Centre Five sculptors: the formation of an alternative professional avant-garde

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Abstract

This thesis examines the previously unknown origins of Centre Five, a group of mainly émigré sculptors influential in Melbourne in the 1950s and 1960s, who are widely regarded as having played a key role in the advancement of modernist sculpture in Australia. In part a group biography of the seven sculptors, the thesis examines their little-known backgrounds in order to establish the roots of the group’s collective philosophy, particularly with regards to the integration of sculpture and architecture.

Five of the sculptors – Vincas Jomantas (1922-2001), Julius Kane (1921-62), Inge King (1915-2016), Clifford Last (1918-91) and Teisutis Zikaras (1922-91) – were European born, trained and nurtured amidst various cosmopolitan modernities that emerged in Britain, Germany, Hungary and Lithuania between and during the two world wars. The two Australian-born members – Lenton Parr (1924-2003) and Norma Redpath (1928-2013) – derived their outlook from European models and would later live and work in Britain and Italy respectively. As such, this thesis is less a study of Australian sculpture than it is a study of European sculpture directly before, during and after World War Two. In 1953 Kane, King, Last and Redpath began exhibiting together in Melbourne as the Group of Four; later, in 1961, they joined with the other three sculptors to form Centre Five. However, I focus on the years 1935 to 1952, ending just before the group began to coalesce – at which point they effectively enter Australian art history.

The thesis departs from most other studies of wartime and post-war modernist art in placing less emphasis on traumatic rupture than on strategies of survival and the adaptation of earlier modernist agendas. Specifically I argue that the émigré sculptors practiced a form of ‘alternative professionalism’, meaning they deployed the strategies of professionalism for anti-academic and essentially avant-garde purposes. They had a concise program of goals, made concerted overtures to architects, and regularly proselytized to the public and the press on the subject of abstract modern sculpture – particularly as it related to the urban and built environment – and, as such, constituted an identifiably cohesive local avant-garde.
Tracing inter-tangled transnational histories of exchange between diverse modernities – peripheral and central – the thesis complicates existing Australian, British, German and Lithuanian nationalist art histories and contributes to an ongoing alternative modernities project. It also demonstrates the inadequacies of the old model of Australian art lagging provincially behind that of Europe and North America. Influences do not simply diffuse radially from centre to periphery, but rather occur simultaneously in multiple locales, in different guises. Similarly, the so-called ‘call to order’ of the 1930s is shown to reoccur after WWII, particularly in French-occupied Germany, reflecting a recurrent cyclical pattern of modernist art – looking backwards and looking forwards – rather than the persistent teleological model of canon formation.
Declaration

This is to certify that

1. The thesis comprises only my original work towards the PhD.
2. Due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all other material used.
3. The thesis is less than 100,000 words in length, exclusive of tables, maps, bibliographies and appendices.

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Table 4.1: Artworks, 1945-52, by Inge King, Clifford Last, Lenton Parr and Norma Redpath, viewed, seen in reproduction or documented by the author, 2009-16.
Introduction

This thesis concerns the formation of a modernist group of sculptors, Centre Five, who were exceptionally influential in Melbourne in the 1950s and 1960s. In part a group biography of the seven members of the group, the thesis examines their little-known backgrounds in order to establish the roots of the group’s collective philosophy, particularly with regards to the integration of sculpture and architecture. Five of the sculptors – Vincas Jomantas (1922-2001), Julius Kane (1921-62), Inge King (1915-2016), Clifford Last (1918-91) and Teisutis Zikaras (1922-91) – were European born, trained and nurtured amidst various peripheral cosmopolitan modernities that emerged in Britain, Germany and the Baltic states between and during the two world wars. The two Australian-born members – Lenton Parr (1924-2003) and Norma Redpath (1928-2013) – derived their outlook from European models and would later live and work in England and Italy respectively. As such, this thesis is less a study of Australian sculpture than it is a study of European sculpture directly before, during and after WWII, focussing on the years 1935 to 1952 – that is, just before the group coalesced in Melbourne. But the significance is wider and thus the urgency of this thesis topic: the time period necessitates our rejection of the sort of periodization that WWII has long forced on modernist art history. Instead I examine the complex ways in which earlier ‘European’ modernist legacies survived the war and continued during the post-war era in a diasporic setting.¹

Centre Five’s history has long awaited extended scholarly examination, although certain aspects were provisionally known before my thesis. The group’s pivotal role in advocating for the acceptance of modern sculpture has long been recognised. Both David Saunders and Margaret Plant – whose short appreciative essays appeared within a decade of Centre Five’s formation – acknowledged the central significance of the group’s overtures to architects, which paved the way for the next generation of sculptors, although Plant wrote in elegiac mode in 1984 of the missed opportunities on the part of governments, corporations and private collectors to support modern sculpture after the economic building boom of the 1960s.²

¹ By ‘European’ I refer to a multiplicity of European modernist traditions, particularly those in previously marginalized areas such as the Baltic countries.
likewise emphasised the group’s efforts to reinvigorate ‘the traditional relationship between architecture and sculpture … through the discovery of new methods of integrating the two disciplines’, and gave substantial space in his survey of Australian sculpture to the work of the Centre Five sculptors.\(^3\) Gary Catalano devoted most of a chapter to Centre Five in his survey of Australian art, 1959-68, but focussed on the challenges of modern monumental public sculpture and wrote only of the individual sculptors’ works rather than the group as a whole.\(^4\) Ken Scarlett noted Centre Five’s efforts to stimulate interest in sculpture amongst architects and state galleries, recently concluding that this focus distinguished them from their contemporaries.\(^5\) Juliet Peers found them to be ‘at the cutting edge of experimentation’ with regards to their concern for sculpture’s integration with the ‘utopian spatial values’ of modernist architecture while Zara Stanhope astutely perceived them to be ‘early protagonists for site-specific works conceived in relation to architectural and social contexts’.\(^6\) Anne Sanders diagnosed the group’s activities with architects as ‘a deliberate, provocative’ attempt to raise Australian sculptors’ professional prestige – a matter I will return to shortly.\(^7\) Each of these writers have underscored the importance of Centre Five’s work with architects, while refraining from linking them to a wider discussion of a post-war synthesis of the arts despite clear evidence that Centre Five were conversant with international debates about integration and synthesis.\(^8\)

Others, including Jenny Zimmer, emphasised the group’s sophistication and their strongly European outlook – a common chord in Australian writings on exile artists.\(^9\) Geoffrey Edwards thought the most remarkable feature of Centre Five was their ‘methodical and laudable pursuit of a sophisticated, utterly lucid and plangent iconography’, immune to the ‘frequent shifts and detours in philosophy’ affecting

\(^3\) Sturgeon, 1978 a, p. 138; also pp. 153-6, 164-77.
\(^4\) Catalano, 1981, pp. 105-20. As observed in his obituary, Catalano’s art criticism was marked by an intense focus on surfaces (Wallace-Crabbe, 2002, p. 577), which arguably hindered his appreciation of sculpture.
\(^7\) Sanders, 2009, p. 42.
\(^8\) On visits to the sculptors’ homes, and while looking through their archives, I noted their libraries included works on synthesis of art and architecture including Boeck, 1961 (Jomantas); Damaz, 1956 (King and Jomantas); and Smith, 1957 (Redpath and Last). For a discussion of Centre Five and global calls for a synthesis of the arts see Eckett, 2012.
many of their followers. In other words, the sculptors dwelt upon a consistent range of themes and subjects – totemic observers, guardians, family groups, solitary introspective figures – even while their works became increasingly abstract. John Stringer saw them as ‘visionary’ and ‘proactive’ – ‘the vanguard of brave pioneers who challenged the supremacy of figuration and introduced a new level of sophistication’. Ken Scarlett described them simply as ‘the outstanding sculptors of their time’. Yet, despite these acknowledgements of Centre Five’s significance, sophistication and achievements, the group remains patchily studied and at times entirely overlooked.

That said, Centre Five features prominently in the few studies of Australian migrant artists. In 1955 art critic Alan McCulloch wrote appreciatively of Australia’s ‘growing cosmopolitanism’, wrought by migrant artists with their ‘highly developed tastes’, and devoted half his essay to Melbourne’s migrant sculptors, particularly his established favourites Kane and Zikaras. McCulloch urged migrants to address their new environment in order that ‘cross-fertilization’ might take place, which could invigorate a ‘national school’ of Australian art – an early advocate of hybrid modernism at the service of nationalism. Noel Hutchison likewise described the arrival of the European migrant sculptors as ‘extremely beneficial’, with the Centre Five sculptors having an ‘inestimable’ influence upon the Melbourne scene. Similarly Paul McGillick felt that migrant sculptors had made a bigger impact than migrant painters in Australia, attributing this to both the perceived dearth of a pre-war Australian sculptural tradition and to Europe’s continued centrality in sculpture in the years 1945-55 in opposition to New York’s dominance in painting. Geoffrey Edwards contributed an article on the four mainland European members of Centre

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13 For instance there was no mention of them in Lewi and Jordan, 2010, despite Centre Five’s relevance to the authors’ discussion of post-war integration of the arts in Australia.
14 McCulloch, 1955 Dec, p. 515. This was written before Centre Five officially banded together in 1961. For McCulloch’s earlier, invariably positive, reviews of Kane and Zikaras’ work see McCulloch, 1952 Nov; 1953 June; 1953 Nov; 1954 Jan; 1955 June 3; 1955 June 15; and 1955 Oct.
16 Hutchison, 1970, pp. 6, 9, 15, footnote 2. Hutchison saw Centre Five’s exhibition at the AGNSW in 1965 and described it as ‘crucial’ to his development. He sent an admiring note to Clifford Last and travelled from Sydney to Melbourne the next year to see Last’s exhibition at the Leveson Street Gallery, establishing a firm friendship. Hutchison interview, 2011.
17 McGillick, 1979, p. 35.
Five to *Art & Australia*’s special issue on migrant artists, in 1993, indirectly underlining the group’s centrality but without effectively expanding the terms of discourse.\(^{18}\) In 1997 the NGA staged a large survey exhibition, *The Europeans: Émigré artists in Australia 1930-1960*, featuring the work of Centre Five. Overtly revisionist in its attempts to account for the breadth of émigré artist activity in Australia, *The Europeans* highlighted the difficulties for artists who were urged to assimilate with the dominant Anglo-centric culture, rather than integrate as later multicultural policies proposed.\(^{19}\) Thus in Christopher Heathcote’s chapter on Melbourne’s émigré sculptors for the accompanying catalogue we read of the difficulty in staging exhibitions of sculpture and Australia’s ‘inexplicable cultural stage’.\(^{20}\) In Heathcote’s view, while their work was laudable in intention and quality, few of the sculptors were ‘troublesome radicals’ or ‘stylistic innovators’.\(^{21}\) The effects of displacement and cultural shock were acknowledged, although their potential for generating creative responses largely unexplored.\(^{22}\)

It should be emphasised that most of the secondary literature on Centre Five focuses on the individual sculptors, rather than the group, and the vast bulk of it addresses only the sculptors’ mature works from the 1960s onwards.\(^{23}\) I defer discussion of this literature to the beginning of each chapter, when I summarise what is known about each sculptors’ activities in the period under consideration. In contrast to this literature, I concentrate on the individuals’ previously forgotten or obliterated art histories up to the point when they effectively enter history, in 1953, with the formation of the Group of Four, which would provide the kernel of Centre Five.

The foregoing constitutes a summary of the extant literature on Centre Five. A common thread through these approbatory essays is the emphasis on reception of the...
migrants’ work and their contribution to Australian culture. The artists’ pre-arrival histories are invariably summarised in a few lines and their significance to other national histories, or to a wider history of émigré art, left unquestioned. I want to reverse this trend and focus on the earlier, little known aspects of the Centre Five sculptors’ careers in order to resituate them in the narratives of the various cultural milieux in which they first arose. My intention is not to ‘de-Australianise’ the migrants, removing them from narratives of Australian modernism; such a project would be doubly cruel given that Jomantas, Kane, King and Zikaras were rendered stateless after the war. Rather, I hope to complicate the Australian narrative by dwelling on ‘cultural relationships’ – those complex networks of art-school teachers and colleagues, friends, patrons and dealers from around the world that collectively helped shaped the young sculptors’ philosophies. These networks foreshadow those that are increasingly seen as integral to contemporary art practices in a post-imperial globalized world. Instead of thinking of ‘migrant contributions’ as simply the physical sum of artworks they made in Australia, I want to consider carefully the underlying ideas each sculptor brought with them. I also want to complicate existing nationalist accounts: not only Australian narratives but also the ‘vernacular modernities’ of Lithuanian, German, Scottish and English sculpture before, during and after WWII.

Clearly, this study is of potential relevance to those who would sympathise with Rex Butler and A.D.S. Donaldson’s current ‘un-Australian’ art historical project. Their history focuses on what has been excluded from the ‘Australianist’ accounts of Bernard Smith and his successors: particularly the work of expatriates and immigrants

24 This is the approach of most studies of migrant artists in Australia; see for instance Popenhagen, 2012; Borthwick, 2012; Whitehead, 2014. Margalit and Favaro, 2008, take a similar approach with regards modernist architects. A rare exception to this model is found in Rmandic, 2008, which adopts the concept of the ‘in-between’ and identity renegotiation to suggest alternative readings of Mark Strizic’s photographs of Australian industry.
26 Enwezor, 2008.
whose work eschewed notions of Australian nationality. Butler and Donaldson reject Smith’s overarching model of ‘the gradual assimilation of overseas sources’ (the word ‘gradual’ speaking of a time lag), or ‘local modulations of modernism involving selection and rejection’ as Speck and Downey characterize it. Such a model inevitably renders Australian modernism a hybrid modernism with local developments cast as peripheral to the mainstream of modernism of Paris, London and New York. Butler and Donaldson seek to bypass this insidious ‘provincialism problem’ that has plagued not only Australian art history but the history of all peripheral modernisms, relegating its subjects to a ‘dependent, provincial [and] imitative’ status. They do so by foregrounding ‘the ongoing relationship between Australia and the rest of the world; a history of Australia not as apart from but as part of the rest of the world, not from the inside out but from the outside in’. With this interest in relationships they focus on recuperating both ‘inter-national’ artists whose work falls between two nationalist stools (for instance, Latvian artists active in Australia whose work concerns neither Latvian nor Australian nationalities) as well as Australian-born artists engaged at an international level, tracing their complex webs of contacts and influences.

However, Butler and Donaldson’s accounts of émigré artists pivot upon works known in Australia and usually produced in Australia, or on oft-recounted meetings with modernist legends. For instance in their essay on German émigré artists active in Australia Inge King is mentioned only for her connection to Kathe Köllwitz and her having practiced at the Abbey in London. Her immersion in cultivated Berlin-Jewish circles of the 1930s and Glasgow émigré artistic circles of the 1940s, and her encounter with the New York avant-garde in 1949-50, are omitted.

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29 Butler, 2008, p. 10; Butler and Donaldson, 2008/09, p. 118. It should be clarified that while Bernard Smith omitted many expatriate and émigré artists from his history of Australian modernism, he firmly rejected the ‘myth’ of Australian cultural isolation; see Palmer, 2016, pp. 187-89.
30 Smith, 1979, p. 30; Speck and Downey, 2008, p. 101. Green, 2002, p. 12, likewise rejects the model of Australian art as belatedly paralleling overseas developments and instead argues for a contested field of multiple, competing movements. In the case of Centre Five, Sasha Grishin compounds the ‘time lag’ factor with that of the small audience for contemporary sculpture in Australia, thereby further distancing sculptors from a perceived central field of action; see Grishin, 2014, p. 117.
31 As characterized by Terry Smith in Smith, 1983, p. 15. On ‘the provincialism problem’ in Australian art history see Smith, 1974, pp. 54-9; Burn et al, 1988, pp. 104-26; and Green and Barker, 2010. The issue has engaged scholars in other ‘peripheral modernities’ such as India and Japan; see for instance Kapur, 2000, particularly pp. xiii, 297; and Tomii, 2009, pp. 124, 128, 140.
33 On the interstitial ‘inter-national’ artist see Butler, 2008, p. 11.
problem is one of limited space and time to devote to individuals but the other is a lack of detailed information available on the émigré artists’ pre-arrival lives and works. My intention is to by contrast create a close-grained, detailed study of the little known years of a group of mainly foreign-born artists, examining their earliest milieus. In a sense, this is an inside-out, back-to-front model of ‘unAustralian’ art history: beginning with a group who have long been established as central to any account of modern Australian sculpture and tracing those connections and events that shaped them in their formative years – a path that leads away from their Australian colleagues and away from an established Australian narrative. The project is revisionist not simply in the choice of artists examined (Centre Five can scarcely be described as neglected, with their work still regularly profiled in Australian exhibitions and a museum virtually dedicated to the group in Langwarrin, Victoria) but rather in how it resituates them, rendering them doubly foreign. I am less concerned than Butler and Donaldson with constructing ‘parallel histories’; rather I wish to trace ‘inter-tangled histories of exchange’ between diverse peripheral modernities.

By contributing to an ‘unAustralian’ art history, I suggest this study also contributes to a broader world art history. By this, I do not mean that I am simply amplifying an already expansive and diffuse Eurocentric narrative and certainly I not attempting anything as vainly valiant as ‘putting the world in a book’. Rather, I am concerned to create a cross-borders narrative that refuses neat nationalist compartmentalisation – a cosmopolitan history that registers and accepts differences as readily as universalist

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35 As opposed to Butler and Donaldson’s ‘inside out, outside in’ version; see also Smith, 2011.
36 The McClelland Gallery and Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, established in 1972, has long supported Centre Five through exhibitions and acquisitions.
37 Butler and Donaldson insist that their project is not revisionist but rather ‘complementary and parallel’ to earlier histories; Butler and Donaldson, 2008/09, p. 120. Elsewhere they term it ‘alternative and parallel’; Butler and Donaldson, 2010, p. 2. The distinction arises from Butler’s reading of revisionism as an inherently flawed project, entailing either an imagined ‘innocent’ original witness to history or else a postmodern rediscovery of the present in the past: ‘By revisionism I mean the whole idea of going back to the past and seeing in it issues that seem to belong to the present, either as a deliberate intervention or as a claim that these things actually existed back then’; Butler, 2006, p. 48. Ian McLean challenges this view on the grounds that all history is revisionist in that it is an attempt to adjust or re-write prior narratives (a view with which I agree) while simultaneously welcoming the ‘unAustralian’ turn. McLean, 2006, p. 55.
39 This was the term levelled against the rise of world art history at a conference at the Clark Art Institute in 2000; see Elkins, 2007, p. 42. See also Mukherji, 2009.
similarities. Yet, as James Elkins argues, even recent attempts at writing world art history are beset with nationalist and regionalist biases that prevent all but a few (David Summers’ spatially-oriented account of world art being one such notable exception) from offering a truly new global history. Perhaps, as Butler and Donaldson concede, world art history can only ever be a utopian project in which every culture is equally visible and of intrinsic interest; like Borges’ Aleph, ‘every location in the world would always contain the whole history of the world’. A less utopian approach might be to search for similarities in different locales; in Reiko Tomii’s definition, world art history is ‘more than a compendium of local and/or national art histories’; rather it is ‘a networked whole of local/national histories linked through resonances and connections’. Tomii refers to such resonances as ‘international contemporaneity’ and suggests this is a particularly powerful way of side-stepping the thorny issue of imitation that plagues historians of peripheral modernities. So, in the same vein, I suggest that my focus on a group of artists who emerged within one nationalist cultural milieu and engaged with other milieus through travel, migration and exile, before settling in yet another country with another specifically local set of concerns, highlights the simultaneous occurrence and continuity of certain modernist currents, such as the centrality of the figure to modern sculpture even after the war, or the rise of post-war expressive abstraction in multiple locations.

I also suggest that this study of émigré sculptors effectively is a model of the cases of a great number of modernist artists in diverse locales and has ramifications for multiple trans-nationalist histories. Much has been written already on the immeasurable impact of German-speaking refugees on the fine arts in Britain and

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North America. Many of these authors have questioned the existence of an identifiable ‘exile art’, with most concurring with Sybil Milton who concludes that such a category can never be firmly established, only that of ‘exile artists’. However, as Edward Said highlighted, this category disguises the gulf of difference between the romantic exiled artist of humanist literature and the depersonalised exile caught in a sweep of mass migration, cultural mutilation and irretrievable loss. Thus Kobena Mercer urges historians to distinguish between emigrant and immigrant, the stranger and the other, exile and diaspora. In the case of Centre Five, we encounter instances of forced dispersal and displacement (Jomantas and Zikaras), refugees (Kane and, during the war, King), voluntary migration (Last and, again, King after she married the Australian Grahame King), and voluntary emigration (Parr and Redpath) – in short, a representative range of motivations characterising twentieth-century population movements. Indeed King felt most of Centre Five (other than Parr, Redpath and Last) were displaced persons and that the act of being displaced was ‘something that stays with you for the rest of your life’. As such, my thesis may be seen as a series of case studies of artists in migration and exile with relevance to other studies of diasporic modernists.

However, unlike much of the extant literature on émigré artists, I am not concerned with rupture or the ‘morbid’ fascination with trauma. Consequently I do not propose a psychoanalytic analysis of either the artists or their works, which would almost certainly be unwelcome on the part of the artists. Instead, I am concerned

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48 Mercer, 2008, p. 7. Similarly, Darko Suvin urges the distinction between exiles, émigrés, expatriates and refugees (Suvin, 2005) while Roger Butler categorises Australian migrant artists as émigré Jews of the 1930s, pre-war refugees, wartime internees, and post-war displaced persons (Butler, 1997, pp. 7-8). See also Hall, 1990; Papastergiadis, 1998.
49 King conversations, 24 May 2011.
50 Edquist, 2009, p. 15. Literary theorists regularly employ the tropes of rupture and dislocation though they are usually mentioned only in passing in the literature on émigré visual art (see Bachner, 2005, as an exception). The vast body of literature on trauma and visual art is instead concerned with memorialisation and memory; see for instance Bennett, 2003; Bennett, 2005; Broderick and Traverso, 2013; Edkins, 2003; Huyssen, 2003; Luckhurst, 2008; Saltzman and Rosenberg, 2006; Young, 1993; Young, 2000.
51 Both in interview and informal conversations King was reticent to discuss her personal experiences of the war, preferring to dwell upon matters directly relating to her work and to future plans. According to King the other members of Centre Five likewise preferred to leave the past behind and
with migrant strategies of survival and continuity. In particular I am interested in how the émigré sculptors established themselves professionally – a matter that has received relatively little attention.

The most useful contribution to date, pertinent to my own study, is Margaret Garlake’s essay, ‘A Minor Language?’, in which she compares the tactical careers of three émigré sculptors in Britain (Georg Ehrlich, Siegfried Charoux and Franta Belsky), finding them to be ‘assimilative processes’ in which ‘assimilation correlated with professional success’ as measured by commissions, collaborations with architects and membership of professional bodies. Following Berghahn, Garlake argues that their assimilation was ‘a process of hybridisation, fusion, adaptation and expediency’, through which they adapted their shared belief in socially grounded art to the needs of reconstruction Britain. Their concern for cultivating ties with architects and academics also typified many of the exiled European avant-garde in New York, reflecting, in Romy Golan’s view, a ‘shrewd attempt at legitimization’ in the face of the avant-garde’s perceived frivolity. Garlake’s emphasis on the sculptors’ philosophical underpinnings – their belief in art that serves community – and their concern for professional accreditation are of dual significance for this study. Professionalism, in my formulation, becomes a crucial aspect of diasporic identity among post-war émigrés: one that bypasses former nationalist or regionalist allegiances and aspires to a universalism appealing to both immigrants and emigrants.

