepworth might be aligned to an entirely new tradition such as American painting, she does in fact covertly suggest such a thing. The reference to Beethoven indicates that Hepworth might be related to an expressionistic or 'romantic' paradigm- whereas one would usually conjoin Hepworth with Schubert- who is traditionally associated with classicism.

Indeed there seems to be a sizeable reversal in the understanding of the sculptor as a 'classical' artist during the 1970s and 1980s. Most interesting in this regard is a collection of writings which refer specifically to Hepworth's work in the same terms as one would discuss Abstract Expressionism- especially perhaps the arts of Rothko and Newman. Once more there is no authoritative body of literature to which these isolated writers might add but, even when examined individually, they actually construct a body which demands to be recognised. There are many references to the meditative and spiritual effects of the later sculptures, and to the social reconstruction that they may supply. Authors concentrate on their reductive elegance and the universal relevance that they have. For example Wadley wrote that

'The interplay of iconic images recalls... the three-way exchange between man and sculpture and the universe, both timeless and immediate reconciling man's knowledge to his experience and the primeval to the contemporary.'<sup>647</sup>

Also, in a specifically revealing reference, it was written that in the sculpture

'Two Forms (Divided Circle) 1969... she was now able to fulfil her ambition of placing the sculpture right around the viewer, as if their roles were reversed.'<sup>648</sup>

There have been many occasions on which writers refer to the environmental impact of Rothko's paintings- especially because they seem to 'enclose' the viewer, and enable him to enter an all-encompassing field of colour which allows transcendence and a religious experience. For example,

'Rosenblum saw Rothko as the culmination of a tradition of spiritual painting, evoking "meditative enclosure".'<sup>649</sup>

It is noticeable also that Hepworth's language altered simultaneously with the opinions of various writers. She too adopted vocabulary and subjects, such as of myths, which one would normally associate with the American movement of Abstract Expressionism. For example she wrote an explanation of why her forms demand to be understood in primal terms-

'When... we lived in an age where animals, fire worshipping, myths and religion had belonged to our deepest emotional aspects of life, our sculpture unconsciously would have taken the form of a recognisable god; and the abstract relationship of forms would be the conscious way whereupon this way of experience was brought to life; but now these abstract form-relations have become the core of our thinking- our belief- now they can be the solution for life itself and the

From a basis for human thought in myths and religion, modern man has adopted the conscious- usually geometrical- previous mode of expression to become our thoughts and thought-processes themselves. These thoughts (previously visual expression) are then transformed into modern art forms- such as Hepworth's sculpture. Thus Hepworth explicitly stated that the modern artist's inspiration is a refined but still an extended version of the impetus which fed 'primitive' and vital art forms.

She therefore aligned her own art with Abstract Expressionism- at least as Polcari perceives it. Indeed Polcari's thesis is that Abstract Expressionism emerged, not as a result of post-war issues, but out of the *intellectual* sources for all creative minds in the 1930s and 1940s. Therefore he understands Abstract Expressionism to be an intellectual response, both to movements such as surrealism, constructivism, geometrical abstraction and various other European and American movements, but also to the sources of those movements. In particular, Polcari understands the American artists to have been examining many types of 'primitive' art forms, as well as literature, music, myths, the collective unconscious and religion. In this way, he supports my

conception of Hepworth's art and intentionality. For example he wrote that

'Surrealist biomorphism restored man to his "place in nature" and is the source of Pollock's famous statement "I am nature."... For the surrealists and ultimately for the Abstract Expressionists, art is a "fruit that grows in man, like a fruit on a plant, or a child in its mother's womb." Artistic creation formed an analogy to natural process and product.'<sup>651</sup>

Once Abstract Expressionism is regarded in this context, it therefore comes as no surprise that Hepworth's language intimated concordance with the movement and its antecedent forms such as surrealism. For example she too employed surrealistic concepts-

'I would imagine stone "images" rising out of the ground, which would pinpoint the spiritual triumph of man.'<sup>652</sup>

Because the majority of such statements occurred only in the late 1960s and 1970s, writers have had difficulty in assimilating them into the previous conceptions of Hepworth. However an examination of all of Hepworth's correspondence indicates that the sculptor had previously refrained from publicly stating many of her ideas in press interviews or exhibition catalogues for example, and yet, in private correspondence



she had often expressed herself in similar terms. Indeed Curtis indicates that this private openness was the reason for Hepworth's termination of the relationship with Ramsden; she writes that

'Ramsden began to question a growing anthropomorphism in Hepworth's work. At first Hepworth was surprised.'<sup>653</sup>

It has already been expressed here<sup>654</sup> how Ramsden's attitude changed because Hepworth's correspondence freely employed what one traditionally categorises as 'surrealistic' vocabulary and thought.

When the sculptor did feel free, in the 1970s, publicly to express herself in the terms with which she had always thought, writers were bemused. However it is essential to employ Hepworth's writings in order to make sense of the late works, and indeed, the entire *oeuvre*. Hepworth's words provide support for my thesis. For example she juxtaposed the processes of examining a painting and a sculpture- thus indicating that, to her, they were not discrete projects. She wrote that,

'The image is the mystery and the mystery is captured in the image. Enclosing a sculpture can arouse a sense of emotion as strong as when one would enclose a child's head. Looking concentratedly at a painting can be as moving as undergoing the unconscious beauty of someone's eyes.'<sup>655</sup>

Certainly some authors were evidently becoming aware of these concerns and elements of the sculptor's art. The later works did not exhibit *changes* from her previous method of production and thought, as might at first appear, but they were a final, and more clearly expressed, manifestation of Hepworth's original intentionality. Although few commentators perceived the message which Hepworth was expressing with her later works and their accompanying statements, by the later 1960s there were a few individuals who were prepared to oppose the usual interpretation of Hepworth's art as static and impassive. For example it is striking to discover comments by writers such as Edwin Mullins who wrote that Hepworth exhibited an:

'interest in themes which demand to be measured not by rule but by imagination: the monolith, the group of rocks in a vast theatre of space, also the Sun and Moon theme... there are other contacts important to her; the Moon's tides, the Sun's flowers. Power, growth, light, mystery, movement, form.'<sup>656</sup>

Mullins was a personal friend of Hepworth and therefore might be relied upon to produce criticism which adequately reflected her ideas and preferences. His style of writing may be contrasted with earlier critiques, with which Hepworth was also content (for they were selected

to be placed in her autobiography). For example in 1943 Gibson wrote that,

'She has stripped her art of all associational appeal and found herself in a world of related plastic shapes, of contrasting and harmonising curves, and of tensions of arrested movement.'<sup>657</sup>

Because Hepworth had previously accepted this sort of literature, one may be sure that her expectations had altered by the 1970s, for she was then demanding a new, more expressive critique, such as that which Mullins provided.

It might seem paradoxical to state that Hepworth was also content with literature such as Gibson's which clearly indicated that she was perceived as a 'constructivist' artist.<sup>658</sup> However this is evidence which supports my thesis. In the 1940s Hepworth usually accepted the label of 'constructivist' and was great friends with the Constructivist artist Naum Gabo. Consequently Hepworth was represented to the public in articles and exhibition catalogue introductions as a Constructivist artist and this was, at the time, largely acceptable to her. However, at least by 1951, she had reacted against the Constructivist ideal-

'In all honesty I must say that I've never been a constructivist-

that I shall never be- and that I shall endeavour in the future to prevent my work from being described constructivist.<sup>659</sup>

As has been indicated here, the sculptor often complained in private that commentators failed to observe other essential qualities, but she unfortunately usually allowed these public situations to continue. It is interesting that, in the 1990s, there are signs that reassessment has enabled acknowledgement of the previous misconceptions. For example Curtis writes

'if we were able to start instead with the person, we might be persuaded to... infer from her personality that her work is about passion and zeal... in Hepworth's case some kind of corrective is necessary... there is a paucity of satisfactory writing on Hepworth's work.'<sup>660</sup>

Writers have begun now to indicate<sup>661</sup> that in later life, where possible, (as for example with introductions to the catalogues of her exhibitions) the sculptor became more careful about who was to comment on her work in public. This has sometimes been problematic, because such a cautious and controlled approach has led to uninspiring and repetitive criticism, however one can be sure that later writers who were usually also friends, such as Mullins, were given the sculptor's approval. This is interesting because the heavy emphasis which Mullins placed on

spirituality and mystery in Hepworth's sculpture, must have therefore been condoned by the sculptor. It is important to note that the statement quoted above by Mullins is of a similar style to a body of literature by writers such as Peter Selz, which surrounded the Abstract Expressionists. The fact that this juxtaposition may be made, illustrates just how different to earlier examples many of the later writings on Hepworth became. The later writings are often almost directly opposed in approach to earlier examples.

Indeed one need only refer once more to Hammacher, whose later writings about Hepworth differed quite considerably from his earlier examples. He stated that

'Something now comes about in her creativity which must surely be related to the forces to which a sculptor is subjected in Africa, and in Mexico too, when he works in order to give a dwelling-place to the spirits of the forefathers or to the forces of life and death. The group of nine units which make up the family... (are) figures that have escaped from a late prehistory, that loom up out of the unconscious.'<sup>662</sup>

As a result of viewing The Family of Man sculpture (fig. 47), Hammacher importantly recognised the relevance of the artist's unconscious and of prehistory. Although, like most authors,

Hammacher observed the late works as exemplifying a change in style, it has been presented here that what certain writers perceived to be a sudden development was, in fact, a consistent force throughout Hepworth's career- even if she had been previously unable to express it.

As always throughout Hepworth's career, the sculptor fuelled the preconceptions and inaccuracies of others. It has previously been mentioned that this was usually because of her attempts to guide commentators, which has unfortunately resulted in a discordant and irregular body of literature. However the problem was exacerbated because the sculptor began herself to talk more freely about issues which had actually always been pressing. This seemed to indicate that they were new concerns- whereas they had previously been explored much earlier in correspondence. For example she discussed her interest in the activities of 'primitive' sculptors with Bowness:

'I think all potential sculptors should read Thor Heyerdahl's book where he describes his attempts to make an Easter Island figure stand up. He and his friends discovered within themselves a native instinct for moving a ten-ton stone. They didn't know how to do it, but between them the idea was reborn. It comes back to us after a thousand and more years.'<sup>663</sup>

These comments, in addition to those which refer to Cornwall and its history or forms, demand that Hepworth is discussed in terms of ancient history, myths and the primal. Although this is, to an extent, advantageous as it increases the frequency with which writers release the sculptor from the restrictive classical ideal, it also encourages the idea that Hepworth suddenly worked in a new style and with new ideas. This adds to the problem for critics of how to assimilate the sculptor which, throughout her career, had always presented difficulties.

It seems as if Hepworth's ability in the 1970s to refer to elements such as ancient sculptural practices acted as a sanction for writers to deviate from the traditional critique. For example it is remarkable to note how many references there are to Hepworth's use of colour in the 1970s and 1980s, whereas her most dramatic application of colour actually occurred in the 1940s with sculptures such as Pelagos (fig. 30). Bryan Robertson in his introductions to exhibitions of Hepworth's work at the Whitechapel Gallery had previously mentioned her innovative use of colour, but there were very few others who had likewise. If references to colour did occur in the 1940s or 1950s, it was usually just a factual record to mention that paint was applied to the work as part of sculptural process. For example Gibson stated of Sculpture With Colour 1941 that

'it differs in many obvious respects from her previous work. It is in plaster with colour, and string is introduced.'<sup>664</sup>

This earlier tendency to avoid assessment of colour is surprising because it was such a dramatic element in Hepworth's works of the 1940s in particular. For example in Pendour 1947 (fig. 51), a large percentage of the work was painted. In fact the only author who ever seriously explored Hepworth's use of colour was Bryan Robertson and it seems that, having been interested in this facet of Hepworth's work, it enabled him to perceive her desire for greater expressiveness, as has been indicated here. It seems ironic that, although Hepworth incorporated colour in the 1940s, commentators became significantly more aware of the painted surfaces or colour of her works during the 1970s. For example Hall seemed to equate colour with the change of medium from stone and wood into plaster and metal- as if colour was a substitute for Hepworth's intense relationship with the work which was possible when she handled the other two materials:

'After her plaster is cast into bronze, however, a new creative process takes over, namely the colouring, texturing or patination of the surface of the metal. Although the work remains abstract, non-material in shape, this finishing restored the artist's direct personal involvement and provided an even greater range of expression than she obtained from finishing wood or stone.'<sup>665</sup>



In contrast it is interesting to observe how Robertson understands the sculptor's late use of colour. Having been a supporter of Hepworth's earlier development of this technique, he may be perceived to be less enthusiastic about the patination and staining of bronze for example. He wrote saying,

'coming to bronze late in her career she sometimes lost her way in colour and patina.'<sup>666</sup>

This might be contrasted with his reassessment of her earlier sculptures: of those he stated that colour was explored

'never descriptively, always abstractly, and (she) applied colour to carvings in wood and stone in ways which appear to deny the solidity of her materials and to pierce through to a new space.'<sup>667</sup>

It seems as though Robertson, despite remaining an admirer of the bronze sculptures, perceived no evidence of a sudden awareness of colour, as other authors have done; in fact it is his opinion that Hepworth's skill in this respect disintegrated somewhat. Indeed in the above recent text he interestingly referred to Hepworth and her earlier employment of colour in juxtaposition with Caro, as if suggesting that she influenced the latter's technique of painting metal. Furthermore, as

has been proposed in the present study, Robertson believed that it was always Hepworth's desire to manipulate space in order to produce a more spare and rhythmic sculpture.

I suggest that other late authors have been encouraged by the freedom of Hepworth's comments in the late 1960s and 1970s, and by the overt characteristics of the late sculptures, to acknowledge and criticise the accompanying colour. Even Hodin seemed to at last recognise this feature which is, of course, traditionally conceived as a 'romantic' characteristic because it instantly conveys emotion. He stated,

'With Barbara Hepworth (and she is one of the few sculptors who have investigated polychromy) it is not a question of "coloured sculpture" or applied colour, but rather an intensification through colour... of the form and depth of the mass. Colour in her work obtained an organic function, comparable to the function colour has in flowers.'<sup>668</sup>

The fact that Hodin also here, because of sudden awareness of Hepworth's use of colour, referred to the sculptor as working in an 'organic' manner is also indicative of how much he was forced to alter his critique. It has already been expressed<sup>669</sup> that on previous occasions he found it necessary to relax his conception of Hepworth as a classical sculptor.

This point is most important, for it indicates that even to one who perceived Hepworth to be classical sculptor in the traditional sense, her work demanded a new, and more expansive, critique. This critique required that colour, loose open forms and spirituality be taken into consideration, which is why Hepworth has here been juxtaposed with the Abstract Expressionists, who also employed these elements. Indeed, as has been mentioned, in the introduction to the 1994 Caro exhibition at Annely Juda Fine Art, Robertson intimated, by juxtaposing Hepworth and Caro, that Hepworth influenced Caro's use of colour. Perhaps that text goes some way towards pre-empting this document, for Caro's exhibitions in the United States were influential. One might even agree with Robertson that,

'Caro's example has plainly had far-reaching consequences for sculpture. I have seen this for myself in Australia, in Canada, in parts of the U.S. where Smith is otherwise by far the strongest influence.'<sup>670</sup>

As Robertson satisfactorily juxtaposes Hepworth and Caro, and then Caro and David Smith, one feels justified in juxtaposing Hepworth's use of colour with that of the Abstract Expressionists once more.

I have written elsewhere that Hepworth and Rothko 'share a common devotion to colour-form'<sup>671</sup> and it is only as a result of my argument here that this, previously deviant, statement is possible. Previously one was inhibited by the restrictive critiques which dominated a study of Hepworth, but this thesis has aimed to provide a new insight into Hepworth's production by juxtaposing the sculptor with a movement which would previously have seemed incongruous. Indeed, in many respects- such as the exploration of colour- Abstract Expressionism provides an interesting model against which to view the work of Hepworth. The fact that the sculptor experimented with colour was overlooked until the 1970s when in fact, by then, her use of colour had altered again in order to admit bronze. Therefore perhaps it might be stated that, were it not for Robertson, Hepworth's use of colour in its most radical sense would never have been fully appreciated. For instance Bowness drew attention to the colour of the sculptures, but not at the time or in the sense that would have been most beneficial; he commented saying,

'your use of colour in bronze is very unusual. I think for example of the blues in the hollows of Two Figures.

(Hepworth replied:) That is very sharp and biting. It's an extension of the contrast I have often made between polished and patinated surfaces.'<sup>672</sup>

Hepworth's comment here surely illustrated how the subtlety of her approach has never been understood. Evidently she had previously manipulated the surface appearance of her works in order to provide the viewer with similar emotions to those which are induced from expressive colour. However this has never been commented upon by writers, who view the texture of surfaces as evidence of the varying craft skills that a sculptor needs to exhibit. As Bowness commented,

'This is something you've been doing for a very long time, yet hardly anyone has remarked upon it.'<sup>673</sup>

Thus the sculptor clearly stated how her techniques and intentions have not really altered; the later works might be a more overt example of creating an expressive surface, but they were still an example of the same. She also remarked on the lack of comprehension of this facet to her work:

'I've been successful in so far as it's seen as part of the form. But in a way my colour has been accepted, but never understood.'<sup>674</sup>

It has previously been emphasised here how the sculptor was forced, in later years, overtly to indicate her aims and themes for the viewer. The

'sharp and biting' use of blue in Two Figures is an attempt to state unequivocally that expression and dynamism are comparable with Barbara Hepworth. One need only to examine a work such as Oval with Black and White 1965 (fig. 52) in order to perceive how forthright an expression has been presented to the audience. The green Swedish marble of this sculpture has been dramatically painted with the dynamic contrast of black and white. This is also a clear indication that the sculptor was experimenting with the boundaries between sculpture and painting- or the second and third dimensions- just as Rothko was also doing with the aid of colour. Rothko's paintings appear both to recede and stand out from the flat canvas plane, because colour has made space ambiguous.

The fact that Hepworth was able to refrain from repeating her subtle approach which was consistently misunderstood, was perhaps due to the liberating experience of producing expressive and colourful drawings- especially in the 1950s. Interestingly, this also led Hepworth to produce an entirely new category of works in the 1950s. These were lithographs, which she produced in 1958 and 1969, and which were received with success. It was recognised by some that the lithographs exhibited a relaxation about colour and form which was attractive. For example Alley wrote that

'The lithographs are recent works executed much more freely than her earlier drawings, with overlapping linear shapes and bold washes of colour. They were mostly made as ends in themselves, though several of them led on to ideas for specific sculptures.'<sup>675</sup>

Indeed Alley expressed here how the sculptures, drawings and lithographs have a symbiotic relationship for Hepworth. Colour is form and form is colour and, in works by Hepworth, the division between two and three dimensions are often ambiguous. Indeed, as Robertson wrote of Caro,

'Wasn't this just like the way in which colour is made to work in painting?... While Richard Smith built his painted canvases outward to assume the *trompe l'oeil* dimensions of sculpture in the Sixties, Caro's sculpture took on painting at its own game and approximated more and more to the freedom of painting...'  
'(Caro) often denies the intractability of metal to create formal situations involving a plasticity, a fluidity of expression, which normally only painting could contain.'<sup>676</sup>

Lithographs and drawings are usually perceived to be simply facets of Hepworth's *oeuvre*, when in fact they inform, precede and predetermine the sculptures and help to construct the entire body of work.

It is necessary to state that there is no possibility of discovering a representative work by Barbara Hepworth. Curtis has written that

'Some would argue that if there has been little interest in Hepworth's work in recent years, then this is a clear indication that her work is not very interesting. But I can't agree. Hepworth's work does have a hold on its audience, if only to the extent that so many people can describe a typical piece.'<sup>677</sup>

I would disagree that there is a 'typical piece' by Hepworth; she has produced works in wood, stone, bronze, iron rods, aluminium bars and copper sheeting; and paintings, drawings and lithographs. These have been translated into book illustrations, curtain patterns, tea service designs, and even scientific illustrations. It is surely impossible to categorise the work of this sculptor although the majority of writers have undoubtedly attempted to do so. In contrast to Curtis I suggest that it is the misconception that Hepworth has produced one, constantly refined, work which has been largely responsible for the previous lack of assessment. Although later works often arose out of earlier imagination and ambition, Hepworth's *oeuvre* falls into many categories whilst only a few of these have been adequately assessed in existing



literature. It has partly been my aim here to indicate the variety of works by Hepworth- most of which surprise in their dynamism.

## CONCLUSION.

A result of the Hepworth retrospective exhibition and accompanying conference at the Tate Gallery Liverpool in 1994 is that there has since been a large amount of interest in the sculptor's work. There are now several varying critiques which present complex analyses of the sculptor, and it is to be hoped that this document will make a contribution to the literature which is available. Throughout these pages I have attempted to examine Hepworth's intentionality together with the perceived reception of the resultant works. Often the two were at odds: Hepworth expected her work to be understood as expressive and dynamic, whereas the press and public understood them to be 'classical', poised and unemotive.<sup>678</sup> It must be expressed that this is the essential problem in a study of Hepworth. The sculptures are immediately related by commentators to established paradigms which accede no place for the work of Barbara Hepworth.

It must be apparent that by examining objectively the periods which encompass many of Hepworth's drawings and paintings, as well as sculptures, one is able to discover the richness and diversity which accounts for the sculptor's insistence that her work is about passion and power. I have attempted to illustrate that Hepworth was at first content

to receive most criticism, she was even temporarily manipulated into working in a style which concurred with certain critiques. However, for the majority of her career, the sculptor suffered misguided analyses which assumed that she did not intend to forge a career of international significance.

In contrast, this study has suggested that Hepworth was acutely conscious of the importance of an international reputation. I have proposed that not only were the directions to her dealers given to encourage more effective representation abroad, but that even her style of working was often simultaneously developing alongside new movements- particularly those developing in the United States. Indeed Hepworth was aware of the international *Zeitgeist* and consequently paralleled the visual developments of other movements- even the Abstract Expressionists to an extent. Her drawings were often the arena which first witnessed a new interest and direction, and therefore they are particularly interesting. It is for this reason that one must criticise others who have paid no attention to these aspects of her work. Here lies the essential visual evidence which tells that Hepworth was exploring automatic drawing, colour washes and spatial ambiguity concurrently with the Abstract Expressionists.

Indeed throughout this work I have, perhaps surprisingly, juxtaposed Hepworth with the Abstract Expressionists. This has been beneficial because, by relating the sculptor to an ostensibly opposing movement, I have been able to indicate the extent of the dynamism and expression which is evident in Hepworth's work, as well as provide a context for these elements. It has been possible to juxtapose Hepworth with one of the most dramatic movements in the history of twentieth century art, and this has illustrated that there is a previously unperceived level of drama and vitality in Hepworth's sculptures, drawings and paintings. As has been mentioned, this was not always an overt vitality such as that which Moore exhibited but, as Burnham has suggested, often the vitality exists in the *amalgamation* of the organic and geometric. This has usually been perceived as the 'difficult' aspect of Hepworth's *oeuvre*, which meant that writers have simply resorted to regarding the sculptor as 'classical'. I believe that the concept of 'vitalism'- as that which conjoins the organic and the geometric- provides a useful means to understanding the complex overlap between these elements in Hepworth's work. This theory, together with the context of dynamic American art, enables one to access previously neglected facets of Hepworth's *oeuvre*, and certain levels of those works which have been criticised.

Thus there are many reasons why the work of Barbara Hepworth has not been adequately assessed. Critics have commented on the works in ways which support personal preferences and views; Hepworth herself did not clearly discuss her ideals and intentions; and she over-estimated the ability of the press and public to penetrate the surface appearance of a sculpture in order to experience some of the sculptor's emotions and the processes by which the work was effected. The final appearance of a Hepworth sculpture therefore, must be viewed as the successful resolution of tensions, as indeed must the final appearance of a painting by Mondrian or Rothko. If one understands Barbara Hepworth as one who aimed to become internationally significant, then it is possible to release her work from conventional understandings, and to realise how concordant they actually are with other works of art from other countries. Indeed it was surely necessary for this task to be undertaken, for the career of Hepworth has not been adequately criticised and, throughout the 1980s, her status as an internationally significant sculptor fell even further from lack of assessment.<sup>679</sup>

However it must be recorded that Barbara Hepworth must be deemed finally to have failed in her essential aim. It has been my intention to indicate that she wished to be considered as an internationally significant sculptor, who gained important commissions which enabled

her to express fully her ideas about art and society. Indeed I have examined sources which confirmed my understanding of Hepworth's ambitions, but it is evident that other commentators still perceive the sculptor, either as one who did not have international ambitions, or as one whose work was not conducive to receiving international acclaim. I have proposed several reasons for this situation: although Hepworth's intentionality largely remained the same throughout her career, it was only during the late 1950s that she produced works which stylistically indicated her desire to be thought of in a new way. It was also during this period that she began publicly to express her desire to create sculptures which were dynamic and indicative of the emotions which were experienced during their creation. I suggest that, previous to her realisation that she ought to be more specific about the meaning and process behind the works, Hepworth had been too reliant upon a small circle of commentators. She unfairly expected that they should write publicly about her works with the aid of the privileged information which she usually provided through correspondence. Naturally these writers were not willing to be guided, and yet Hepworth did not take some of the responsibility for explicating her work until the 1950s.

Although Hepworth did achieve some international significance, it is certain that it both arrived too late in her career, and was often of an

unfortunate type. It is common to discover that Hepworth was perceived as a typically 'classical' sculptor whose work one might admire for its poise and serenity. In fact I suggest that in order to achieve that final visual result, Hepworth had felt it necessary to experience and control turbulent emotions. It is for this reason that I have chosen here to juxtapose Hepworth's work and career with those of a movement which is characterised for the expression of emotion-American Abstract Expressionism.

Of course Hepworth is not an Abstract Expressionist sculptor, but by relating her supposedly 'severe' and austere work to that which is usually described as 'passionate' and even 'chaotic', one may explore aspects of Hepworth's intentionality which have been ignored or suppressed by commentators. To explore aspects of Hepworth's production in juxtaposition with those by Abstract Expressionist artists, provides one with an entirely fresh context which enables one to perceive the latent emotion and vibrancy of the sculpture and drawings. Finally therefore, one is able to comprehend the reasons why Hepworth was never perceived as an internationally successful sculptor. It is apparent that, had she more often selected a medium which was appropriate for the expression of complex forms, and had she been more specific about her

intentionality, then she might have achieved her aim of international success.

It is satisfying to note that, late in his career, Hammacher approached explication of the concepts which have been expressed in this text. He too believed that,

'absurd though it may sound at first to English ears, they (in this case Hepworth's drawings) remind one of the art of Caspar David Friedrich- his drawings in particular- and of Otto Philip Runge, the colour theorist... In the romantic painters, Caspar David Friedrich and Otto Philip Runge as well as the Nazarenes, (abstraction) is manifested in the emptying of physical phenomena, the weakening of everything individual to an exiguous formal role and its reduction to the status of a partial representation of some determinate. These are the consequences of an unbridled intensification of emotionalism which set out to make real the extremes of the possible.'<sup>680</sup>

It is my opinion that in later years, when Hepworth perceived that her latent emotionalism was not successfully conveyed, she too 'emptied' her work and 'weakened' the solidity of her forms until she was able more effectively to express the true meaning of each work. Unfortunately it



was by that time too late for these elements to be perceived, for Hepworth had, by that time, become the province of commentators with an agenda.

## Notes and References.

- 1 Read, Herbert. (1948) 'Barbara Hepworth: A New Phase' in: The Listener. Vol. 39 No. 1002 p. 592.
- 2 Thistlewood, David. (1984) Herbert Read. An Introduction to his Aesthetics. (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul). p. 96-97.
- 3 Katy Deepwell gave a paper at a conference about Hepworth at the Tate Gallery in Liverpool, October 1994. The paper was entitled 'Reviewing Hepworth and her Critics.'
- 4 Hammacher, A. M. (1987) Barbara Hepworth. (London, Thames and Hudson.).
- 5 Hepworth, Barbara; Bowness, Alan. (1966) Barbara Hepworth: Drawings from a Sculptor's Landscape. (London, Cory, Adams and Mackay).
- 6 Burnham, Jack. (1968) Beyond Modern Sculpture. (New York, George Braziller.)
- 7 Burnham quoted from Hepworth's writings in the Circle survey. He chose to reproduce the following sentences: "Vitality is not a physical, organic attribute of sculpture- it is a spiritual inner life. Power is not manpower or physical capacity- it is inner force and energy." Ibid. pp. 93-4.
- 8 Robertson, Bryan. (1977) 'Notes on British Sculpture 1952- 1977', A Silver Jubilee Exhibition of Contemporary British Sculpture. (London, Battersea Park) n.p.
- 9 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Herbert Read, 12/1/43 Vic. 55-61
- 10 In 1930, Moore was chosen, along with John Skeaping and Jacob Epstein to represent British sculpture at the Biennale. He was also a presence at the 1952 Biennale, because a double version of his 'Standing Figure' was placed at the entrance to the pavilion, as Read said, in order to illustrate that he was 'in some sense the parent of them all.' See: Berthoud, Roger. (1987) The Life of Henry Moore. (London, Faber and Faber.) p. 244
- 11 Ibid. p. 212
- 12 P.R.O. B.W. 40/31
- 13 Letter from Ben Nicholson to Herbert Read. 20/3/49. P.R.O. 2/240.
- 14 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Lilian Somerville. 9/12/49. P.R.O. 2/240
- 15 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Lilian Somerville. 18/1/50 P.R.O 2/240 (My emphasis)
- 16 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Lilian Somerville. 17/3/50 P.R.O. B.W. 2/240
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Hartley Ramsden. Wed. n.d. (c.1943) T.G.A.
- 19 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Margot Eates. 28/7/50. T.G.A.
- 20 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Herbert Read. 29/11/40. Vic. 8-13
- 21 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Margot Eates. 21/11/45 T.G.A.
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 Address to Tate Gallery Liverpool Supporters. 11/10/94
- 24 op. cit., n. 16 Perhaps one could speculate that she was classical in the way that Nietzsche defined the term- as comprising both Apollonian and Dionysian elements.
- 25 See note no. 24. Compare also her request for the British Council exhibition of her work at the Riverside Museum in New York in 1951.
- 26 op. cit., n. 16
- 27 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Hartley Ramsden. 25/6/41. T.G.A.
- 28 See the note which was scribbled on op. cit., n. 16, by a British Council official, which emphasised that abstract works should be chosen.
- 29 Hepworth, Barbara; Bowness, Alan. (1993) Barbara Hepworth. A Pictorial Autobiography. (London, Tate Gallery Publications.) p. 50
- 30 Lubbock, Georgette. (1950) The Report of British Participation in the 25th Biennale, Venice. June October 1950. 19 September 1950. P.R.O. 40/31 n.p.
- 31 Anonymous. (1950) 'Shafts from Apollo's Bow- Representative Men' in: Apollo. August, p. 31 P.R.O. Press Clipping.
- 32 Anonymous. Article in the August 1950 edition of Das Werk. P.R.O. Press Clipping.
- 33 Anonymous. Article in the August 1950 edition of Neue Zurcher Zeitung P.R.O. Press Clipping.
- 34 Guzzi, Virgilio. (1950) in: Il Tempo July 4th P.R.O. Press Clipping.
- 35 Scarpa, Piero. (1950) in: Il Messaggero 12th August. P.R.O. Press Clipping.
- 36 Zorzi, Elio. (1950) in: Corriere D'Informazione. 10th August. P.R.O. Press Clipping. (My parentheses.)
- 37 Menegazzo, Renzo. (1950) in: Gazzetta Veneta. 26th September. P.R.O. Press Clipping.

- 38 Reva, Giovanni. (1950) in: Carriere Mercantile. 4th October. P.R.O. Press Clipping.
- 39 Inghilleri, Holly. (1950) in: Il Caffee. No. Sept / Oct. P.R.O. Press Clipping.
- 40 op. cit., n. 36.
- 41 Bertolucci, Attilio. (1950) in: Gazzetta Di Parma. 8th July. P.R.O. Press Clipping.
- 42 Sutton, Denys. (1950) 'The Venice Biennale' in: The Observer. 9th July. P.R.O. Press Clipping.
- 43 op. cit., n. 30, n.p.
- 44 Newton, Eric. (1950) 'Venetian Biennale.' in: The Sunday Times 25th June. P.R.O. Press Clipping.
- 45 op. cit., n. 42.
- 46 Letter from Ronald Bottrall to the British Council Fine Arts Department. 20/9/50. P.R.O. 40/31
- 47 op. cit., n. 30.
- 48 Letter from Georgette Lubbock to British Council Fine Arts Department. 5/10/50. P.R.O. 40/31
- 49 op. cit., n. 30.
- 50 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Lilian Somerville. 22/2/50 P.R.O. 2/240
- 51 op. cit., n. 16.
- 52 Letter from Lilian Somerville to Barbara Hepworth. 6/1/50. P.R.O. 2/240
- 53 Letter from Lilian Somerville to Barbara Hepworth. 30/3/50. P.R.O. 2/240
- 54 Letter from Sir Norman Reid to Emma Roberts. 30/9/95
- 55 op. cit., n. 30 n.p.
- 56 Letter from Martha Jackson to Charles and Peter Gimpel. 24/10/57. G.F. In response, Gimpel Fils wrote back angrily, 'We both deny absolutely having said any such thing.' n.d. 1958 G.F. However Jackson did show active interest in Hepworth which encouraged the sculptor on past occasions. See Chapter 4, note no. 356.
- 57 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Hartley Ramsden. n.d. Sat. c. 1943. T.G.A.
- 58 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Hartley Ramsden. 28/4/43. T.G.A. (Hepworth's parentheses.) 'H' is of course, Hendy.
- 59 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Paul Nash. n.d. 1943. T.G.A.
- 60 Ibid.
- 61 Hendy, Philip, (1943) 'Foreword,' Paul Nash. Barbara Hepworth. (Leeds, Temple Newsam),p. 4
- 62 Ibid.
- 63 op. cit., n. 14.
- 64 Berthoud, Roger. (1987) The Life of Henry Moore. (London, Faber and Faber). p. 211
- 65 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Hartley Ramsden. 4/4/43. T.G.A. These sentences are accompanied by expressive and chaotic drawings which represent the type of work to which Hepworth is referring.
- 66 Ramsden, E. H. (1943) 'Barbara Hepworth: Sculptor.' in: Horizon. Vol. 10 No. 42 p.421.
- 67 Hepworth, quoted in: Read, Herbert. (1952) Barbara Hepworth. Carvings and Drawings. (London, Lund Humphries) n.p. Section 2.
- 68 Ibid. Section 2
- 69 Lewison, Jeremy. (1993) Ben Nicholson. (London, Tate Gallery) p.211
- 70 Letter from Ben Nicholson to Fred Murray. 4/12/34. T.G.A.
- 71 op. cit., n. 65.
- 72 Letter from Barbara Hepwrth to Hartley Ramsden and Margot Eates. n.d. Tuesday. c. 1951. T.G.A.op. cit., n. 148.
- 73 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Hartley Ramsden. n.d Sunday c. 1943
- 74 Curtis, Penelope; Wilkinson, Alan G. (1994) Barbara Hepworth. A Retrospective. (Liverpool, Tate Gallery) pp.54-56 (My parentheses.)
- 75 Ibid. p. 56.
- 76 Letter from Alexander Calder to Ben Nicholson. 23/1/41. T.G.A.
- 77 Letter from Alexander Calder to Ben Nicholson. 21/1/52. T.G.A. 'B.' was, of course, Hepworth. (Calder's emphases)
- 78 Bowness, Alan, (1967) 'Introduction', Barbara Hepworth (Australia, British Council). p. 5
- 79 Harrison, Charles. (1994) English Art and Modernism. 1900-1939. (London, Yale

- University Press) p. 270-1 and p. 375 n. 22 Quotation of Hepworth is from Circle 1937.
- 80 op. cit., n. 48.
- 81 op. cit., n. 64, pp. 231-2 With quotation from Art News.
- 82 op. cit., n. 46.
- 83 op. cit., n. 30.
- 84 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Margot Eates. 25/9/50. T.G.A.
- 85 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Herbert Read. 12/1/43. Vic. 55-61.
- 86 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Philip James. 15/12/49. Arts Council.
- 87 Notes taken at meeting held on 31/8/49 in order to discuss the Festival of Britain. Arts Council.
- 88 Minute Paper from Philip James to Duncan Guthrie. n.d. 1949 Arts Council.
- 89 op. cit., n. 87.
- 90 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Miss Glasgow. 13/6/49. Arts Council.
- 91 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Philip James. 13/6/49. Arts Council.
- 92 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Philip James. 7/12/49. Arts Council.
- 93 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Philip James. 14/12/49. Arts Council.
- 94 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Philip James. 12/12/49. Arts Council. (Hepworth's parentheses)
- 95 op. cit., n. 64, p. 232
- 96 op. cit., n. 86.
- 97 op. cit., n. 74, p.153
- 98 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Charles Gimpel. 17/11/59. G.F.
- 99 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Miss D. Nash. 25/11/50 B.C.
- 100 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Lilian Somerville. 12/10/50. B.C.
- 101 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Lilian Somerville. 1/11/50. B.C.
- 102 Barbara Hepworth to British Council Selection Committee, 25/11/50 B.C.
- 103 Letter from Lilian Somerville to Barbara Hepworth. n.d. 1950 B.C.
- 104 Letter from Lilian Somerville to Barbara Hepworth. 4/10/50. B.C.
- 105 op. cit., n. 29 p. 52 The autobiography is a useful indicator of what events Hepworth considered to be most important during her career.
- 106 Thistlewood, David. (Ed.) (1996) Barbara Hepworth Reconsidered. Critical Forum Series. Volume 3. (Liverpool, Tate Gallery Liverpool and University of Liverpool Press). p. 76
- 107 op. cit., n. 104.
- 108 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Miss Fison of 'Heal and Sons.' 23/2/50 H.M. Centre.
- 109 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Ernest Musgrave. 10/11/53 H.M. Centre.
- 110 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Ernest Musgrave. 1/9/50. H.M. Centre.
- 111 Hodin, Josef Paul. (1950) 'Portrait of the Artist' in: Art News and Review. Vol. 11 No. 1 p. 1
- 112 Ibid. pp. 1-6
- 113 Ibid. p. 6
- 114 Ibid.
- 115 See quote no. 58.
- 116 op. cit., n. 108.
- 117 op. cit., n. 111 p. 6
- 118 Martin, J. L.; Nicholson, Ben; Gabo, Naum. (Eds.) (1971) Circle. An International Survey of Constructive Art. (New York, Praeger) p. 110 Dore Ashton writes, 'the French Abstraction-Creation movement and the British Circle were the prototypes for the American Abstract Artists'. See: Ashton, Dore. (1972) The Life and Times of the New York School. (Somerset, Adams and Dart.) p. 76.
- 119 Ibid. p. 110.
- 120 Ibid. p.111
- 121 Hodin, Joseph Paul. (1950) 'Cornish Renaissance' in: The Penguin New Writing. Vol. 39 pp. 113-124.
- 122 Ibid. pp. 113-116
- 123 Ibid. p. 124
- 124 Ibid. p. 119
- 125 Hodin, Joseph Paul. (1960) 'Barbara Hepworth. A Classic Artist.' in: Quadrum Vol. 8 No. 191 pp. 75-84

- 126 For example, Hodin, Joseph Paul. (1960) 'Barbara Hepworth. A Classic Artist', Barbara Hepworth (Zurich, Galerie Charles Lienhard.)
- 127 op. cit., n. 125, p. 76 (My parentheses.)
- 128 Ibid. p.76
- 129 Ibid.
- 130 Ibid. pp. 76-78
- 131 Fry, Roger Eliot. (1962) Last Lectures. (Boston, Beacon Press) p.42
- 132 Ibid. pp.43-4
- 133 op. cit., n. 79 p. 268
- 134 op. cit., n. 125 p. 78
- 135 Lewis, David. (1955) 'Moore and Hepworth. A Comparison of their Sculpture.' in: College Art Journal. Vol. 14 No. 4 p. 318 Perhaps one is entitled to question Moore's motives here too; if he managed to distinguish himself from Hepworth then it was easier to fashion a successful career.
- 136 Sylvester, David. (1954) 'Round the London Galleries.' in: The Listener. April. p. 702.
- 137 op. cit., n. 135, p. 318.
- 138 Ibid. p. 316
- 139 op. cit., n. 3
- 140 Ibid.
- 141 Ibid.
- 142 op. cit., n. 125, p. 80
- 143 Ibid. p. 84
- 144 op. cit., n. 3.
- 145 Letter from John Hulton to the Italian Representative. 17/5/50. P.R.O. 40/31.
- 146 op. cit., n. 16
- 147 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Herbert Read. 15/12/55. Vic. 167-171
- 148 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Herbert Read. n.d. Wed. c.1957 Vic. 200-203.
- 149 op. cit., n. 147.
- 150 Question from the floor during the plenary session of the Barbara Hepworth Conference. Tate Gallery Liverpool. October 1994.
- 151 op. cit., n. 74, p. 144
- 152 Polcari, Stephen. (1993) Abstract Expressionism and the Modern Experience. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press). p. 20
- 153 Letter from Herbert Read to Ben Nicholson. 12/5/57. T.G.A.
- 154 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Herbert Read. 25/2/56. Vic. 178-181.
- 155 See for example her correspondence with Read about her exhibition at the 1950 Venice Biennale. Chapter One, circa. note n. 26.
- 156 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Herbert Read. 10/10/54. Vic. 153-155 (Hepworth's parentheses.)
- 157 Ibid. (Hepworth's parentheses).
- 158 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Herbert Read. 31/8/57. Vic. 186-199 (Hepworth's parentheses.)
- 159 op. cit., n. 29, p. 57
- 160 Robertson, Bryan, (1954) 'Preface', Barbara Hepworth Retrospective. 1927-1954., (London, Whitechapel Art Gallery) p. 3
- 161 Ibid.
- 162 Ibid.
- 163 Greenberg, Clement. "'American-Type" Painting' re-published in: O'Brien, John. (Ed.) (1986) Clement Greenberg. The Collected Essays and Criticism. Volume 1. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press) pp. 208-229.
- 164 Quoted in: op. cit., n. 160, 'Section 1', p.10
- 165 op. cit., n. 163, pages 217 and 221 respectively.
- 166 Quoted in: op. cit., n. 160, p.10
- 167 Baxandall, David, 'Introduction', op. cit., n. 160, p. 4
- 168 Robertson, op. cit., n. 160, p. 3
- 169 Ibid.
- 170 Robertson, Bryan, (1994) 'Introduction', Anthony Caro. Sculpture Through Five Decades. 1955-1994. (London, Annely Juda Fine Art.) p. x.
- 171 Ibid.