Professionalism is a recurrent theme in commentary on Centre Five. For instance, Ken Scarlett wrote that Centre Five promoted ‘professional attitudes’, while John Stringer noted their ‘professional standards’ helped ‘establish a more progressive profile for sculpture’. James Mollison found them ‘always very professional’, adding that ‘none of them tried to promote themselves as the great personality’ – suggesting that professionalism transcended egocentric concerns. Reviewing the

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56 Mollison interview, 2010. The comment also reflects Parr’s advocacy for art that concerned communal values rather than ‘midget sized personal idiosyncrasies’; Parr, 1967 c, n.p.
1964 Mildura Prize exhibition, which was widely praised for the professionalism of the exhibits (particularly Redpath’s and Jomantas’ prize-winning entries), Hal Missingham defended Centre Five and certain of their colleagues against Bernard Smith’s charge of provincialism, describing them as ‘very professional and considerable sculptors who, if shown overseas, might well create almost as much interest as did our supposedly provincial painters when they raised such a furore at the Whitechapel Art Gallery and later at the Tate Gallery’.57 Professionalism was here considered on a par with quality of the work in terms of international relevance. Individual members’ professionalism was also regularly noted. Geoffrey Edwards described King’s career as ‘a model of professionalism’.58 John Davis admired the ‘attitude that Julius Kane presented during his professional life – an interest and pursuit of quality in sculpture and a generous supportive nature for other sculptors’, so much so that he instigated a scholarship in Kane’s memory.59 Geoffrey Bartlett recalled that ‘Zikaras made a big impression on me as a student. He always wore a coat at the studio and had a dignity and stature in the way he conducted himself. It made me realize that being an artist was a serious profession’.60

The seriousness that Bartlett notes, and which Geoff Makin likewise detected in post-war Australian sculpture (particularly émigré sculpture), is also a key aspect of professionalism.61 Le Corbusier, in his preface to a manual on mural painting, wrote that the ‘serious arts’ – by which he was referring to those arts that could best integrate with architecture, such as mural painting or sculpture – ‘are punctual, meticulous, exact, implacable’.62 His assertion summarizes Centre Five’s approach to work and highlights the degree to which their overtures to architects were not merely an appeal to a body of professionals but rather integral to their conception of themselves as qualified professionals whose skills could be employed to communal

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57 Missingham, 1964, p. 132. Smith’s ‘promising but alas provincial’ judgment was pronounced at the opening of the 1964 Mildura Prize exhibition; see Smith papers, MS 8680, box 3, folder 21, ‘Mildura opening address’, 18 April 1964, p. 6. For more on this exchange, see Eckett, 2017.
59 Last papers, box 5, folder 4, letter from Davis to Last, 15 April 1983. Davis’ admiration of Kane’s professionalism is distinct from his disapproval of ‘professional’ art, by which he meant non-process-oriented commercial art (Green, 2010, p. 111)
good in the built environment. Professionalism and seriousness were above all self-composed attitudes. The Australia Council’s definition of ‘serious, practicing professional artists’ measures seriousness by ‘a self-assessed commitment to artistic work as a major aspect of the artist’s working life’. This ‘self-assessed commitment’ is less a product of hours spent in the studio than an index of self-confidence, as inversely reflected in Margel Hinder’s apologetic note to Clifford Last: ‘… I am not a true professional in the sense that you, Inge [King] and the others are[,] but more of an amateur, who through circumstances, from time to time loses my amateur standing to do a big commission.’

Professionalism also depended on the balance struck between studio work and teaching or other paid work. Bernard Smith accused sculptors who taught of failing to cultivate patrons who would support progressive work, relying instead on teaching salaries to subsidise work that few would appreciate. Donald Brook similarly dismissed artist-teachers, noting in 1966 that ‘not more than a tiny handful of sculptors [in Australia] can be said to be fully professional: that is, able to live by the work of their hands’, an observation that George Baldessin would repeat a few years later. Parr likewise noted that only two or three sculptors in Victoria could live by their art alone; the rest had to teach. Yet Parr rejected Smith’s dichotomy, instead framing the education system as a viable modern patron and viewing artistic creation and education as one and the same. Artists, in Parr’s view, are engaged with ‘solving problems, formulating and expressing ideas and communicating them’ – a process he believed synonymous with education; in other words, ‘art is education’. All members of Centre Five taught art, viewing it as complementary to their sculptural work, even while it divided their time, and demanded of their students a similar level of professional commitment.

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63 In 1961 Parr commented on his recent work with architects: ‘I like to work to a deadline and work to a program if I can, and on big-scale works, of course, this is absolutely essential’ (de Berg and Parr, 1961, p. 3). His comments reflect his self-conception as an organized professional working alongside architects.


65 Last papers, box 8, folder 3, letter from Hinder to Last, 6 June 1971. The letter was in response to Last’s proposal for a book about her work to be published by Hawthorn Press.


67 Brook, 1966 June 6, p. 8; Baldessin recorded in Burstall, 1969.

68 de Berg and Parr, 1961, p. 3. Seven years later Parr revised the number to ‘three or four’ out of approximately 100 sculptors active in Victoria; see Bishop, 1968, p. 18.


70 Parr, 1967 a, p. 7.
However, by the late 1960s professionalism was suspect. In 1968 the young critic Ross Lansell described an exhibition of King, Parr and Last’s work at Bonython Gallery, Sydney, merely as ‘very proficient and professional’, adding that ‘sheer professionalism … is but one step removed from the stiff-backed groves of academe’.71 Janine Burke recently recalled marvelling in the seventies at curator Kiffy Rubbo’s professionalism, when that word was considered ‘rather odious’.72 In the wake of post-object and conceptual art, objects evincing professional ‘finish’ were widely designated conservative.73 Senior sculptors bemoaned their students’ lack of interest in mastering mediums, essential to professional standards. Anthony Caro, on a visit to Melbourne in 1971, decried his students’ ‘refusal to make “serious” sculptures, accusing them all of wishing to call themselves “living sculptures” or go for long walks in the countryside’.74 Jomantas likewise diagnosed a lack of professionalism in his students at RMIT, finding them ‘a bit too casual – they are not serious enough’.75 Their comments highlight the modernists’ sense of earnest vocation while encapsulating a rift in attitudes towards professionalism.

Of course to argue merely that Centre Five were professional is tantamount to a truism. Rather, I contend that they constituted a local avant-garde and, as such, practiced a form of what I will call ‘alternative professionalism’. I borrow the term from David Cottington, who in recent years has developed this idea to describe the means by which the pre-WWI Parisian and London avant-gardes differentiated themselves from bourgeois professional art practices. Cottington sees three features fundamental to alternative professionalism: the energetic promotion of a set of distinctive aesthetic principles, an emphasis on technical means and craft independent to that taught in the academies, and the mutual recognition of shared goals as signalled by the epithet ‘the avant-garde’.76 Each of these three features characterise Centre Five. As active advocates for modern abstract sculpture Centre Five sought to educate the public through slide lectures of their own and other modern sculptors.

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71 Lansell, 1968, p. 278.
72 Burke, 2014.
73 Plant, 1978, particularly p. 105.
74 Caro cited in Green, 1995, p. 12.
75 Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 4, side 2.
work and regularly spoke to the press proselytizing their cause or wrote articles on issues such as modern sculpture in the urban environment. They were keenly interested in new mediums such as steel, aluminium, polyester resin and ciment fondu, and in the development of techniques such as lost wax bronze casting that were then only practiced on a rudimentary level in Australia. Finally, their coming together as a group with a five-point program – from which they derived their name – expressed in measured, precise language (a far cry from the impassioned manifestos of many earlier avant-gardes), alongside a series of professionally presented exhibitions with well designed catalogues and their own letterhead, announced their arrival as a cohesive group of progressive modernists.

Further, I argue that Centre Five constituted a cohesive local avant-garde, by which I mean they identified themselves as a group of ‘contemporary’ modernist sculptors who faced a set of problems specific to Australia at that time and, as such, represent one strand of an ongoing ‘alternative modernities’ project. My definition of avant-garde is predicated not on political radicalism but rather social engagement and institutional change. By social engagement I refer to art’s ‘sociability’ – its potential for interaction with its public – as opposed to its hermetic insulation from social life. Centre Five’s conscious vanguardism is reflected in the very first item on their five-point program: to ‘bridge the gap between artist and public’ – clearly echoing the widespread avant-garde desire to bridge the gap between art and life. Indeed in Kane’s formula ‘art is life’ and, as such, an artwork can only be completed when the viewer incorporates his or her emotions into the work. Throughout the group’s

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77 For instance, when Recent British Sculpture toured to Melbourne, in July 1963, each member of Centre Five gave public talks and guide-lectures and addressed the National Gallery Society and Junior Gallery Society; Centre Five archive, miscellaneous correspondence, lecture schedule for Recent British Sculpture. Parr was the group’s chief published spokesman; see for instance Parr, 1961, 1963a and b, 1967b.

78 Undated typescript copies of the five-point program can be found in Last papers, box 5, folder 2; Parr papers, box 6, folder labelled ‘Centre Five’; and King papers, folder 156. While the program was most likely drafted in 1961, it was not published until 1973 – see Geelong, 1973, p. [1], and is most likely based on Last, c. 1973, p. 2. Grahame King designed the catalogues and letterhead, which was first used in 1962 (Centre Five archive, letter from Inge King to Mollie Shaw of Bates, Smart and McCutcheon, 11 April 1962).

79 Terry Smith traces the ‘prehistory of the contemporary’ in Smith, 2010, pp. 371-2, and concludes that the multiple usages to which the term ‘contemporary’ have been employed over time further illuminates the ‘alternative modernities’ project.


81 Last, c. 1973, p. 2.

82 Kane cited in Parkville 1975, p. 6.
existence they regularly spoke publically of modern sculpture’s potential for humanising the urban environment and improving social conditions: sculpture, in Parr’s words, ‘transforms the environment from one encountered to one participated in’ and stimulates ‘aesthetic responses [that] are socially valuable’. By institutional change I refer to the institutional structures, such as museums, galleries, educational opportunities and competitions, which dictate when and where art is seen, as opposed to Peter Bürger’s anti-institutionalisation (the avant-garde’s attack on art as an institution). Three items on Centre Five’s program concerned lobbying for better representation of contemporary Australian sculpture in the state and national galleries, to call for a per-cent-for-art scheme to be incorporated into budgets for public buildings, and to create more scholarships and fellowships for sculptors. In addition they petitioned organisers of art prize competitions, requesting entrance be extended to sculptors. All of this amounted to a concerted effort to expand the institutional framework for modern sculpture’s presentation.

Centre Five’s focus on social engagement and institutional change, their relative silence on politics, and their allegiance to abstract public sculpture and new media – both key aspects of their alternative professionalism – distinguished them from Melbourne’s better-known vangardists who gathered under John Reed and Georges Mora’s wings in the Contemporary Art Society (CAS), where child-like naivety, bohemianism and armchair Communism were indulged. The émigré artists who found strongest support within the CAS and the Heide circle were those who favoured an instinctive approach to art and flamboyant and unorthodox lifestyles, exemplified by Danila Vassilieff and Mirka Mora. Although Centre Five did not oppose the CAS / Heide circle – indeed Last and Kane were active members of CAS – bohemianism was not an avenue that was open to them owing to the exigencies of the small market for sculpture. As Mirka Mora recalled, the members of Centre Five ‘were distant …

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83 Parr, 1963 b, pp. 183-4. King and Redpath both made similar assertions; see Eckett, 2013 b; King, 1982, p. 79.
84 Bürger, 1984, pp. 62, 64-5.
85 Geelong, 1973, p. [1], items 2, 4 and 5.
86 Centre Five archive, letter from Inge King to Simon Price, Georges Ltd, 15 November 1963, and to the director of the Helena Rubenstein Scholarship, 13 December 1963; also letter from Laurie Thomas, QAG, to Inge King, 8 April 1963.
87 This is likewise Anne Sanders’ contention as applied to the Mildura Sculpture Prize exhibitions, in Sanders, 2009.
It must have been very hard being a sculptor. No-one bought anything’. Similarly, Centre Five shunned the leftist politics of Reed’s circle, again distinguishing them from the majority of Australia’s romantic vanguardists who defined themselves ‘in terms of agonism and bohemianism’. The reasons behind the group’s largely apolitical stance shall be explored throughout the thesis.

The following four chapters comprise a biographic mosaic embedded in a regionalist, geo-cultural matrix that connects individuals to wider historical processes. My approach to biography is informed by post-structuralist deflations of artistic genius and the belief that biography must examine the broader social, historical, cultural, and political-economic context in which the subject lived. In this way I aim to produce an account, as Linda Nochlin puts it, of ‘personal making in the world, within community and society’. This emphasis on individual activity rather than group activity is justified owing to the relatively brief existence of Centre Five as a group. Centre Five held just four exhibitions between 1961 and 1974, during which period they also held significant solo exhibitions and participated in other group activities. Their involvement with each other, as a group, therefore does not fully reflect their aims. It should be stressed that the biographical approach was not made under the assumption that artworks are a direct reflection of their author’s personality or temperament, or a revelation of the artist’s autobiographical self. Instead I treat seriously the notion that artworks are a product of multiple factors: the intellectual, philosophical and artistic experiences of the maker, socio-economic circumstances, the presence of familial encouragement or dissuasion, and historical events that impact on the ability of an individual to practice their art.

Chapter one outlines the group members’ early years, prior to WWII. The emphasis is on cultural influences with particular focus on Berlin and Kaunas, where King, Jomantas and Zikaras each practiced art before the war. Genealogical material is relegated to Appendix A. In chapter two I examine the impact of war on King, Jomantas, Zikaras and Redpath in terms of their art schooling and changing cultural

88 Mora interview, 2011.
89 McAuliffe, 2005, p. 234.
90 Nochlin believes ‘the time is ripe for a return to biography’ in this sense of the individual within society; Nochlin in Blaugrund, Busch et al, 2002: URL: http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/spring02/85-spring02/spring02article/190-whither-the-field-of-nineteenth-century-art-history.
milieus, and trace the whereabouts of Kane and the two serving members of the group: Last and Parr. Chapter three focuses on post-war Munich and Freiburg, Germany, where Kane, Jomantas and Zikaras each grappled with German and French figurative sculptural legacies while negotiating their new status as ‘DPs’ (displaced persons). Finally, chapter four charts a London-Melbourne axis in considering the post-war activities of King, Last, Parr and Redpath. The thesis concludes in 1952, at which point all seven sculptors effectively enter known art history. Finally, I close with some reflections on the thesis’ intervention in terms of prevailing accounts of post-war modernism and transnational ‘peripheral’ avant-gardes.
Chapter 1: Origins

What were the origins of the Centre Five group’s artistic impulses and philosophy? The question necessitates a reorientation: away from mere citation of educational qualifications towards an account that embeds art school experiences within a cultural context, considering significant artworks, artists and pre-war exhibitions that registered with each artist. To do so I have searched among archives and consulted un-transcribed interviews and supplementary material concerning the artists’ different cultural milieus. Family background is included only where it demonstrably impacted philosophical foundations. Further genealogical material appears in Appendix A.

The secondary literature on the seven sculptors’ origins is scant. Jenny Zimmer, Judith Trimble and Sasha Grishin each sketched King’s Berlin years but the brevity of their accounts curtailed discussion, with each writer relying solely upon King’s verbal accounts. While I too draw upon interviews with the artist, my research among the archives of the Universität der Künste in Berlin prompted King to recall new information on those who shaped her youthful views, providing an unfamiliar account of King’s student years. Previous publications on Jomantas and Zikaras have not examined their art schooling in any detail. A lack of English-language publications on Lithuanian interwar art history has seen Australian historians draw upon an outdated literature, written and disseminated by first generation Lithuanian exiles in the west, perpetuating a narrow nationalist agenda that fails to account for the complexity of Jomantas’ and Zikaras’ backgrounds. Conversely Lithuanian historians have neglected both sculptors, deeming their mature work in Australia outside their remit. My account draws primarily upon research among the Lietuvos literatūros ir meno archyvas (Lithuanian Literature and Art Archive) and the research library of the Lietuvos dailės muziejus (Lithuanian Art Museum), Vilnius, as well as archives and

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3 For instance Kazokas, 2003 a, a first generation Lithuanian exile, draws mainly upon interviews with fellow exiles and journals such as Aidai (Echoes) and Lituanus published by the Lithuanian community in the US in the 1960s and 1970s. Borthwick, 2012, draws upon similar sources, interpolating them with psychoanalytic and surrealist interpretations.
collections in the Nacionalinis M.K. Čiurlionio dailės muziejus (M. K. Ciurlionis National Art Museum), including the Juozas Zikaras Museum, Kaunas.

The little that has been written to date on Kane’s background derives from the few questionable facts he divulged to journalists and friends in Australia. I instead draw upon newly uncovered material in the Australian National Archives, presenting a radically new picture of Kane’s origins. Last and Parr’s backgrounds are comparatively better documented in monographs and retrospective exhibition catalogues. However, I consider these against a series of unpublished interviews with Barbara Blackman and Hazel de Berg, Parr’s unpublished manuscript memoir, c. 1970, and Nella Last’s extensive diaries in the University of Sussex archives. Most of the existing literature on Redpath omits any reference to her background beyond her studying at Strathcona Grammar, Swinburne and Melbourne Technical College. I instead draw upon two unpublished manuscript memoirs uncovered while archiving her papers in 2012-13.

1.1: Inge King

1.1.1: Berlin Bildung

King was born during World War One, 26 November 1915, as Ingeborg Viktoria Neufeld. She was the youngest of an educated, middleclass family of assimilated Jews, typical – as Tony Judt noted of Hannah Arendt – of many Berlin Jews imbued with German Bildung (self-cultivation and education) who perceived themselves different to the Ost-Jews of Poland and Russia. The family lived on the elegant Kurfürstenstraße in Berlin’s affluent ‘Old West’, close to the Tiergarten and Berlin Zoo where King’s nurse accompanied her daily, as had Walter Benjamin’s a

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7 King’s year of birth was long recorded as 1918. I first encountered the date of 1915 in 2010 when consulting her RA student records. King afterwards confirmed the error arose upon arrival in Australia and she did not try to correct immigration authorities; King interview, 2010. The matter was finally adjusted in the public record in Collingwood, 2013, p. 1.
8 Judt, 2009, p. 79. On the various shades of German-Jewish assimilation see Berghahn, 1984. King’s father, Ernst Neufeld, observed the three Jewish holidays but her mother and siblings did not – King interview, 2010.
Chapter 1: Origins.

The very name of the street, Kurfürstenstraße, referred to the prince-electors, the Kurfürsten, and by extension to Berlin’s imperial history, home to the Electors of Brandenburg since the fifteenth century. King recalls the infamous ‘alley of horrors’: over thirty larger-than-life-size marbles of the Kurfürsten who intimidated her while walking along the Siegesallee (Victory Avenue) through the Tiergarten (fig. 1.1).10 Carved by Reinhold Begas (1831-1911) and assistants between 1895 and 1901, this series of monumental statues culminated at Königsplatz with its colossal, 69-metre-high Siegessäule (Victory Column), standing upon the square, as Benjamin put it, ‘like a red letter date on the calendar’.11 Together the marble effigies of the Kurfürsten and the gilded icon of the Siegessäule formed an ostentatious parade of Wilhelmine pomposity. Yet by the time King was of an age to learn about Prussian history the last of the Hohenzollerns, Wilhelm II, had abdicated and the Weimar Republic was precariously in place. The marbles, and indeed the entire Siegesallee, were soon swept aside in Hitler’s plans to transform Berlin into a Welthaupstadt (world capital). History was a rapidly shifting notion in Berlin.

King’s earliest study was with a governess, afterwards attending the local Gymnasium where she studied French, English, Latin, German history, art, physics, chemistry and mathematics.12 Her teachers were ‘the equivalent of suffragettes’, who assured their pupils they could follow any career they desired.13 From her history teacher she learnt to admire the German Expressionists: until 1933 poster reproductions of the likes of Max Beckman, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Kathe Köllwitz and Franz Marc were displayed on the classroom walls.14 King enjoyed school and, with the example of several uncles who were doctors, hoped to study medicine but finances prevented. While King was born into relative affluence, her father was badly affected by the

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9 King’s address, never before been recorded, was 81A Kurfürstenstraße, on the corner of Keithstraße (email from Jo Tanaka-King, 30 May 2016). It was around the corner from Erwin Fabian’s home on Lützowplatz (though they did not then know one another) and a few blocks from Walter Benjamin’s on Magdeburger Platz. Benjamin memorialised the area in Berliner Kindheit um 1900; Benjamin, 2006. The Kurfürstenstraße runs through Schöneberg but King insists she grew up on the Kurfürstenstraße in the Old West, only moving to Schöneberg in 1935; King interview, 2010; King conversation, 18 October 2015.
10 Zimmer, 1984, p. 142; King interview, 2010; King conversations, 18 October 2015.
11 Benjamin, 2006, p. 44.
12 Blackman and King, 1989, tape 1, side 1.
13 King interview, 2009.
14 King interview, 2010.
hyperinflation of the early 1920s. Shortly afterwards he developed Parkinson’s
disease and died when King was fourteen. King finished school with her elder
sisters’ financial aid and was aware of the need to find a self-supporting vocation.

King attributes her early self-sufficiency partly to her experiences with the
Wandervögel (which translates approximately as Wandering Bird), a widespread
German youth movement that fostered leadership qualities through such activities as
hiking, camping and physical culture. Founded at the turn of the century, the
Wandervögel flourished in the 1920s and 1930s when it was seen as an alternative to
the failures of an older generation responsible for both the Great War and the political
instability of the Weimar era. It was a broad and ill-defined movement that
embraced competing ideologies (its conservative nationalist arm would be co-opted
into the Hitler Youth). While most Wandervögel groups were chauvinist and anti-
Semitic, some accepted women and Jews. Through friends in one such more
tolerant branch King became briefly attracted to Zionism and the egalitarian ideals of
the kibbutz movement, spending a summer on a kibbutz in Hamburg. In this context
she explored Judaism, a subject scarcely discussed at home. This was an
inauspicious moment at which to identify as Jewish. However, King felt she was
never discriminated against in public as she didn’t look Jewish (her family had long
strongly intermarried with Germans) and because she retained many non-Jewish
friends. Nevertheless, in the increasingly rabid atmosphere of Germany in the
1930s, even distant Jewish connections signified difficulties. By war’s end King was
reluctant to identify with any religion and her Jewishness subsequently supressed.

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15 Trimble, 1996, p. 2; King conversation, 7 November 2015.
16 King interview, 2009.
17 King interview, 2009.
19 Hans Blüher, first historian and ‘prophet’ of the Wandervögel, was author of an anti-Semitic tract,
The Revolt of Israel against Christian Values; see Kaes, Jay, and Dimendberg, 1994, pp. 277-80.
20 King interview, 2010; King conversations, 7 February 2012, 19 September 2015.
21 Foreshadowing post-war generations who likewise studied Hebrew and revived observance of the
22 Blackman and King, 1989, tape 1, side 1.
23 King acknowledged her Jewish roots in interview; Blackman and King, 1989, tape 1, side 1. Her
inclusion in an exhibition of Jewish artists in Australia was also implicit acknowledgement of the fact
(Melbourne, 1993, catalogue no. 6). It was first openly recorded in Eckett, 2014 a, p. 7, and shortly
afterwards in Grishin, 2014, p. 37, and formed the core of an argument I put forth recently in Eckett,
2015.
1.1.2: Sculpture under the Third Reich, 1933-39

Hitler’s ascension to power and the National Socialist’s mounting efforts throughout the 1930s to purge German culture of avant-garde elements are exhaustively documented and shall not be rehearsed here. Yet it needs to be emphasised that modern art did not simply evaporate from Berlin in 1933; it continued to be made and occasionally exhibited. In particular, the Nazis struggled to classify which sculptors were ‘degenerate’ and which acceptable to an evolving cultural doctrine as, in Stephanie Barron’s words, ‘guidelines were more difficult to observe, artists’ motives more difficult to judge’. While Käthe Kollwitz (1867-1945) was forced to resign from the Prussian Academy in February 1933, following her signing the Dringender Appell, her work remained on display in the Kronprinzenpalais (the modern art annex of Berlin’s Nationalgalerie) until the gallery’s closure in October 1936. Similarly, in 1933, sculptor Ernst Barlach (1870-1938) represented Germany at the Chicago World’s Fair and was awarded the Order Pour le Mérite. Both Kollwitz and Barlach remained in Germany, albeit in a state of ‘inner emigration’, under forcibly silent protest. Significantly, it was these two sculptors who most inspired King.

In particular King was drawn to the work of Barlach. She collected postcard reproductions of his sculptures, mounting them in an album, and a sympathetic friend presented her with a Barlach lithograph, Singing Women, in 1935. Barlach’s woodcarvings were figurative and identifiably modern only to the degree in which details were kept to the minimum, certain features enlarged for dramatic emphasis and attention drawn to the overall form rather than surface embellishment (fig. 1.2). His work was often discussed in terms of its northern Gothic heritage and indebtedness to the ‘fog-ridden, eerie atmosphere of the Holstein region’, sharply differentiating it from the French modernist tradition. As Maillol reportedly told Barlach, ‘Tu es Nordique – moi je suis Mediterrané’. Barlach’s work could therefore be

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28 ‘The sculptor that motivated me was Ernst Barlach’ – King interview, 2009. For other examples of King’s statements re Barlach see Blackman and King, 1989, tape 1 side 1; and Trimble, 1996, p. 3.
29 King interview, 2009. Both the album and lithograph (un-numbered from an edition of 60) remain in the possession of the King estate.
30 Werner, 1962 a, p. 635.
accommodated, at least initially, within National Socialist aesthetics. However, Barlach’s preferred figures were those of introverted loners – beggars, witches and mystics – or old and ailing peasants, whom Nazi officials suspected were derived from ‘inferior’ Slavic types rather than Nordic Germans. Even more grievously, his war memorials for Kiel, Güstrow (fig. 1.3), Magdeburg and Stralsund (this latter unrealised until after his death) emphasised the tragedy and pained introspection of those caught up in war in opposition to the images of Teutonic fighters required by militaristic dogma.

The degree to which King’s enthusiasm for Barlach’s work might be considered hazardous can be gauged by looking at Barlach’s exhibition record at this time. In the early 1930s Barlach’s work could still be found on display in public museums such as the Kronprinzenpalais. However, in the catalogue for the exhibition Berliner Bildhauer von Schlüter bis zur Gegenwart (Berlin Sculptors from Schlüter to the Present), held at the Prussian Academy to mark its 150th anniversary in 1936, entries for Barlach, Kollwitz, and Wilhelm Lehmbruck were covered by gummed slips of paper printed with ‘Zurückgezogen’ (withdrawn). In 1937 Barlach’s work was considered for inclusion in the Große Deutsche Kunstaustellung (Great German Art Exhibition), the exhibition of officially sanctioned art at the Haus der Kunst in Munich, but he was instead included in the corresponding Entartete Kunst (Degenerate Art) exhibition, which King visited when it toured to Berlin in February 1938. However, as one curator noted at the time, ‘Barlach was treated as a tragic case; his sculptures were “spared”; only one of his drawings was chosen, so that his name, too, would be represented’. Barlach was forced to resign from the Academy in 1937 and the Reich Chamber of Fine Arts placed a general ban on the exhibition or sale of his works. His carvings of lonely cripples and beggars were rapidly removed

32 Paret, 2003, pp. 32, 46, 142.
33 Ernst Barlach, Mater Dolorosa, The Kiel Memorial, 1921, oak, 238 x 221 cm approximately, destroyed during WWII; Schwebende Engel (Hovering Angel), The Güstrow Memorial, 1926-7, bronze, 71 x 74.5 x 217 cm, Güstrow Cathedral; Magdeburg Memorial, 1928-9, oak, 255 x 154 x 75 cm, Magdeburg Cathedral; and Pieta, study for The Stralsund Memorial, 1932, clay, 64.5 x 54.2 x 22 cm, Ernst Barlach Stiftung, Güstrow. The Stralsund Memorial was later realised by Hans Peter Jaeger and erected in the courtyard of Stralsund’s town archives, the Johanniskloster.
34 Berlin, 1936. I consulted the copy held by the Kunstbibliothek, Berlin, complete with errata slips.
from public display. In a small but significant way, to continue to openly admire Barlach’s work was a refusal to heed Hitler’s reign in the realm of aesthetics.

To admire Kollwitz’s work was more perilous still. Like Barlach, Kollwitz’s memorial to her son killed in Flanders, *The Grieving Parents*, 1924-32, dwelt not upon the heroic sacrifice of German blood but the pitiable suffering of those left behind (fig. 1.4). Kollwitz’s committed pacifism, her sympathy for the working classes – as evidenced in the *Memorial Sheet of Karl Liebknecht*, 1919-20, and Communist party posters such as *Nieder mit dem Abtreibungsparagraphen (Down with the Abortion Law)*, 1924 – and her support for the Dringender Appell in 1932, meant she represented a prominent subversive element. One day in 1936 King telephoned Kollwitz and asked if she might visit. Kollwitz assented and King spent a memorable afternoon discussing art and King’s prospects as a sculptor. Kollwitz left King with no illusions about the problems sculptors faced, counselling: ‘don’t do it if you can help it. It is so difficult’. Undeterred, King shortly afterwards modelled a head in clay (fig. 1.5) based on her memory of Kollwitz’s lined but ‘aristocratic’ face, in which the artist appears withdrawn in reverie, or inner emigration, behind closed eyes.

1.1.3: Early training, Berlin

Prior to entering art school in Germany it was necessary for students to obtain practical experience and a degree of competency. In the spring of 1936 King therefore entered the studio of woodcarver Hermann Nonnenmacher (1892-1956) to serve an eighteen-month apprenticeship. Nonnenmacher had studied at the Kunstgewerbesschule und Akademie in Dresden and earned his living carving ‘church statues of good quality’, as well as through the sale of pottery and carved animals and figurines. His major works such as *Große Kauernde (Large crouching figure)*, 1928

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37 Käthe Kollwitz, *Memorial Sheet of Karl Liebknecht*, 1919-20, woodcut, 37.62 x 51.28 cm; *Nieder mit dem Abtreibungs-Paragraphen (Down with the Abortion Law)*, 1924, lithograph, 52.5 x 48.4 cm.
38 Different years are recalled in different interviews; in Blackman and King, 1989, tape 1, side 1, the date is given as 1935; in Gleeson and King, 1979, p. 22, and Trimble, 1996, p. 3, the date is 1936.
39 Gleeson and King, 1979, p. 22.
40 *Head of a Woman*, 1936; see Appendix C, IK0003.
41 The most approximate estimate of King’s time in Nonnenmacher’s studio is cited in Trimble, 1996, p. 4, as April 1936 to October 1937. However, she may have entered his studio as early as August 1935; see IK0001-2 and IKW0001.
42 de Berg and King, 1965, tape 172, side 2.
(fig. 1.6) and Abschied (Farewell), 1928 (fig. 1.7), both of which King recalled as being in the studio during her period there, reveal his respect for German Expressionism, particularly Barlach. In Nonnenmacher’s studio King attempted her own interpretation of a Farewell subject, showing a man and woman locked in sorrowful embrace (IK0004, fig. 1.8). Despite the somewhat clumsy modelling and cautious composition (the two figures leaning inwards towards each other presenting less of a challenge than Nonnenmacher’s more antagonistically arrayed couple), the work serves as illustration of both Nonnenmacher’s and Barlach’s influence on the young student. The comparison of teacher and student’s works, executed eight years apart, also gives a measure of the change in atmosphere in Germany: from the social liberties of the Weimar period, when the so-called ‘new woman’ could conduct her affairs of the heart according to her own wishes (and, in Nonnenmacher’s version, suffer the reprisal of an unrequited attachment), to the sorrow of King’s two figures who seem to buttress one another against a coming maelstrom.

Another work executed in Nonnenmacher’s studio, indeed at his suggestion, was Idea for fountain, 1936 (IK0005, fig. 1.9). In this a central column is modelled in bas-relief with a design of veiled women – some holding hands, others covering their faces in grief – and positioned in a hexagonal-shaped shallow basin. The stylised simplification of the figures suggests the impact of such sculptors as Lehmbruck, Georg Kolbe or Gerhard Marcks while the repetition of almost identical figures circling and gazing into the pool recalls George Minne’s Kneeling Youth series, produced between 1896 and 1930, particularly his Narcissus Fountain of 1898. Minne was widely celebrated in Austria and Germany after 1900, when his work featured at the eighth Vienna Secession exhibition, and his work came to be seen as a link between Jugendstil and Expressionism. Yet, despite the decidedly modernist feeling to the work, the sombre mood may derive from representations of mourning women on ancient sarcophagi. Regardless of the fountain’s sources – modernist or

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43 King confirmed in interview that Nonnenmacher ‘loved Barlach too’, and recalled that Farewell was carved in cherry wood, rather than mahogany; King interview, 2010. King encountered both works again in London during the war and retained a photograph showing the Nonnenmachers, c. 1940, moving studios from Camden Town to Highgate with a pony and trap, on the back of which are half a dozen sculptures including these two works. The photograph recently featured at the Émigré Sculptors in Britain 1540-2016 conference, organised by the Public Monuments and Sculpture Association and 3rd Dimension, at the City and Guilds of London Art School, 26-27 May 2016.

ancient – it is a solemn, sorrowful work – perhaps reflecting the draining of artistic and intellectual life from Berlin during the 1930s.

At the start of the winter semester of the 1937-38 academic year, King was accepted into the principal art school in Berlin: the Vereinigte Staatsschulen für freie und angewandte Kunst (Union of National Colleges for Free and Applied Art), an imposing neo-Baroque edifice on Charlottenburg’s Hardenbergstraße, colloquially known as ‘the Berlin Academy’. Founded in 1924, the school aimed to introduce students to a broad range of fine and applied art skills so that, in the words of Bruno Paul, ‘sculptors engage in calligraphy, pattern designers draw nudes, architects do painting exercises and painters from independent departments take part in architectural exercises’.

Mediums and genres were interwoven so that students received a broad, multidisciplinary arts and crafts education.

One of the school’s best-known staff members was the former Bauhaus lecturer, painter, sculptor, and muralist Oskar Schlemmer, whose work King admired. However, Schlemmer’s contract of employment was terminated in September 1933, along with that of any teacher suspected of ‘Jewish cultural bolshevism’, so that by the time King entered the school the atmosphere, both within and outside the academy, ‘was quite dismal really, because you couldn’t see progressive or really contemporary work any more’. Among the teachers she encountered – but who have never before been mentioned in the literature on King – were sculptor and ceramicist Franz Blazek (1887-1941), whom King recalled specialised in dogs, Wilhelm Tank (1888-1967), who lectured in anatomy, and Wilhelm Becker, an academician with whom the students did large-scale academic drawings. Blazek

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45 Vereinigte Staatsschulen, 1937-38 a, p. 56. Most commentators on King’s career simply assert that she studied at the Berlin Academy of Fine Arts (McCulloch, 1984, p. 655; Bendigo, 1995, p. 10; and Trimble, 1996, p. 4). Scarlett, 1980, p. 309, translates it as the Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Berlin. The school was first correctly cited in Eckett, 2014 a, p. 7, and subsequently Grishin, 2014, p. 37. It was renamed the Staatliche Hochschule für Bildenden Künste (National University of Fine Arts) in 1939 and since 1975 has been known as the Universität der Künste Berlin (Berlin University of the Arts). An account of the building’s history can be found in Marcy, 2005, pp. 22-5.


47 King’s admiration of Schlemmer’s work is cited in Bendigo, 1995, p. 10, and Trimble, 1996, p. 3.


49 Gleeson and King, 1979, p. 23.

50 Vereinigte Staatsschulen, 1937-38 c, pp. 4, 34-5, 39; 1937-38 d, pp. 8, 10, 12, 131, 135, 142; and 1938 b, pp. 13, 102, 105. King confirmed studying with these lecturers after I presented her with details of her student enrolment; King interview, 2010.
replaced Ludwig Gies, the Expressionist sculptor who was dismissed in 1938 owing
to his support of dissidents and Jewish students.\textsuperscript{51} King also took classes in drawing
from the antique, run by Prof. Henker, and life drawing, supervised by Gustav Hilbert
(1900-81), although contact between students and teachers was minimal and she
recalled little about these men.\textsuperscript{52}

The exception to this rather uninspiring cast was Otto Hitzberger (1878-1964), a
Bavarian who taught wood and stone carving.\textsuperscript{53} Hitzberger’s work hearkened back to
the piety and formal dignity of medieval German church statuary and was strongly
tied to the Bavarian woodcarving tradition. Yet he was widely travelled – having
lived in Africa for a period, and journeyed through Switzerland and Italy – and
consequently drew upon a variety of other sources including the compositional clarity
of trecento reliefs and the rounded and simplified forms of modern sculptors such as
Barlach.\textsuperscript{54} A contemporary described this as the ‘open look with which he confronts
things from all periods and cultures’.\textsuperscript{55} This openness carried over to his dealings
with students, whom he accepted into his studio regardless of politics or religion,
employing them to help with commercial commissions.\textsuperscript{56} Hitzberger gave King
several such commissions, including a decorative wooden relief panel, designed to be
set into a staircase banister (IK0010, fig. 1.10). The work was typical of the
commissions Hitzberger typically received: bas-relief supraportes, carved caryatids,
and decoratively carved furniture for interior schemes (fig. 1.11) – virtually all of
which were architectural in orientation, requiring the sculptor to work closely with
architects and their clients. Ironically, Hitzberger had earlier boasted that by working
in wood he was freed from the constraints and expenses of working with foundry
specialists, claiming in 1923 that ‘I have made my work completely by myself and
need no one to have my model copied’.\textsuperscript{57} His dismissal of the casting process was

\textsuperscript{51} Fischer-Defoy, 1988, p. 282. Gies’ Luebeckian Crucifix, 1922, was prominently mocked at the
Entrartete Kunst exhibition in 1937.
\textsuperscript{52} Vereinigte Staatsschulen, 1937-38 c, p. 11; 1937-38 d, p. 48; and 1938 b, pp. 37, 40. King interview,
2010.
\textsuperscript{53} Vereinigte Staatsschulen, 1937-38 c, p. 11; 1937-38 d, p. 62; 1937-38 e, p. 57; 1938 c, p. 46; 1938 c, p. 43. Hitzberger
is the only lecturer King mentioned prior to my interview with her in 2010; see Trimble, 1996, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{54} One former student recalled Hitzberger’s stories of ‘hunting seals in the Arctic and life as a German
\textsuperscript{55} ‘Sein offener Blick, mit dem er den Dingen aus allen Zeiten und Kulturen gegenübertritt...’ (my
translation); Gehrig, 1925, p. 13.
\textsuperscript{56} Behl, 1990, p. 101.
\textsuperscript{57} Hitzberger, 1923, quoted in Ranfft, 1997, p. 127.
attributed by one former student (the ecclesiastical sculptor, Imogen Stuart, who emigrated to Ireland) to a simple lack of patience and ability: ‘he was bad at it – making moulds and so on – and got into a bad temper about it’. By 1937, with the number of commissions he received, Hitzberger had recourse to employing art students to carve works under his direction, considerably lessening his claims to solitary independence yet still avoiding the necessity of working in bronze. Overall, the experience of working with Hitzberger provided King with the valuable chance to observe at first hand the dynamics of sculptors and architects working collaboratively, a lesson that would adhere in later life.

Her work with Hitzberger also reflected the degree to which art and craft were considered natural bedfellows. Certainly her training did not enforce the sort of strict separation of spheres that would become the norm in art schools in the post-war era. Thus she produced several unique pieces of furniture including a side-table inlaid with hand-painted ceramic tiles, commissioned by the aunt of a photographer friend: Lore Fischbein (IK0007, fig. 1.12). The tiles were painted with simple pictograms of ancient Egyptians worshipping a captured giraffe, reflecting both her love of exotic animals (first awakened at the Berlin Zoo) and an interest in antiquity that was fed by regular visits to Berlin’s museums (she recalled visiting the Pergamon with her father, when the museum first opened in 1930, and retained vivid memories of the Egyptian artworks, particularly the celebrated bust of Nefertiti that first went on display in the foyer of the Ägyptisches Museum in 1923). Another work from this period was a wooden Passover Seder Plate (IK0009, fig. 1.13), carved with a motif of frolicking goats and with small bowls to hold the symbolic bitter herbs consumed during Jewish Passover. Here the tradition of Germanic folk woodcarving was brought to bear upon a work of Jewish decorative art. In the production of such commissions King found it possible to pursue her own interests in functional works that supplemented her income while a student.

Another legacy of her Berlin childhood that was actively encouraged at the Vereinigte Staatsschulen was an interest in German fairytales. Folk stories and legends were encouraged as a means of inculcating nationalist sentiment. Another student of the

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59 King interview, 2009.
academy, Charlotte Salomon (of whom more shortly), in a mordant re-enactment of her art school days, would have her painting professor intone in high seriousness: ‘Our German fairytales are a priceless treasure. Blessed be he who preserves them!’

King circumvented the narrow nationalist rhetoric of such fairytales, casting her net wider to encompass Nordic myths and legends, which provided a rich seam of imagery and semantic memory on which to draw. In the early 1940s King would revisit two such: Hans Christian Andersen’s *The Swineherd* and Charles de Coster’s *The Legend of Ulenspiegel and Lamme Goedzak*. For the former, she produced a series of nine pen and ink drawings capturing the haughty, unprincipled princess and her elegant prince-in-disguise-as-a-swineherd suitor – King’s delight in satirising the vacuous ladies of the court evident in every stroke (IKW0023). The latter series of drawings arose from her finding in Glasgow an English translation of de Coster’s nineteenth-century novel based on the comical low German folk figure of Till Ulenspiegel – transformed from itinerant German prankster to Flemish hero of the Protestant Reformation and enemy of Catholic Spain (IKW0043 and IKW0047.1).

King may well have felt some kinship for Ulenspiegel who, in de Coster’s novel, described himself as: ‘a painter, a rustic, a noble, a sculptor, all together. And through the world in this wise I journey, praising things lovely and good, and mocking loudly at all stupidity’. Certainly her drawings took precise aim at the pompous Catholic clergy, her rapid sketches gently mocking their assumed gravitas. The young refugee artist, reliant on her own wits for survival, evidently found plenty to praise and mock both in the novel and in her own situation.

During King’s time at the Vereinigte Staatsschulen she lived independently, her mother having left for Israel with King’s eldest sister Margot in 1936. She supported herself through various menial jobs including working in a brick factory making terracotta planters. A friend’s mother, a now forgotten artist by the name of Freda Bradt, sympathised and gave her free accommodation in a self-contained studio on Charlottenburg’s Kantstraße, less than three blocks from the art school. Part of a complex of studios that had, until 1935, housed the Lewin-Funcke School, and where

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61 de Coster, 1922, p. 34.
62 Blackman and King, 1989, tape 1, side 1.
63 Blackman and King, 1989, tape 1, side 2.
64 King interview, 2010.
a number of noteworthy artists including Lovis Corinth had formerly lived, King recalled this as ‘the most interesting place I’ve ever lived in’. 65 Another wealthy patron, Frau Wertheim, whose family then still owned the chain of department stores of the same name, also gave King free board in the chauffeur’s quarters of the large Wertheim villa in Dahlem, which backed onto Messelstraße (named after the architect of Wertheim’s flagship store on Leipziger Platz). 66 With the introduction of more aggressive Aryanization laws, even these arrangements proved impossible, but the Wertheims offered to pay for a furnished room and so King moved back to Charlottenburg, to Kuxhavener Straße, where she remained until her departure from Berlin. 67

Through Frau Wertheim King was introduced to another art student, Charlotte Salomon (1917-43), and the pair became friends. 68 This was to become one of King’s most significant friendships in Germany yet it has never before been recorded, despite the extensive body of scholarship on Salomon. 69 Details only emerged after I discovered Salomon’s name alongside King’s in the Universität der Künste archives in Berlin, prompting King to relate the story of their friendship. Together King and Salomon virtually constituted the tiny minority of non-Aryan students permitted enrolment at the Vereinigte Staatsschulen. 70 Salomon lost her mother when she was nine (though she did not learn until she was twenty-two that it was through suicide) and her father, a surgeon, remarried a renowned concert alto singer, Paula Lindberg.

65 In the records of the Vereinigte Staatsschulen, 1938 a, p. 7, King’s address is given as ‘Potsdamer Straße 66, b. Bradt’. However, King’s memories of the studio loaned her by Frau Bradt clearly correlate with the Lewin-Funke Schule at Kantstraße 159, as described in Marcy, 2005, pp. 28-9. It is possible that Potsdamer Straße was Bradt’s own home address. Coincidentally, Hermann and Erna Nonnenmacher lived at Potsdamer Straße 29.
67 Vereinigte Staatsschulen, 1938-39 a, p. 36: ‘Kuxhavener Str. 15 b. Bredowitz’. King corrected this and stated that the name of her landlords was Isralowitz not Bredowitz; King interview, 2010.
68 Salomon and King were introduced and became friends prior to their time together at art school, Salomon having enrolled some years before King; King interview, 2010.
69 See for instance Felstiner, 1994; Schmetterling, 2006; and Pollock, 2006, 2007 a and b, and 2009. Trimble listed Salomon, 1980, among her select bibliography (King loaned her the volume) but made no reference to it; Trimble, 1996, p. 193. I have since discussed the connection in Eckett, 2015 and 2016 a, b and d.
70 There was also a third student, Grete Kaufmann, whom King knew in passing. For an account of Kaufmann’s career see Fischer-Defoy, 1988, pp. 140-6, 292. Following the introduction of the Nuremberg Laws, in 1935, the number of Jews at the Vereinigte Staatsschulen was restricted to 1.5% of the student population. King, Salomon and Kaufmann were the only three to be classified as ‘Nichtarier’ in the school’s registers of this period; see Vereinigte Staatsschulen, 1937-38 b, p. 11; 1938 a, p. 7; and 1938-39 a, p. 36.
with whom Salomon was very close.\textsuperscript{71} King came to know the family well and observed the peculiar dynamics that contributed to the making of this ‘highly complex, interesting woman’, including Salomon’s relationship with Lindberg’s singing coach, Alfred Wolfsohn, whose theories of the ‘unchained voice’ – that is, a voice unhampered by social conditioning or gender – Salomon absorbed and later, mockingly, reiterated.\textsuperscript{72} Salomon and King continued to correspond after they each fled Germany: Salomon in January 1939 for Villefranche, where she joined her paternal grandparents, Ludwig and Marianne Grünwald, and King to London later that summer.\textsuperscript{73} During her four years of exile in the south of France, Salomon witnessed her grandmother’s deteriorating mental state, resulting in suicide in the spring of 1940. In Salomon’s final letter to King, written circa 1941, she wrote of her grandmother’s suicide and disparaged her grandfather who, although a psychiatrist trained under Freud, was unaware of his wife’s despair.\textsuperscript{74} Salomon was arrested in Villefranche in October 1943, deported to Auschwitz and there murdered.

This account of King and Salomon’s friendship would be merely anecdotal if it were not for the body of work that Salomon produced and the vicissitudes of its fate art historically, which, in turn, reflect upon King’s own career. In 1940, in a state of personal extremis, Salomon began painting her opus magnum: a series of over seven hundred gouaches accompanied by hand-painted texts to which she assigned the title, \textit{Leben? Oder Theater? Ein Singespiel}, a reproduction of which King would happen across by chance in a Bourke Street bookshop in the 1980s.\textsuperscript{75} \textit{Leben? Oder Theater?} is frequently read as an ironic, semi-autobiographical text, with Brechtian pseudonyms assigned to each of the characters, and symptomatic of the complexities and internal contradictions of assimilated German-Jewish culture during the Weimar period. Griselda Pollock finds it one of the most challenging artworks of the twentieth-century, the production of an artist ‘promiscuously familiar with French,

\textsuperscript{71} Salomon’s biography is detailed in Felstiner, 1994.
\textsuperscript{72} King interview, 2010. For an outline of Wohlfson’s theories see Judith Herzberg’s foreword to Salomon, 1981, particularly pp. ix-xii.
\textsuperscript{73} King interview, 2010. The correspondence has since been lost.
\textsuperscript{74} King interview, 2010.
\textsuperscript{75} King interview, 2010. The final work, as illustrated in Salomon, 1981 (the volume that King discovered in Bourke Street, Melbourne), consists of 1,325 sheets, of which 769 are gouaches and the remainder are text and music. Since 1971 these have been in the collection of the Jewish Historical Museum, Amsterdam, along with 556 related sketches that Salomon chose not to include in Leben? Oder Theatre? An account of the work’s history can be found in Salomon, 1981, pp. v-vi and xiii-xiv.
German, Russian modernism, graphic modernism, cinema, music, children’s illustrated books, avant-garde theatre and popular culture’, who was yet ‘an exiled German-Jewish artist dis-emancipated by her own government, that was, even as she painted her work, encompassing genocidal annihilation of all Jewish Europeans’. Salomon’s social formation within the German-Jewish middle-classes, her voracious artistic appetite, her initial pursuit and later rejection of an academic training, and her complete obscurity prior to the first publication, in 1963, of a selection of her works, could just as well apply to King, for whom artistic liberation would occur just a few years later, post-1943, and for whom public recognition was delayed well into the 1960s.

1.1.4: Emigration
In September 1938 King re-enrolled for a second year at the Vereinigte Staatsschulen, but her name does not appear in any of the class lists that semester. Circumstances had become increasingly difficult. In the political arena German expansionism had not stopped in March with the Anschluss of Austria; now Hitler readied to move in the Sudetenland, ostensibly in defence of ethnic Germans living there under Czechoslovak rule. The appeasement policies of Britain and France gave the Nazis free rein and following the signing of the Munich Accord, on 30 September 1938, Czechoslovakia capitulated. King visited relatives in Prague that year – her final trip before fleeing Germany – and would later recall the sense of oppressiveness and what she perceived as Kafkaesque qualities to the city in her work Tenement, 1964. Anti-Semitic decrees were issued with increasing regularity. King later commented:

After the Munich crisis the situation became very tense. Actually by that time you felt – one felt – as when one sat really inside a box and you couldn’t open the lid. It was quite terrifying … most unpleasant feeling … claustrophobic … They are memories, you live with them for the rest of your life – you can’t get over that but I don’t think it’s of service to anybody to talk about them much.