- 172 op. cit., n. 160., Section IV, p.21
- 173 Ibid., pages 5 and 6 respectively.
- 174 op. cit., n. 29, pages 23, 24 and 93 respectively.
- 175 Interestingly Alan Bowness, who is known for his interpretation of Hepworth as a 'classical' sculptor, overlooks an unusual phrase which he recorded quite early in his career. He, in conversation with the sculptor says, "This is all very surrealist Barbara," and she replies "Yes- and why not?" [See: Bowness, Alan. (1971) The Complete Sculpture of Barbara Hepworth. 1960-1969. (London, Lund Humphries) p. 13] Indeed it would not be surprising to me if Bowness effects a novel interpretation in his forthcoming 'definitive' book about Hepworth, for there are other occasions on which he diverges from his traditional critique. For example at an event at the Tate Gallery Liverpool he incongruously stated that 'Hepworth shows awareness of the Taschist Movement and attempts to move with the times.' (Notes taken during a talk by Bowness to Tate Gallery Supporters, Tate Gallery, Albert Dock, March 1994) Certainly it seems as if it is an appropriate period for a reassessment of Hepworth's interest in contemporaneous movements such as Taschism and Abstract Expressionism.
- 176 Curtis explored the general impact of the 'Geometry of Fear' sculptors in: op. cit., n. 74, p. 141, and Hammacher specifically indicated Butler as an influence on Hepworth in: Hammacher, A. M. (1989) Barbara Hepworth. (London, Thames and Hudson) pp. 127-131
- 177 Hammacher, A. M. (1989) Barbara Hepworth. (London, Thames and Hudson) p. 131.
- 178 Christina Lodder during Plenary Session of Hepworth Conference, October 1994, Tate Gallery Liverpool.
- 179 Curtis, Penelope. (1994) 'Thick and Thin' in: Women's Art Magazine. No. 60 pp. 12-14
- 180 Garlake, Maragaret. (1994) 'Letters: "Honing in on Hepworth."' in Women's Art Magazine No. 61 p.21
- 181 Curtis, Penelope. (1995) 'Early Hepworth: New Images for Old.' in The Burlington Magazine. Vol. 137 No. 1113 pp. 846- 849
- 182 op. cit., n. 180, p. 21
- 183 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Herbert Read. 7/2/43. Vic. 49-54.
- 184 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Herbert Read. 23/10/52. 137-139 Vic.
- 185 Letter from Henry Moore to Marino Marini, 13/9/54. Reprinted in: Artist and Maecenas. A Tribute to Curt Valentin. (New York, Marlborough-Gerson Gallery). p.14
- 186 op. cit., n. 147.
- 187 op. cit., n. 177, p. 127
- 188 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Herbert Read. 13/5/52 119-122 Vic.
- 189 Baro, Gene. (1966) 'Barbara Hepworth in her Times' in: Studio International Vol. 171 No. 878 p. 256
- 190 Ibid.
- 191 Read, Herbert. (1957) The Tenth Muse. Essays in Criticism. (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.) p. 228
- 192 Read, Herbert, (1955-56) 'Foreword', Barbara Hepworth. Carvings and Drawings 1937-1954. (New York, Martha Jackson Gallery). p. 10 The italicised words are a quotation from Hepworth.
- 193 For example, Katy Deepwell has said of Read that "He ties everything back to her quotes. He quotes rather than criticises." See op. cit. n.3.
- 194 op. cit., n. 192, p. 10 See also quote no. 192, where Read quoted Hepworth's statement from two decades ago, when she felt quite differently about Constructivism.
- 195 op. cit., n.72.
- 196 op. cit., n. 192, p. 10
- 197 op. cit., n. 2, p. 127
- 198 op. cit., n. 6, p.69
- 199 Ibid., p. 80
- 200 Dore Ashton said that "Holty emphatically states that the French Abstraction-Creation movement and the British Circle, were the prototypes for the American Abstract Artists." See Ashton, Dore. (1972) The Life and Times of the New York School. (Somerset, Adams and Dart) p. 76. Irving Sandler also noted that 'the American vanguard had always been internationalist in outlook.' See op. cit., n. 152 p.219
- 201 Chave, Anna C. (1989) Mark Rothko. Subjects in Abstraction (New Haven Yale

- University Press) p. 63
- 202 Ibid. p. 67
- 203 Ibid. p. 78
- 204 Ibid. p. 64
- 205 See Chapter One.
- 206 op. cit., n. 152, p. 219
- 207 op. cit., n. 6, p. 80
- 208 Ibid. p. 89
- 209 op. cit., n. 152, p. 211.
- 210 Noguchi, Isamu. (1967) Isamu Noguchi. A Sculptor's World. (Japan, Thames and Hudson.) p. 16
- 211 Ibid. p. 26
- 212 Ibid. pp. 29-30 (Compare this concern for drama and myth with Hepworth's ventures with the same, as expressed in Chapter Two)
- 213 Ibid. op. cit., n. 177, p. 114.
- 214 op. cit., n. 111, p.6 (Hodin's italics)
- 215 op. cit., n. 152, p.96
- 216 op. cit., n. 106, pp. 185-199
- 217 Ibid. p. 187
- 218 op. cit., n. 210, p. 30
- 219 Interview with the author. 4/6/94.
- 220 Stevens, Christopher, (1996) Mark Rothko in Cornwall. (St. Ives, Tate Gallery). p.7
- 221 Letter From Mark Rothko to Barbara Hepworth. 6/12/68 B.H. Mus. "My love to you and yours. Thank you so much for your beautiful and gracious letter... My love for your work and you are always there," and letter from Barbara Hepworth to Mark Rothko, 312/68. T.G.A.
- 222 Rosenberg, Harold. 'The American Action Painters,' reprinted in: Shapiro, David and Shapiro, Cecile. (1990) Abstract Expressionism. A Critical Record. (Cambridge, University of Cambridge Press) p. 76
- 223 op. cit., n. 67, n.p. Section 2.
- 224 Merleau-Ponty, M. (1962) Phenomenology of Perception (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul)
- 225 Frazer, Sir James. (1993) The Golden Bough. (London, Wordsworth Reference.) In fact, The Golden Bough was written much earlier in the century, but interest in it began to increase when myth and magic became relevant in the 1940s.
- 226 op. cit., n. 201.
- 227 Ashton, Dore. (1983) Mark Rothko. (New York, Oxford University Press.)
- 228 Cassirer, Ernst. (1962) An Essay on Man: An Introduction to a Philosophy of Human Culture. (New Haven, Yale University Press.) p. 25
- 229 Curtis, Penelope. 'What is Left Unsaid', in: op. cit., n. 106, pp. 155-156
- 230 op. cit., n. 152, p.27
- 231 op. cit., n. 119.
- 232 op. cit., n. 152, p.255
- 233 op. cit., n. 29, p. 76
- 234 op. cit., n. 21 (My italics)
- 235 Anfam, David. (1990) Abstract Expressionism. (London, Thames and Hudson). p. 8
- 236 Ibid. p. 16
- 237 Ibid. p. 20
- 238 op. cit., n. 152, p. 52
- 239 op. cit., n. 29, p. 79
- 240 Ibid., p.53
- 241 op. cit., n. 160, p.27
- 242 Festing, Sally. (1995) Barbara Hepworth. A Life of Forms. (London, Viking.) p. 109.
- 243 op. cit., n. 177, p. 123.
- 244 Ramsden, E.H. (1946) 'The Sculpture of Barbara Hepworth' in: Polemic. No. 5 p.33 (My italics)
- 245 op. cit., n. 235, p. 93
- 246 op. cit., n. 152, p.53
- 247 Quoted in: Ibid., p. 53

- 248 op. cit., n. 64, p. 254.
- 249 Greenberg, Clement, 'Towards a Newer Laocoon', Reprinted in op. cit., n. 163, p.36
- 250 op. cit., n. 64, p. 288
- 251 These correlations are all expressed by Robertson in: op. cit., n. 170.
- 252 See for instance, 'Modernist Painting', Reprinted in: O'Brien, John. (1993) Clement Greenberg. The Collected Essays and Criticism. Volume 4. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press) pp. 85-94, which lays particular stress upon the importance of 'flatness' in art.
- 253 'Towards a Newer Laocoon', op. cit., n. 163 p. 36
- 254 'Modernist Painting', op. cit., n. 252, p. 89
- 255 'Towards a Newer Laocoon', op. cit, n. 163, p. 36
- 256 See quote no. 200
- 257 op. cit., n. 252, p.312
- 258 op. cit., n. 235, p. 101. Read was particularly influenced by this text.
- 259 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Herbert Read. n.d. 1957 200-203 Vic.
- 260 Conversation with Dierdre Robson, an American Modernism scholar. 15/2/95
- 261 op. cit., n. 222, p.76
- 262 Ibid.
- 263 op. cit., n. 29, p.39
- 264 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Herbert Read. 21/6/59 211-218 Vic.
- 265 op. cit., n. 3.
- 266 Letter from Herbert Read to Ben Nicholson. 23/4/54. T.G.A.
- 267 Harrison, Charles. (1969) 'Against Precedents: Exhibition "When Attitudes Become Form."' in: The Studio. Vol. 178 No. Sept. pp. 90-93
- 268 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Peter Gimpel. 15/5/58. G.F.
- 269 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Charles Gimpel. 18/4/58. G.F.
- 270 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Charles Gimpel. 15/9/57. G.F.
- 271 See quote no. 58.
- 272 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Charles Gimpel. 11/6/59. G.F. (My parentheses)
- 273 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Herbert Read. 27/1/57. Vic. 182.
- 274 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Charles Gimpel. 16/7/59. G.F.
- 275 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Peter Gimpel. 21/8/59. G.F.
- 276 Letter from Charles Gimpel to Barbara Hepworth. 5/8/59. G.F.
- 277 See Chapter One, for example, the discussion about the merits of Moore as opposed to Hepworth at the 1950 Venice Biennale.
- 278 Read, Herbert, (1959) 'Introduction', Hepworth (New York, Galerie Chalette) p.21
- 279 Ibid.
- 280 See quote no. 194.
- 281 op. cit., n 278, pp. 23-6.
- 282 Ibid. p. 26
- 283 op. cit., n. 259.
- 284 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Charles Gimpel. 9/5/59. G.F.
- 285 op. cit., n. 178.
- 286 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Charles Gimpel. 22/5/59. G.F.
- 287 op. cit., n. 278, p.22
- 288 Letter from Barbara Hepworth in New York to Kay Gimpel. n.d. Oct. 1959 G.F.
- 289 Geneuer, Emily. (1959) in: New York Times. G.F. Press Clipping.
- 290 Ashton, Dore. (1959) in: New York Times. Oct. 18 p.x15
- 291 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Herbert Read. 5/11/59. Vic. 223.
- 292 Letter from Herbert Read to Ben Nicholson. 5/5/60. T.G.A.
- 293 Ashton, Dore, (1974) 'Introduction', Barbara Hepworth. "Conversations." (New York, Marlborough-Gerson Gallery.) p.5
- 294 Sylvester, David. (1954) 'Round the London Galleries.' in: The Listener. April 22 p. 702.  
It is necessary to recall that Sylvester is primarily known as a writer on Henry Moore, and therefore his conception of what was mysterious or magical was coloured by the overt messages from Moore's sculptures.
- 295 op. cit., n. 293.
- 296 op. cit., n. 106, p.189 'Just as James Frazer's The Golden Bough was instrumental in inspiring artists such as Mark Rothko and Barnett Newman, the ideas expressed in it (if,



- however, stimulated by different sources) were permeating Hepworth's aesthetic.'
- 297 op. cit., n. 177, p. 112
- 298 op. cit., n. 147.
- 299 op. cit., n. 67, n.p. Section 6
- 300 op. cit., n. 177, p. 125.
- 301 op. cit., n. 242, pp. 201-2
- 302 op. cit., n. 293, p. 6
- 303 Ibid.
- 304 Ibid. p. 7
- 305 Ibid. p. 6.
- 306 Compare earlier in this chapter, where Hepworth and Newman are juxtaposed over the issue of 'egg-like forms.'
- 307 op. cit., n. 106, p. 121
- 308 op. cit., n. 235, p. 122
- 309 Goffin, Peter. (1949) 'Images of Movement' in: Image. Vol. 2 Autumn. pp.51-64
- 310 D'Arcy Thompson's On Growth and Form, quoted in: op. cit., n. 2, p. 128
- 311 Read, Herbert. (1948) Gabo and Pevsner. (New York, Museum of Modern Art) p. 11. Quoted in: op. cit., n. 2, p.89
- 312 See Chapter Three, quote no. 530
- 313 op. cit., n. 177, p. 200
- 314 op. cit., n. 152, p. 147
- 315 Evidently this was a common concern for Hepworth, because she even referred to the concept in the titles of works. See for example, 'Stringed Figure (Finistere)' as described in Chapter Two. Similarly, in 1955, a reviewer of her set for 'the Midsummer Marriage' made reference to the 'large tri-lithic gateway' which Hepworth had installed 'to give space for the action in the plane of reality' conversely, Hepworth had also created a 'Magic Wood and the cryptic lotus flower (which) represent the spiritual world.' (Quoted in: op. cit., n. 177, p. 124) Evidently Hepworth employed the threshold device here to divide reality and the spiritual world.
- 316 op. cit., n. 2, p. 112
- 317 Ramsden, E. H. (1949) Twentieth Century Sculpture. (London, Pleiades Books). p. 21
- 318 op. cit., n. 125 p.80
- 319 Ibid. p. 84 (My italics)
- 320 Ibid. p. 84
- 321 op. cit., n. 74, p. 99
- 322 Letter from Donald Goodall to Thomas Messer, the Director of the Guggenheim Museum. 26/11/69. G.F.
- 323 Letter from Henry G. Gardiner of the Art Gallery of San Diego to Donald Goodall. 12/6/70. G.F.
- 324 Letter from Donald Goodall to Gimpel Fils. 27/2/70 G.F.
- 325 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Kay Gimpel. 20/1/60. G.F.
- 326 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Charles Gimpel. 16/10/61. G.F.
- 327 op. cit., n. 74, p. 141.
- 328 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Lilian Somerville. 26/4/52. B.C.
- 329 Notes taken from lecture by Virginia Button, entitled, 'Ben Nicholson and Barbara Hepworth.' 26/9/94. Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.
- 330 Ibid. (My italics.)
- 331 op. cit., n. 67, n.p. Section 2
- 332 Frankenstein, Alfred. (1979) 'The Guggenheim Looks at Rothko,' in: San Francisco Chronicle. 4 January, p. 41
- 333 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Curt Valentin. 7/6/48. M.O.M.A.
- 334 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Curt Valentin. 9/8/48. M.O.M.A.
- 335 Letter from Curt Valentin to Barbara Hepworth. 9/9/49. M.O.M.A.
- 336 op. cit., n. 333.
- 337 op. cit., n. 101.
- 338 Note written by Miss D. Nash to Lilian Somerville on foot of letter from Barbara Hepworth to Miss D. Nash. B. C. 25/11/50
- 339 Letter from Lilian Somerville to Barbara Hepworth. B.C. c.1/11/50
- 340 Letter from Lilian Somerville to Barbara Hepworth. B.C. 4/10/50

- 341 op. cit., n. 100.
- 342 Notes taken from lecture 'The Endeavour to Maintain Cultural Hegemony in Postwar France,' given by Kathryn Boyer at the College Art Association Conference in Boston, U.S.A. 23/2/96.
- 343 See Chapter One, quote no. 58.
- 344 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Curt Valentin. 13/9/48. M.O.M.A.
- 345 See quote no. 341.
- 346 See letter from Barbara Hepworth to Curt Valentin, 3/12/49. M.O.M.A. 'I was terribly disappointed as the sales result of my show at Durlachers, particularly as the press seemed good.'
- 347 Letter from Curt Valentin to Barbara Hepworth. 17/9/48. M.O.M.A. (G.D. is George Dix of the Durlacher Gallery)
- 348 op. cit., n. 346.
- 349 Ibid.
- 350 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Curt Valentin. 1/8/50. M.O.M.A.
- 351 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Curt Valentin. 17/8/52. M.O.M.A.
- 352 Ibid. Similarly, Gregory was instrumental in furthering Moore's career in the United States. Again he liased between Moore and Valentin, collected Moore's works and gave financial support towards projects which aimed to buy Moores. For example in 1938, he offered to give the Wakefield City Art Gallery £50 in order that they may buy Moore's 'Buffalo' sculpture. (See op. cit., n. 64, p.141.) One must remember that Gregory set up the Gregory Fellowship at Leeds University which supported many of the younger generation or 'Geometry of Fear' sculptors, such as Reg Butler and Kenneth Armstrong. In fact Gregory was even an important figure at the I.C.A., and helped to ensure that American art was channelled through that institution to the British public.
- 353 Letter from Curt Valentin to Barbara Hepworth. 14/5/54. M.O.M.A.
- 354 op. cit, n, 347.
- 355 Letter from Jane Wade to Barbara Hepworth. 1/12/55. M.O.M.A.
- 356 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Jane Wade. 8/12/55. M.O.M.A. (Hepworth's emphasis)
- 357 Letter from Harold Diamond at Alex, Reid and Lefevre to Curt Valentin. 9/8/54. M.O.M.A.
- 358 op. cit., n. 29, p. 72.
- 359 op. cit., n. 3.
- 360 Letter from Alex Reid of Alex Reid and Lefevre to Curt Valentin. 21/6/54. M.O.M.A.
- 361 Letter from Grace L. McCann Morley, Director of San Francisco Museum of Art to Jane Wade. 21/6/54. M.O.M.A.
- 362 Letter from Robert Richman, Director of the Institute of Contemporary Arts, Washington D.C. to Jane Wade. 19/6/54. M.O.M.A. Interestingly, the Washington I.C.A. was a branch of the British I.C.A., which has been perceived as an instrument of the American government in Britain throughout the Cold War. Therefore one may conjecture why Hepworth was considered to be a valid exhibition opportunity for the Washington I.C.A.? Presumably at this period Hepworth was not understood to be an outmoded artist by other galleries in the United States. One may presume that if Valentin had chosen to support Hepworth during this period, perhaps that would have cemented her reputation in the United States.
- 363 Letter from Alex Reid to Curt Valentin. 19/5/54. M.O.M.A.
- 364 Letter from Director of Walker Art Centre, Minneapolis to Jane Wade. c. May 1954. M.O.M.A.
- 365 See Burstow, Robert. (1984) 'Angst and Iron' in Art and Artists. No. 213 p.12
- 366 See Chapter Two quote no. 186
- 367 See Chapter Two, note no. 189.
- 368 Letter from Curt Valentin to Barbara Hepworth. 10/9/53. M.O.M.A.
- 369 See Chapter Two, note no. 325.
- 370 Indeed in 1996, there are only three works by Hepworth at M.O.M.A, whereas there are twelve by Moore; furthermore, Valentin's gift is the only example of a piece in stone by Hepworth, and his gift has therefore helped to effect a more representative collection of her sculpture at the museum.

- 371 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Curt Valentin. 20/11/53. M.O.M.A.
- 372 Letter from Alfred H. Barr to the Editor of The Times 23 March 1953. T.G.A.
- 373 Marter, Joan. (1994) 'The Ascendancy of Abstraction for Public Art. The Monument to the Unknown Political Prisoner Competition.' in: Art Journal Vol. 53 No. 4 p.31. (My parentheses.)
- 374 Ritchie, Andrew C. (1952) Sculpture of the Twentieth Century (New York, Museum of Modern Art) p. 35
- 375 See Chapter One, note no. 65.
- 376 Letter from Ben Nicholson to Curt Valentin. 8/1/54. M.O.M.A. It is important to note that by this date, Nicholson and Hepworth had been divorced for three years, and therefore one must presume that this is his objective and real opinion- uninfluenced by his relationship with Hepworth.
- 377 Letter from Ben Nicholson to George L. K. Morris. 19/3/49. A.A.A., N.Y. Reel D337.
- 378 Ibid..
- 379 op. cit., n. 6, p. 69
- 380 See Chapter One, note no. 65.
- 381 Calvocoressi, Richard. (1981-82) 'Public Sculpture in the 1950s', British Sculpture in the Twentieth Century. (London, Whitechapel Art Gallery) p.136.
- 382 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Herbert Read. 18/1/53. Vic. 140-148
- 383 Herbert Read, (1953) 'Foreword', Monument to the Unknown Political Prisoner Competition. (London, Tate Gallery).
- 384 Letter from John Rothenstein to Anthony Kloman. 31/1/53. T.G.A.
- 385 Newton, Eric. (1953) 'The Unknown Political Prisoner Competition' in: Time and Tide. 21 March. T.G.A. Press Album.
- 386 Newton, Eric. (1953) 'The Unknown Prisoner' in: Britain Today April. T.G.A. Press Album.
- 387 Anonymous. (1953) 'Prize for British Sculpture' in: The Times. 13 March. T.G.A. Press Album.
- 388 Russell, John. (1953) 'Prizegiving' in: The Times 15 March. T.G.A. Press Album.
- 389 op. cit., n. 64, p. 249
- 390 Anonymous (1953) Daily Worker 21 March. T.G.A. Press Album.
- 391 op. cit., n. 365.
- 392 Transcript of lecture given by Reg Butler c.1955 T.G.A.
- 393 Ibid.
- 394 Ibid. This paragraph is paraphrasing a large section Butler's lecture.
- 395 Chapter 2, circa quote no. 294.
- 396 Bone, Stephen. (1953) in: Building. T.G.A. Press Album.
- 397 Newton, Eric. (1953) 'Sculpture on a Theme' in: Time and Tide. 24 January. T.G.A. Press Album.
- 398 op. cit., n. 373, p.31
- 399 Letter from Theodore Roszak to Alfred H. Barr. n.d. M.O.M.A.
- 400 op. cit., n. 383.
- 401 Bowness, Alan and Hepworth, Barbara. (1966) Drawings from a Sculptor's Landscape. (London, Cory Adams and Mackay.)
- 402 Ibid. p. 13
- 403 Ibid. p. 15
- 404 Ibid. p. 23
- 405 Ibid.
- 406 See Chapter One, note no. 65. This was written in 1950- well before Hepworth had produced the late 1950s paintings which Bowness believes are a 'contradiction'.
- 407 op. cit., n. 401, p. 23
- 408 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to George L.K. Morris. 18/11/40. A.A.A. N.Y. Reel D337.
- 409 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Gimpel Fils. 6/9/60. G.F.
- 410 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Charles Gimpel. 8/6/59. G.F.
- 411 op. cit., n. 74, p. 144.
- 412 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Gimpel Fils 16/7/59 G.F.
- 413 See note no. 337, where Hepworth demanded that the British Council select a certain work for the 1951 'American Abstract Artists' exhibition.

- 414 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Gimpel Fils. n.d. G.F.
- 415 op. cit., n. 74, p.143-4
- 416 Ibid. p. 141
- 417 Letter from Herbert Read to Barbara Hepworth. n.d. 1964. T.G.A.
- 418 op. cit., n. 3.
- 419 Ibid.
- 420 Banham, Rayner. (1952) "'Barbara Hepworth. Carvings and Drawings" Review.' in: Art News and Review. 27 December. T.G.A. Press Album.
- 421 op. cit., n. 2.
- 422 op. cit., n. 6, p. 74
- 423 'No sculptor has brought out with such bluntness, or described with greater precision, the vitalist position than Henry Moore.' op. cit., n. 6, p. 94
- 424 See Thistlewood's comments about Read's correspondence with Hepworth (op. cit., n.2, pp. 96-97.) This is also mentioned in the Introduction.
- 425 See quote no. 422 above.
- 426 op. cit., n. 6, p. 75
- 427 Read, Herbert. (1964) A Concise History of Sculpture (London, Thames and Hudson.) p.253
- 428 op. cit., n. 6, p.75
- 429 Ibid. p. 75 (Burnham's italics)
- 430 'As an inhabitant of the alienated realm of the canvas in progress, the artist exercises his craft, as it were, blindly, like a wood-carver working from inside the wood. More abstractly, he resembles an organic force.' Rosenberg, Harold. (1969) 'The Mythic Act' reproduced in Artworks and Packages. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press). p. 376
- 431 Giedion-Welcker, Carola. (1975) 'Preface', Barbara Hepworth (Zurich, Marlborough Galerie A.G.) p. 7
- 432 op. cit., n. 330.
- 433 Pauline De Souza is currently working on a Ph.D. at Reading University which examines the impact of Minimalism in the United Kingdom. She is also interested in the fact that sculpture in the 1960s was often described as neither two or three-dimensional.
- 434 Greenberg, Clement. 'After Abstract Expressionism' (1962) Reprinted in: Harrison, Charles; Wood, Paul. (1994) Art in Theory. 1900-1990. An Anthology of Changing Ideas (Oxford, Blackwell Publishers) p. 767.
- 435 Fuller, Peter. (1987) 'London, Tate Gallery. Mark Rothko 1903-1970' in: The Burlington Magazine Vol. 129 No. 1013 p. 545
- 436 Ashton, Dore. (1971) 'Art' in: Arts and Architecture. Vol. 75 No. 4 p.8
- 437 op. cit., n. 29, p. 80
- 438 Cernuschi, C. R. (1986) 'Mark Rothko's Mature Paintings: A Question of Content' in: Arts Magazine. Vol. 60 No. 9 p. 56
- 439 Kierkegaard, S. (1974) Fear and Trembling / The Sickness Unto Death. (New Jersey, Princeton Press.) p. 210
- 440 Carl Holty, in transcript of an interview for New York University, speaking with Irving Sandler. A.A.A. Reel no. N 68-93.
- 441 op. cit., n. 29, p. 93
- 442 Rothko in his essay, 'The Romantics Were Prompted' p. 84 originally published in the journal Possibilities 1, but reprinted in: Mark Rothko 1903- 1970 (London, Tate Gallery) p.72
- 443 op. cit., n. 228, p. 194 (My parentheses).
- 444 For example, the significance of Anna C. Chave's text- (op. cit., n. 201)- is largely that she refutes the traditional idea that Rothko's art has no humanistic reference- or even subject-matter.
- 445 op. cit., n. 6, p. 74
- 446 Although it is recognised that Read, in reaction to Hepworth's writings, did perceive the organic to contain geometrical elements, (op. cit., n. 2, p. 94) this may be understood to be a phase in Read's writing, which pre-empted his complete formulation of an organic theory. Burnham is referring to Read's organic theory.
- 447 op. cit., n. 427, p. 18
- 448 Katy Deepwell in 'Hepworth and her Critics.' in: op. cit., n. 106, p. 80
- 449 Ibid. p.80

- 450 Hall, Donald. (1966) Henry Moore. The Life and Work of a Great Sculptor. (London, Victor Gollancz Limited.) p.157
- 451 op. cit., n. 2, p. 127
- 452 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Herbert Read. 30/5/59. Vic. 205-210
- 453 Claire Doherty, 'The Essential Hepworth? Re-Reading the Work of Barbara Hepworth in the Light of Recent Debates on "the Feminine."' in: op. cit., no. 106 p. 171
- 454 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Herbert Read. 29/12/62. Vic. 248-251
- 455 op. cit., n. 452
- 456 op. cit., n. 6. Quotation is from Read's A Concise History of Modern Sculpture (Italics are Burnham's.)
- 457 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Herbert Read. 25/7/65. Vic. 309-313
- 458 Ibid.
- 459 See note no. 428
- 460 Read, Herbert. (1962) "'Barbara Hepworth" by Hodin Review' in: The Burlington Magazine Vol. 104 No. 712 p.309
- 461 op. cit., n. 252, p.90
- 462 Ibid. p.87
- 463 Ibid. p.88
- 464 Interestingly David Lewis quoted Bernal on Hepworth's use of the dimensions. Lewis and Bernal suggested that Hepworth offered a fourth dimension- that of time- 'From one point of view the sculpture represents the present tense, the visible concretion of one moment in time... From another the sculpture is infinite time and space itself... And as a result of the consort of these opposites the carving reaches toward its final stage, for the internal tensions of the sculpture are seen to be dramatically consistent with the greater cosmic tensions that bear down upon it and fix it, a living particle in their scheme.' See: Lewis, David. (1950) 'The Sculptures of Barbara Hepworth' in: Eidos. No. 2 p.28
- 465 op. cit., n. 152, p. 201
- 466 Ibid. p. 204
- 467 op. cit., n. 66 p.418
- 468 Read, Herbert. (1951) Art and the Evolution of Man, Conway Hall, 10 April 1951, (London, Freedom Press)
- 469 See quote no. 439
- 470 Lovell Andrews, E. (1962) 'The Work of Barbara Hepworth' in: Apollo Vol. 76 No. 2 p. 155 This statement also confirms how Hepworth may be considered as a vitalistic sculptor. Burnham's definition of vitalism is that 'it has traditionally been allied to a concern for religion, metaphysics, and art against the corrosive effects of mechanistic naturalism, industrialism and science.' op. cit., no. 6.
- 471 Levy, Mervyn. (1962) 'Impulse and Rhythm' in: The Studio Vol. 164 No. 833 p. 89
- 472 Ibid. p. 85
- 473 Of Hepworth's work in the 1950s until her death I still refer to her having 'carved' because she usually 'carved' the plaster on an armature which would later be turned into a bronze sculpture. In this way Hepworth's bronze sculptures may still be understood as bearing the personal marks of the sculptor.
- 474 op. cit., n. 471.
- 475 Kramer, Hilton. (1966) 'Barbara Hepworth: Vanguard to Establishment' in: New York Times March 13 p. x27
- 476 Bowness, Alan. (1962) 'Introduction', Hepworth (British Council, Hong-Kong) n.p.
- 477 See quote no. 458
- 478 op. cit., n. 264.
- 479 op. cit., n. 475.
- 480 Ibid.
- 481 Hodin, Joseph Paul. (1961) Barbara Hepworth (London, Lund Humphries)
- 482 Ibid. p. 13 Contrast this viewpoint with that of Penelope Curtis, which is expressed in: op. cit. n. 74, p. 13. The reality of Hepworth's visit to Italy was "a lack of real engagement with the country."
- 483 Ibid. p. 9
- 484 Ibid. p. 18
- 485 See Chapter One, circa note no. 112
- 486 op. cit., n. 481, p. 18

- 487 Robertson, Bryan, (1962) 'Preface', Barbara Hepworth Sculpture Exhibition 1952-1962 (London, Whitechapel Art Gallery.) n.p.
- 488 Ibid.
- 489 Ibid. These words serve to support my assertion that as Hepworth's works become more successful at synthesising elements, and resolving problems, they are also more difficult for most people to access.
- 490 See note no. 478.
- 491 op. cit., n. 487, n.p. (Robertson's italics)
- 492 Ibid. (My parentheses)
- 493 Ibid. (My italics)
- 494 See note no. 474.
- 495 op. cit., n.442, p.72
- 496 The Burlington Magazine June 1962. Whitechapel Art Gallery Press Album.
- 497 Art Critic. (1962) 'Ten Years of Sculpture by Miss Barbara Hepworth' in The Times. 16 May. Whitechapel Art Gallery Press Album.
- 498 Indeed this issue has already been explored above with reference to the Unknown Political Prisoner Competition. See Chapter Two, circa note n. 396
- 499 Massey, Anne. (1984) 'Cold War Culture and the I.C.A.' in: Art and Artists. No. 213. pp. 15-17
- 500 op. cit., n. 487.
- 501 'In the Picture. Barbara Hepworth' in: The Observer. 13 May 1962 Whitechapel Press Album.
- 502 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Dr. Ralph Bunche (Under-Secretary for Special Political Affairs) at the United Nations Headquarters. 31/7/62. U.N.
- 503 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Ralph Bunche. 24/3/62. U.N. (Hepworth's emphasis)
- 504 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Ralph Bunche. 11/7/62 U.N. The extent of Hepworth's confidence in Robertson was also indicated in another letter, in which she wrote, 'I can think of nobody who could better represent my point of view... I feel he would have the whole project deeply at heart and be able to speak for me.' in: letter from Barbara Hepworth to Max Abramovitz (architect of the Memorial sculpture site) 11/7/62. U.N.
- 505 Letter from J.R.M. Brumwell to George Ivan Smith. 13/6/62. U.N.
- 506 Indeed, in Chapter Two, note no. 275, see Hepworth's characteristic nervousness which often prevented her from making useful contacts.
- 507 However it was recognised by members of the U.N. committee that 'in world competitions Hepworth has begun to shine above Moore.' (Letter from George Ivan Smith to Carl Valentin and Ralph Bunche. 8/6/62. U.N.) Indeed, at world competitions such as the Sao Paulo Biennial of 1959, Hepworth was triumphing. At Sao Paulo she won the Grand Prize; and yet this had still not given her the sort of reputation to which Moore was privileged. Hepworth was beginning to become more known and appreciated within artistic circles, but not on a general level.
- 508 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to J.R.M. Brumwell. 18/6/62. U.N.
- 509 This situation is reminiscent of the general opinions about Hepworth and Moore on the Venice Biennale Committees of 1948 and 1950. See Chapter One.
- 510 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Ralph Bunche. 28/6/65. U.N.
- 511 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Ralph Bunche. 24/3/62. U.N.
- 512 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Ralph Bunche. 13/3/62. U.N. (Hepworth's parentheses.)
- 513 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Brian Urquhart. 23/6/64. U.N.
- 514 For example see Chapter One, note no. 175.
- 515 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Ralph Bunche. 30/4/63. U.N.
- 516 Bowness, Alan. (1971) The Complete Sculpture of Barbara Hepworth. 1960-1969. (London, Lund Humphries.) p.13
- 517 See circa note no. 428. This portion of the text discusses Hepworth's desire to penetrate the solidity of sculpture, and even to experiment with other, more flexible media. An essential aspect of Burnham's theory of 'Vitalism', was that sculpture which could be considered as such often seemed to deny its massiveness and to strive towards more open or obscured forms.

- 518 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Ralph Bunche. 10/2/64. U.N. (Hepworth's emphasis)
- 519 Letter from J.R.M. Brunwell to George Ivan Smith. 29/5/62. U.N.
- 520 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Ralph Bunche. 27/2/64. U.N. (Hepworth's emphasis.)
- 521 Official Press Release from the United Nations Headquarters. 'Unveiling of the Sculpture in the Entrance Circle.' 1964. U.N.
- 522 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Wallace Harrison. 26/7/62. U.N.
- 523 A Memorandum in the United Nations' file on the Hepworth sculpture states that 'Dag Hammarskjold wanted water to play on the sculpture. This caused problems. See letter 29/6/62 by E.A. Van Name.'
- 524 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Wallace Harrison. 10/9/62. U.N.
- 525 Letter from E. A. Van Name to Ralph Bunche. 23/7/62. U.N.
- 526 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Ralph Bunche. 19/6/62. U.N. (Hepworth's emphasis)
- 527 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Ralph Bunche. 28/2/64. U.N.
- 528 Ibid.
- 529 Anonymous. (1963) 'L.C.C. Pay 6000 Guineas for Hepworth Bronze' in: The Times 13 December. U.N. Press Album.
- 530 Breen, Robert C. (1964) 'New Shapes and Forms.' in: The Baltimore Sun 27 May. (My italics.) U.N. Press Album.
- 531 See Chapter One quote no. 21
- 532 Whiteman, Alden. (1975) 'Barbara Hepworth Dies in Fire at Cornwall Studios' in: New York Times 21 May p. 46 (My italics)
- 533 Kramer, Hilton. (1975) 'Spirit of Thirties Sculpture' in: New York Times 21 May p.46
- 534 op. cit., n. 293, p. 5
- 535 'Remarks made by the Swedish Ambassador to U.S.A., Sverker Astrom, at the Unveiling of the Sculpture in the Entrance Circle of the United Nations.' 11/6/64. U.N. (My parentheses)
- 536 op. cit., n. 443.
- 537 Hammarskjold, Dag. c.1961 'Single Form' Published later in Markings MSS at U.N., N.Y.
- 538 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Herbert Read. 6/9/64. 281-283. Vic.
- 539 See newspaper articles on the microfilm reel about Jack Greenbaum. Reel 1425, A.A.A. 157-227
- 540 See Jack Greenbaum reel. Reel 1425, A.A.A. 157-227
- 541 Letter from Olga Hirshhorn to Emma Roberts. 7/2/95.
- 542 Berges, Marshall. (1978) 'Marcia and Fred Weissman'. in: L.A. Times Home Magazine 24 September. pp. 45-49
- 543 Brenson, Michael. (1984) 'Art: 100 Modern Sculptures at Storm King Centre.' in New York Times. 3 August. Pace Wildenstein Gallery Archive, New York.
- 544 Letter from Ben Nicholson to George L. K. Morris. 7 January 1960. A.A.A. Reel D337
- 545 See Chapter Two, circa. note n. 429.
- 546 Shepherd, Michael. (1963) Barbara Hepworth (London, Methuen) Art in Progress Series. n.p.
- 547 Ibid. n.p.
- 548 Whittet, G. S. (1964) 'Movement and Repose in Contemporary Work' in: The Studio Vol. 168 No. 856 p. 78
- 549 Ibid.
- 550 op. cit., n. 189, p. 256
- 551 Marchiori, Giuseppe, 'Introduction', Barbara Hepworth (British Council, Torino.) n.p.
- 552 Hodin, Joesph Paul (1965) 'The Avant Garde of English Sculpture and the Liberation from the Liberators.' in: Quadrum Vol. 18, p. 59
- 553 op. cit., n. 189, p.256
- 554 Speech made by Herbert Read at the Cultural Congress of Havana, January 1968. Reprinted in: op. cit., n. 29, p. 127.
- 555 Ibid.
- 556 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Herbert Read. 14 /3/65. 297-299. Vic.
- 557 Gordon, A. (1966) 'Barbara Hepworth. Four Drawings, Four Masterworks. in: The Connoisseur. Vol. 163 No. 655 p. 24

- 558 op. cit., n. 74, p.144
- 559 Melville, Robert. (1968) 'Creative Gap.' in: New Statesman 12 April p.494 Compare also the apparent response of E. H. Ramsden to earlier indications that Hepworth was interested in anthropomorphism. For example, Hepworth clearly recognised the deterioration of Ramsden's respect for her work, for she wrote, "I thought you had abandoned me for being too anthropomorphic!" Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Hartley Ramsden. n.d. Sun. c. 1951. T.G.A.
- 560 Roberts, Keith. (1968) 'Current and Forthcoming Exhibitions.' in: The Burlington Magazine Vol. 110 No. 782 p. 299.
- 561 op. cit., n. 177.
- 562 Reise, Barbara M. (1968) 'Friendly Biography' in: Studio Internationals Vol. 176 No. 903 (Reise's parentheses and italics.)
- 563 See Chapter Two.
- 564 op. cit., n. 177, p. 141.
- 565 See Chapter Two, note no. 325, and Chapter Three, note n. 368.
- 566 Nicolson, Benedict. (1966) 'Recent Museum Acquisitions' in: The Burlington Magazine Vol. 108 No. 761 p. 425
- 567 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Ben Nicholson. 9/5/68. T.G.A.
- 568 Alley, Ronald, (1968) 'Introduction', Barbara Hepworth (London, Tate Gallery.) p. 7
- 569 Of course, Clement Greenberg was the person who famously put forward this theory in his essay Avant Garde and the Kitsch of 1939. Others disagreed- notably Harold Rosenberg.
- 570 op. cit., n. 568, p. 8.
- 571 Generally this sculpture has caused considerable difficulties for critics who have no idea how to relate it to Hepworth's oeuvre. For example Melville wrote, 'Her latest work, a large geometrical *Crucifixion* which pays homage to her old friend Mondrian is likely to make him turn in his grave.' (op. cit., n. 559 ). Surely this supports my interpretation, for I have no difficulty in assimilating such works, as they emphasise how Hepworth wished to be perceived as a developing sculptor, and wished to be juxtaposed with other highly significant artists.
- 572 op. cit., n. 568, p. 25
- 573 Ibid. pp. 47
- 574 See Chapter Two, circa note n. 306.
- 575 op. cit., n. 467.
- 576 An anonymous lady conversed with the author at a conference in the Whitworth Art Gallery in May 1994. She reported that her niece had touched a Hepworth wooden sculpture, whereupon an invigilator was quick to reprimand the child. Hepworth happened to be in the same room, and was most severe in her criticism of the invigilator.
- 577 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Ben Nicholson. 21/1/69. T.G.A.
- 578 See Chapter One, note no. 65.
- 579 op. cit., n. 577. Compare Hepworth's vocabulary with that of Melville: 'her very big works look rather vacant.' (op. cit., n. 559) One may therefore suggest that the difficulty which Melville experienced with Hepworth's work, was as a result of viewing poor photographs.
- 580 Hepworth, quoted in op. cit., n. 516, p. 12
- 581 op. cit., n. 577.
- 582 Ibid.
- 583 It is paradoxical, but many writers acknowledge that the later works are a later manifestation of the earlier works, and yet they simultaneously comment on the deviant nature of the later sculptures.
- 584 See for example, 'The idiom and language of her sculpture was to reflect her continuing interest in Christian Science throughout the rest of her career.' (op. cit., n. 74, p.27.)
- 585 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Ben Nicholson. 17/9/66. T.G.A.
- 586 Quoted in: Anon. (1967) 'The Lesser Medium' in Art In America Vol. 55 No. 5 pp. 114-5
- 587 See Chapter Three, n. 489.
- 588 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Ben Nicholson. n.d. c. 1954 Sunday 'at Margaret's.' T.G.A. The reference to 'show' of course is to her exhibition at the Whitechapel Gallery, either in 1954, or 1962.
- 589 Hepworth quoted in: op. cit., no. 516 p. 13



- 590 op. cit., n. 468, p. 25.
- 591 op. cit., n. 585. (Hepworth's parentheses)
- 592 This point has already been made in: op. cit., n. 516.
- 593 op. cit., n. 585.
- 594 op. cit., n. 467.
- 595 This sculpture had previously been created in 1954-55, but in an entirely different material, which consequently completely altered its meaning.
- 596 op. cit., n. 466, p. 426
- 597 See for example Bernal's comment which seemed to justify Read's attribution of Jungian values upon Hepworth: "she has reduced her sculptures to the barest elements, but these elements correspond curiously enough so closely with those of Neolithic art that it is in comparison with them that we can best describe them." Bernal, J.D. (1937) 'Foreword', Catalogue of Sculpture by Barbara Hepworth. (London, Lefevre Gallery) n.p.
- 598 Hepworth, quoted in: op. cit., n. 516, p. 12
- 599 op. cit., n. 152, p. 15
- 600 Ibid. p. 20.
- 601 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Lilian Somerville. 27/4//64. B.C.
- 602 See Chapter Two, note no. 221.
- 603 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Ben Nicholson. 11/6/70. T.G.A.
- 604 op. cit., n. 220.
- 605 Ibid., p.7
- 606 Ibid.
- 607 Cross, Tom. (1995) Painting in the Warmth of the Sun. (Devon, Westcountry Books.) p 172
- 608 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Lilian Somerville. 27/5/57. B.C.
- 609 op. cit., n. 221, p. 5
- 610 See Chapter Two, note no. 292. See also (op. cit., n. 227) for examples of Ashton's theory that Rothko explored myth, symbol and philosophy.
- 611 He wrote that there was 'a sense of "the stillness of the eternal beginning, the world as it had always been, in the state of non-being."' [See: Fordheim, Frieda. (1966) An Introduction to Jung's Psychology. (Harmondsworth, Penguin.) p. 143]
- 612 op. cit., n. 152, pp. 50-51
- 613 op. cit., n. 177, p. 203. (Hammacher's italics.)
- 614 Ibid. p. 202.
- 615 See note no. 562, which reviews Hammacher's earlier interpretation of Hepworth as being parochial.
- 616 Hall, Donald. (1976) 'Introduction', Barbara Hepworth. Late Works. (Edinburgh, Royal Botanic Garden.) p. 7
- 617 op. cit., n. 152, p. 17 (My italics)
- 618 Ibid. p. 16
- 619 Wording of the official manuscript which Hepworth received on 23 September 1968 from the Borough of St. Ives. M.S.S. Tate Gallery Library.
- 620 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Ben Nicholson. 29/9/68 T.G.A.
- 621 Ibid.
- 622 See note no. 562, above.
- 623 op. cit., n. 119.
- 624 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Ben Nicholson. 10/6/68. T.G.A.
- 625 op. cit., n. 29, p. 76
- 626 op. cit., n. 460, p. 299
- 627 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Lilian Somerville. 11/3/63. B.C.
- 628 See Chapter One.
- 629 op. cit., n. 74, p.138
- 630 Letter from Harry Fischer of Marlborough Fine Art to Barbara Hepworth. 29/1/65. M.F.A.
- 631 op. cit., n. 229, p.158
- 632 It was noted in Chapter Three that the American art press were intrigued by what they termed an 'emotive' and 'dynamic' work. This had not been perceived by their British contemporaries which is a reason for my interest in the American reception of Hepworth's art.