76 Pollock, 2007 a, p. 383.
77 Vereinigte Staatsschulen, 1938-39 a, p. 36.
78 Recounted by the artist in King and Cavadini, 2009.  King, Tenement, 1964, bronzed steel painted black, 57.0 x 89.0 x 33.3 cm, NGV, Melbourne.
79 Blackman and King, 1989, tape 1, side 1.
On the nights of the 9th and 10th November 1938, violence erupted in the notorious pogrom known as *Kristallnacht*. Throughout Germany an estimated 91 Jews were killed, and 100,000 arrested and sent to concentration camps. In Charlottenburg, the windows of Jewish-owned shops were shattered along the main avenue, the Kurfürstendamm, and the synagogue on nearby Fasanenstraße destroyed. Three days later the Vereinigte Staatschulen annulled the three Jewish students’ enrolments.\(^80\)

At the suggestion of a friend who had already left for England, King wrote to a family in Cheam, Surrey, who agreed to employ her as a domestic servant.\(^81\) On the strength of this offer she was able to assemble the necessary exit papers. This was a well-known strategy for many women of King’s age who were too old to leave on the *Kinderrtransports*; the painters Else Meidner (1901-87) and Hilda Goldwag (1912-2008) also escaped in this manner.\(^82\) Still she hesitated; she had her visa but was reluctant to leave friends in Germany until, in June 1939, a friend showed her his mobilisation order and told her to leave as soon as she could.\(^83\) She heeded his advice and arrived in Britain in the summer of 1939. King rarely alluded to her unwilling departure from Germany, insisting instead that she came to Australia by free choice as Grahame King’s wife. Yet she once remarked to me that the experience of displacement is ‘something that stays with you for the rest of your life’.\(^84\) Her initial emigration should be viewed in the context of displacement and exile, rather than voluntary choice.

1.2 Teisutis Zikaras and Vincas Jomantas

[Zikaras’] art is directly descended from the peasant woodcarvings of Lithuania. … Sculpture here is an involuntary gesture, expressing with rare grace and dignity the universality of themes connected with traditional religion and with the tragic circumstances of armed occupation.\(^85\)

\(^80\) Fischer-Defoy, 1988, p. 270.  
\(^81\) King interview, 2010.  
\(^82\) Schönfeld, 2006, p. xiii; Collins, c. 2000, p. [5].  
\(^83\) Blackman and King, 1989, tape 1, side 1.  
\(^84\) King conversation, 24 May 2011.  
\(^85\) McCulloch, 1955 June 15.
... [Jomantas’] Lithuanian heritage, in an indirect manner, underlies all of his work. ... [All] pervading, are the moods, the feelings, the attitudes that emanate from this small northern European country... The long winters and dark nights tend to induce a sense of introspection, even a mood of pessimism that is foreign to Europeans from the shores of the Mediterranean.  

From the earliest reviews of Teisutis Zikaras’ and Vincas Jomantas’ Australian exhibitions to posthumous accounts of their careers, critics and historians have consistently maintained that the artists’ works were chiefly shaped by both the Lithuanian woodcarving tradition and a perceived national characteristic of general gloominess, originating from geo-political conditions, determined by a combination of historical events and climactic factors. In this attempt to identify shared national traits, and thereby corral the work of artists of the same politico-cultural allegiances under the banner of ‘Lithuanian art’, these critics and historians perpetuate a long lineage of historical projects ranging from Herbert Read’s somewhat elastic argument that British post-war sculpture arose from a northern Gothic sensibility attuned to anxiety and restlessness, to the fanaticism of Alfred Rosenberg for whom art was ‘the creation of a specific blood’ and appreciation of its formal nature only ‘understood by individuals who share the same blood’. Essentialist accounts such as these, linking a national school of art with supposed personality types of particular ethnic groups, have long been deemed suspect. Yet, as James Elkins notes, ‘avoiding suspicious words (túlfuttöt [meaning over-heated, a word formerly used to describe Hungarian artists]) or explicit nationalist discourse’ does not cleanse the text of ‘nationalist assumptions’; Elkins even suggests, only half in jest, that ‘it would be nice to see a long essay on túlfuttöt: it might clear up a number of problematic descriptions in other texts’. While I do not intend to interrogate Lithuanian pessimism, it should be emphasised that Jomantas and Zikaras’ works have long been interpreted in this light, which begs the broader question: how relevant is a Lithuanian nationalist art discourse to an understanding of their work?

88 Elkins, 2000, p. 785.
One answer to this question might come from the artists themselves. According to Zikaras’ first wife, Skaidrīte, Zikaras disliked the continual use of the ‘ethnic label’ applied to his work. Skaidrīte Zikaras cited in Borthwick, 2012, p. 139. Australian-Lithuanian art historian Genovaitė Kazokas likewise notes Zikaras ‘was adamant that all his imagery and his manner of execution were entirely his own’ rather than derived from Lithuanian folk sources. Kazokas, 1992, p. 370. Yet Kazokas persisted in detecting Lithuanian motifs in Zikaras’ work. Jomantas was more reticent to speak of his work’s symbolic meaning or sources although he acknowledged the influence of Lithuanian woodcarving on at least one of his works (Poet, 1961). While deeply attached to his birth country and knowledgeable about its culture, Jomantas avoided joining any Lithuanian societies in Australia and consistently worked in an international idiom beyond narrow nationalist confines.

To assess the relevance of Lithuanian art and nationality to Zikaras and Jomantas’ work it is necessary to investigate the artistic and social milieus in which they were raised and educated. It requires consideration of both artists’ fathers’ careers, which, while little known outside Lithuania, were of defining importance to the future émigrés. The existing literature on Zikaras and Jomantas published in Australia includes little about their fathers and omits their respective milieus. In the longest text on Jomantas published to date, written by Ken Scarlett for the posthumous Jomantas retrospective at the McClelland Gallery in 2003, discussion of his early years and initial training is confined to a brief consideration of possible influences from Lithuanian folk carving. Simon Klose’s shorter text, from 1990, covers Jomantas’ family background and artistic training in half a brief page. Klose described Jomantas’ family as ‘richly cultured’ and his father as ‘a noted painter who had been commissioned to paint State portraits’. However, these intriguing leads were not followed up with further research; nor were they contextualised within a broader picture of Lithuanian artistic society in the interbellum years. Peter Borthwick deals with Jomantas’ years in Lithuania in one paragraph, referring only to

91 Gleeson and Jomantas, 1979, p. 15. Jomantas, Poet, 1961, Oregon, 280 x 50 x 30 cm, collection Don Gore, Melbourne.  
what he could gather from interview with Vincas and Laima Jomantas and without reference to recent literature on Lithuanian art history.\(^{94}\)

Similarly Scarlett’s essay on Zikaras, for the 2009 retrospective at McClelland, refers only in passing to his father Juozas Zikaras and gives the barest biographic details before discussing his work in Australia. Borthwick likewise treats Zikaras’ youth and education in two paragraphs.\(^{95}\) The cursory nature of these essays reflects the manner in which the Lithuanian community in Australia has heavily promoted the indigenous arts of Lithuania – especially the woodcarving tradition – in its English-language literature, alongside its members’ activities in Australia, at the expense of exploring aspects of mid-twentieth-century Lithuanian history – a period of time marked by trauma, exile and loss for the majority of Australian Lithuanians.

The Lithuanian literature has long placed greater emphasis on the interbellum years, 1918-40, when the country enjoyed two decades of independence.\(^{96}\) The earliest texts on this period were published only in Lithuanian and remain little known outside that country, but more recently scholars such as Giedrė Jankevičiūtė have published widely in English in an attempt to discern commonalities with the arts of neighbouring Latvia and Estonia.\(^{97}\) Recent scholarship traces the hybridisation of Lithuanian folk art with elements adapted from French, German and Italian modernism during the national revival period of the 1920s and 1930s. Both Zikaras and Jomantas were born during the early years of this ‘golden age’ of Lithuanian modernism and received their initial artistic training during its zenith. Yet they rarely appear in the Lithuanian literature primarily, in curator Elona Lubytė’s view, as they are considered products of a German education and the post-war diaspora.\(^{98}\) Nevertheless their respective fathers feature in secondary accounts of the period, particularly Juozas Zikaras. Vilius Jomantas appears less frequently but much useful

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\(^{96}\) One the most significant of the early studies of the Lithuanian national revival is the two-volume history: Korsakaitė, 1982, 1983. For a survey of other texts on the period see Mulevičiūtė, 2010.

\(^{97}\) For translations of much secondary material I have depended upon online dictionaries – a slow, laborious and often misleading process. Jankevičiūtė identifies the urgent need to consolidate Baltic art history written in multiple languages in Jankevičiūtė, 2010, pp. 95-7.

\(^{98}\) Lubytė, 2003, p. 283. I am grateful to Elona Lubytė for drawing my attention to this catalogue.
information can be gleaned from his Lithuanian Artists’ Union file.\textsuperscript{99} Drawing upon these direct references, against a broader reading of Lithuanian art of the interwar years, we can construct a valuable picture of both Zikaras and Jomantas’ formative ideas about art.

1.2.1 Panevėžys – Vilnius – St Petersburg – Panevėžys
Teisutis Juozas Zikaras was born 5 July 1922 in Panevėžys, a large provincial town approximately half way between the newly proclaimed Lithuanian and Latvian capitals of Kaunas and Riga.\textsuperscript{100} He was the fourth son of sculptor Juozas Zikaras (1881-1944) and Anelė Zikarienė (née Tūbelytė, 1888-1963).\textsuperscript{101} His father would soon afterwards become one of the best-known sculptors in Lithuania, with the first posthumous monograph on his work appearing in 1960, during the Soviet years, and two house museums being established in his memory preserving the contents of his studio and archive, which in turn formed the basis of a recent monograph and catalogue raisonné.\textsuperscript{102} Juozas Zikaras was a key figure in the development of Lithuanian art in the interwar period, creating many of the country’s most iconic patriotic symbols and shaping a younger generation of sculptors at the Kauno Meno Mokykla (Kaunas Art School). The course of his career was intricately connected to wider historical events and is of fundamental importance to an understanding of his son Teisutis Zikaras’ early life and training.

Juozas Zikaras was raised in the tiny hamlet of Paliūkai, thirteen kilometres from Panevėžys, the son of landless peasants who leased a small farm of one and a half hectares.\textsuperscript{103} His father, Viktoras, was a woodcarver of local repute and passed on his interest to the young Juozas, who began whittling wood at the age of eight.\textsuperscript{104} This was a well-established tradition within Lithuanian rural communities, with each

\textsuperscript{99} I am deeply grateful to Algimantas Lekevičius (nephew of Laima Jomantas) for enabling access to and verbally translating these documents on my behalf.
\textsuperscript{100} Zikaras birth extract, 1942.
\textsuperscript{101} The surnames of Lithuanian married women take the suffix ‘ienė’; hence Zikaras’ wife is Zikarienė.
\textsuperscript{102} Budrys, 1960; Banytė and Jankevičiūtė, 2009. The two house museums are the Juozas Zikaras Museum, J. Zikaro g. 3, LT-44261 Kaunas, and the Juozas Zikaras Memorial House, Paliukų kaimas, LT-38429 Panevėžio rajonas.
\textsuperscript{103} Kezys, 2004, p. 54. Information on the size of the Zikaras family farm comes from Teisutis Zikaras’ answers to a Soviet questionnaire regarding his family’s financial circumstances: Zikaras art school form, 1940.
\textsuperscript{104} Martinkienė, 2010. Juozas Zikaras’ father’s forename is recorded in Kaunas Art School records, file 61.5.59, Juozas Zikaras personal file, 1929-44, p. 24.
village having at least one acknowledged master carver, or dievdirbys (god carver), who produced works of religious or symbolic significance such as the stogastulpis (small, roofed, pole-top shrines, originating from the pagan period of pantheistic belief and adapted to Christian worship), the carved figures of saints and dievukai (literally meaning ‘little gods’), and the elaborately ornamented wayside crosses for which the country is still renowned. Lithuanian wood carvings were a folk expression of Catholicism, which – despite having been introduced relatively late in the country’s history, in the fourteenth century, and despite the officially imposed Russian Orthodoxy – was adhered to by the majority of Lithuanians since taking firm root during the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Common to many of his generation, Juozas Zikaras received a rudimentary education, via his mother, who taught him to read from the Bible. This was largely owing to a chronic lack of schools in Russia’s Lithuanian provinces, coupled with the prohibition of publications printed in anything but the Cyrillic alphabet, in force from 1864 until 1904. However, at the age of sixteen he went to school, acquiring a sufficient level of education within two years that, during his early twenties, he secretly taught other local children to read and write in Lithuanian, in a form of hedge school. This early experience of subversion and the importance placed on learning and the vernacular language would later bear fruit in a small statue, Iš Tilžės (From Tilžė), 1906, depicting a man carrying a sack of banned Lithuanian books printed in the Prussian border town of Tilsit, which was later reworked under the title Knygnešys (Book Smuggler), 1928.

In 1904 he moved south to Vilnius, which was then experiencing a spectrum of cultural revivals amongst the city’s various Jewish, Polish, Belarusian, and Lithuanian

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107 The Russian census of 1897 revealed the lack of education among ethnic Lithuanians with a mere 2,800 (out of a population of 2,676,000) receiving more than an elementary education. Eidintas, Žalys and Senn, 1998, p. 16.
108 Gustainis, 1939, pp. 606, 609.
110 Iš Tilžės, 1906, since lost. Cited in Vizgirda, 1978 a, p. 324, but not listed in the Zikaras catalogue raisonné. Known as Tilžė in Lithuanian and Tilsit in German, the former Prussian imperial town is now part of the Russian territory of Kaliningrad Oblast and called Sovetsk. Knygnešys, 1928, bronze, 40 x 15 x 17 cm, collection of the Panevėžio kraštotyros muziejų / Panevėžys Local History Museum. An enlarged version, 2 m high, was cast in 1939 and now stands on permanent display in the Karo muziejaus sodelis / Military Museum Garden, Kaunas.
Chapter 1: Origins.

He was present in Vilnius during the pivotal Vilnius Seimas of November 1905, when representatives of diverse ethnicities formulated a series of demands put to the Tsar calling for an autonomous Lithuanian state and democratically elected parliament. As an immediate consequence of the relaxing of Russification policies following the 1905 Revolution, Lithuanian cultural organizations were granted the right to form and agitation for national self-expression, if not full self-determination, began. Zikaras became involved with a concerted push to demonstrate Lithuania’s active cultural life and in 1907 was one of nineteen young artists to stage the first Lithuanian Art Exhibition in Vilnius. A cultural renaissance was underway and Juozas Zikaras was one of its keenest proponents.

In Vilnius Zikaras studied at Ivan P. Trutnev’s drawing school. By night he took further classes in drawing and clay modelling at the technical school established by philanthropist Juozapas Montvila. Trutnev (1827-1912) was a Russian realist specialising in detailed landscapes in and around Vilnius; he was also a graduate of the Fine Arts Academy in St Petersburg and had travelled and studied for six years in Austria, Germany, Belgium, France and Italy. He secured financial aid for his drawing school from the St Petersburg Academy, as well as educational aids such as plaster casts of Greek and Roman sculptures and books on architecture and drawing technique. With the immediate example of the aging yet urbane Trutnev, and with a direct line of communication and aid established between Trutnev’s school and the St Petersburg Academy, it was small surprise that, after completing two years’ study in Vilnius, Juozas Zikaras moved to St Petersburg in August 1906. Yet the irony was surely not lost on him: having been present in Vilnius at the very birth of Lithuania’s

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111 The Russian census of 1897 revealed Lithuania’s ethnic diversity: Lithuanians constituted 58.3% of the population, Russians (including Belarussians and Ukrainians) 14.6%, Jews 13.3%, and Poles 10% (Eidintas, Žalys and Senn, 1998, p. 16). However, the city of Vilnius was more diverse with a Jewish majority of 48% (Mansbach, 1999, p. 334, fn. 71) and a Lithuanian minority of 2% (Łaučkaitytė, 2006, URL: http://www.lituanus.org/2006/06_4_03_Lauckaite.html).

112 Eidintas, Žalys and Senn, 1998, p. 18.

113 Gostautas, 2008, p. 45. His involvement with the First Lithuanian Art Exhibition in Vilnius, 1907, was presumably through participation as he was by then in St Petersburg.

114 When established in 1866 Trutnev’s was the only school offering instruction in art in Lithuania, since the closing of the drawing school associated with Vilnius University in 1832. Butvilaitė-Petriskienė, 1996 a, p. 664.

115 Vizgirda, 1978 a, p. 324. Details of his activities at Montvila’s are from Zikaras, J., file, c. 1944.


117 Butvilaitė-Petriskienė, 1996 a, p 665.
national revival, he proceeded to follow the established path of travelling to an imperial centre to pursue specialised training.

In St Petersburg, Juozas spent four years studying with the Society for the Encouragement of Fine Arts, before gaining admission to the Academy of Fine Arts in 1910. There he encountered a system of academic training little known in western Europe at the time, whereby students elected to work with one professor and thenceforth lived and worked together under the same roof as their chosen teacher. Juozas Zikaras entered the studio of the academy’s sculpture professor, Vladimir Beklemishev (1861-1920), whose work, while submitting to the academic conventions of neoclassicism employed sensitively textured surfaces and somewhat naturalistic poses that betrayed his earlier studies in Paris and exposure to Rodin. This was the style that Juozas Zikaras would himself adopt and adhere to for the rest of his career (Teisutis later averred that his father ‘never believed any sculptor existed after Rodin’). It is clearly seen in one of the first works he executed under Beklemishev, Mąstytojas (Thinker), 1910 (fig. 1.14), in which a man leans his head on one hand, gazing down philosophically, with his clothes swept back in tatters as though torn by elemental forces. This work might be construed as Russian fin de siècle academicism married to a regional adaptation of Rodin – down to the point of borrowing one of the French sculptor’s best-known subjects. However, such a view overlooks the simmering Lithuanian patriotism implicit in the work, as the pose of the figure deliberately evoked the Rūpintojėlis (pensive or sorrowing Christ), a well-known motif of the so-called Lithuanian god carvers. Indeed the renowned Lithuanian archaeologist Marija Gimbutas has argued that the figure of the thinker in European sculpture originated in the pagan figure of Vaižgantas, the ancient Balts’ god of flax, who, with a crown of thorns accrued a Christian iconology and became the Rūpintojėlis. As such, Rodin’s The Thinker can be re-read as a generalised, humanistic rendering of an adapted subject – that is, a pagan god worshipped in the Baltic region – while Zikaras’ Mąstytojas becomes a emotive rendition of a theme endemic to his place of origin, imbued with clandestine nationalist sentiment.

118 Vizgirda, 1978 a, p. 324.
120 Banytė and Jankevičiūtė, 2009, pp. 20-1, 24; Harrison Roman, 2001, p. 121.
121 de Berg and Zikaras, 1965, tape 161, first side.
Shortly after Lithuania proclaimed independence on 16 February 1918, Zikaras returned to Paliūkai with his wife, Anelė (a Lithuanian whom he had married in St Petersburg), and began teaching art in the Panevėžys State Gymnasium and pedagogical seminary. In July 1923 – a year after Teisutis was born – Zikaras purchased land in Panevėžys and with architect-engineer Aleksandras Gordevičius (1891-1940) designed an ornate, two-storey villa fronted with double columns topped by carved capitals, two impassive masks (possibly of the muses) appended below the second storey windows and a stone cartouche supported by cherubim over the front door, which was flanked by female caryatids. Clearly this was an arriviste statement. While the realised building was considerably scaled back, Zikaras managed to retain plinths either side of the front door for the display of his work. Sculpture was evidently seen as an integral part of the building’s design. This was the childhood home of the young Teisutis: a house designed to embody the positive use of sculptural ornament.

1.2.2 The Zikaras family in Kaunas

At the end of 1928, when Teisutis was six and a half years old, his father Juozas was appointed to the teaching staff of the Kaunas Art School, charged with heading the sculpture studio. The family moved again, this time to a more traditional painted-timber house opposite the art school. The house included several rooms in the basement that Juozas converted into a studio as well as sweeping southwest views over the baroque and gothic steeples and tiled-roofed burghers’ houses of Kaunas’ small yet intact old town. The Zikaras family’s move to Kaunas reflected the new capital’s changing demographics. Since the end of World War I, when Poland laid claim to Vilnius, Kaunas had been Lithuania’s administrative centre. Within the first four years of independence the city’s population more than doubled with an influx of...
civil servants, publishers, artists and intelligentsia. As a result between 1919 and 1929 Kaunas saw the construction of over 3,800 new public and private buildings, with the majority of the former being of a cultural function and built in the neoclassical style. Foremost among these were the Čiurlionis Art Gallery and Kaunas Art School, both built in 1925 and fronting one another atop the crest of a high embankment directly opposite the Zikaras’ new home. Together the gallery and school represented the ‘symbolic home for Lithuanian art in Kaunas’ – a home that, as Steven Mansbach notes, was ‘of signal importance as so much of the national heritage remained in Polish-occupied Vilnius’. The Čiurlionis Art Gallery primarily showcased the work of the mystic-symbolist painter and composer, Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis (1875-1911), alongside a vast array of Lithuanian ethnographic objects and folk-art, which Čiurlionis had urged his fellow artists to study and draw upon in the forging of a national school of art. The opening of the gallery in 1925 therefore gave strong impetus to a burgeoning school of artists who, as shall be discussed in section 1.2.6, sought to break away from Russian academicism.

Juozas Zikaras’ reputation as a sculptor of nationalist icons preceded him in Kaunas owing to his designs for the Lithuanian coinage (1923-26) and two public works in Kaunas: Prie Kapo (To the Grave), 1921 (fig. 1.15) – a bronze relief of a kneeling girl in profile, holding a wreath, part of a larger monument in stone that he designed to the memory of those who died fighting for Lithuanian independence – and his best-known work, Laisvės (Liberty), 1921, a free-standing allegorical figure of a woman as the angel of liberty, holding aloft the flag of independence in one hand, while casting aside her broken shackles in the other. Both were erected in Kaunas’ new town centre between 1927 and 1928, a block north of Laisvės alėja (Liberty Avenue), in the gardens of the Vytautas the Great Museum Military Museum – a highly visible and symbolically significant position, aligning the freedom of the young state with its

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127 Reklaitis, 1973, pp. 77-78.
129 Mansbach, 2006, p. 94.
130 At the time of the gallery’s opening, in 1925, the collection consisted of 255 paintings and engravings by Čiurlionis, 447 works by other painters and sculptors, and no fewer than 12,613 exhibits classified as ‘folk art’ (Sužiedėlis and Vasaitis, 1970 a, p. 182).
131 Laisvės (Liberty), 1921, cast in bronze 1927, 283 x 71 x 72 cm, erected in 1927-28 in the Karo muziejaus sodėlis / Military Museum Garden, Kaunas.
bristling new military infrastructure. Juozas Zikaras was also well-known for his portrait busts of nineteenth-century nationalists: founding fathers of the Lithuanian state such as Jonas Basanavičius (1851-1927) – chairman of the Vilnius Seimas in 1905 and founder of the first Lithuanian newspaper, Ašros (Dawn) – and Vincas Kudirka (1858-1899) – poet, physician, and author of the country’s national anthem – cast in bronze in 1923 and 1927 respectively. In 1931 he also designed and made the tombstone for M.K. Čiurlionis, whose call for a national Lithuanian art would prove so decisive in Zikaras’ own career.

Once settled in Kaunas, however, the majority of Zikaras’ portrait busts and reliefs were of contemporary political and religious leaders as well as literary and theatrical figures. In a photograph taken in 1938 (fig. 1.16), Zikaras is seen surrounded by a range of works from the previous ten years. Aside from two classical nudes, one of which is identifiable as Sportininkas (Athlete), 1933 (the figure holding a javelin), the studio also contains a bas-relief portrait of Antanas Žukausko-Vienuolio, 1934-36, writer and secretary of the Lithuanian Artists’ Association, displayed next to Zikaras on the easel. To the right of the easel is a plaster head of Professor Juozapo Albino Herbačiausko, 1925, the renowned Polish-Lithuanian symbolist writer, modelled with a freedom and monumentality that bring to mind Rodin’s Balzac. Behind this can be glimpsed a bronze head of the poet and popular dramatist Petras Vaičiūnas (1890-1959), a friend of Zikaras’ from his time in St Petersburg and director of the Vaidyklė Drama group, a forerunner to the Kaunas State Drama Theatre, which was to premier over twenty of his plays.