- 633 Hammacher, Abraham Marie. (1967) Modern English Sculpture (London, Thames and Hudson.) p. 29
- 634 op. cit., n. 293, p. 5
- 635 op. cit., n. 431, p. 7
- 636 Ibid. p. 8
- 637 Hammacher, Abraham Marie. (1972) 'Introduction', Barbara Hepworth. The Family of Man- Nine Bronzes and Recent Carvings. (London, Marlborough Fine Art) p.5
- 638 op. cit., n. 616, p. 6
- 639 op. cit., n.74, pp. 152- 156.
- 640 op. cit., n. 616, p.6
- 641 op. cit., n. 637, p. 6
- 642 Ibid. p. 7
- 643 Hall, Donald, (1975) 'Introduction', Hepworth 1903-1975 (British Council, U.K.) p. 7
- 644 op. cit., n. 616, p. 6
- 645 op. cit., n. 643.
- 646 Merchant, Moelwyn. (1982) 'Introduction', (1982) Barbara Hepworth. Carvings July-August 1982 (London, Marlborough Fine Art.) p.6
- 647 Wadley, Nicholas. (1979) 'Introduction', Barbara Hepworth (New York, Marlborough-Gerson Gallery) p. 9
- 648 Introductory leaflet about sculptures by Hepworth at the Tate Gallery and the Barbara Hepworth Museum p.19 B.H. Mus.
- 649 op. cit., n. 435, p.546.
- 650 Hepworth, Barbara, (1965) 'Introduction', Barbara Hepworth, (Otterlo, Reitveld Pavilion). n.p.
- 651 op. cit., n. 152, p. 27 There are obvious connotations for Hepworth's art here too- growth, natural forms, pre-ordained form and appearance .
- 652 Mullins, Edwin. (1967) 'Scale and Monumentality: Notes and Conversations on her Recent Work' in: Sculpture International No. 4. This statement is from a letter from Hepworth to Mullins, and is comparable to the comment that she made in an interview with Bowness. See Chapter One, note no. 68.
- 653 op. cit., n. 229, p. 160
- 654 Hepworth admonished Ramsden for trying to limit her options as a sculptor: "I heartily detest any kind of limitation as to what form can or will be discovered (intuitively) by the artist to present his image or his emotion or inspiration. Good work comes into being when the right form is discovered.!" Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Hartley Ramsden. n.d. Sun. c. 1951. T.G.A.
- 655 op. cit., n. 650. n.p.
- 656 op. cit., n. 652.
- 657 Gibson, William. (1943) 'Modern Art at Temple Newsam' in: The Listener 20 May p.606
- 658 Hepworth disagreed with Read's interpretation of her work as 'constructive', and therefore it is inappropriate for this term to be employed.
- 659 Letter from Barbara Hepworth to Hartley Ramsden and Margot Eates. n.d. (pre-1951) T.G.A.
- 660 op. cit., n. 229, pages 156 and 158. It is noticeable that, on occasions, writers have noted the gap between Hepworth's comments, and the appearance of the works themselves. For example, as early as 1954, it was noted that Hepworth's comments indicated that she intended her sculptures to be expressive- 'it cannot be said that Miss Hepworth's work is in general inexpressive. In the course of some reflections on her art... she gives expression to very high ideals; thus "We need to join hands," she observes, "in a new endeavour to regain touch with those primeval forces which exist in the new contemporary forms of art and which nourish our society and prepare the ground for a new culture.'" See Russell, John. (1954) 'Barbara Hepworth. Survey of Her Work Since 1927.' in: The Times 15 April.
- 661 op. cit., n. 448, pp. 75-93
- 662 op. cit., n. 637, p. 9
- 663 Hepworth, quoted in: op. cit., n. 516 p. 9
- 664 Gibson, William. (1947) Barbara Hepworth. (London, Faber and Faber). p.9
- 665 op. cit., n. 643, pp. 6-7
- 666 op. cit., n. 8, n.p.

- 667 op. cit., n. 170, p.ix.
- 668 op. cit., n. 650.
- 669 See Chapter Two, note no. 318.
- 670 op. cit., n. 170, p. vii
- 671 Roberts, Emma E. 'Barbara Hepworth Speculatively Perceived in an International Context' in: op. cit., n. 106, p. 197
- 672 Hepworth and Bowness quoted in: op. cit., n. 516, p. 14
- 673 Ibid. p. 14
- 674 Ibid.
- 675 Alley, Ronald. (1970-71) 'Introduction', Barbara Hepworth. Sculpture and Lithographs (Arts Council.) n.p.
- 676 op. cit., n. 170, pages v and viii respectively.
- 677 op. cit., n. 229, p. 155.
- 678 It is remarkable, but true, that authors have actually managed to reconcile Cornwall with classical Greece as far as Hepworth is concerned. For example Bowness writes that 'One might even say that West Cornwall has become a kind of new Greece to her.' [See Bowness, Alan. (1969) 'Introduction', Barbara Hepworth, (British Council, Iran) n.p.] Surely this is an example of the lengths to which writers will go to compact the sculptor into a current paradigm.
- 679 I have taken pains to provide alternative criticism for American art galleries and museums who hold works by Barbara Hepworth. See Roberts, Emma E. (1996) 'Barbara Hepworth's "Project"' in: Picker Art Gallery Journal, Fall, (unpublished as yet). It is interesting to note that many American museums bought works by Hepworth, even though the British press often had denigrated those works as 'parochial'.
- 680 op cit., no. 177, p. 170.

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B.B.C. Series 'In Search Of Our Ancestors.'

Tape Recording. 1954 'Abstract Art Around the World Today'. A forum presented by the American Abstract Artists at the Museum of Modern Art, New York. 16 March.

## **MISCELLANEOUS.**

Catalogue of Sculptures at the Tate Gallery and Barbara Hepworth Museum, St. Ives.

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Programme of The Unveiling Of "Single Form" At The United Nations, New York. 1964 11 June.

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Speech / Article produced by C.O.I. for the British Council. 'Barbara Hepworth. An English Sculptress.' by Joseph Paul Hodin.

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Transcript of a lecture on Hepworth and Nicholson given by Virginia Button  
to Tate Gallery Supporters at Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool. 26/9/94.  
Notes taken at lecture entitled 'The Endeavour to Maintain Cultural  
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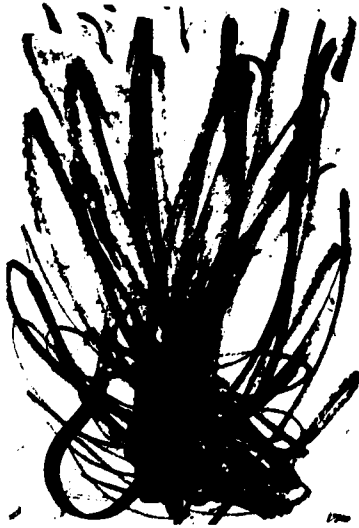
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## ILLUSTRATIONS

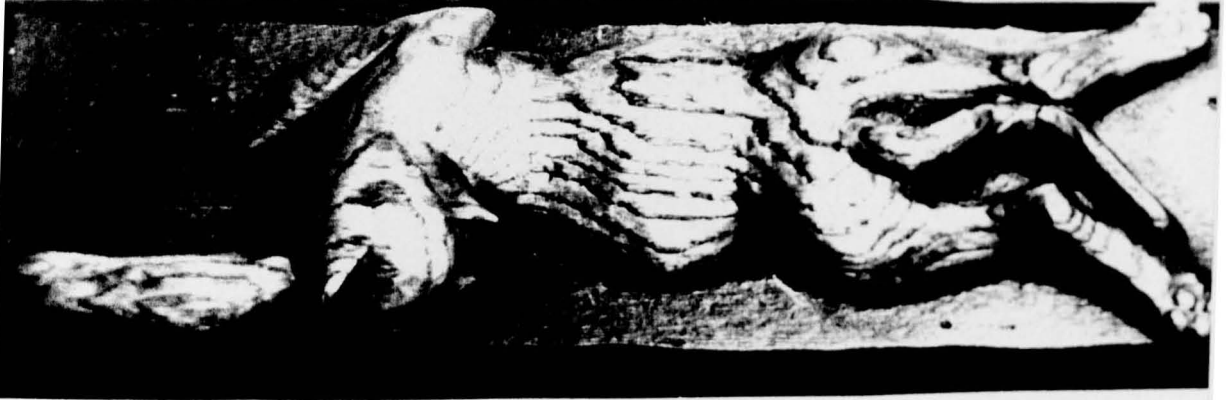
**Fig. 1. Barbara Hepworth. Summer (Project for Sculpture) April 1957. 1957. Ink on Paper. 14 x 10". Trustees of the Barbara Hepworth Estate. Taken from: Curtis, Penelope; Wilkinson, Alan. (1994) Barbara Hepworth. A Retrospective. (Liverpool, Tate Gallery Publications.) p. 145**



**Fig. 2. Barbara Hepworth. Group (Dance) May 1957. 1957. Ink on Paper. 14 x 10". Trustees of the Barbara Hepworth Estate. Taken from: Curtis, Penelope; Wilkinson, Alan. (1994) Barbara Hepworth. A Retrospective. (Liverpool, Tate Gallery Publications.) p.138**



**Fig. 3. Alexander Calder. Flat Cat. 1926. Oak. 6 1/2 x 19 x 1 1/2".** Memorial Art Gallery, University of Rochester, U.S.A. Taken from: Marter, Joan. (1991) Alexander Calder. (Cambridge, University of Cambridge Press). p. 40.



**Fig. 4. Alexander Calder. Cow. 1928. Wood. 12 5/8".** Private Collection. Taken from: Marter, Joan. (1991) Alexander Calder. (Cambridge, University of Cambridge Press). p. 83.



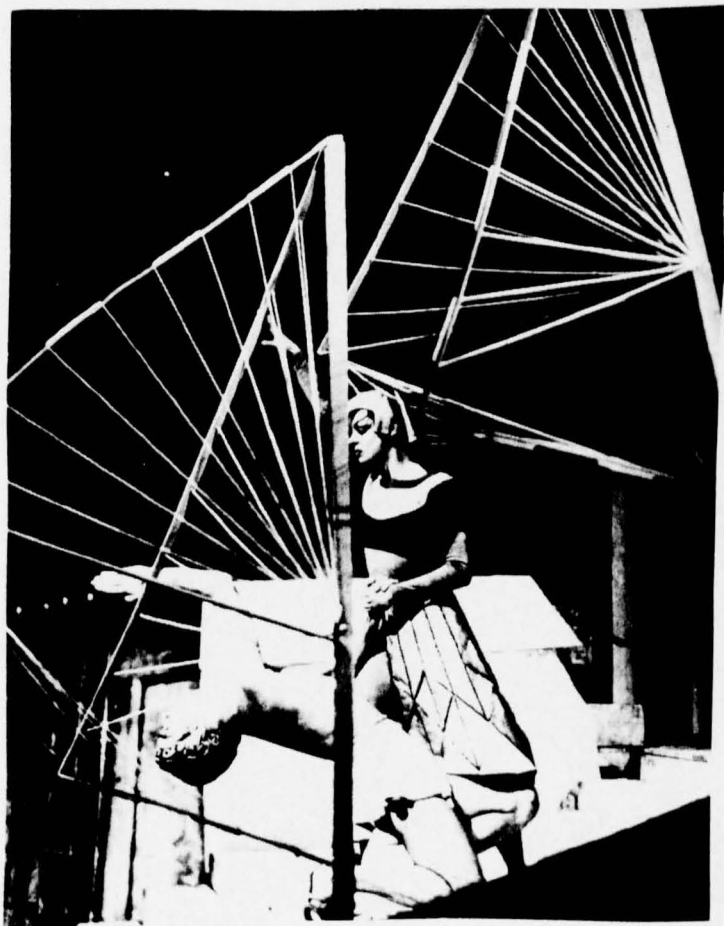
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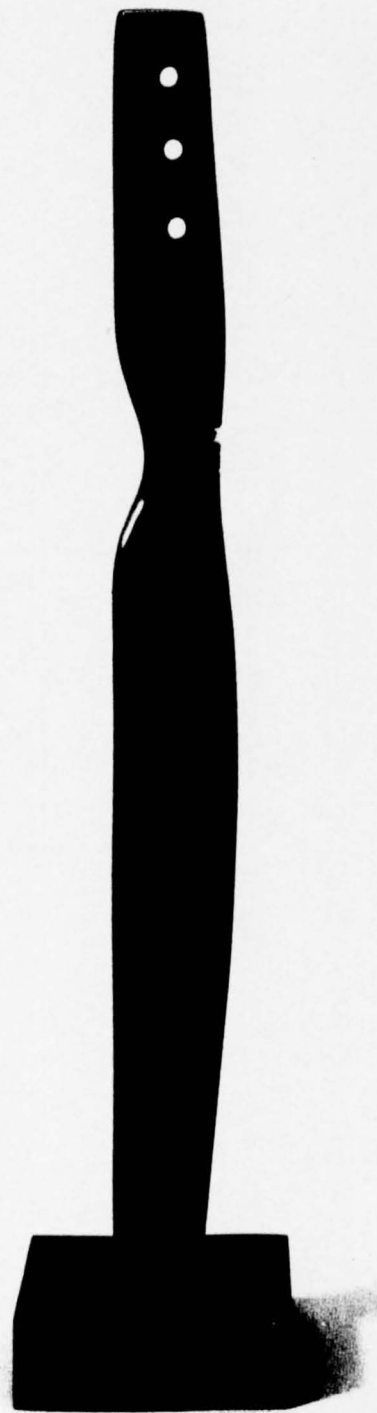
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**Hepworth, Barbara; Bowness, Alan. (1993) Barbara Hepworth. A**  
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**Fig. 7. Ritual Dance. 1955. Mixed Media. Dimensions Unknown. Whereabouts Unknown. Part of the set designs for The Midsummer Marriage at Covent Garden Opera House, 1955. Taken from: Hepworth, Barbara; Bowness, Alan. (1993) Barbara Hepworth. A Pictorial Autobiography. (London, Tate Gallery Publications.) p. 68.**



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**Trustees of the Barbara Hepworth Estate. Taken from: Curtis,**  
**Penelope; Wilkinson, Alan. (1994) *Barbara Hepworth. A***  
***Retrospective*. (Liverpool, Tate Gallery Publications.) p. 117**





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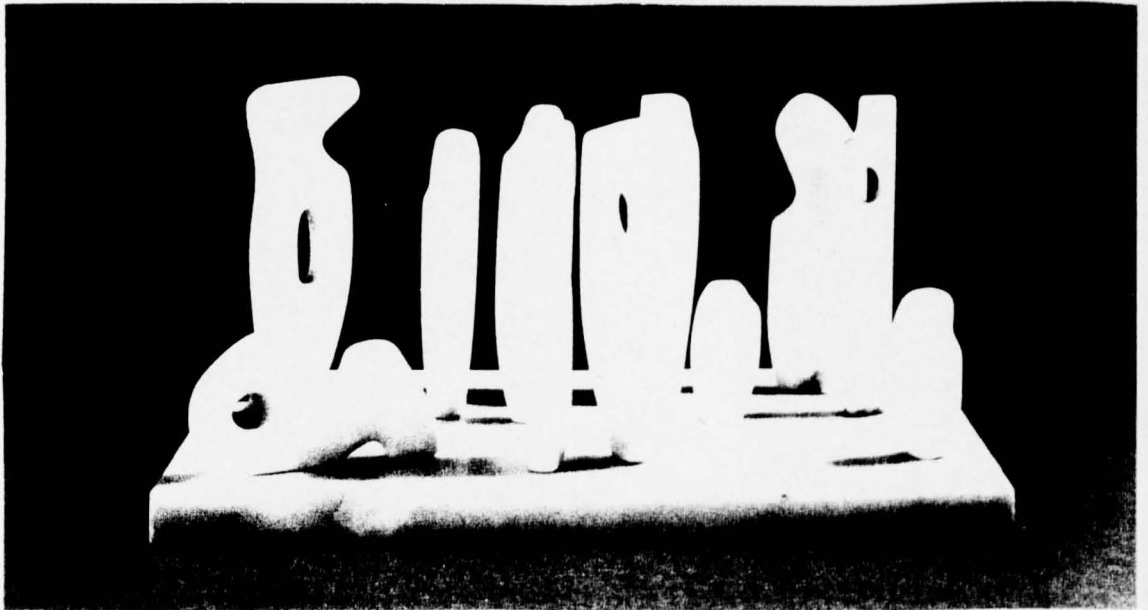
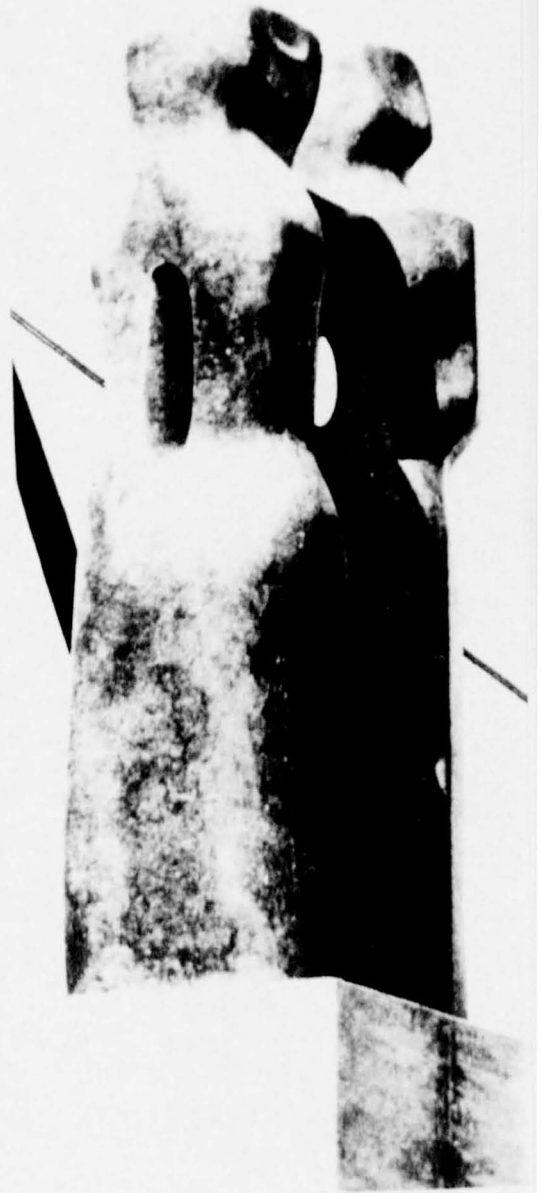


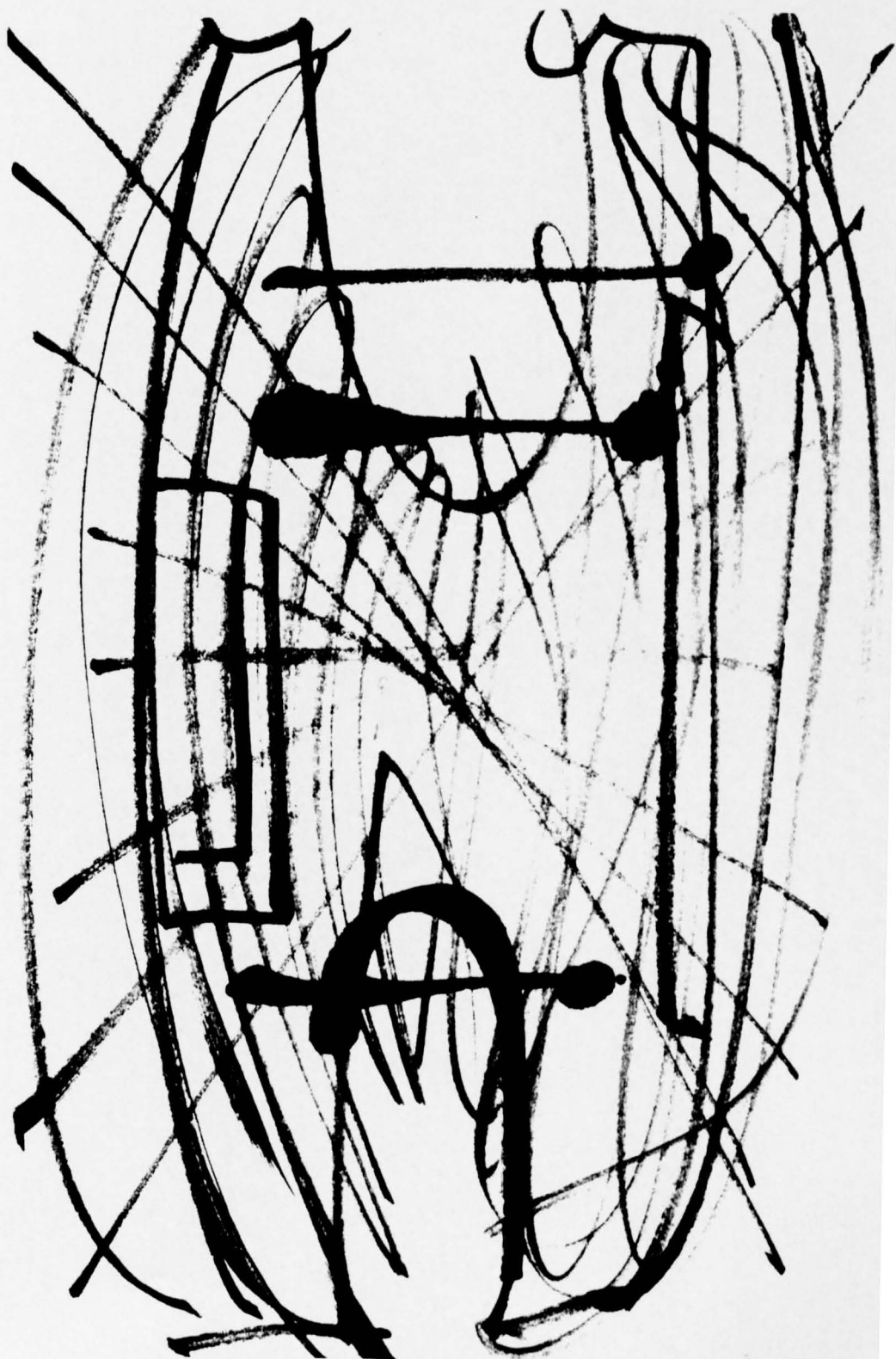
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**Fig. 11. Barbara Hepworth. Discs in Echelon. 1935. Darkwood. 20 3/4 x 9 1/2". Museum of Modern Art, New York. Taken from: Hammacher, A. M. (1989) Barbara Hepworth. (London, Thames and Hudson). p. 66.**



**Fig. 12. Barbara Hepworth. Project for Sculpture (Winged Figure). 1957. Ink on Paper. 14 1/2 x 10 1/8". Trustees of the Barbara Hepworth Estate. Taken from: Curtis, Penelope; Wilkinson, Alan. (1994) Barbara Hepworth. A Retrospective. (Liverpool, Tate Gallery Publications.) p. 136.**



**Fig. 13. Barbara Hepworth. Single Form. Memorial to Dag Hammarskjöld. 1962-63. Bronze. 21 ft. United Nations Headquarters, New York. Taken from: Hammacher, A. M. (1989) Barbara Hepworth. (London, Thames and Hudson). p. 165.**

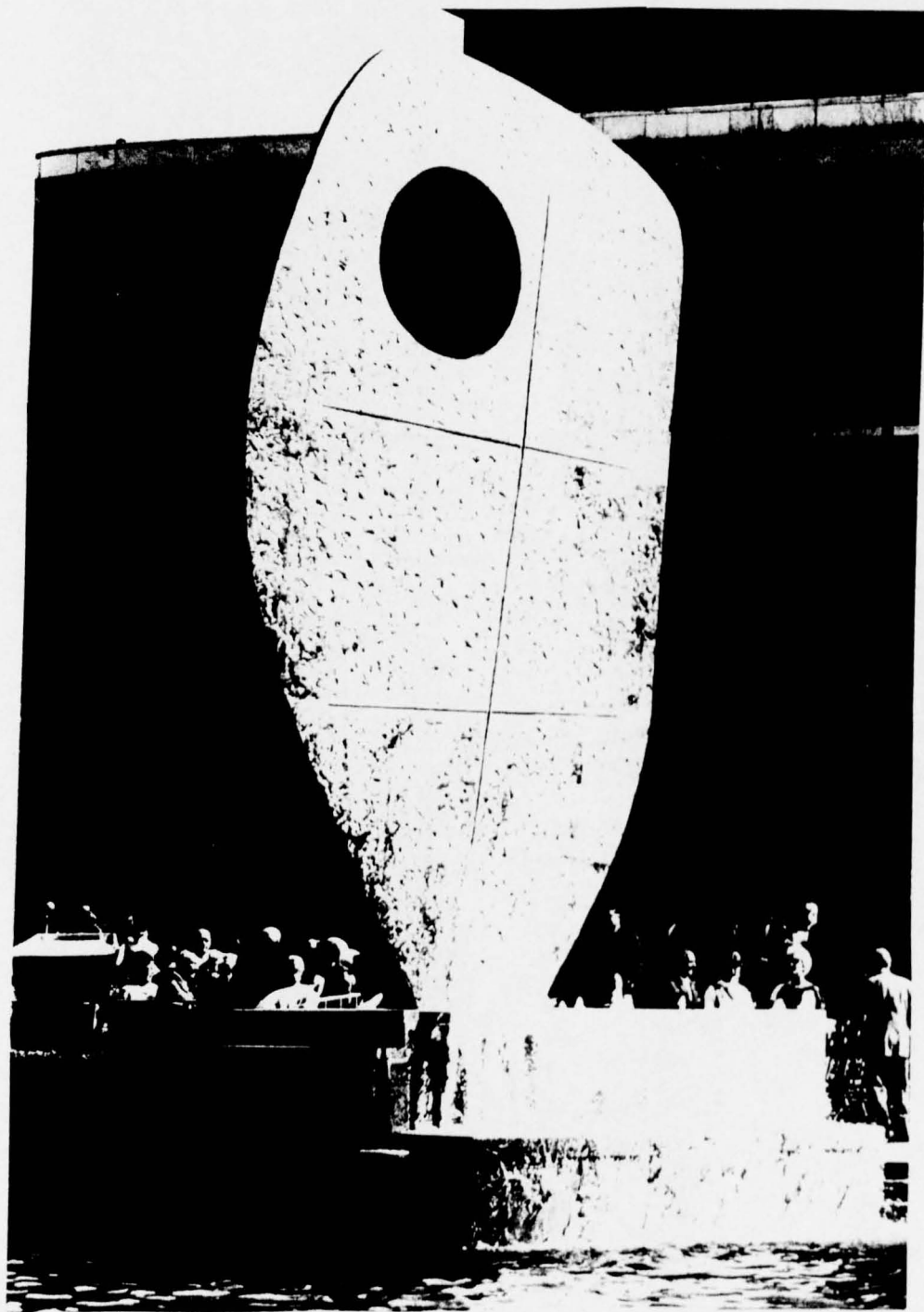


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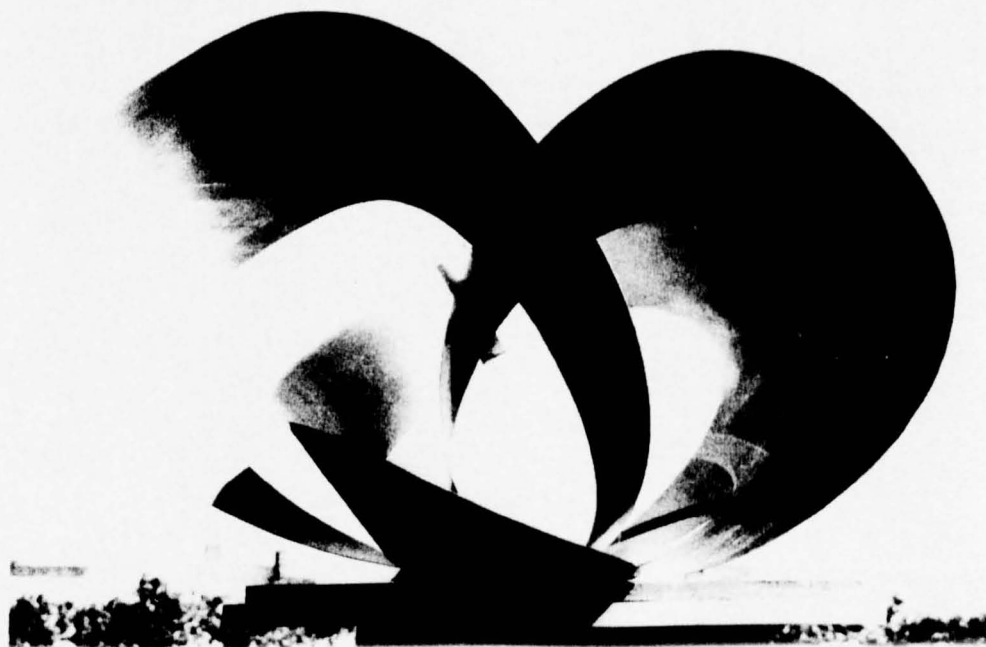


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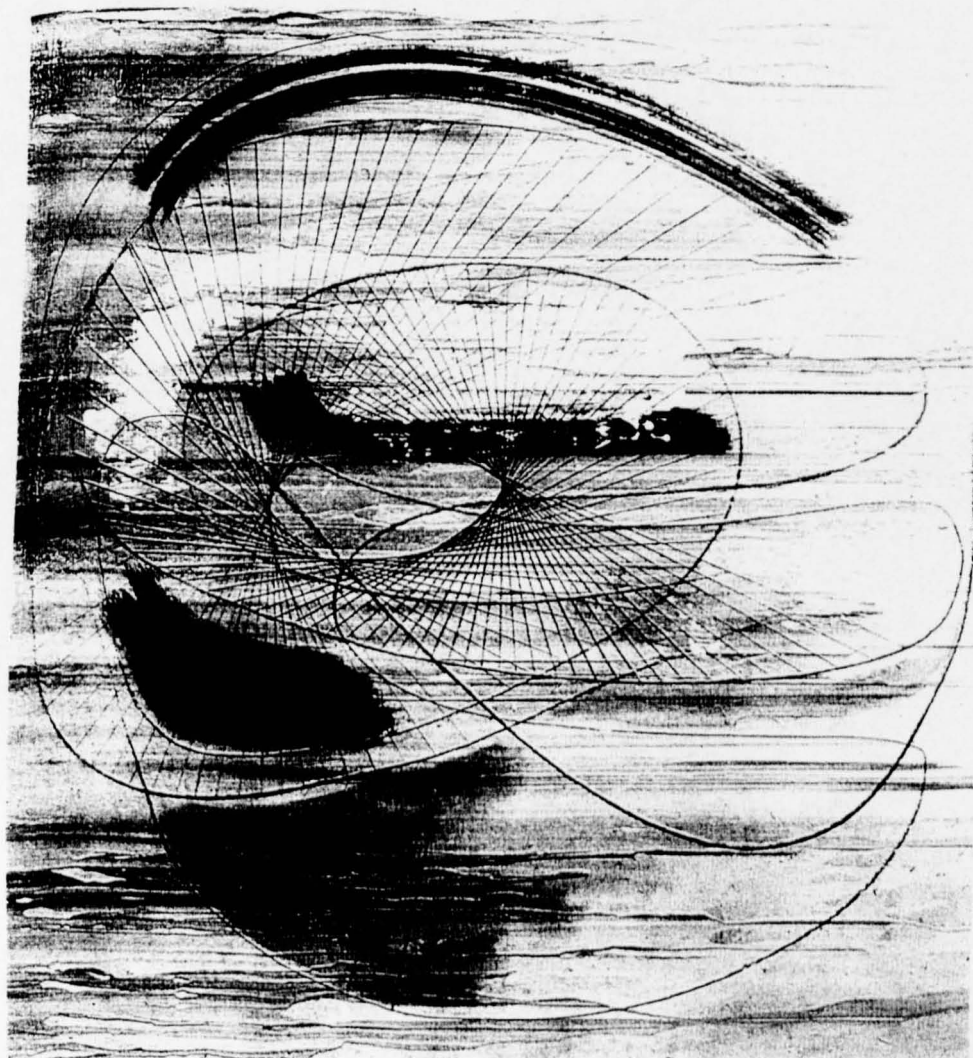


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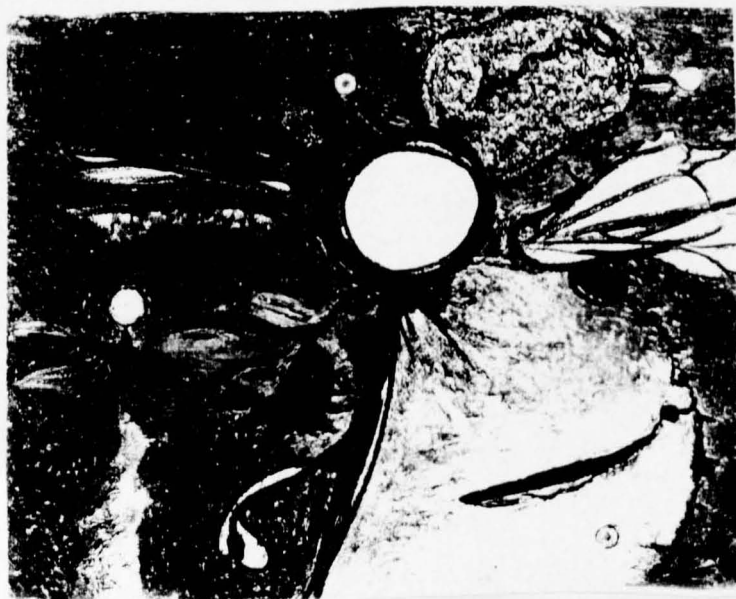
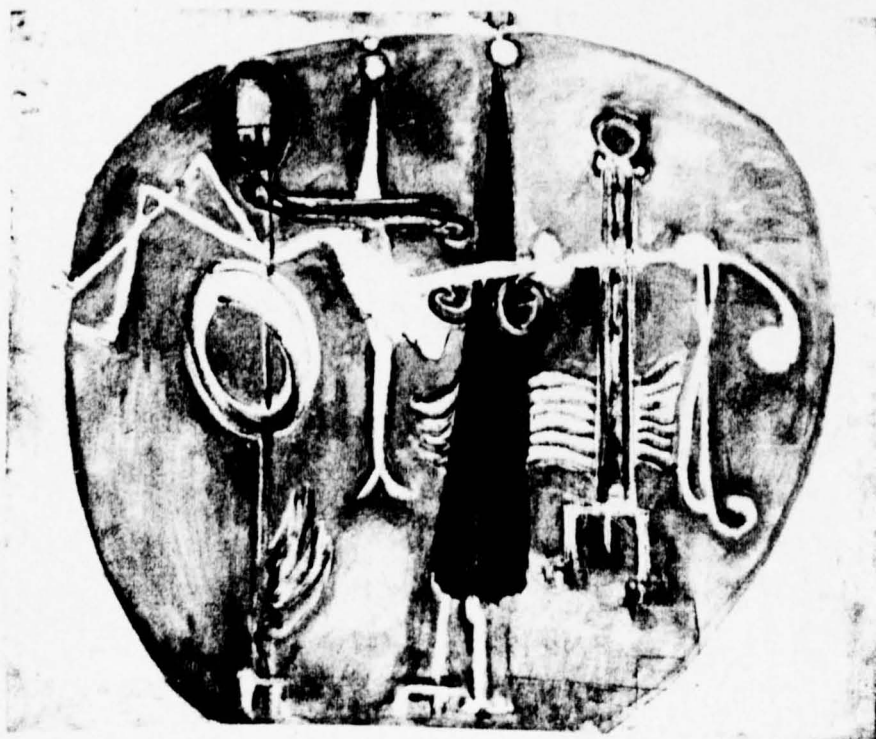


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Fig. 21. Barbara Hepworth. Reclining Figure (St. Remy). 1958. Oil on Canvas. 30 x 10 ". Whereabouts unknown. Taken from: Hodin, J. P. (1960) 'Barbara Hepworth. A Classic Artist'. in: Quadrum. Vol. 8 p. 80

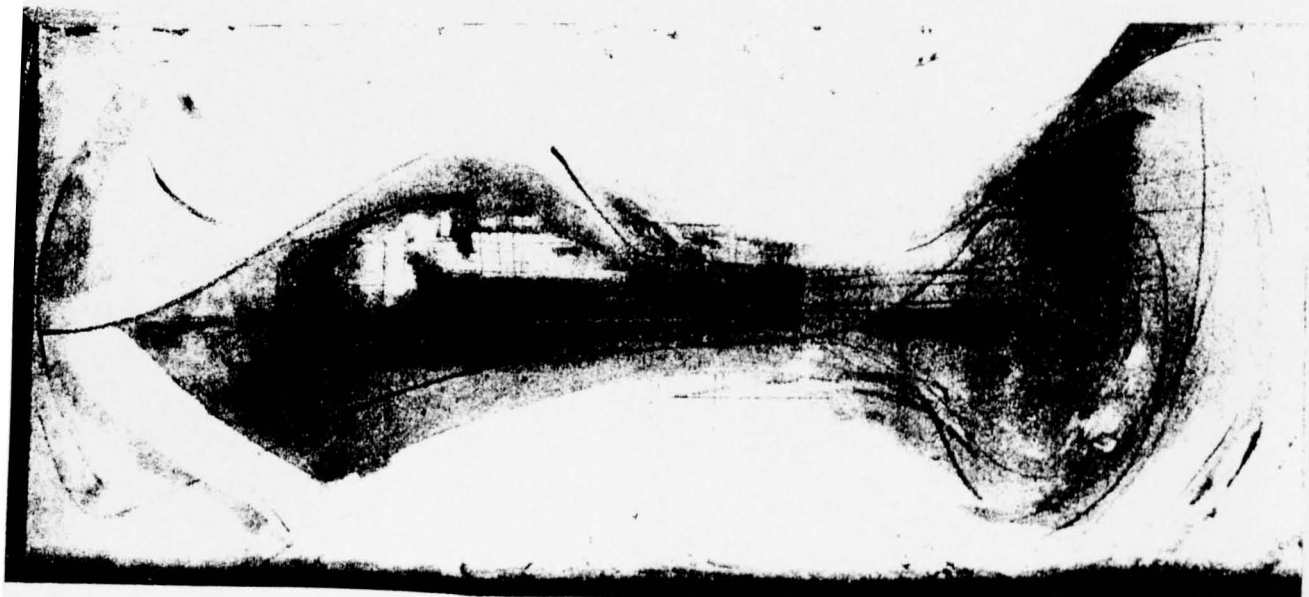


Fig. 22. Mark Rothko. Untitled. mid 1940s. Watercolour, pen, pencil, ink and chalk on paper. 17 3/16 x 22 7/16". Saint Louis Art Museum, U.S.A. Taken from: Chave, Anna C. (1989) Mark Rothko. Subjects in Abstraction. (London, Yale University Press) p. 157.

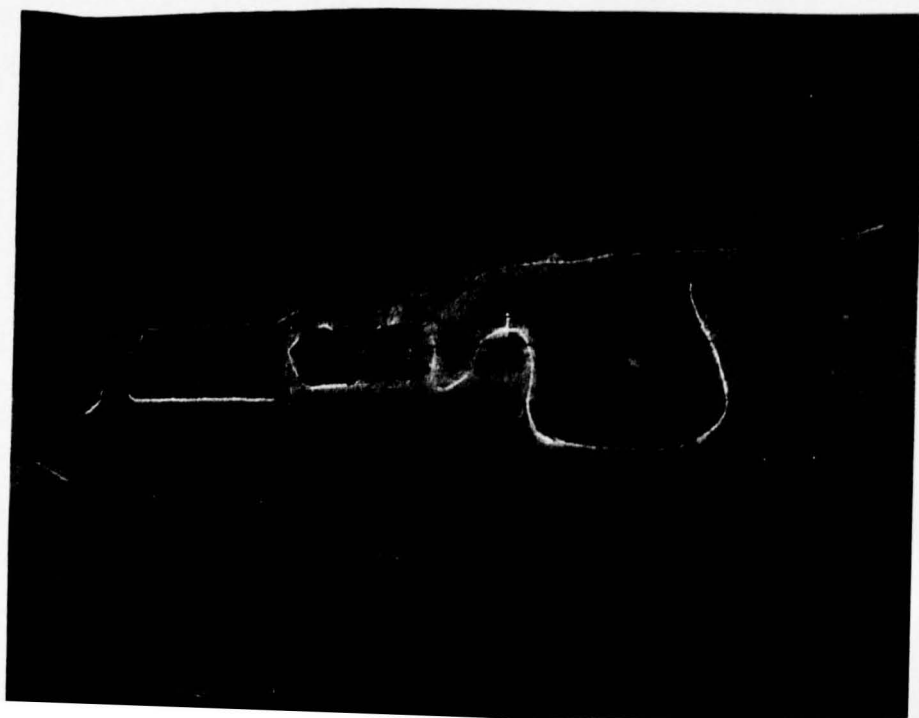


Fig. 23. Barbara Hepworth. Stringed Figure (Finistiere). 1958. Oil and pencil on canvas. 20 x 17". Whereabouts unknown. Taken from: Hodin, J. P. (1960) 'Barbara Hepworth. A Classic Artist'. in: Quadrum. Vol. 8 p. 84.