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132 In 1936 the Čiurlionis Gallery of Art was transferred into the same palatial building that housed the Vytautas the Great War Museum, becoming the Vytautas the Great Museum of Culture (now the Čiurlionis National Museum of Art). In 1950, under the second Soviet occupation, both of Juozas Zikaras’ works outside the museum were destroyed. However, amidst mounting anti-Soviet demonstrations, Laisvės was restored and unveiled 16 February 1989 – a year prior to Lithuania’s second proclamation of independence. Prie Kapo was rebuilt and unveiled on 16 February 1990.

133 Paminklinis J. Basanavičius biustas (Portrait bust of J. Basanavičius), 1923, bronze, 93 x 41 x 37 cm, and Paminklinis V. Kudirka biustas (Portrait bust of V. Kudirka), 1927, bronze, 110 x 75 x 36 cm, both Karo muziejus sodelis / Military Museum Garden, Kaunas. Illustrated in Banytė and Jankevičiūtė, 2009, pp. 129 and 131 respectively.

134 Tombstone of M. K. Čiurlionis, 1931, cement and bronze, Rasu Cemetery, Vilnius.

135 Banytė and Jankevičiūtė, 2009, p. 64; see also photograph of Juozas Zikaras and Petras Vaičiūnas, taken in Kaunas, c. 1936-38, reproduced p. 63. Vaidyklė Drama formed in 1920 and lasted until 1922. The core members of the group gathered in St. Petersburg in 1918 in J. Vaičiūkš’s private drama studio.
Other actors associated with the State Drama Theatre may be identified in an informal previously unpublished snapshot of the Zikaras family (fig. 1.17), picnicking with friends on holidays in Palanga in 1930. Among the group are the actors cum directors Petras Kubertavičius (1897-1964) and Viktoras Dineika (1900-1968), who had both studied at the Vaičkus acting studio in St Petersburg during Juozas Zikaras’ years at the Academy, and Kubertavičius’s wife, the actress Antanina Vainiūnaitė (1896-1973), alongside the politician, educationist and co-editor of the first Lithuanian encyclopaedia Balys Žygelis (1887-1972). The actors of this group were all part of the realist school of acting then in ascendance in Lithuania, propagating Russian theatrical modes just as Juozas Zikaras would do in the sphere of sculpture.

A few doors down from the State Drama Theatre on the broad, pedestrianised Laisvės alėja – the main arterial of Kaunas’ new town – was the Aušros Gymnasium where Teisutis was dispatched for schooling at age ten. Founded in 1915 by one of the signees of the Lithuanian proclamation of independence, Pranas Dovydaitis (who was also, briefly, prime minister, in 1919), and named after the first Lithuanian language newspaper, the Aušros Gymnasium was the first Lithuanian school to be opened in Kaunas. However, academic studies were not to be Teisutis’ strength. In his seven years of formal schooling he scraped through arithmetic, algebra, geometry, geography, Latin, Lithuanian and German, did marginally better at natural science, physical culture and religion, and excelled only at paišybos, or charcoal drawing.

By 1934, at the age of twelve, Teisutis had resolved to become a sculptor – a decision he felt pleased his father immensely. Thenceforth his after-school hours were occupied working at home in Juozas Zikaras’ studio. Many years later Teisutis recalled the humbling experience of his first afternoon of instruction, which began with an order to sweep the studio and tidy the workshop tools. However, he also recorded his gratefulness at having had his father’s full support and for having had to

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136 Vainiūnaitė was also the wife of Kubertavičius. Biographic information on these four comes from Santvaras, 1972, p. 81; Santvaras, 1973, pp. 211-2; Santvaras, 1978 a, p. 25; and Sužiedėlis and Vasaitis, 1978, pp. 360-1.
137 Teisutis Zikaras enrolled at the Kauno Aušros Gimnazijos in September 1932, and completed secondary school to level four in October 1939; details are from Zikaras high school certificate, 1939.
138 Zikaras high school certificate, 1939.
139 de Berg and Zikaras, 1965, tape 161, side 1.
140 de Berg and Zikaras, 1965, tape 161, side 1.
meet the exacting levels of technical precision required of him by Juozas, who was clearly concerned that his son should pass the entrance exams required by the Kaunas School of Art.\textsuperscript{141}

Shortly before Teisutis entered his father’s studio as an apprentice, Juozas Zikaras completed a number of commissions for architectural sculpture. The models and maquettes for these projects would have inhabited the upper littoral of the studio’s contents, not yet quite submerged by other works or by the accumulation of clay, plaster, wire, scaffolding and detritus relating to their construction. It is probable that among the works Teisutis was first assigned to copy were the maquettes for his father’s architectural commissions, which consisted mainly of relief panels and decorative putti with garlands for building façades.\textsuperscript{142} The largest of Juozas Zikaras’ architectural commissions was a series of twelve gilded figures of Atlantas for the Lithuanian State Bank in Panevėžys, 1931.\textsuperscript{143} These were installed around the base of a cupola over the bank’s vestibule, designed by Gordevičius – the same architect who had worked on the Zikaras home in Panevėžys in 1923.\textsuperscript{144} A memory of the squared, masculine forms may have remained with Teisutis, for they would seem to reoccur many years later in his design for the \textit{BHP Ironman Award for Life Saving}, 1970.\textsuperscript{145} Here, however, the muscular detail of Atlantas’ physique is transformed into so many geometric volumes, stacked one on top of the other.

Another of Juozas Zikaras’ architectural projects from this period was a bas-relief \textit{supraporte}, titled \textit{Arklių Tramdytojas (Horse Tamer)}, 1933 (fig. 1.18), for the home of engineer and then mayor of Kaunas Antanas Gravrokas. This depicted a bearded and bare-chested man holding the bridles of two rearing horses with rays of light emerging behind his head. It possibly refers to the Lithuanian god of the skies, \textit{Dievas}, whose twin sons assumed the form of horses and were associated with the sun and lightning. Zikaras’ treatment is quite different to the fourth-century pair of \textit{Horse

\textsuperscript{141} de Berg and Zikaras, 1965, tape 161, side 1.  
\textsuperscript{142} See for instance Banytė and Jankevičiūtė, 2009, pp. 128, 136, catalogue nos. 29, 88.  
\textsuperscript{143} Banytė and Jankevičiūtė, 2009, illustrated pp. 53, 110, 135, cat. 87.  
\textsuperscript{144} Banytė and Jankevičiūtė, 2009, p. 54. Zikaras and Gordevičius worked closely together during the early 1930s. Another of their collaborative ventures was the Kaunas State Insurance building, 1931 (A. Mickevičiūs gatvė 7, Kaunas), for which Zikaras supplied three bas-relief panels and a niche sculpture of a salamander, illustrated in Banytė and Jankevičiūtė, 2009, p. 136.  
\textsuperscript{145} Teisutis Zikaras, \textit{BHP Ironman Award for Life Saving}, 1970, steel, 46 cm high, collection Surf Life Saving, Victoria.
Tamers of the Quirinal in Rome or their nineteenth-century variants by Baron Peter Klodt that adorn the Anichkov Bridge in St Petersburg. Zikaras’ flattened, symmetrical forms, in which only the head and torso of the horse-taming god are seen along with the heads and front legs of the horses, was partially dictated by the space available to him in the supraporte panel and the need for visual legibility in a work that would be placed well above eye level.

The impact of this work is felt in one of Teisutis’ earliest known pieces, Karys (Warrior), c. 1939-42, also modelled in bas-relief (TZ0003, fig. 1.19). Here, the warrior of the title bears a close resemblance to the supraporte god with his short beard and laurel wreath, while the profile of the horse’s head reproduces the same features (parted lips, flared nostrils, sharply undercut cheek) found in Arklių Tramdytojas. Yet, where Juozas’ work retains a sense of classical harmony and order, Teisutis’ conveys a palpable sense of dramatic tension – almost overwrought with its thrusting diagonals pushing beyond the confines of the rectangular support. The two works seem to embody the contrasts between experience and youth, calmness and urgency. The immediate circumstances leading to the creation of this work – and this tension – will be examined in chapter 2.

1.2.3 Kaunas – Liepāja – Romny – St Petersburg – Kaunas
Vincas Jomantas was also introduced to art in his father’s studio, albeit to lithography and painting rather than sculpture. However, almost nothing is known in Australia of his early training or his father Vilius’ work; the following account is the most extensive that has yet appeared. Jomantas was born in Kaunas on 22 September 1922 (the same year as Teisutis Zikaras), the elder of two sons of Vilius Jomantas (1891-1960) and Eleonora Jomantienė (?-c.1941).146 His mother contracted tuberculosis and was periodically confined to a sanatorium, during which periods Vincas and his brother would stay with their paternal grandparents who lived in Kaunas with their unmarried son Feliksas.147

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146 Jomantas mentioned his mother’s name in interview (Blackman and Jomantas, 1984) but the spelling is unconfirmed.
147 Jomantas interview, 2010 b.
Feliksas Jomantas (1893-1959) was a naturalist and taxidermist with an interest in art and seems to have been influential in shaping the young Vincas’ visual education. Feliksas had worked since 1910 for the renowned Lithuanian naturalist Professor Tado Ivanauskas, initially in a research laboratory in St Petersburg before moving to Kaunas, where he helped establish and run the *Gamtos tyrimų stotį* (Nature Research Station). In 1922 the station was restructured and formed the basis of the Kaunas University Museum. Feliksas worked variously as museum technician, taxidermist, exhibition organiser, and briefly – from 1945 to 1946 – as head of the museum. The relative security of employment with Ivanauskas and the university enabled Feliksas to collect art. Evidently his tastes were advanced for, according to Laima Jomantas, the collection included ‘works by Kandinsky among others’. Vincas and his uncle often took long walks together and it is plausible their talk turned on abstraction and spirituality in art. It is not known what happened to the collection other than that it was lost during or after the war. Laima Jomantas recalled her husband Vincas observing ruefully that, had it not been so, he could have retired on the proceeds of its sale. However, the early exposure to such work and the receptivity to abstract art likely to have been thereby cultivated were arguably of great significance to Jomantas. His uncle’s collection offered a window onto the world of art beyond the confines of Kaunas.

Vincas’ father, Vilius Benediktos Jomantas (1891-1960), was a printmaker who designed postage stamps and banknotes for the Lithuanian state as well as political and commercial advertising posters, book jackets and book illustrations. Like Juozas Zikaras, Vilius Jomantas’ life and career reflected the vagaries of Lithuanian history. Although born in the Latvian coastal port of Liepāja, near the border with Lithuania, he was raised in Romny, a small industrial town in north-east Ukraine, after his father, Vincas, was exiled there by the Tsar in 1895 in reprisal for opposing an Orthodox priest by the name of Ropas or Ropui. This early experience of exile may have

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149 Gaidienė, 1999.
150 Jomantas interview, 2010 b.
151 My search of the Getty Provenance Index and catalogues raisonnés of Kandinsky’s watercolours and oils failed to reveal any mention of Feliksas Jomantas although the severance of connection between an artwork and its owner is hardly unusual in the case of displaced artworks.
152 Jomantas interview, 2010 b.
helped shape Vilius’ strong sympathies for the Lithuanian independence movement with which he aligned himself two decades later. After completing school in Romny, Vilius moved to Lithuania to study – from 1910 to 1912 – at Trutnev’s drawing school in Vilnius, as had Juozas Zikaras six years earlier. Then, following the same path as Zikaras senior, he moved to St Petersburg to study at the Society for the Encouragement of Fine Arts in order to prepare for entry to the Academy, while also taking further classes at the Aleksandro Štiglic' technical drawing school. During his years in St Petersburg, 1912-14, he supported himself through working for Professor Ivanauskas in the same laboratory as his brother. In 1914, however, shortly before sitting the Academy’s entrance exam, he was recalled to Kiev where, after a period of compulsory military training, he was mobilised. From 1916-18 he served as a captain in a Finnish regiment, switching to the Lithuanian army in 1918 after independence. From 1918 to 1919, while still in the army, he taught in a gymnasium in Vilnius. He was released from the army in 1922, in which year his son, Vincas, was born.

However, family matters did not prevent Vilius from resuming his interrupted art studies. Kaunas then had little to offer in the way of art schools. Adomas Varnas’ painting school was taken over in 1922 by the state and renamed the Lithuanian Art School, but it operated out of tiny premises and with a restricted programme of subjects. The purpose-built school that the Zikaras family would later live opposite was not completed until 1925. Vilius Jomantas had to go elsewhere for further training and this time he looked westwards. He travelled to Germany, visiting Berlin in 1922, and shortly thereafter enrolling at the Akademie der Bildenden Künste in Munich, remaining there until 1924. Whether his family accompanied him during these years in unknown but the precedent cannot have been lost on Vincas when he too studied at the Munich Academy after WWII. In 1924 Vilius returned to Lithuania where he was employed variously by a state-owned printing press and by private publishers, mainly in Kaunas although also for two years (1926-27) on the Baltic coast at Klaipėda.
1.2.4 Vilius Jomantas during the early years of independence

Almost immediately after Lithuania gained independence – while still in the army and, after being discharged in 1922, while in Germany – Vilius Jomantas became closely involved with efforts to shape a distinctively Lithuanian national art movement. A member of the Lietuvių Dailės Draugija (Lithuanian Art Society) since 1912, he was appointed in 1919 to their special commission charged with collecting and preserving Lithuanian folk art. Works from the collection that he thus helped form were exhibited alongside members’ works in the Society’s exhibitions in Vilnius, Kaunas and Riga, and the tradition of the dievdirbys (god carvers) elevated to cult status. He also collected examples of folk woodcarvings for his personal collection. Vincas grew up with an appreciation of these, particularly those pieces that were ‘older and weathered,’ while at the same time feeling the dievdirbys to be ‘a dying race’.

Vilius’ work tended to follow two different trajectories. The first was recognisably modernist and has been described as combining ‘stylized Art Deco decorative lines, symbolism and folk motif ornamentation’. This was the style he adopted for Vairas (The Helm), the first illustrated Lithuanian-language journal, published in Vilnius between 1914 and 1940. It is also seen in one of his earliest commissions (fig. 1.20): a design for a three auksinai postage stamp (auksinas being a temporary Lithuanian currency issued after WWI in areas under German control), commemorating the first Lithuanian Constituent Assembly (Steigiamasis Seimas) and incorporating a geometrically stylized outline of a warrior with head bowed before the national symbol of the Gediminas Cross, which hovers in the distance like a romantic ruin surrounded by dynamic darts of light. The work daringly reduces the figure to a

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159 According to Kazokas, 2003 a, in 1919 Vilius Jomantas ‘was selected by the Lithuanian Artists Society as a member of the commission for the collection of folk art in Lithuania’ (p. 131), and Jomantas himself claimed to have been a member of the society since 1912 (Lithuanian Artists’ Union papers, Autobiografija: Jomantas, Vilius Bendikto, pp. 6-7). However, Butvilaitė-Petriskienė, 1996 b, states that he only joined the society in 1920 (p. 398). In addition, during the lead-up to independence, the commission would appear to have been briefly governed by or aligned with the Švietimo liaudies komisariato meno kolegijos narys (People’s Commissariat of Education Art Board), to which organisation Rutauskienė, 2005, connects Jomantas (p. 689).

160 Sužiedėlis and Vasiutis, 1970 c, p. 167.


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mere component of the linear design that, while stemming from Russian avant-garde
graphic design, also incorporates Lithuanian folk motifs such as the Gediminas Cross.
A similar approach was used in his cover design for Faustas Kirša’s anthology, Áidų
Áidužiai (Echo Echoes), 1921 (fig. 1.21), in which a combination of reticulated, ruled
lines and stylized flowers radiate outwards in perfect equilibrium, recalling the radial
symmetry deployed on the panels of painted cupboards found in many Lithuanian
country homesteads. A third example of this period of his work can be found in his
design of 1922 for the masthead of the Vaidyklá Drama and Opera (the same group to
which so many of Juozas Zikaras’ friends belonged), which depicted an open book,
harp, mask, architectural column, portrait bust, palette and scroll in a symmetrical
pattern, surrounded with dynamic rays or darts of light similar to those used in the
postage stamp design.164

At the same time Vilius Jomantas produced more naturalistic work, with figures given
full volumetric form and features, in a manner he described as ‘the patriotic style’.165
Political posters were invariably in this manner. While it has been said that ‘social
democratic and patriotic sentiments infused all his works’, Vilius produced posters
not only for the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party (Lietuvos Social-Demokratų
Partija, LSDP), but also for the Peasants’ Union (Válstiečių Sájungá).166 Both parties
opposed the dominant Christian Democrats, varying mainly in their primary
constituent base: the Social Democrats appealing more to city intellectuals and trade
unionists while the Peasants’ Union supported the redistribution of absentee
landlords’ estates among farmers, targeting agricultural workers.167 For the LSDP
Vilius depicted a heroic worker in overalls, wielding a mallet and standing before a
silhouetted factory (fig. 1.22), while for the Peasants’ Union he chose a farm-worker
in simple, homespun clothes holding a pitchfork and beset by three small, devil-like
figures: a corpulent priest with the word ‘Bankas’ written across his chest,
representing the church’s fiscal control of the state purse via the Christian Democrats,

164 Vilius Jomantas, Lietuvų Meno Kūrėjų Dráugijá, Operos ir Drámos Vaidyklá (Society of
Lithuanian Art Creators, Opera and Vaidyklá Drama), ink on paper, image: 20.3 x 40.5 cm; sheet: 22
x 43.5 cm, M. K. Ėliulionis National Art Museum, Kaunas, ref. MG pl-76. I am grateful to curators
Ausra Vasiliauskiené and Betia Umbrasiené, of the Ėliulionis National Art Museum, for granting me
access to Vilius Jomantas’ works from storage.
165 Lithuanian Artists’ Union papers questionnaire for members, p. 3.
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a Polish farmer waving his fist at his Lithuanian counterpart, and a Bolshevik from Moscow fleeing eastwards with a sheaf of wheat under his arm. The name of the party, *Válstiečių Sájungá*, forms a halo of lettering around the farmer’s head, emphasising his piety and simplicity. Despite their egalitarian spirit and concern for workers’ rights, both the LSDP and the Peasants’ Union valued private ownership of property and were consequently opposed to Bolshevism. The naturalist style of these propaganda posters should therefore not be confused with socialist realism. Indeed the idea that naturalistic representation equated to a ‘patriotic style’ underscores the conservative nature of Lithuanian nationalism (and indeed most brands of nationalism).

Vilius also produced illustrations for various military and political publications, ranging from highly idiosyncratic and – I suspect – personally driven illustrations to rather less complicated propaganda images. As an example of the former we might consider *Šių metų Velykos* (*This year’s Easter*), 1926, which depicts rabbits watching as a cannon fires at surreal Easter eggs that either float like zeppelins in the sky or hail down like bombs, while a row of newborn chicks emerge unscathed below (fig. 1.23). This novel composition referred to the forthcoming Seimas elections of May 1926, in which the ruling Christian Democrats, who had been rocked by corruption and a series of embarrassing scandals – represented here by the volley of eggs – were to be ousted by a coalition of the Peasant People’s Union and the Social Democrats – represented here by the chicks and the rabbits. Clearly Vilius was capable of humour when given a free rein. Yet for the same publication he also produced simple line drawings of old Lithuanian weaponry housed in the Radvila Palace in Nesvyžiuje, Belarus (the Radvilas, or Radziwiłł in Polish, being a family of nobles with direct connections to Vytautas the Great). For *Trimitas* (*Trumpet*), the journal of the Lithuanian Riflemen’s Union, he supplied prosaic propaganda images concerning Klaipėda’s central importance to independent Lithuania. In one such, the figure of

168 Vilius Jomantas, *Válstiečių Sájungá / Balsuokite už No. 5* (*Peasants’ Union / Vote for No. 5*), 1923, chromolithograph poster, 100 x 70 cm, M. K. Čiurlionis National Art Museum, Kaunas, ref. MG pl-215, illustrated in Galkus, 1997, p. 46.  
169 Eidintas, Žalys and Senn, 1998, pp. 41-2.  
170 Reproduced in Laurinaitis, 1926, page unknown, captioned ‘*senieji Lietuvos ginklai išlikę kunigaikščių Radvilų rūmose Nesyžiu*’ (the old arms of Lithuania surviving in the Princes Radziwill Palace in Nesyžiu); my translation. Scan supplied by the Balzekas Museum of Lithuanian Culture, Chicago.
Lithuanian Liberty – in the guise of a woman in Lithuanian folk costume – distributes flowers to Lithuanian soldiers.\textsuperscript{171} Behind her are three coats of arms representing the cities of Klaipėda, Kaunas and Vilnius, strung along a chain with a broken link to Vilnius, evoking the Lithuanian desire to regain the traditional cultural capital. The assertion of Lithuanian independence is also evident in his poster commemorating the signing of the Baltic States’ Mutual Aid Treaty in Geneva, 1934, for which Jomantas drew the three countries’ coats of arms in an arc (Lithuania of course at the summit), garlanded with leaves and surmounting a rising sun (fig. 1.24). The treaty was a significant attempt by the three Baltic States to assert their sovereignty and would later, in 1940, be cited as evidence of their hostility to the Soviets when the latter invaded. For such propagandistic images Jomantas invariably deployed a realistic ‘patriotic style’.

Although Vincas Jomantas would not follow his father in adopting such a style he would follow the politics associated with it. Laima Jomantas, Inge King and Leonard French have all attested to Vincas’ conservatism in political matters.\textsuperscript{172} In this respect he was typical of the vast majority of Baltic and Eastern European émigrés in Australia who saw it as their duty to warn of the dangers of communism.\textsuperscript{173} Their warnings fell on deaf ears among many circles of left-wing intelligentsia and artists, such as John and Sunday Reed’s circle at Heide, leaving a gaping rift of misunderstanding between the two communities.\textsuperscript{174}

Beyond politics, Vincas Jomantas also inherited from his father a concept of the artist as one who contributes to the public sphere in multiple genres and mediums. Besides producing posters, book illustrations, theatre designs and bank notes, Vilius painted commissioned portraits of historic Lithuanian figures including two portraits of Grand Duke Vytautus – one for the Lithuanian President’s house in Kaunas and another for the Officers’ House in Prague – and a three-metre wide panel depicting the first

\textsuperscript{171} Jomantas, 1932. Another illustration for the same journal (Jomantas, 1933), captioned \textit{Klaipėdos laisvės rytą} (Freedom of Klaipėda, in the morning), depicts two affable Lithuanian soldiers talking with a Klaipėda fisherman in a distinctive sou’wester hat.

\textsuperscript{172} Jomantas interview, 2010 b; French, 2010; King conversation, 26 January 2015.

\textsuperscript{173} Kazokas, 2003 a, p. 16.

\textsuperscript{174} I would suggest that this political polarity might account for the ‘blinkered’ approach of the Reeds that Janine Burke notes in regards the Reed’s limited collecting of sculpture in the fifties (Burke, 2004, p. 389).
Lithuanian *Seimas* for the *Romovės* or Officers’ Club in Kaunas, each in the aforementioned ‘patriotic style’.\(^{175}\) His commissions for significant public buildings indicates the degree to which the Lithuanian state had become the key patron for Lithuanian artists during the interwar period, with numerous state-organised competitions to design architectural decorations providing ‘artists a considerable incentive to develop their artistic abilities in public spaces’.\(^{176}\) This conception of the artist as one who shapes public space arguably underlies Vincas Jomantas’ belief in the integral role that sculpture could play in an architectural environment – a core concept of the Centre Five group.

### 1.2.5 Vincas Jomantas in Kaunas

While Teisutis Zikaras studied at the Aušros Gymnasium in Kaunas’ new town, Vincas Jomantas was sent to the Kauno Jėzuitų Gimnazija (Kaunas Jesuit Gymnasium), set behind the seventeenth-century Baroque façade of St. Francis Xavier’s church on the main square of the old town.\(^{177}\) By his own admission he was not an outstanding pupil but was instead attracted to sport and painting, joining an amateur art club that arranged after-school excursions to paint outdoors in watercolours.\(^{178}\) Formal art instruction at school was restricted to handicrafts, calligraphy and drawing and, after third level, consisted mainly of art history and the philosophy of art.\(^{179}\) Students were also introduced to the basics of architectural drawing and blueprints.\(^{180}\) This was most likely taught by Alfonsas Janulis (1909-2008), a realist sculptor whom Jomantas later mentioned as being one of his school tutors.\(^{181}\) Janulis studied at the Kaunas Art School, 1927-32, specialising in architectural sculpture, and later joined the architectural faculty of Gediminas Technical University in Vilnius (1970-88). Given that Jomantas initially planned to become an architect, it is plausible that the Janulis passed on an interest in the built

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\(^{175}\) Details of Vilius Jomantas’ involvement on this project are from his replies to a questionnaire completed in 1958, filed among the Lithuanian Artists’ Union papers. Three of his portraits are now in the collection of the Vytautas the Great War Museum.  
\(^{176}\) Jankevičiūtė, 2005, p. 56.  
\(^{177}\) Kazokas, 2003 a, p. 131.  
\(^{178}\) Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 1, side 2.  
\(^{179}\) Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 1, side 2.  
\(^{180}\) Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 1, side 2.  
\(^{181}\) Kazokas, 2003 a, p. 131.
While a schoolboy, Jomantas also made model aeroplanes and boats out of spruce or hazel – an interest that characterised many sculptors of his generation including King and Klippel. Woodcarving was not taught at Jomantas’ school but was familiar to him from his father’s collection of folk art and from his having observed craftsmen and dievdirbys (god carvers) at work during visits to the countryside. However, the interest in model making and carving did not translate into a three-dimensional aesthetic consciousness until after the war in Munich.

Instead, his earliest artistic experience was in drawing and lithography and took place in his father’s studio. When Vilius Jomantas was busy with commissions he often enlisted his son’s help. He also introduced his son to his circle of friends, whom Vincas later described as ‘mostly associated with the arts: writers, musicians, visual art people, painters, theatre people’. While these friends were never named in interview they would have likely included the graphic artists and scene painters Petras Kalpokas (1880-1945) and Vytautas Bičiūnas (1893-1943), both of whom both produced sets for the Vaidyklė Opera and Kaunas State Theatre, painter Adomas Varnas (1879-1979), who briefly employed Vilius in his studio in 1919 and who also worked on many of the sets for Kaunas State Theatre productions, and theatre critic Balys Sruoga (1896-1947), whose books Vilius illustrated. It seems probable he also associated with Vincas Krėvė-Mickevičius (1882-1954), the renowned Lithuanian playwright whose historical drama Šarūnas, 1911 – described as ‘romanticist with touches of realism’ – was produced at the State Theatre in 1924 with costumes and sets by Bičiūnas and Jomantas. As with the circle gathered around

182 Jomantas mentioned his early ambition to study architecture in Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 1, side 2.
183 Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 1, side 1.
184 Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 1, sides 1 and 2.
185 Jomantas interview, 2010 a.
186 Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 1, side 1.
188 Ostrauskas, 1964, p. 265; Butvilaitė-Petriskienė, 1996 b, p. 398; Lithuanian Artists Union papers, questionnaire for members, p. 3.
Juozas Zikaras, most of these figures subscribed to a form of realism in the service of nationalist romanticism. They were typical of the habitués of the immediate circle surrounding Vincas Jomantas as a young man.

Given that Vilius Jomantas and Juozas Zikaras moved in similar circles, it is unsurprising that they should also be friends and that their sons, Vincas and Teisutis, would occasionally meet. Vincas recalled in interview that they lived near the Zikaras family and that he knew Teisutis from the years in Kaunas. After the war he heard that Teisutis had settled in Melbourne but it was only in 1956 that the pair again met. Vincas recalled that he had applied to the Contemporary Art Society (CAS) and had submitted some work to their July exhibition, when Teisutis appeared:

… Zikaras came to me and said ‘by the way your name will be such and such’. He said ‘don’t you remember me?’ I said ‘no’. And then I recognised [him] because we didn’t meet very often but we lived not … very far apart. Our fathers were very close friends ...

This prior acquaintance of Zikaras and Jomantas from their years in Kaunas has never been recorded in the literature on either artist. It is worthwhile emphasising the connection as it lay the seeds of their professional association: firstly at the CAS, then at the VSS – to which Zikaras introduced Jomantas – and finally with Centre Five. While their friendship stemmed from having both been raised in the provisional capital of a small, newly-independent country, with fathers who were friends and who both contributed to the national revival of their country’s arts, their later association would see them partake in a transnational, modernist avant-garde on the other side of the world. In this way they both transcended their Lithuanian roots and forged a place for their work in a wider international idiom.

1.2.6 Lithuanian modernism, 1930s

By the end of the 1920s both Juozas Zikaras and Vilius Jomantas were well established as senior artists of the romantic-realist school. Vilius Jomantas’ early experiments with a volkische modernism were abandoned by mid-decade, his later works employing a more naturalistic ‘patriotic style’. Juozas Zikaras was then the

189 Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 3, side 2.
190 Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 3, side 2.
191 Simon Klose records that they knew one another from Vilnius, though it was actually Kaunas; Langwarrin and Shepparton, 1990, p. 3.
country’s leading sculptor, his reputation equalled only by that of his contemporary, Petras Rimša (1881-1961), whose work was similar in ideology to that of Zikaras’ and equally indebted to academic realism and the emotive expressiveness of Rodin. Zikaras consolidated this success in the latter 1930s: commissioned to produce new issues of the Lithuanian coinage in 1936 and 1937, he also won a gold medal for his model Lithuanian Homestead at the Paris International Exposition in 1937.\(^\text{192}\) 

At the same time, a younger generation of Kaunas artists began registering their frustration with academicism – forcing the older generation into an increasingly embattled position. Among those agitating for change were the sculptors Juozas Mikėnas (1901-64) and Vytautas Kašuba (1918-97) as well as the graphic artist Vytautas Kazimieras Jonynas (1907-97), all of whom were employed at the Kaunas Art School during the late 1930s teaching ‘decorative sculpture’, wood carving and graphics respectively.\(^\text{193}\) Teisutis Zikaras would later testify to the importance of Mikėnas and Kašuba to his development, while Jonynas would employ him as a lecturer in Freiburg after the war.\(^\text{194}\) His association with and respect for these three almost certainly abetted Teisutis’ break with his father’s manner of working during the war years.

In autumn 1932, in a move usually cited as a defining moment in Lithuanian modernism, the group called *Ars* formed at the instigation of three Parisian-trained artists: painters Antanas Gudaitis and Viktoras Vizgirda and sculptor Mikėnas.\(^\text{195}\) Jonynas, who had likewise studied in Paris, also became a member. *Ars*’ founding manifesto repeated Čiurlionis’ call for artists to look to indigenous Lithuanian folk traditions while also engaging with the European art, particularly French. *Ars* advocated a bifocal vision – focussing on the near at hand (Lithuanian folk art) as well as western Europe (especially Paris) – coupled with a Janus-faced temporal disposition, looking both backwards and forwards. In painting the result of this neck-bending, head swivelling exercise tended to be an art that shunned perspectival space,

\(^{192}\) Zikaras’ *Diplome de Grand Prix* from the 1937 *Paris Exposition Internationale des Arts et des Techniques* is on permanent display at his house museum in Kaunas. In Australia this honour would be misconstrued as a medal at the Paris Salon; see for instance Bow, 1955 b, p. 15.


valued visible brushwork over surface finish and placed as much emphasis on areas of background space as on foreground objects – all attributes of French postimpressionism. However, the choice of subjects relating to Lithuanian rural life – particularly its religious and folk traditions – rooted the work in nationalist discourse. This is seen, for instance, in Viktoras Vizgirda’s *Kaimo gatvė su koplytėle* (*Village street with chapel*), 1939 (fig. 1.25), in which two meandering dirt roads meet and rear upwards out of the picture frame, amid a confluence of sinuous tree trunks and timber cottages jostling for space, which together serve as a counterpoint to the area of stillness and sturdiness represented by the *stogastulpis* (or roadside shrine) in the centre of the composition. It was a tactic widely employed by artists in newly independent and postcolonial nations who, when charged with the task of forging ‘an independent culture’ for their new nations, chose ‘to revive local traditional imagery and seek to make it contemporary by representing it through formats and styles that were current in Western modern art’.196

In sculpture, the work of Juozas Mikėnas signalled new possibilities for a distinctively national art that renounced the academism of Juozas Zikaras and Petras Rimša. At its most radical, Mikėnas’ work was grounded in a cubist analysis of form as learnt in André Lhote’s studio in Paris in the late twenties: reducing the human figure to a combination of architectonic elements, such as cylinders and cones, while retaining a sense of heavily weighted bodily mass that owes more to another of Mikėnas’ teachers in Paris, Charles Despiau, than to Lhote.197 This is seen best in his gouaches and sketches from the early 1930s.198 However, this modernist bent must be understood against the broader background of what Giedrė Jankevičiūtė refers to as the ‘neo-traditional art environment of Paris during the 1920s and 1930s’ – a background that Jankevičiūtė connects with Mikėnas’ later conservative neoclassical mode of heavy, luxuriantly-rounded figures for which he is best known.199 Mikėnas’ neoclassicism was virtually synonymous with a range of similar movements that Irena Kossowska has identified across central and eastern Europe during the interwar years.

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197 Mikėnas studied in Paris on a scholarship from 1927-31. Nagys records that Mikėnas studied under Despiau (Nagys, 1973, p. 524), while his studies at the Académie André Lhote are discussed in Vilnius, 2001, p. 98.
(broadly labelled traditionalism, neo-realism, and neo-humanism).\textsuperscript{200} It also connects with the so-called ‘return to order’ (rappel à l’ordre), as Jean Cocteau termed it, which characterised French, Italian and German art after WWI.\textsuperscript{201} This was a return to perceived past values of stability, morality and universalism while simultaneously aspiring to modernity.

For Mikénas, and – I suggest – his future pupil Teisutis Zikaras, it represented a hybrid mix of cubism (albeit an academic, Lhotian cubism rather than the more piercingly reductive analytic cubism of Braque or Picasso) with an Ars-like programmatic study and elevation of Lithuanian folk art. This latter feature lent Mikénas’ work a sternness and static rigidity. These simplified unyielding forms, with their massive volumes and sense of severe gravitas, were applied to nationalist subjects. Thus for the 1937 Paris International Exposition Mikénas contributed a monumental oak carving of the seated Rūpintojėlis (Christ in Sorrow) that dominated the main hall of the Lithuanian exhibit and simultaneously referred to Lithuania’s ‘cultural specificity’ and ‘the blows of fate that she had experienced throughout the ages’.\textsuperscript{202} Here modernity was sacrificed for the sake of national tradition, although the relief he carved for the front of the Baltic countries’ pavilion incorporated a more modernist art deco style.\textsuperscript{203} Two years later, for the New York World Fair, 1939, Mikénas produced a monumental allegorical figure of a woman representing freedom and ‘contentment achieved through labour’, in a typically restrained modernist style (fig. 1.26).\textsuperscript{204} Both works were made in the studios of the Kaunas Art School where it is probable that the young Teisutis Zikaras, as son of the school’s sculpture departmental head, witnessed their creation. Certainly, during the early post-war years, Teisutis would employ Mikénas’ technique seen in both of these works of pressing small discs or scales of clay (or what Inge King’s teacher in Glasgow, Benno Schotz, would describe as ‘three-penny bits’) over the surface of the work – a

\textsuperscript{200} Kossowska, 2011.
\textsuperscript{201} One of the best explorations of the return to order in recent years was the exhibition Chaos and Classicism; see New York, 2010.
\textsuperscript{202} Jankevičiūtė, 2005, p. 57 and visible in fig. 4. For further details including photographs of the work in situ in Paris see Surdokaite, 2009, p. 129 and figs. 1 and 2. Mikénas’ younger colleague at the Kaunas Art School, Vytautas Kašuba, completed the carving of the final version.
\textsuperscript{203} Reljefas (Relief), 1937, Baltic countries’ pavilion, Paris International Exposition, dimensions and present whereabouts unknown; illustrated in Vilnius, 2001, p. 13. The relief depicted a large winged woman shepherding three girls representing the three Baltic countries.
\textsuperscript{204} New York, 1939, p. [4].

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technique favoured by sculptors across Europe during the 1930s as a means of disrupting the polished smooth surfaces of neoclassicism.  

And, as shall be seen in chapters 2 and 3, some of Teisutis’ more adventurous early works were of voluptuously rounded women akin to those of Mikėnas’ figures.

Throughout his career Mikėnas sought commissions for monumental public sculpture, in the ‘utilitarian view’, widespread in the 1930s, that works of art should be socially significant and serve a public purpose. By the late 1930s he was known for his contributions to the public sphere such as the figure of Vytautas the Great, 1938, modelled for the bell tower of the war museum in Kaunas in a neo-medievalist manner. This was the philosophy he passed onto students who took his decorative sculpture classes at the Kaunas School of Art, inculcating them with his view that a ‘sculptor must build his public, identify the social order, and pay heed to the needs of society in his time’. Mikėnas’ own solution to this challenge was to remain firmly rooted in the figurative tradition. No matter how stylised or static his figures became, they remained instantly legible and capable of communicating a particular message – an ability that would later endear him to the occupying Soviet authorities. In this respect the young Teisutis would differ from Mikėnas. In the tiny handful of public commissions that Zikaras received in Australia, he employed abstract or semi-abstract organic forms far removed from the legible figurative symbolism of Mikėnas’ works. The reasons for this will be suggested in chapter 2.

A younger but even more influential sculptor for Teisutis was Vytautas Kašuba (1915-97). Teisutis told Kazokas in interview, in 1988, that he had long ‘admired

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205 Schotz, 1981, pp. 132-4. It should be clarified that Schotz was referring to European sculptors in general throughout the 1930s. For examples of Teisutis Zikaras’ application of this technique to his own work, see Po Kryžium (Under the Cross), c.1945-48, terracotta, dimensions and whereabouts unknown, ref. no. 0804; Kompozicija (Composition), 1947, plaster, dimensions and whereabouts unknown, ref. no. 1728; Gimimas (Birth), 1948, terracotta, dimensions and whereabouts unknown, ref. no. 1729; and Motherhood, 1952, plaster with shellac, 35.7 x 28.8 x 14.5 cm, Newcastle Art Gallery, NSW, ref. no. 0702.


209 Teisutis Zikaras received only three major public commissions in Australia: Relief panels for Union House, 1957-58 (TZ0060), the Eta Fountain, 1961-62, and the GPO Fountain, 1964 (both now collection of the McClelland Gallery and Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic.). The first of these retained semblances of figuration; the other two were abstract, organic forms.
Kašuba’s inclination towards experimentation and innovation’. Kašuba studied woodcarving for five years at a state trade school before applying to study at the Kaunas Art School. In the autumn of 1934, after an initial rejection from the school, Kašuba approached Juozas Zikaras who employed him that winter to carve copies of his plaster-cast portrait heads in the ‘dark and damp and lonely’ basement-studio at the Zikaras home. Teisutis was then twelve years old – the age at which he decided to become a sculptor. Kašuba also reportedly stayed with the Zikaras family from time to time in the later 1930s, so there was ample opportunity for Teisutis to talk with the man who would go on to be his teacher during the war years. In the summer of 1935 Kašuba sat the entrance exams for the art school, was admitted to the second year course, and began studying under Zikaras and Mikėnas. His account of his art-schooling merits repeating as it closely describes the tuition that Teisutis would likewise soon receive:

Zikaras was a traditionalist, and under his guidance you modelled what you saw without trying to be clever. He was an excellent technician and an observant instructor. Mikėnas knew how to get his thoughts across and phrased his comments succinctly. … [He] introduced us to modern sculpture, showing in class reproductions of sculptures by Maillol, Bourdelle and Despiau, and discussing their works. Yet my development was influenced more by Jonynas and [painter Adomas] Galdikas than by my instructors. … Neither professor Galdikas nor Jonynas gave me particular instruction, but both were instrumental in forming my perceptions and concepts…

These same people would shape the young Teisutis’ career although, as will be seen in the following chapter, it was primarily Kašuba himself who would have the most immediate impact on the young artist. In 1937, as a second-year art student, Kašuba exhibited woodcarvings at the Paris International Exposition, winning gold and silver medals, as well as assisting Mikėnas on the Rūpintojėlis. On the basis of this success he was commissioned to create an eight-foot-high silver-gilded plaster statue of Vytautas the Great for the 1939 New York World Fair, where it dominated the

212 Ruibienė interview, 2010.
Salon of Honour just as Mikėnas’ Rūpintojėlis had done in Paris. Other commissions included an obelisk carved with Perkūnas, the Baltic god of thunder, holding two horses (1939), for which he possibly looked to Juozas Zikaras’ Arklių Tramdytojas (Horse Tamer), 1933 (fig. 1.18) for inspiration.

Kašuba’s early works are today little known, even in reproduction; the only monograph on Kašuba, to date, illustrates just five works made prior to the 1950s. This small selection indicates they were realist, figurative sculpture with links to the Lithuanian folk tradition. When the Lithuanian Union of Artists formed separate sections, in 1939, Kašuba chose to exhibit with the ‘Realists’, as did Juozas Zikaras, rather than with the ‘Individualists’. Perhaps unsurprisingly, given that both Kašuba and Teisutis worked under Juozas Zikaras as young men and both later fled to the west in 1944, their works have come to be confused with each other’s. A photograph (fig. 1.27) in the Juozas Zikaras Museum archive of a relief sculpture depicting Lithuanian warriors is incorrectly ascribed to Teisutis despite the signature ‘I. V. KASUBA’ being clearly visible in the lower right hand corner of the relief. Stylistically it is quite similar to Mikėnas’ work of the same period: the rounded, stylised neoclassical forms lending it a veneer of modernity absent from the more romantic flourishes of Teisutis’ Karys (Warrior), c. 1939-42, (fig. 1.19). While the subject matter of both works is the same – both referring to the golden era of the Lithuanian Grand Duchy and its stoic soldiers – the style is quite different. Teisutis, as a first or second year student, is still in thrall to his father, while Kašuba, as a final year student, is looking more closely at the work of more modernist artists such as Mikėnas. As shall be seen in the following chapter, Teisutis would follow a similar

216 Kašuba, 1997, p. 199. The obelisk referred to is Perkūno žirgai (Thunder horses), Vilijampolėje, for the completion of the Samogitian Highway, in 1939.
217 Kostkevičiūtė, 1997, plates 1-5.
218 Stasys Goštautas notes that Kašuba’s early work, up to 1955, was influenced primarily by his interest in Lithuanian folk art; Goštautas, 1973, p. 66.
220 Juozas Zikaras Museum, Kaunas, ref. ZA 345. The photograph is inscribed on reverse ‘T. Zikaras darbs apie 1939. Kaune’. However, the name, ‘T. Zikaras’ is written in blue biro, probably at a later date than the remainder of the inscription, which is written in pencil. It should be noted that the signature ‘I.V.K ASUBA’ is unusual; Kašuba’s middle name was Alphonsas and he signed his early work ‘V. Kašoba’ in order to avoid confusion with his older brother Vincas, who was also an artist (Kostkevičiūtė, 1997, p. 18). The ‘I’ may in fact be a roman numeral ‘I’. According to Kašuba, 1997, p. 199, the work entered the collection of the Kaunas war museum but my search of the Lithuanian Integral Museum Information System inventory (http://www.limis.lt/greita-paieska), conducted 11.9.14, failed to produce any record of this relief.
trajectory, abandoning his father’s adherence to naturalism and instead experimenting along the lines of Mikėnas and Kašuba.

By the time that Teisutis Zikaras and Vincas Jomantas finished secondary school, in 1939 and 1940 respectively, their fathers were no longer undisputed leaders in each of their fields (sculpture and graphics). A generation of artists, younger than Juozas Zikaras and Vilius Jomantas but older than their sons Teisutis and Vincas, had arisen and openly challenged the romantic-naturalist approach to art. Among their ranks were Mikėnas and Kašuba, both of whom would teach Teisutis during his four years at the Kaunas Art School, 1939-43, and Viktoras Vizgirda (1904-93) and Petras Aleksandravičius (1906-97), who would teach Vincas Jomantas during his two years at the School of Fine Art in Vilnius, 1942-43. Their methods of instruction will be examined in closer detail in chapter 2. On the cusp of World War II, therefore, Teisutis Zikaras and Vincas Jomantas – both then still in Kaunas – were already in conflicted positions: assistants in their respective father’s studios, they would have been expected to emulate the ‘patriotic style’ and nationalist academicism of Vilius Jomantas and Juozas Zikaras, yet as young men they had the tantalisingly close example of younger modernist artists to lead them to a new conception of art.

1.3 Julius Kane
Of all the Centre Five artists Julius Kane remains the least known, the most enigmatic and the most troubling. Publications on Kane are extremely scarce, the main source being Margaret Plant’s brief catalogue essay accompanying a posthumous retrospective afforded him at the George Paton Gallery in 1975.221 This, in turn, was drawn almost entirely from the scrapbook of newspaper clippings, photographs and notes on the whereabouts of artworks that Clifford Last compiled shortly after Kane’s death in the interests of documenting his friend’s career.222 Neither the scrapbook or the retrospective catalogue reveal anything about Kane’s background other than that he was born under the surname Kuhn in Budapest in 1921, studied law and economics at Budapest University and received his first training as an artist at the Munich Academy under Professor Anton Hiller, 1946-49.223 Much of this limited account of

221 Parkville, 1975, pp. 8-10.
222 Last, 1963.
223 Parkville, 1975, pp. 3, 8.
Kane’s background can, in turn, be traced to an article in a Department of the Interior newsletter written by journalist Joan Leyser, issued in 1955 and included in Last’s scrapbook. The purpose of Leyser’s article was to announce Kuhn’s naturalisation and change of name from Kuhn to Kane. Leyser described Kane as ‘an intellectual with a wide background of philosophical and psychological reading’, suggesting that she had met him and, presumably, had gathered her information directly from the artist. This conclusion is disturbing as it suggests that Kane at least partially fabricated his personal history, as outlined below.

1.3.1 Budapest – Vienna

A very different account of Kane’s history emerges from his International Refugee Organisation (IRO) resettlement papers. That these should never have before been consulted is unsurprising given that they are not in the name of Julius Kuhn but rather Julius Kohn. From these it is known that he was born in Budapest, 29 November 1921, the son of Julius (or, more likely, Gyula) Kohn and Anna Kohn (née Fischböck). His religion was given as ‘Yeddish’ [sic], which is peculiar not only in terms of the misspelling but also its misuse: Yiddish of course being the lingua franca of Eastern European Jews. On the same IRO form he gave his languages as Hungarian and German (Yiddish being a high German dialect), with a little spoken English and Italian. He apparently did not attend university, as later claimed, but instead completed primary and secondary schooling in Budapest, from 1927 until 1939. This, however, may have been a partial falsehood – made in the awareness that Australian immigration authorities were reluctant to admit highly educated professionals, preferring instead to take young men willing and accustomed to manual labour. Some years later, in Canada, Kane told Howard Adelman (then still a
University of Toronto student; not yet the widely published philosopher on refugees and humanitarian rights) who interviewed him for the University of Toronto’s newspaper, that he had obtained a Bachelor of Law degree in Budapest but was unable to practice his speciality, civil law, in Munich and had therefore turned to sculpture. The story supplied to Adelman is close to that given to Joan Leyser but its veracity unsubstantiated. In addition, Kane later claimed to have exhibited in Budapest and New York, suggesting he had studied art prior to leaving Budapest.

According to the account supplied to the IRO, Kane moved to Vienna in 1939 to work as an assistant in his father’s shop. This remarkably ill-conceived move was made at a time when the majority of Vienna’s Jews were trying to obtain exit visas. After the Anschluss in March 1938, Vienna’s Jewish population dropped from approximately 170,000 to around 120,000 by the summer of 1939. Hundreds of Jewish businesses were plundered and partially closed down during the November 1938 pogrom (Kristallnacht). A survey conducted in March and April 1939 of those businesses attacked on Kristallnacht recorded ten businesses owned by men of the name Kohn but none by the name Julius or Gyula Kohn. Without knowledge of his father’s place or date of birth it is difficult to locate Kane in Vienna. His mother, Anna Fischböck, is equally elusive. Her surname does not appear in any of the expected archives of vital records in Budapest and most likely derives from Germany, Austria or the Czech Republic. The alternate version of Kane’s personal history obtained from his IRO papers is, therefore, as unverifiable and incomplete as the version he later supplied in Australia.