Fig. 24. Barnett Newman. Pagan Void. 1946. Oil on Cardboard. 33 x 38". National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. Taken from: Polcari, Stephen. (1993) Abstract Expressionism and the Modern Experience. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press). p. 191.



Fig. 25. Barbara Hepworth. Genesis III. 1966. Oil and Pencil. 30 x 40". Wakefield City Art Gallery. Taken from: Hammacher, A. M. (1989) Barbara Hepworth. (London, Thames and Hudson). p. 173.



Fig. 26. Adolph Gottlieb. Flotsam. 1968. Oil on Canvas. 48 x 72". Adolph and Esther Gottlieb Foundation, New York. Taken from: Polcari, Stephen. (1993) Abstract Expressionism and the Modern Experience. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press). p. 183.

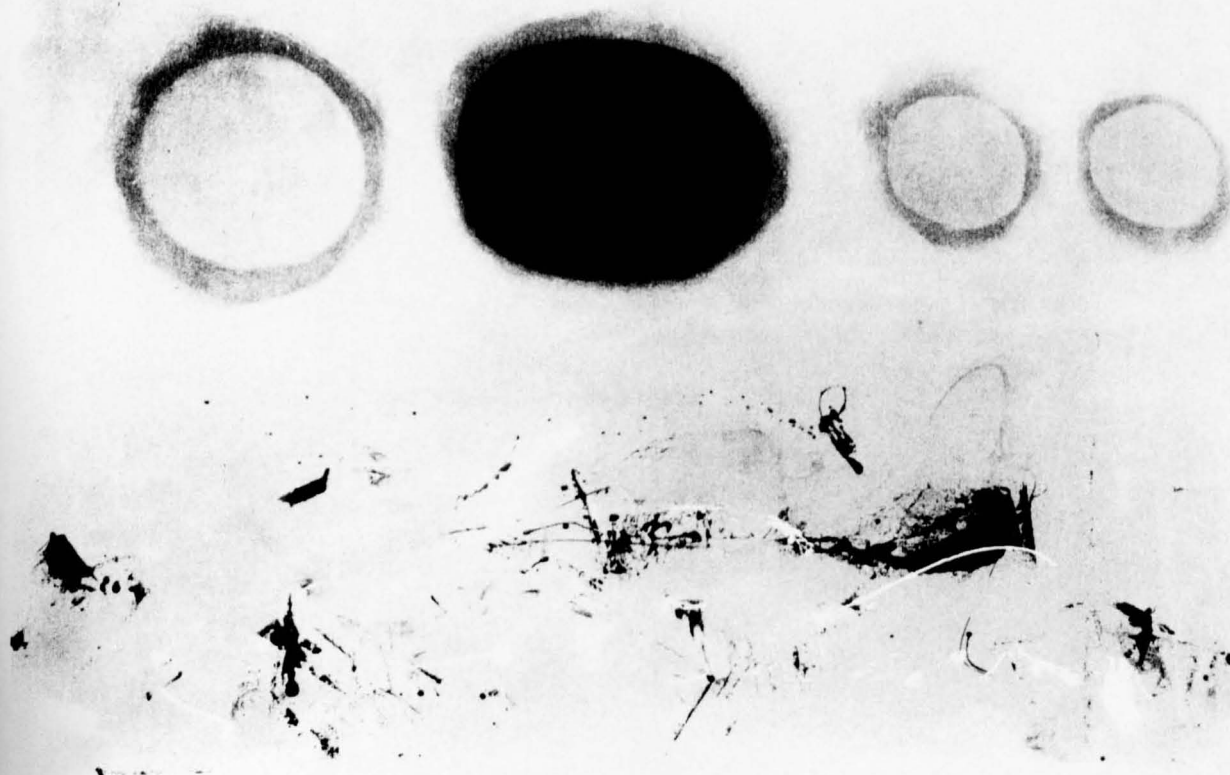


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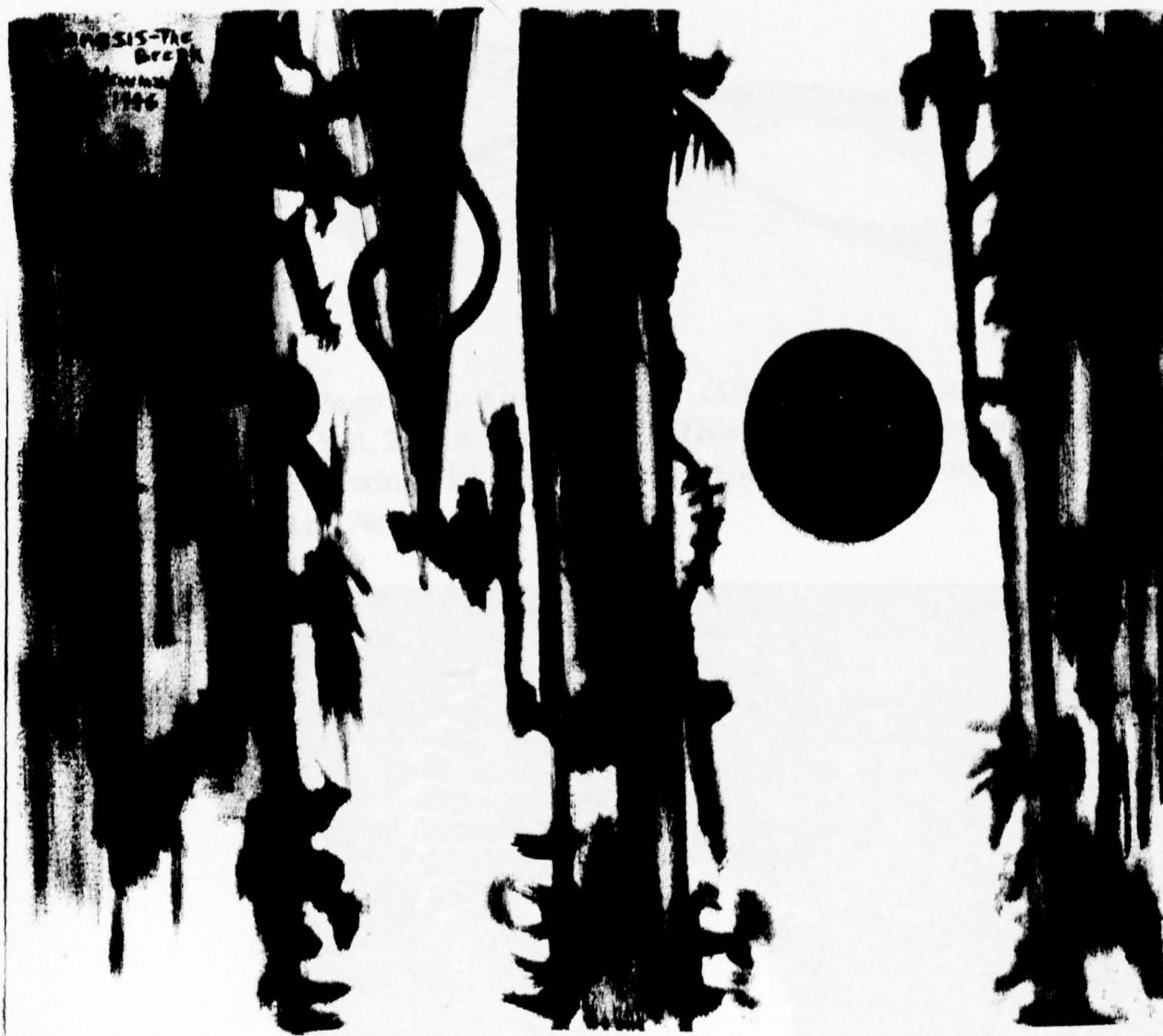


Fig. 28. A Page from: Goffin, Peter. (1949) 'Images of Movement' in: Image. Vol. 2. Autumn. p. 58. This juxtaposes an unknown work by Hepworth and a diagram which records the motion of a pendulum instrument.

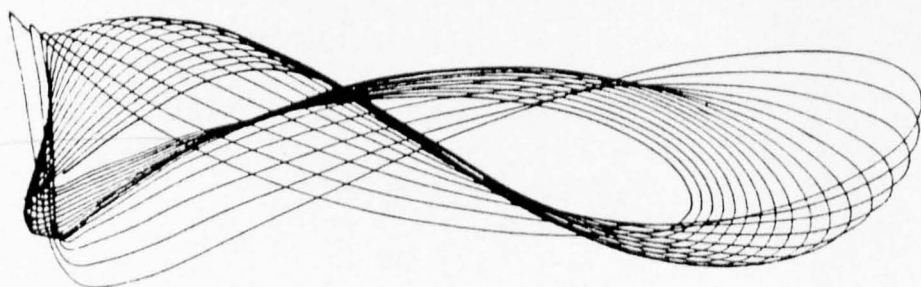


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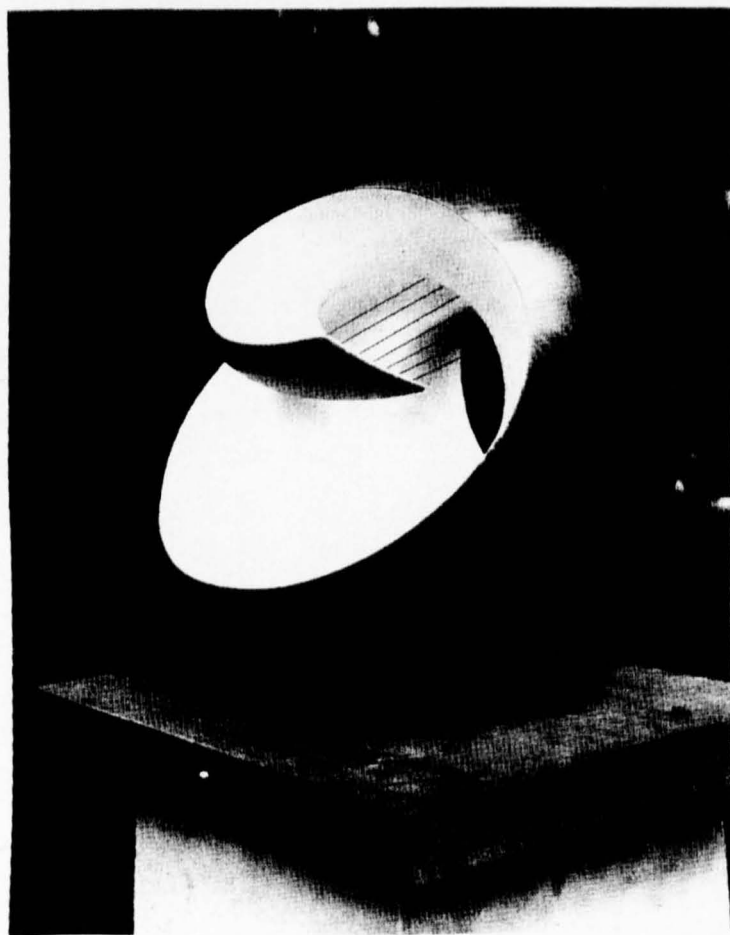
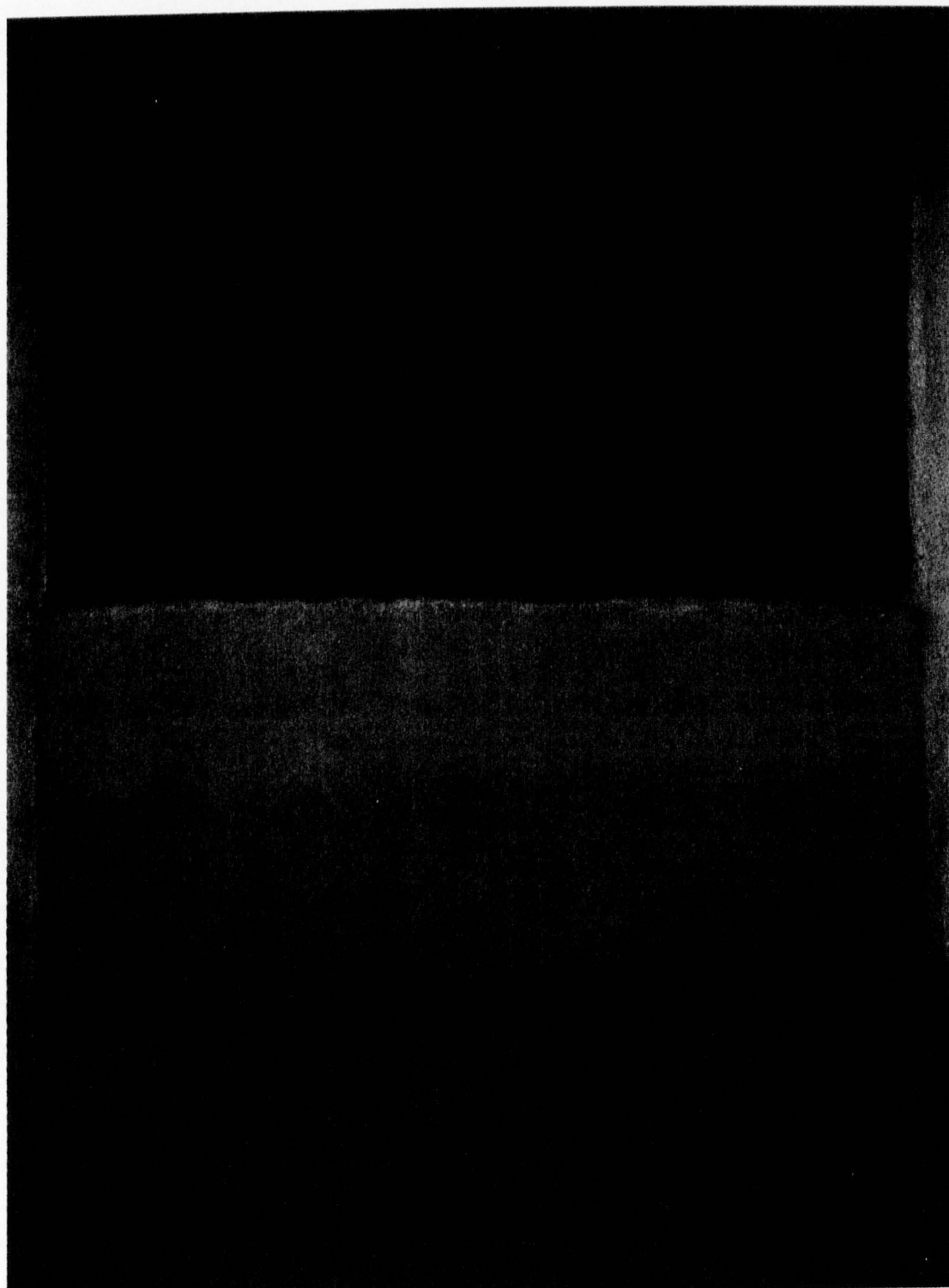


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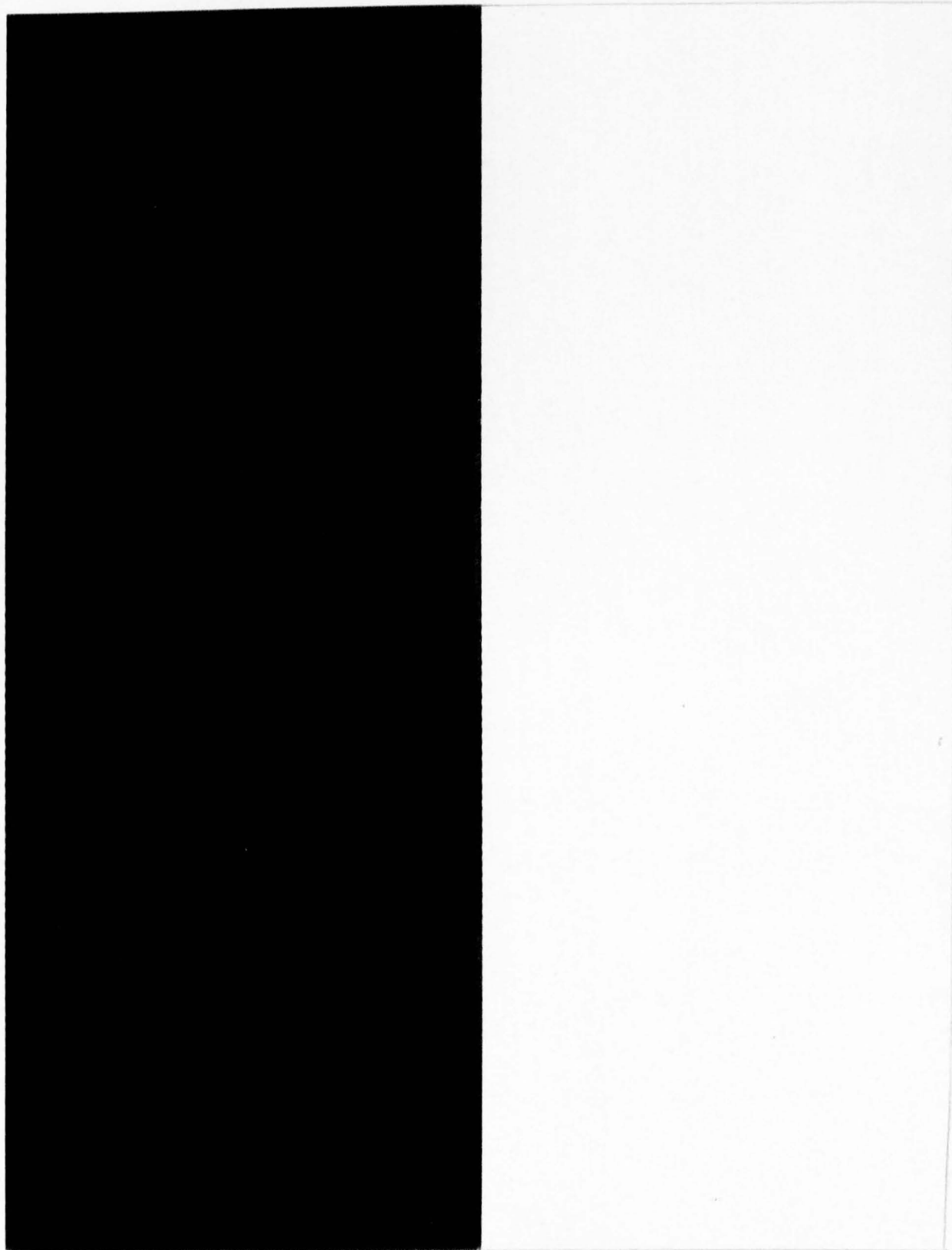
XIX  
*Green and Tangerine on Red*, 1956, oil on canvas, 93½ × 69⅞.  
The Phillips Collection, Washington D.C.



Fig. 32. Barnett Newman. Day One. 1951-52. Oil on Canvas. 132 x 50 1/4". Whitney Museum of American Art, New York. Taken from: Polcari, Stephen. (1993) Abstract Expressionism and the Modern Experience. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press). p. 71.