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229 Adelman, 1960, p. 9. Australian art historians have never before consulted this rare profile article and it does not appear in any institutional collections of clippings about Kane. Its existence only came to light in 2014 when I searched the University of Toronto’s recently digitized collections for documentation relating to Kane’s exhibition there, at Hart House, in 1961. Howard Adelman, Professor Emeritus of Philosophy at York University, Toronto, replied to my emailed request for any further information of Kane: ‘Julius was not a friend though I recall meeting him but no longer trust any of my recollections’ (email correspondence with the author, 3 December 2014).
233 Email correspondence from Andres Koltai, of Hungarian Jewish Roots, to the author, 7 July 2010. Koltai’s search for Fischböck included a database of Hungarian Jewish vital records, two Holocaust databases, an online Jewish cemetery database, non-Jewish Budapest marriage records and the Budapest archives records covering wills, contracts and court papers.
The use of the surname Kuhn arose when Kane first exhibited in Australia at the Victorian Artists’ Society’s spring exhibition in October 1950.\textsuperscript{234} This was repeated in all subsequent exhibitions until July 1955 when he changed his name to Kane.\textsuperscript{235} Yet immigration authorities knew him as Kohn: his immigration and arrival papers are in the name of Kohn, as is his naturalisation certificate.\textsuperscript{236} Without access to his birth documents it seems unlikely that we will ever know for certain whether he was born Kohn or Kuhn, although the former was far more prevalent among Austro-Hungarian Jews at the start of the twentieth century. Andor Meszaros’ sons suggested in interview that perhaps Kane preferred the surname Kuhn as it linked him with the radical Hungarian Communist Béla Kun (who was himself born Béla Kohn; he Magyarized his father’s Jewish surname while a university student).\textsuperscript{237} Perhaps the name arose in error and he simply deemed it almost unnoticeable; certainly Vincas Jomantas never mentioned noticing any discrepancy in Kane’s surname despite having first met and befriended him in Munich after the war.\textsuperscript{238} To further complicate matters both Inge King and Clifford Last recalled that Kane’s surname was originally Kahn, with an ‘a’, and King believed that his parents were Anabaptist and had divorced before the war.\textsuperscript{239} Nevertheless she felt he had Jewish roots ‘somewhere’.\textsuperscript{240} Another close friend assumed Kane’s Jewishness – primarily as he participated in her family’s Shabbat meals and ceremony – but said it was never openly discussed.\textsuperscript{241} Clifford Last never knew of Kane’s Jewishness until Kane was included in the Jewish Festival of the Arts exhibition in 1988, despite being (as he described) ‘a strong friend’ of Kane’s.\textsuperscript{242} Given this veil of unsubstantiated facts and irreconcilable memories concerning Kane’s origins, there is little sense in trying to reconstruct an idea of his artistic formations. In any case, it appears he did not receive any formal artistic training until arriving in Munich after the war. Instead we must leave him in

\begin{footnotes}
\item[234] East Melbourne, 1950 a, catalogue nos. 172 and 173.
\item[235] Kohn advertised his intention to apply for naturalization on 26 August 1954 (Argus, 1954 Aug 26). His application was approved by the Minister of State for Immigration, 20 January 1955, and ratified by the town clerk at Sunshine 20 July 1955 (Kohn naturalisation certificate, 1955). His change of name by deed poll was announced July in Leyser, 1955, p. 1.
\item[237] Meszaros interview, 2014.
\item[238] Jomantas discusses his friendship with Kane in Blackman and Jomantas, 1984.
\item[239] King conversations, 23 April 2010, 27 September 2010 and 25 October 2010. Blackman and Last, 1988, session 2. In the same interview Blackman says she thought his surname was Kohn.
\item[240] King conversation, 25 October 2010.
\item[241] Light interview, 2010; see also Borthwick, 2012, p. 124.
\item[242] Blackman and Last, 1988, session 2.
\end{footnotes}
Vienna, a cosmopolitan city teeming with intellectual and artistic activity, the birthplace of Freudian psychoanalysis and the epitome of fin-de-siècle avant-gardism since the advent of the Vienna Secession and Jugendstil, and turn instead to a very different milieu in England.

1.4 Clifford Last

Accounts that include Clifford Last among the group of émigré Europeans who arrived in Melbourne after the war disregard the reality of life in the English provinces. Not only was Britain very much an island on the edge of Europe but Lancashire, where Last grew up, was far removed from the dense mesh of commerce and culture that characterised London. My account differs from earlier publications, which generally cite Last verbatim and downplay the importance of family and cultural inheritance. Instead I refer to the writings of his mother, Nella Last, who was a prolific contributor to the social research organisation Mass Observation – submitting daily diaries from 1939 until 1965. Selections of her writings were posthumously published in three edited volumes and dramatized for television as Housewife, 49 (the title coming from Nella Last’s description of herself at the outset of the diaries), collectively making her one of the best-known chroniclers of daily life in Britain during and after WWII. Clifford Last was interviewed about his mother’s posthumous fame, when the first volume appeared in 1981, yet no historian has before scrutinised Nella Last’s writings for references to Clifford’s formative experiences. Both the published diaries and unpublished entries held in the Mass Observation Archive at the University of Sussex were examined for the present project, as were Last’s own diaries and papers, enabling a new picture of Last’s past to emerge.

244 The main sources are Dimmack, 1972, and Melbourne, 1989 Nov. Newspaper profiles are cited later in the chapter.
246 Barker, 1981, p. 1; Mathews, 1982, p. 8; Blackman and Last, 1988, session 1. No mention of Nella Last’s writings was made in the retrospective catalogue: Melbourne, 1989; since then there have been no extended essays on Last.
1.4.1 Southampton – Barrow on Furness

Clifford Frank Last was born 13th December 1918 at Pooks Green, Southampton, Hampshire, where his father, William, was garrisoned during the war.247 William Last (1887-1969), like his father before him, Edward Last, was a self-employed cabinetmaker from Barrow-in-Furness in Lancashire.248 He married Nellie Lord (1889-1969), known as Nella, in Barrow in 1911 and with her had two surviving sons: Arthur (born 1913) and Clifford. Woodcarving was practiced on both sides of the family. Clifford later told his biographer, Max Dimmack, and innumerable interviewers that he inherited his woodcarving tools, with their ‘graded, hickory handled chisels’249 from his grandfather – other accounts say great-grandfather – who had been ‘an artist in his own right, employed in the carving of the delicate work borne so proudly by the old British sailing ships’.250 In two such interviews he names this particular grandfather: variously ‘Jack Lord’, referring to Nella’s father John Charles Lord, and Eric Lord.251 After reading one such interview in 1950 Nella Last fumed at the inaccurate ‘journalese’ of the article and ‘thought of the quiet shy uncle, my accountant father’s brother, whose murals and panels had decorated ships of the Aquitania’s age!’252 In other words, Clifford’s great-uncle (not his grandfather or great-grandfather) had worked on the interiors of elegant ocean liners rather than wooden clippers. Nella’s brother Fred Lord later wrote about his namesake, this same great-uncle of Clifford’s: ‘My Uncle Fred (father’s brother) was a wood carver by trade and a remarkably fine craftsman I remember … This uncle was quite a craftsman and made all his own carving tools. As quite a small child I remember spending many hours watching him at work when he was grinding down and tempering the pieces of steel’.253 Putting aside the inconsistencies and embroidery of Clifford Last’s rendition, it can be ascertained that his father, William Last, and paternal grandfather, Edward Last, were self-employed cabinetmakers and his maternal great-uncle, Fred Lord, worked as a ships’ carver. Woodwork was therefore

249 The Mail, 1949 Sept 17, p. 37.
in the family trade on both sides; ‘obviously in my genes, just waiting to emerge’ he later said.  

Shortly after Clifford’s birth – Armistice having been reached just a month earlier – William and Nella returned with their two sons to Barrow-in-Furness. Situated on the Furness peninsula that juts south from the Lake District, bordered by Morecambe Bay to the east and the Irish Sea to the west, Barrow was primarily a shipbuilding town. Surrounded by iron-ore deposits, Barrow had developed a significant steel industry since the nineteenth century, which in turn enabled the growth of the shipyards during and after WWI. Last apparently had little affection for his hometown, disliking the ‘industry and smoke and cold coastal climate’. He felt art played little part in daily life, later claiming Barrovians only conceived of sculpture as ‘something in the city square’. Instead he regularly escaped to the nearby Lake District, motoring with his family to Ulverston or Conishead for picnics and walks. Clifford in particular enjoyed solitary rambles through the hills and spent most weekends and school holidays with his mother’s aunt Sarah Rawlinson at Greenodd, near Coniston Water, from where he roamed the countryside at leisure. Nature was evidently compensation for a perceived lack of culture.

1.4.2 Family life in Barrow

Last’s dislike of his hometown seems inextricably linked to his uneasy relations with his family. On a visit home in 1967 he recorded in his diary: ‘the Furness District looks grim and Barrow TRAUMATIC’. If Barrow appeared to him ‘traumatic’ it was almost certainly a result of ongoing tensions, strains and clashes with his parents that were exacerbated by the precarious mental health of all three. From Nella Last’s writings we know that she suffered a major nervous breakdown in 1937 and ‘minor’
ones at other times, alongside continued anxiety and insomnia.\textsuperscript{260} She also frequently described her husband’s ‘bad nervy attacks verging on hysteric s’, which manifested as recurrent ‘wild nightmares, fear and palpitations, like a woman going through menopause’.\textsuperscript{261} In the early 1950s William Last underwent hypnosis with a psychiatrist, Dr Wadsworth, in an attempt to stem these attacks.\textsuperscript{262} Clifford also apparently suffered a series of breakdowns: when his father protested at Clifford’s being called overseas, in 1942, Nella challenged William whether he wished to see Clifford’s ‘body go back on him, with repeated nervous breakdowns’.\textsuperscript{263} Yet, even as Clifford and Nella Last chronicled repeated arguments in their respective diaries and alluded to their fragile mental states, they also continually sought a degree of rapprochement through their weekly letters to each other, which began when Clifford left home for the army and continued until his mother’s death.\textsuperscript{264} Clifford sent his parents newspaper clippings reporting his success as a sculptor and recorded his pleasure whenever he was able to help them in terms of sending small gifts or parcels of food. However, his parents despaired of Clifford’s disparagement of his past and censored many of the publicity snippets – his mother confiding in her diary: ‘I wouldn’t dream of letting people read them, people who know we haven’t exactly sprung from the dregs of a Lancashire mill town, or that Cliff fought single-handedly against odds, and people who apparently threw every obstacle in his way, or at least never took notice of him’.\textsuperscript{265} Resentment was felt both ways. Family life was volatile, with Clifford swinging between a desire to leave all behind and an apparent need for parental approval.

Given this volatility, it is unsurprising that Clifford gave varying accounts of the degree to which artistic pursuits were encouraged at home. In interview in 1965 he mentioned that his mother urged him to make crayon drawings of Old Master

\begin{enumerate}
\item Broad and Fleming, 2006, pp. 160, 215. Nella Last also refers to ‘the bad nervous breakdown’ she suffered when Clifford was working for his father (Nella Last diaries, box 151, entry for 13 March 1951).
\item Malcolmson and Malcomson, 2010, p. 160, entry for 8 May 1951; Nella Last diaries, box 151, entry for 9 March 1951.
\item Nella Last diaries, box 151, entry for 16 March 1951.
\item Broad and Fleming, 2006, p. 184.
\item These letters are not among Last’s papers in the SLV but are regularly referred to in Nella Last’s diaries. Enquiries with his closest surviving family failed to uncover the letters and it may be reasonably deduced that they were destroyed (Christopher Last interview).
\item Malcolmson and Malcolmson, 2010, p. 130, entry for 29 December 1950.
\end{enumerate}
paintings reproduced in library books.²⁶⁶ He seems to have disliked the activity for in
the same breath he also described receiving private painting lessons with ‘an old lady
who taught me how to paint a bridge, and the next month how to paint a tree – she
used to fill in most of it for me – and this … closed my mind to this way of expressing
myself two-dimensionally’.²⁶⁷ However, the degree to which he retrospectively
disparaged these activities may reflect his later disinclination towards working two-
dimensionally. Between the ages of 16 and 28 he also tried singing and acting,
looking for a means of self-expression.²⁶⁸ During the war he filled numerous
sketchbooks with drawings of people and places, and added comic sketches to his
letters home. Evidently he voluntarily continued to draw, though neither sketchbooks
nor letters have survived and he later belittled these early efforts.²⁶⁹

In contrast to these conflicting feelings regarding formal art instruction, he recalled
with great affection the craft activities his mother practiced and encouraged with both
boys. Nella Last was an excellent and inventive seamstress, whose patchwork quilts
were so artistic that Clifford’s friends in Australia dubbed them ‘Mother Last’s
abstracts’.²⁷⁰ She also weaved willow baskets and made ragdolls for charity, with
which Clifford sometimes helped. Nella noted the ‘exquisite stitching and
workmanship’ Clifford put into a felt Pinocchio doll for the hospital Linen League
stall and Matron’s disbelief that it had been made by a man.²⁷¹ In a letter to James
Broad of Thames TV, Clifford recalled such early creative activities:

For my brother and me an utmost love of creativity was always
encouraged – table top photography, model stages and puppets or making
our own invitations and Christmas cards. I remember being sick and
confined to bed, and being brought large sheets of paper and a solution of

²⁶⁶ de Berg and Last, 1965; also Dimmack, 1972, p. 6.
²⁶⁷ de Berg and Last, 1965.
²⁶⁸ Blackman and Last, 1988, session 1.
²⁶⁹ de Berg and Last, 1965: ‘None of the drawings were of any value, looking back on them’. Last
seems to have destroyed the early sketchbooks as they were not among his papers and loose drawings
deposited with the SLV. His nephew, Christopher Last, recalled they had one of the sketchbooks but it
was lost in a house fire (Christopher Last interview). The letters between Nella and Clifford have
similarly disappeared. A single illustrated aerogram from Clifford was reproduced in Broad and
Fleming, 2006, between pp. 136 and 137, but enquires with Richard Broad in 2010 revealed the
original was returned to Clifford after the first edition was published. Clifford either destroyed the
letters after 1981 or gave them to a friend. His brother’s family have never seen them.
²⁷⁰ Last papers, box 5, folder 6, duplicate letter from Last to James Broad, Thames TV, September
1980. Also email correspondence from Richard Broad, Dublin, to the author, 9 July 2010.
²⁷¹ Nella Last diaries, microfilm MOA diaries, entry for 9 June 1945, p. 32. See also Malcolmson and
‘dolly blue’ (for whitening in the washing of clothes) and brush to make pictures. In retrospect Mother’s thinking was very ahead of its time. Although our home had a pattern of orderliness, mess from creative activities seemed to be smiled on rather than discouraged.272

His mother also recalled the boys doing clay and plasticine modelling and noted that ‘If I’d been unusually tidy and resented the mess, I could have robbed them of something very precious.’273 Childhood craft was both encouraged and enjoyed, whereas drawing and painting lessons were perceived as overly didactic and meddlesome.274

Formal instruction and schooling were not Last’s strength. His older brother Arthur had gone to Barrow Grammar School on a full scholarship and coached Clifford for his entrance exams, but Clifford achieved only an entrance scholarship.275 Little is recorded of his time at school other than that he left at age sixteen, in 1935, with ‘undisguised feelings of relief and escape’.276 His mother wrote that he ‘threw aside his chance at matric’ and ‘regretted it as soon as done’.277 Upon leaving school he embarked on a four-year apprenticeship with his father, from whom he learnt about handling wood and tools, later acknowledging his father’s great skill as a craftsman.278 During his apprenticeship, surrounded by wood offcuts, he began carving simple shapes ‘whittling, carving as often as he could’ as a release from work.279 He also persuaded his father to open an interior decorating section to the business, devoting the final eighteen months of his apprenticeship to this endeavour.280 William Last’s terse mention of this on his employer letter of reference suggests he thought it a waste of time and distraction from the firm’s main business as joiners, shopfitters and showcase specialists. Clifford’s biographer recorded merely that Clifford found ‘… the regularity of the working day, the established routines, the monotony, [and] the drabness of his working environment … tedious and

272 Last papers, box 5, folder 6, duplicate letter from Last to James Broad, September 1980.
274 Last felt art lessons amounted to meddling on the part of his parents; see Dimmack, 1972, p. 6.
276 Dimmack, 1972, p. 5.
277 Broad and Fleming, 2006, p. 31.
278 Blackman and Last, 1988, session 1.
279 Dimmack, 1972, p. 6.
280 Last papers, box 5, folder 5, letter of reference from William E. Last, 9 February 1946.
unacceptable’. 281 Last later spoke of his strained relations with his father: ‘we got on very badly. I hated him’. 282 However, he also recognized that his poor opinion of his father was largely shaped by his mother, for whom ‘Father was a scapegoat and she hung all her frustrations on him’; after the war, when he no longer worked for his father nor lived under his roof, Last came to see him differently: ‘I loved him for a gentle, kind man’. 283 Nevertheless, during the four years between finishing school and leaving home Last found himself in the intolerable position of working for a man his mother painted as a tyrant in a job for which he felt little sympathy. They were, by all accounts, unhappy years.

Aside from his enjoyment of craft and his experience in woodwork under his father, Last inherited a set of political and spiritual views from his parents, particularly his mother, which have hitherto escaped the attention of Australian historians. Nella Last was a member of the Conservative Party and, as chair of her local ward, canvassed the local elections in 1931 to help oust the sitting Labour MP. 284 Clifford was thirteen years old at the time and evidently absorbed his mother’s views: four years later he co-founded the Barrow branch of the Junior Imperial League (the Tories’ youth wing) and later chaired the right-winged, anti-unionist Economic League. 285 Indeed both he and Arthur ‘made their mark as public speakers in local Conservative politics’. 286 Some of this inherited conservatism seems to have arisen from Nella Last’s fervent individualism; she detested collectivism of any kind, repeatedly criticizing Socialism and fearing ‘the cult of Communism’. 287 Clifford almost certainly inherited this same fear, which later put him in sympathy with European refugees such as Jomantas and Zikaras, who likewise brought to Australia an abhorrence of Communism. Nevertheless, the Last family’s political views ought not to be viewed as entirely rigid; towards the end of the war Arthur Last came to support a modified form of

281 Dimmack, 1972, p. 5.
283 Matthews, 1982, p. 8, and Blackman and Last, 1988, session 1.
285 Owing to Clifford’s sympathies, Nella Last later offered accommodation to the Economic League’s speakers visiting Barrow. Hinton, 2010, pp. 30, 34. Hinton’s is the only account to mention Clifford Last’s early political activities and is virtually unknown to Australian art historians as it appears as part of his wider social history study of M.O. correspondents.
287 Nella Last diaries, box 152, entry for 27 December 1951; see also Malcolmson and Malcolmson, 2008, p. 142 (editorial comment).
Socialism, shocking both his parents. Arthur attributed his radicalism to his mother, claiming that, despite her support of Churchill, she was ‘the most real socialist’ he knew. Clifford, however, never demonstrated this sort of intellectual fine-tuning. Indeed, while his youthful political activism could be viewed as corresponding to Inge King’s involvement with the Wandervögel and kibbutz movement, albeit from a vastly different political position, Last seems to have remained a political conservative. Although reticent in maturity to speak publically of his views, his political leanings are reflected in his appointment in Australia, in September 1970, to the Commonwealth Art Advisory Board (CAAB) under Liberal PM John Gorton and his dismissal from that same board, in January 1973, under the new broom of Labour leader Gough Whitlam.

Nella Last’s esoteric spiritualism had even more impact on Clifford than her political views. In interview in 1989 Last told Jenny Zimmer that ‘my mother was interested in theosophy and I had accepted the theory of reincarnation by the age of fourteen’. While Nella’s theosophical interests would seem to have been slight – certainly they are not mentioned in any of the three edited volumes of her writings – they do fit with her professed non-sectarianism and belief in an all-pervasive God as reflected in her oft-quoted Quaker grandmother’s saying: ‘we are all in God’s pocket’. Esotericism was probably of much greater importance to Last than to his mother. In 1961 he embarked on a course of esoteric study, immersing himself in the writings of Alice A. Bailey and the Lucis Trust – a non-sectarian offshoot of theosophy, advocating meditation and blending aspects of Eastern and Western philosophies. The impact of the Lucis Trust on Last was first revealed in a series of four works made between 1964 and 1966, which each took the title of Lucis, meaning ‘light’, while later works,

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290 Last’s appointment to the CAAB was announced in a press release, 3 September 1970; see Gorton, 1970. He and James Gleeson were fired from the board on 26 January 1973 (see Last papers, box 8, folder 2, letter from Robert Klippel to Clifford Last, 12 February 1973), as were approximately two thirds of the representatives on other arts funding committees, which Whitlam perceived as ‘notorious for their political and social biases’ (Whitlam, 1985, p. 555, quoted in Gardiner-Garden, 2009, p. 2).
291 Zimmer, 1989, p. 35. He had also earlier written that ‘In her thirties and forties she [Nella] became interested in Theosophy and throughout her life was interested in occult matters’; Last papers, box 5, folder 6, duplicate letter from Last to James Broad, September 1980.
292 See, for instance, Nella Last diaries, entries for 31 December 1951 and 11 February 1952; also Broad and Fleming, 2006, p. 164.
such as Pantanjali’s *Cloud of Knowable Things*, 1969, referred to ideas gleaned from Alice Bailey’s interpretation of the yoga sutras of Patañjali.\(^{294}\) In 1967, on a return visit to England, Last visited the headquarters of the Lucis Trust in London on at least nine occasions, participating in group-meditation sessions and helping with office administration.\(^{295}\) On that same visit he also donated his time and skill in designing the layout of a Lucis Trust publication.\(^{296}\) Back in Melbourne he arranged monthly meetings at his home with a group of friends interested in New Age philosophies. One friend recalled ‘valuable discussions … about the latest books’ and regular group-meditations attended by Winifred Neville, Dr Richard Silberstein and his wife Bianca McCullough among others.\(^{297}\) Noel Hutchison, to whom Last bequeathed his personal library, recalled that Clifford had almost no art books but instead collected esoteric literature.\(^{298}\) Last remained a devotee of the Lucis Trust to the very end, continuing to send donations and bequeathing the residuary of his estate – approximately $400,000 at the time of his death in 1991 – to the Trust.\(^{299}\)

Last therefore inherited from his parents an interwoven set of craft skills, political views and spiritual beliefs that he expanded upon in adult life. These were transmitted amidst more ‘traumatic’ aspects of family life including the mental illness that periodically beset him and his parents. In 1939 he sought to escape a suffocating atmosphere at home and at his father’s workplace. By the time that war was declared Last had already voluntarily enlisted and was awaiting his call-up.\(^{300}\) Nella Last reflected then on her youngest son’s temperament, recognising his unsuitability to army life:

\(^{294}\) *Lucis I*, maquette, 1964, pine, 33.0 x 10.2 x 12.7 cm, whereabouts unknown, ref. no. 0827; *Lucis II*, 1965, jarrah on slate base, 96 x 28 x 15 cm, Art Gallery of Ballarat, ref. no. 0823; *Lucis III*, 1965-66, jarrah on timber base, 148.9 x 31.5 x 27.0 cm, NGV, ref. no. 0046; *Lucis*, 1966, bronze on stone base, 30 cm high, with Lawson-Menzies, 2011, ref. no. 1176; *Pantanjali’s Cloud of Knowable Things*, 1969, cedar, 67.8 x 56.8 x 19.5 cm, NGA, Canberra, ref. no. 0902.

\(^{295}\) Last diary, 1967, entries for 8, 12, 15, 23, 27 and 28 June and 3, 11 and 13 July.

\(^{296}\) Last diary, 1967, entries for 27, 28 June and 13 July.

\(^{297}\) Jasek, 2009, pp. 45-46.

\(^{298}\) Hutchison interview, 2011.

\(^{299}\) Last will, 1991, and Last grant of probate, 1992. Last died on 20 October 1991 with total assets of $791,034. Leaving aside the $55,000 in cash bequests to various friends, and $169,700 worth of sculptures (many of which were posthumously donated to state galleries around Australia), the Lucis Trust must still have received close to $400,000 from the Last bequest.

\(^{300}\) Clifford later recorded that he enlisted on 15 September 1939 (Last papers, box 5, folder 1), but the opening entry of Nella Last’s first volume of published writings, written on 3 September 1939, establishes that he had already enlisted and was awaiting call up the following week (Broad and Fleming, 2006, p. 3).
I watched his long sensitive fingers as he played with the dog’s ears, and saw the look on his face when someone mentioned ‘bayonet charging’. He has never hurt a thing in his life: even as a little boy, at the age when most children are unthinkingly cruel, he brought home sick or hurt animals for me to doctor… He likes to sit before the fire with his legs stretched out, munching an apple and reading, sittings for hours on end... He always likes a few flowers in an old tankard on his bedside table, a clean serviette, the cat on the windowsill at his elbow and the dog at his feet while having meals.