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Tate Gallery, London. Taken from: Hammacher, A. M. (1989)  
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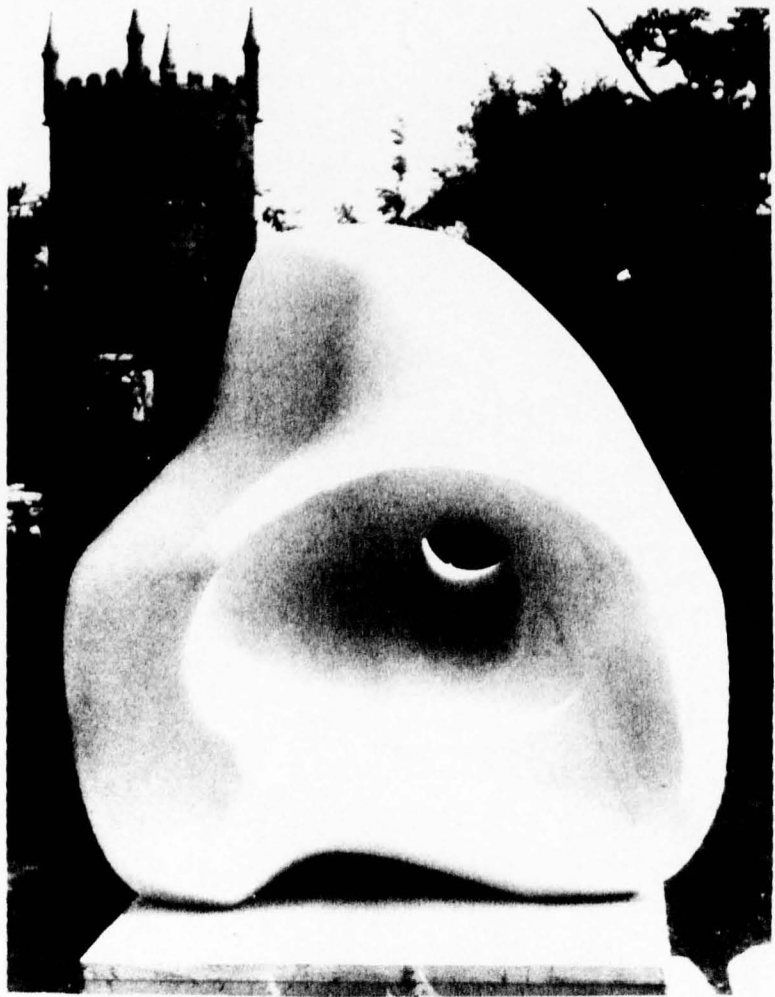
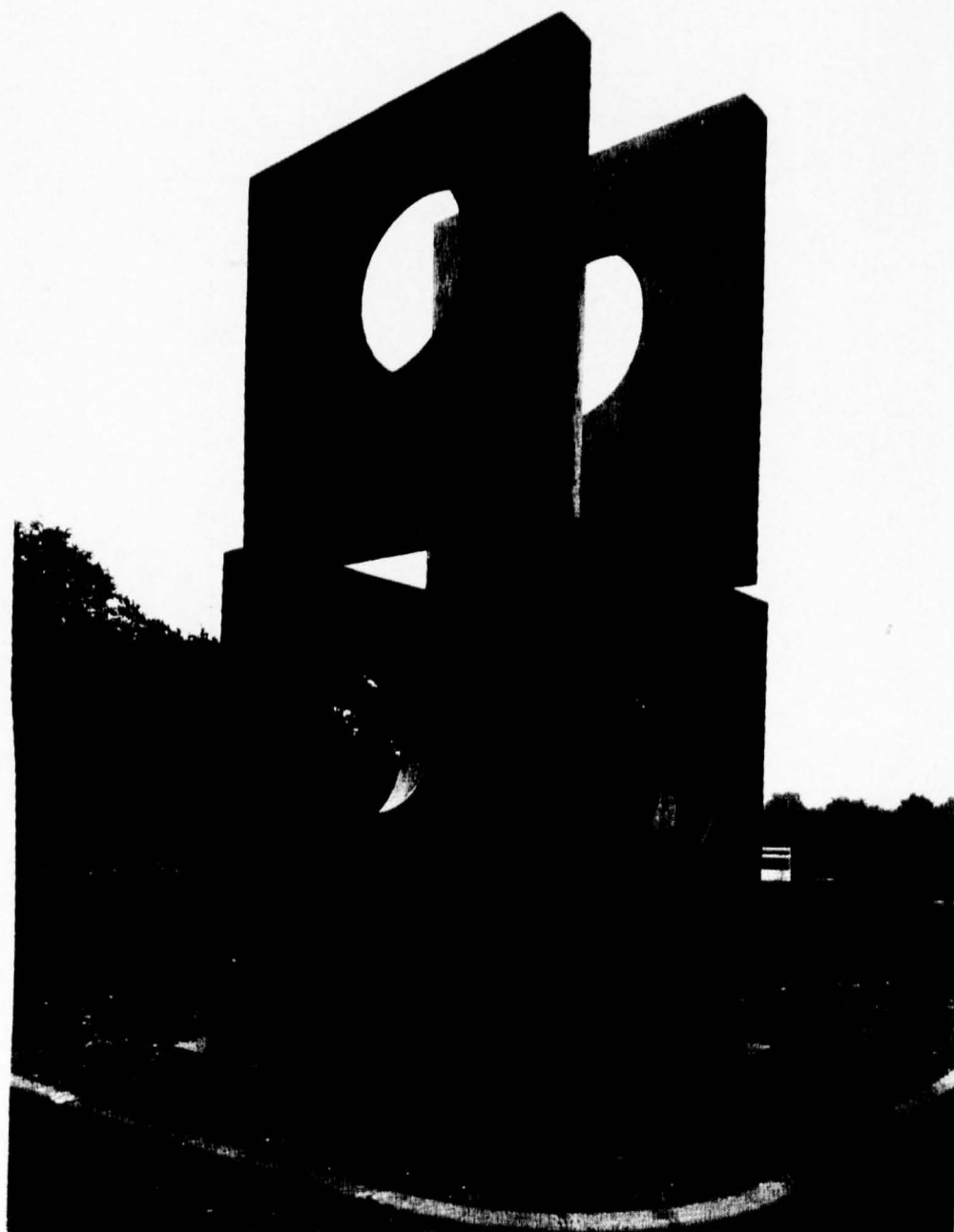


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**Fig. 35. Theodore Roszak. Study for the Monument to the Unknown Political Prisoner. 1952. Pen, ink and wash on paper. 18 5/16 x 24 3/8". Estate of the artist. Taken from: Marter, Joan. (1994) 'The Ascendancy of Abstraction for Public Art'. in: Art Journal. Vol. 53. No. 4 p. 35**



**Fig. 36. Barbara Hepworth. Maquette for the Unknown Political Prisoner. 1952. Three forms in wood. Private Collections. 19 1/2". Taken from: Hepworth, Barbara; Bowness, Alan. (1993) Barbara Hepworth. A Pictorial Autobiography. (London, Tate Gallery Publications.) p. 65.**



**Fig. 37. Barbara Hepworth. Square Forms with Circles. 1963. Bronze. 109". Edition of six, various locations. Taken from: Hammacher, A. M. (1989) Barbara Hepworth. (London, Thames and Hudson). p. 160.**



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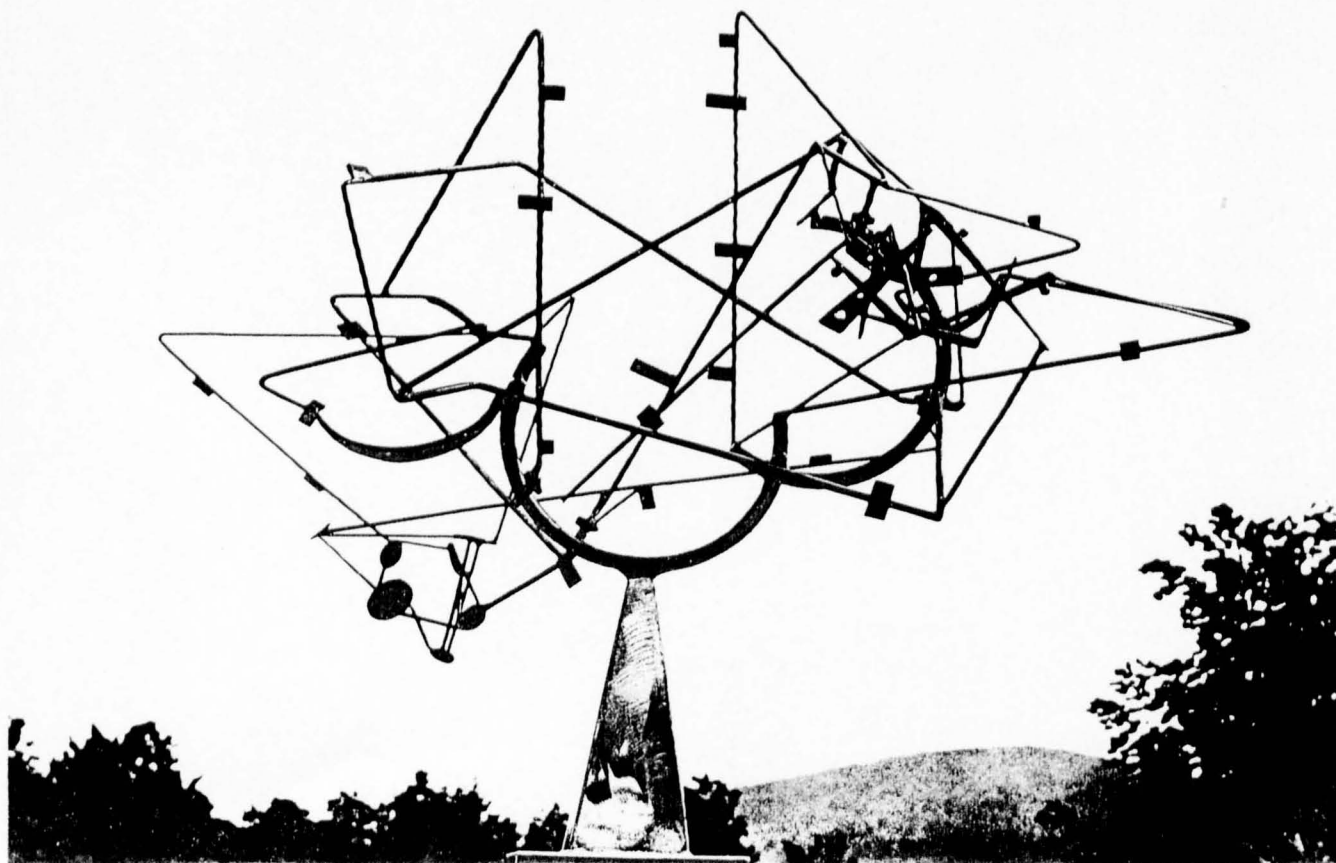
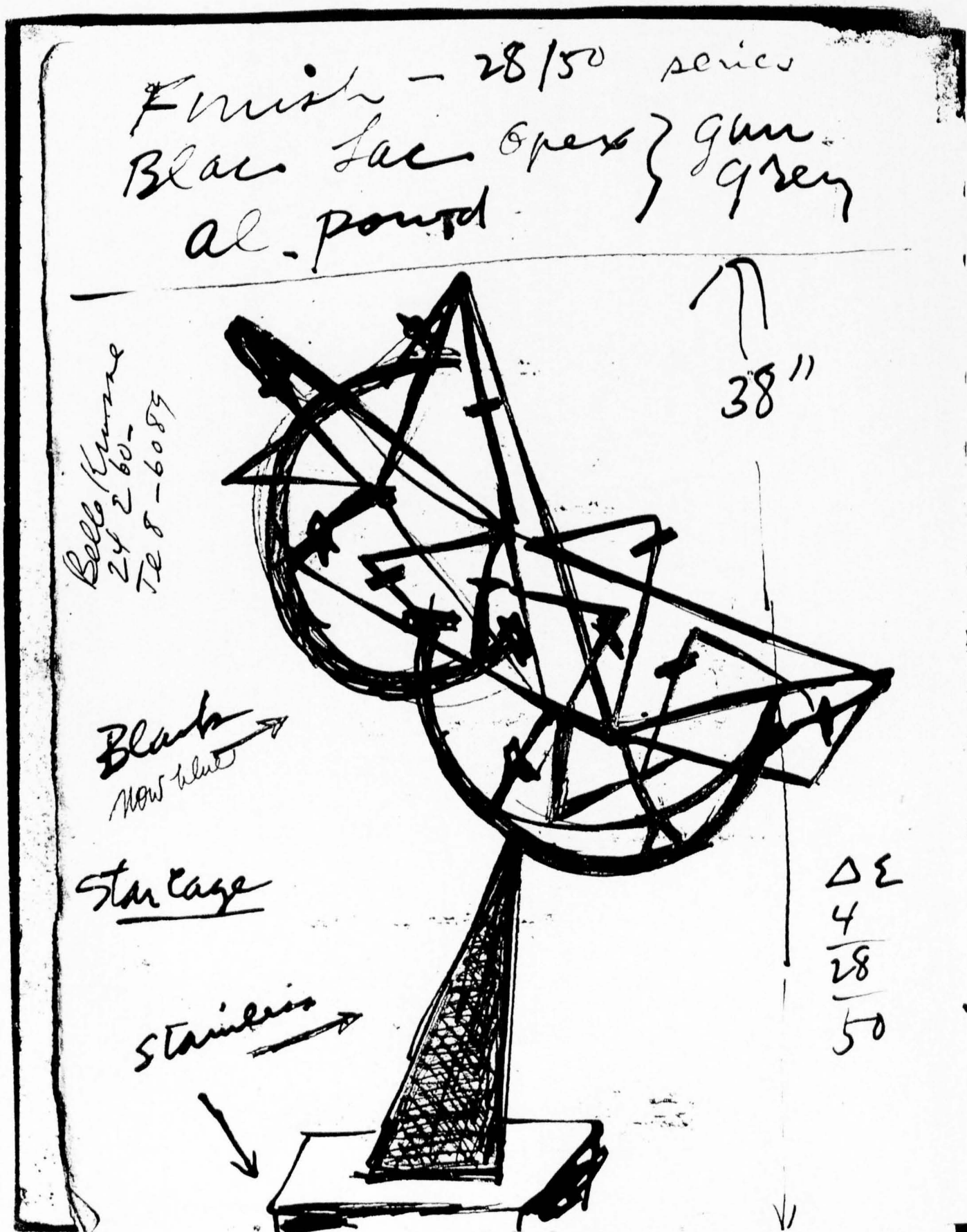




Fig. 41. David Smith. Drawing for Star Cage. 1950-54. Ink on paper. 18 x 15". Estate of the artist. Taken from: Grey, Cleve (Ed.) (1968) David Smith. Sculpture and Writings by David Smith. (New York, Thames and Hudson.) p. 102.



**Fig. 42. Jackson Pollock. Sculpture. c. 1949-50. Painted terracotta. 8". Lee Krasner Pollock. Taken from: Frank, Elizabeth. (1983) Jackson Pollock. (New York, Abbeville Press). p. 104.**



Fig. 43. Jackson Pollock. The She-Wolf. 1943. Oil, gouache and plaster on canvas. 41 7/8/ x 67". Museum of Modern Art, New York. Taken from: Polcari, Stephen. (1993) Abstract Expressionism and the Modern Experience. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press). p. 249.



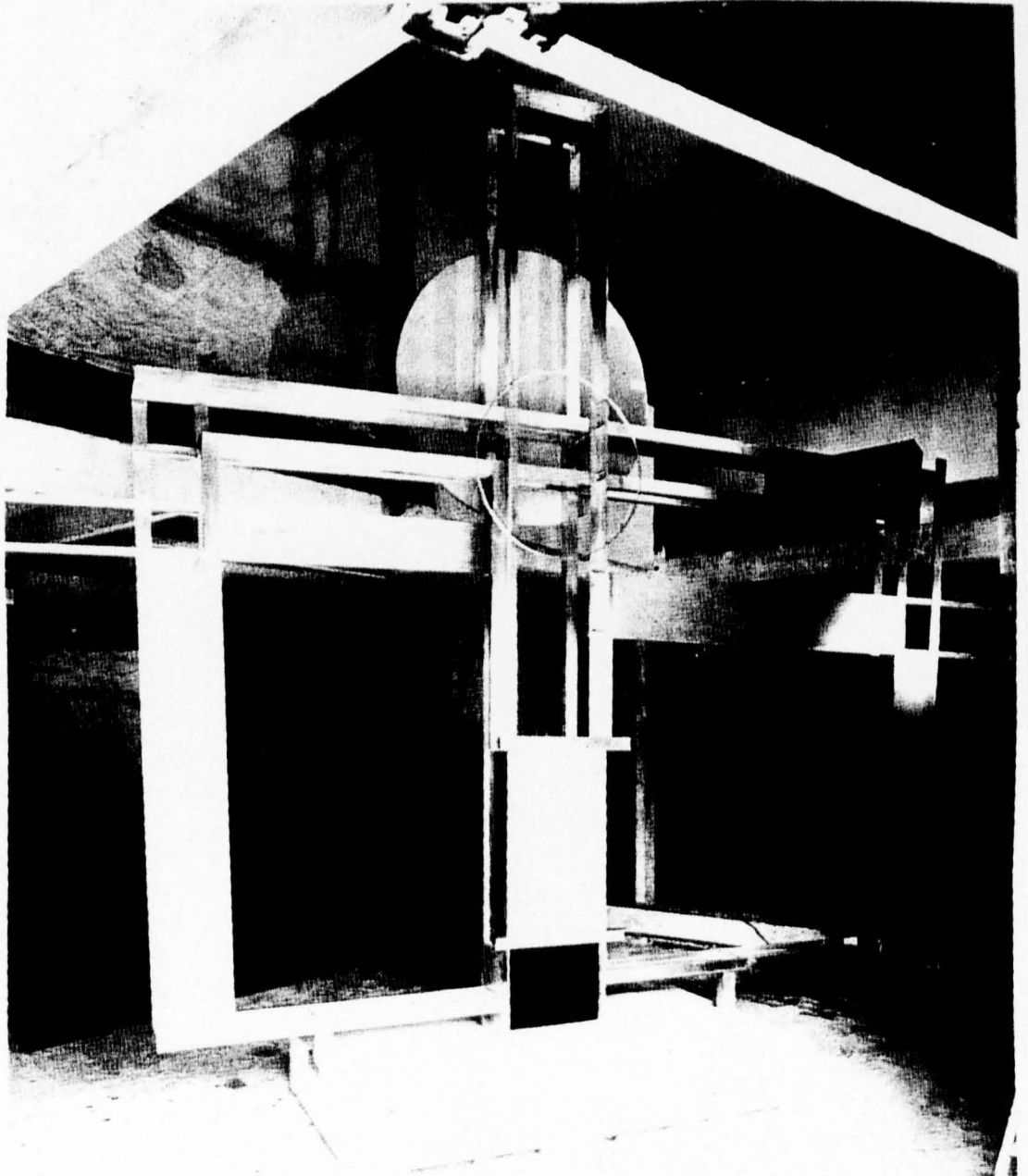
**Fig. 44. Barnett Newman. *Tertia*. 1964. Oil on canvas. 78 x 35".  
Moderna Museet, Stockholm, Sweden. Taken from: Polcari,  
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**Fig. 45. Barnett Newman. Broken Obelisk. 1963-67. 25 ft 5" x 10 ft. 6" x 10 ft. 6". Institute of Religion and Human Development, Houston, Texas. Taken from: Polcari, Stephen. (1993) Abstract Expressionism and the Modern Experience. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press). p. 210.**



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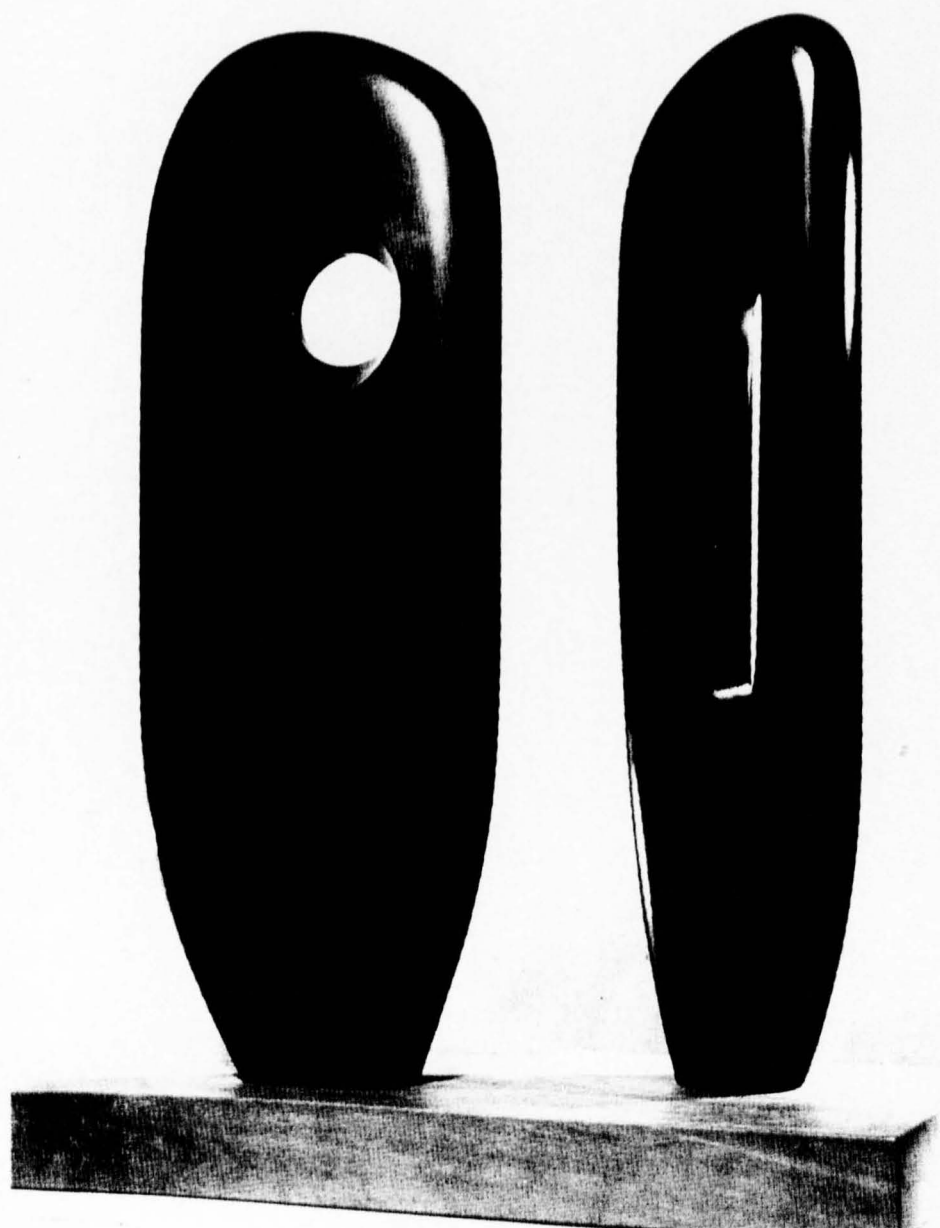


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**Fig. 49. Barbara Hepworth. Two Figures (Menhirs). 1964. Slate. 30". Tate Gallery. Taken from: Hammacher, A. M. (1989) Barbara Hepworth. (London, Thames and Hudson). p. 181.**



**Fig. 50. Barbara Hepworth. Single Form Aloe. 1969. Bronze. 43 1/4". Edition of eight, various locations. Taken from: Bowness, Alan. (1971) The Complete Sculpture of Barbara Hepworth. 1960-1969. (London, Lund Humphries.) p. 49.**



**Fig. 51. Barbara Hepworth. Pendour. 1947. Plane wood with colour. 28". Hirshhorn Museum, Washington D.C. Taken from: Hammacher, A. M. (1989) Barbara Hepworth. (London, Thames and Hudson). p. 99.**



Fig. 52. Barbara Hepworth. Oval with Black and White. 1965. Swedish green marble. 20". Estate of the artist. Taken from: Bowness, Alan. (1971) The Complete Sculpture of Barbara Hepworth. 1960-1969. (London, Lund Humphries.) plate 127.