This combination of gentleness with a fastidiousness regarding his physical environment – a love of beautiful objects and harmonious interiors – would later also be commented upon by numerous journalists when they visited Last’s home and studio in Melbourne. Neither Nella nor the Melbourne press stated categorically what these descriptions seem always to allude to: that is, Last’s homosexuality. For the present, in 1939, he was simply seen as ‘sensitive’ – an unhappy young man with no clear vision of his future career, who would be particularly susceptible to the harrowing experiences of life on the Front. His wartime experiences would differ from those of his Centre Five colleagues in that he would be an active participant in the fighting, as detailed in chapter 2.

1.5 Lenton Parr and Norma Redpath
The two youngest members of Centre Five, Lenton Parr and Norma Redpath, were both Melbourne-born and bred. Neither of them embarked on art education prior to WWII; both were primary-school students during the Great Depression and teenagers during the war, although Parr would enlist towards the end of the war once he was of requisite age. Their family backgrounds differed considerably: Parr coming from a working-class family whereas Redpath’s people were middle-class merchants and artisans. Nevertheless, this final section considers their backgrounds in tandem and draws upon previously unpublished manuscript memoirs discovered among both artists’ papers. While Parr’s memoir does not differ substantially from his essay ‘Retrospect’ in his monograph of 1999, two accounts of Redpath’s early life – which I

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301 Broad and Fleming, 2006, pp. 6-7.
302 Parr frequently referred to his ‘working-class background’; see for instance de Berg and Parr, 1961, p. 1.
discovered while archiving her papers in 2012-13, prior to their being donated to the State Library Victoria – shed significant light on the artist’s origins.\(^{303}\) The longer of these texts was written in 1979 as a contribution to the Melbourne University history department’s collection of Australian women’s autobiographies. Redpath withdrew from the project but returned to her manuscript in August 1991 following a number of queries concerning her biographical details.\(^{304}\) Nevertheless she appears never to have circulated it and other writers have not before drawn upon its contents.\(^{305}\) It is an idiosyncratic document, shifting from subject to subject with little concern for chronology and written in language imbued with Jungian theory. Despite its unwieldy and – at times – almost impenetrable language, it has proven a valuable source of information.

1.5.1 Coburg, Preston

Thomas Lenton Parr was born 11 September 1924 in the ‘solidly working class’ northern Melbourne suburb of East Coburg.\(^{306}\) His family had no connection with artistic circles beyond an interest in music, though his father’s early trade as a blacksmith possibly contributed to Parr’s affinity for steel.\(^{307}\) Parr’s published memoir dwells not upon family details but instead his memories of Melbourne’s public statuary, which he encountered on trips into the city with his mother. The foregrounding of such public experiences, at the expense of more personal memories, was typical of a man who later gave so much of his time and energy to public administration rather than private studio work. Parr recalled being taken to Fitzroy Gardens to see Ola Cohn’s *Fairies’ Tree*, 1934, and Wallace Anderson’s tribute to the Anzac stretcher-bearer John Simpson Kirkpatrick, *The man with the donkey*, 1935, at the Shrine of Remembrance – both deemed appropriate for Australian children.\(^{308}\) Yet he was more impressed by William Birnie Rhind’s bronze equestrian statue of the *Marquis of Linlithgow*, 1911, with its ‘lively stance’ displaying a sense of great vitality.\(^{309}\) Another equestrian piece, Sir Joseph Boehm’s *St George and the Dragon*,

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\(^{304}\) Redpath, 1991, p. ii. Margaret Engelman was one such writer asking for biographic material; she interviewed Redpath on 5th September 1991 for her Masters dissertation (Engelman, 1992, p. 45) but Redpath did not make the manuscript available.

\(^{305}\) I drew upon the memoir for my essay in Richmond, 2013.


\(^{307}\) Dennis, 1969, p. 303.

\(^{308}\) Parr, 1999, p. 16.

\(^{309}\) Parr, 1999, p. 16.
1889, at the front of the then National Gallery on Swanston Street, caught his imagination with ‘its fairy-tale qualities’.\(^{310}\) Outside St Paul’s Cathedral, Charles Web Gilbert’s *Captain Matthew Flinders Statue*, 1925, enthralled him with its novel incorporation of a boat prow and two straining sailors at the base of the work.\(^{311}\) The bronze reliefs at the base of Hamo Thornycroft’s *General Charles Gordon Memorial*, 1887, on Spring Street, and Margaret Baskerville’s *Nurse Edith Cavell*, 1926, in the King’s Domain, appealed to him for their illusionistic narrative value.\(^{312}\) Thus Parr’s introduction to public sculpture was a blend of narrative Victorian statuary and *moderne* 1920s Art Nouveau stylisation.

In later life Parr also recalled several smaller-scaled works of sculpture in the National Gallery of Victoria (NGV) that impressed him as a child. Foremost among these were Rodin’s marble *Minerve sans casque*, c. 1896, and the delicately modelled art nouveau figure of *Perseus Arming*, 1881-83, by Boehm’s pupil Sir Alfred Gilbert, a postcard reproduction of which Parr kept for many years.\(^{313}\) These two works share an air of sensitive introspection, alluding simultaneously to the inner life and mortal embodiment of characters from classical mythology. While, many years later, Parr would shed any vestige of figurative realism from his work, a concern for humanist philosophy and for the agency of individuals – whether mortal or mythological – remained constant. His early interest in western classicism also surfaced in the titles he assigned his works, while the exquisite *contrapposto* of Gilbert’s *Perseus* would find its counterpart in Parr’s life-size work of the same name.\(^{314}\)

As a schoolboy at East Coburg Primary, Parr enjoyed pastel drawing, watercolour painting, linocut printmaking and plasticine modelling while reading ‘anything I could find’.\(^{315}\) A self-described ‘solitary child’, he felt closer to his teachers at infant school than to his fellow pupils and aspired initially to be a teacher.\(^{316}\) However, his parents felt that a trade would best equip him for life and so he was sent to the newly

\(^{310}\) Parr, 1999, p. 16.
\(^{311}\) Parr, 1999, p. 16.
\(^{312}\) Parr, 1999, p. 16.
\(^{313}\) Parr, 1999, p. 17.
\(^{314}\) Lenton Parr, *Perseus*, 1984, steel with black enamel paint, 254.0 x 153.0 x 11.3 cm, NGV.
\(^{315}\) Parr, c. 1970, p. 1; also Parr, 1999, p. 16.
opened Preston Technical School, where he completed three years of junior school.\footnote{When Preston Technical School opened in 1937, Parr was twelve years old and among the school’s foundation students.} The school curriculum included ‘art and applied art, commercial art, ticket writing, craftwork, drawing… English, mathematics, chemistry, instrumental drawing, carpentry and cabinet making’.\footnote{NMIT, 2014: URL: http://www.nmit.edu.au/explore-nmit/history/through-the-decades/through-the-decades-1930s/feature-story/.} Parr later recalled enjoying clay modelling as well as the metal fitting workshop and recorded his ‘great debt of gratitude’ to his technical schoolteachers.\footnote{Parr, c. 1970, p. 1. See also de Berg and Parr, 1961, p. 1.} While the emphasis was on vocational training, his experiences at Preston therefore gave him an introduction to the rudiments of art and design, including metal welding and clay modelling, enabling him to see beyond a purely trades-based future. When war with Germany was declared, Parr was completing his third and final year at Preston. There we will leave him until chapter 2, when his movements during the war will be traced.

### 1.5.2 Surrey Hills

Norma Joan Redpath was born in Melbourne’s east at Surrey Hills, 20 November 1928, the younger of two daughters born to Harold Curtis Redpath (1888-1940) and Dorothy Douglas Redpath (née Broadbent, 1895-1962). Her paternal grandfather, Thomas Veitch Redpath (1860-1930) carved furniture as a pastime (Norma recalled two columns or pedestals that he made ‘of extreme simplicity of form’ with turned profiles) while his wife, Louisa Redpath (née Payne, 1865-1936), was an untrained artist who, in her ‘pantry studio’, practiced china painting, decorative pokerwork and ornamenting wooden boxes with sealing wax – a process that fascinated her granddaughter.\footnote{Redpath, 1991, p. 7; Redpath, c. 2002, p. 11. Norma Redpath donated an example of Louisa Redpath’s work to the Ian Potter Museum of Art in 1999: an enamel brooch in a metal surround, dated 1924, accession no. 1999.0006.000.000.} Norma’s use of wax to model her work, prior to it being cast in bronze, was possibly stimulated by this early experience of watching her grandmother soften and manipulate sticks of sealing wax. Certainly she recalled that at the age of seven she secretly experimented with her grandmother’s art materials, which she ‘appropriated’ for her own use.\footnote{Redpath, 1991, p. 7.} Louisa was encouraged in her artistic pursuits by her son, Harry (Norma’s father), who would ‘draft the initial study for her’.\footnote{Redpath, 1991, p. 8.} Like...
his father, Harry also designed and made some pieces of furniture and jewellery, although, in Norma’s words, ‘none of these works have survived the various family trauma’.  

Harry Curtis Redpath worked as a designer for a Melbourne firm of ceramic mosaic tiles. Among his library, which Norma inherited, were ‘a complete set of a bounded Applied Art correspondence course and Artistic Anatomy by a Mathius [sic] Duval 1892, all of which I used’. The application of design to industry was a central precept of late-Victorian and Edwardian art schools across the former British colonies and Harry Curtis was evidently a product of his time. Her father regularly took Norma to the NGV in Swanston Street ‘to look at the paintings, Pharlap [sic] and aboriginal artefacts’. In addition the work of artists such as sculptor Ola Cohn and muralist Mervyn Napier Waller, with whom Harry Curtis reportedly collaborated, were sometimes discussed in the Redpath home. Any thwarted artistic ambitions Harry Curtis may have harboured were referred to only obliquely: shortly before his death, in 1940, he counselled Norma to ‘never become an artist’, by which she deduced ‘his own frustration and perhaps suffering’, while also heeding the warning that the difficulties of living as an artist ‘are overwhelming’. Nevertheless she was introduced from the outset to a world of art and design as well as the idea of art and architectural collaboration through both her father’s work and that of his associates such as Napier Waller.

Norma’s mother was a dressmaker with a small shop in Surrey Hills. Norma recalled her fascination in watching her mother ‘touch and evaluate the substance of a material, to cut and drape without a pattern with a very sure touch’. She recognised

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323 Redpath, 1991, p. 7. These ‘family trauma’ are never specified but most likely refer to her father’s early death and the peripatetic lifestyle that she and her mother and sister subsequently followed. 
326 Redpath, 1991, p. 8. The gallery was then still housed with the museum and library. In 1968 the indigenous collections and the taxidermied form of the racehorse, Phar Lap, were separated from the art collections and now feature among Melbourne Museum’s collections. 
330 Redpath, 1991, p. 13. Redpath inherited many of her mother’s dressmaking props. Upon helping to clear Redpath’s Carlton home, after her death in 2012, I came across several large sewing baskets, a dressmaker’s dummy and drawers filled with bolts of material.
that her mother ‘was basically a very creative person’, which was ‘manifest in many ways, a style of being and doing’. Nevertheless, despite her mother’s ‘instinctive feel and understanding of materials’, Norma firmly rejected Margaret Engelman’s suggestion that her mother’s creativity may have in some way inspired her own. Artistic creativity, for Redpath, was entirely self-generated. Elsewhere, however, she recorded that her mother ‘was the only person who initially supported and sustained my inclinations and then chosen direction’.

In 1932, at the age of four, Norma was enrolled in the kindergarten class at Strathcona Girls’ Grammar School, in Canterbury – a short distance from their Surrey Hills home. Strathcona remained her school for the next eleven years, despite multiple moves that the family made through the eastern suburbs through the difficult Depression years. Contrary to Engelman’s supposition that to afford private schooling the Redpaths were ‘middle class and economically stable’, Norma asserted her parents struggled to pay the fees in order to broaden their daughters’ horizons, allowing them ‘to be confident and able to develop as individuals’. She also refuted another historian’s assertion that the school’s founders aimed merely to cultivate ‘educated and interesting wives and mothers’. Strathcona represented stability for Redpath – a place where she developed ‘a special sort of inbuilt pride or self-confidence’. Despite her freely admitted lack of academic brilliance she responded to her teachers with affection, grateful for having modelling clay, paints, pens, needlework and craft materials put into her hands, encouraged by Madame Iutz to dream of becoming fluent in another language, and enjoying the physical culture and dance classes.

333 Redpath papers, box 2, duplicate letter to Pat and Heather Stone, 30 December 1986.
334 Engelman, 1992, p. 45; Redpath, 1998, p. 81. I am grateful to Shirley Lowthian, a fellow pupil and friend of Norma Redpath’s at Strathcona, for bringing this privately published account of Norma’s schooldays to my attention.
1.5.3 East Melbourne – Canterbury – Auburn – Hawthorn

During the Depression years Harry Redpath negotiated a reduced salary in order to stay in employment. In 1935, unable to meet payments on their small house in Surrey Hills, he moved the family into his widowed mother’s two-storey Victorian terrace home on Hoddle Street, East Melbourne. After a year at Hoddle Street – during which time Norma illicitly experimented with her grandmother’s art materials – the family moved to a flat at 34 Rochester Road, Canterbury. In 1937 they moved to a slightly larger rented house in Auburn, where they took in their first paying guest: ‘a retired Scott’s army Colonel [who] extended my world, taught me to play cards, to prune in the garden and recounted stories of the Boer War’. In 1938 they moved again, this time to 15 Harcourt Street, Hawthorn – a much larger property and ‘a child’s paradise’ with its acre of garden and exotic trees. There they let out a flat and took in paying guests. The intimate afternoon teas of the early Surrey Hills years were transformed into Shakespeare readings with the paying guests. However, Harry Redpath had by then contracted the tuberculosis virus that would kill him two years later. At the outbreak of WWII, Norma was happily ensconced at Hawthorn, nearing the completion of her primary schooling at Strathcona and expecting to continue there through secondary school. This state of affairs would soon be abruptly halted, not due to the war but with her father’s death in 1940.

1.6 The outbreak of war

When Britain and France declared war on Germany, on 3 September 1939, the future members of Centre Five were dispersed across five countries. King had fled Berlin and was sheltering with a family outside London, her art schooling temporarily on hold. On the other side of Britain, Last had volunteered with his local regiment and was awaiting mobilisation – anxious to escape his unhappy family situation in Barrow. Kane had inexplicably moved from Budapest to Vienna, perhaps reflecting his non-identification as Jewish. He had probably not yet commenced artistic training but was instead working in his father’s shop. Zikaras and Jomantas were both still in

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339 1093 Hoddle Street, on the corner of George Street, East Melbourne. Redpath later pointed out the house when we drove past it en route to the McClelland Gallery, 7 October 2010.
Kaunas; Zikaras due to complete secondary school in October, Jomantas likewise the following year. Both were already working alongside their artist fathers in their respective studios. In Australia, in Melbourne’s working-class north, Parr was completing his final year of technical school at Preston prior to commencing an apprenticeship as a fitter and turner, while Redpath was completing her primary schooling in Melbourne’s leafy eastern suburbs.

This geographic dispersal of the seven sculptors reflects the diversity of their origins in the cultural milieus specific to Berlin, Kaunas, Budapest, Vienna, Barrow and Melbourne. King’s assimilated German-Jewish family, imbued with a sense of Germanic Bildung, is now positioned against the backdrop of youthful friendships among the Wandervögel and kibbutz movements and with some of Berlin’s cultural elite including Charlotte Salomon and the Wertheim family. Her progressive perspective reflects that of her two artistic idols: Barlach and Kollwitz. King’s childhood familiarity with German folk tales, encouraged at art school, is seen to underlie works executed later during the war when she rejected narrow German nationalist rhetoric and instead embraced the comic traveller-hero Till Ulenspiegel. The precariousness of King’s position at the Berlin Academy (here correctly identified as the Vereinigte Staatsschulen) is revealed through the school’s archives, where I discovered her to be just one of three non-Aryan students permitted under the Nuremberg Laws. I have also identified her lecturers in Berlin – mostly uninspiring with the exception of Hitzberger, for whom King executed items of architectural decoration that, I suggest, were of importance to her growing sense of the integral relationship of sculpture and architecture. The dichotomy between King’s sophisticated German-Jewish culture and her conservative Academy teachers indicates the degree to which she would feel increasingly ill at ease in Berlin, culminating in her escape to London in the summer of 1939.

Both Zikaras and Jomantas also mixed with the cultural elite of their hometown, Kaunas, which brought them within the same orbit as young men (an association not before published). My account of their fathers’ careers, drawn largely from archival documents translated on my behalf from Lithuanian and Russian, supplemented by a historical overview of Lithuanian artistic groups and movements of the interwar years, presents a picture of their cultural milieus formerly unknown to Australian historians.
Their fathers participated in the building of a national capital: contributing architectural sculpture, monuments, murals and easel paintings to public buildings in Kaunas, highlighting their fathers’ professionalism as well as the manner in which art was conceived of as integral to public space and public discourse. Their romantic nationalism usually translated into realist art that championed the local vernacular, typical of the other forms of neo-realism characterising Eastern European and Baltic countries of this time. However, complicating this generalisation are two facts. Firstly the form of realism that Juozas Zikaras and Vilius Jomantas practiced emanated from St Petersburg and was essentially a form of Russian fin de siècle academicism albeit looking to French models – particularly, in the case of Zikaras senior, Rodin. This Russian realism was paradoxically employed to promote Lithuanian independence. Secondly, while the nationalist aspirations of their work might circumscribe them as provincial, it is clear that Vilius Jomantas was intimately acquainted with avant-garde developments in Germany and Russia as reflected in his early art-deco graphic work and in his brother’s reputed taste for Kandinsky’s work. Kaunas was a mere one hundred kilometres west of the cosmopolitan former capital, Vilnius, where a small avant-garde attempted to propagate Constructivist and Supremicist ideals. It has also been established here that Teisutis Zikaras respected the work of his father’s students, Mikėnas and Kašuba, and through them would increasingly look to French neoclassical models rather than his father’s academic realism. Thus we cannot simply categorise Jomantas and Zikaras’ backgrounds as ‘provincial’.

My account of Julius Kane’s background is entirely new. Through his arrival documents in Canberra I discovered he entered Australia under the name of Kohn, not Kuhn. With this knowledge I was able to locate his IRO resettlement papers, which revealed details of his Jewish parentage and recorded his move from Budapest to Vienna in 1939 to work in his father’s shop. This unexpectedly places him in one of Europe’s most cosmopolitan metropolises at the very moment when thousands of Jews were attempting to flee. These same papers also record he had only a rudimentary formal education, contradicting his later claims to have studied law and

economics, although this may have been made in the hope of increasing his eligibility for emigration.

Last’s background is now better understood thanks to his mother Nella Last’s prolific writings from which it is apparent he inherited her craft skills as well as her uncle’s handmade woodcarving tools and that his father and paternal grandfather’s carpentry skills likewise predisposed him towards choosing wood as his preferred sculptural medium. It also transpires that Nella, William and Clifford Last all suffered ‘mental break-downs’. Recent scholarship on Nella Last discloses her conservative political affiliations as well as those of her two sons (previously unrecorded in the literature on Last), which I have connected to Last’s summary dismissal from Australia’s CAAB in 1973. Last also claimed to have inherited his spiritual beliefs from his mother, although there is no mention of theosophy in Nella’s published writings and it was apparently of far greater significance to Last than to his mother. Finally, I noted that Last’s hometown of Barrow was essentially an industrial province, from which position he looked to London for cultural leadership.

Parr’s childhood in working-class Coburg, in Melbourne’s north, remains sketchily outlined. Instead, we have an excellent account of Melbourne’s statuary that impressed him as a child, indicating his tendency towards shared public discourse rather than personal anecdote. His account also reflects Melbourne’s British colonial legacy and its fundamental role in the young sculptor’s visual education. Redpath was likewise familiar with these monuments yet her unpublished memoir focussed instead on her earliest encounters with physically manipulating media, such as clay and sealing wax, as well as her family’s artistic endeavours. Through her father’s work as a ceramic tile designer and his reported collaboration with Napier Waller, she was acquainted from an early age with the idea of collaboration between artists, designers and architects. Thus, while Parr and Redpath grew up in what was still effectively a British dominion in the grips of the 1930s Depression, their experiences of art were nonetheless grounded in ideas of civic-mindedness and collaboration between the different branches of the arts. These would underscore both their attitudes towards artistic-architectural collaboration in later life.
Chapter 1 illustrations


1.2: Ernst Barlach (1870-1938), *Wanderer im Wind*, 1934, oak, 120.5 x 58 x 22 cm, Güstrow: Ernst Barlach Stiftung, Laur II 563. Photo: Uwe Seemann. © für die Werke Ernst Barlachs bei der Ernst Barlach Lizenzverwaltung Ratzeburg
1.3: Ernst Barlach (1870-1938), *Schwebende Engel (Hovering Angel)*, *The Güstrow Memorial*, 1926-7, bronze, 71 x 74.5 x 217 cm, Güstrow: Güstrow Cathedral. Photo: Deutsches Bundesarchiv (German Federal Archive), 1970, bild 183-J0724-0301-004.

1.4: Käthe Kollwitz (1867-1945), *The Grieving Parents*, 1924-32, granite, 1.51 m high, Eessen-Roggevelde, near Diksmuide, Belgium; later moved to the Vladslo German war cemetery. Photo: John de Fabbio.
1.5: Inge King (1915-2016), *Head of a Woman*, 1936, modelled in clay and cast in terracotta, dimensions unknown, whereabouts unknown. Photo: Hermann Nonnenmacher, King papers.

1.6: Hermann Nonnenmacher (1892-1956), *Große Kauernde (Large crouching figure)*, 1928, toned plaster, 76 x 67 x 86 cm, Berlin: Berlinische Galerie. Photo: the author.
1.7: Hermann Nonnenmacher (1892-1956), *Abschied (Farewell)*, 1928, mahogany, 104 x 38 x 20 cm, Berlin: Berlinische Galerie. Photo: Dieter Müller.

1.8: Inge King (1915-2016), *Untitled (couple embracing)*, 1936, unfired terracotta, dimensions unknown, whereabouts unknown. Photo: unknown photographer, King papers.
1.10: Inge King (1915-2016), *Decorative relief panel for a staircase*, 1938, carved wood, dimensions unknown, whereabouts unknown. Photo: unknown photographer, King papers.

1.12: Inge King (1915-2016), *Kacheltisch (Tiled table)*, 1937, hand-painted ceramic tiles set into a carved wooden table, dimensions unknown, commissioned by the Fischbein family, Berlin, and lost during World War II. Photo: Lore Fischbein, King papers.

1.13: Inge King (1915-2016), *Passover Seder Plate*, 1938, carved wood (probably oak), dimensions unknown, whereabouts unknown. Photo: Lore Fischbein (?), King papers.

1.15: Juozas Zikaras (1881-1944), *Prie Kapo (To the Grave)*, 1921, bronze, 106 x 104 x 5 cm. Erected in 1927 in the Karo muziejaus sodelis / Vytautas the Great War Museum Garden, Kaunas; removed in 1950, re-erected in situ and unveiled 16 February 1990. Photo: the author.
1.16: Juozas Zikaras in his studio in Kaunas, 1938. On the easel is a relief portrait of Antanas Žukausko-Vienuolio, 1934-36; next to is a plaster head of Professor Juozapo Albino Herbačiausko, 1925; further right is Sportininkas (Athlete), 1933. Photo: unknown photographer, Lithuanian Archives of Art and Literature, Vilnius, Juozas Zikaras file, 377.1.10 b.

1.18 Juozas Zikaras (1881-1944), *Arklių Tramdytojas (Horse Tamer)*, 1933, toned plaster, 79 x 95 cm, M. K. Čiurlionis National Art Museum, Kaunas, ref. MS 471. Photograph to the right shows the bronze cast of the same work in situ as a portal decoration for the home of Antanas Gravrokas, Putvinskio gatvė 70, Kaunas. Photo: (left) reproduced in Banytė and Jankevičiūtė, 2009, p. 111; (right) reproduced in Budrys, 1960, p. 62.

1.19: Teisutis Zikaras (1922-91), *Karys (Warrior)*, c. 1939-42, plaster of Paris with bronze patina, 43 x 49.5 x 5.5 cm, Kaunas: Juozas Zikaras Museum. Photo: the author.

1.21: Vilius Jomantas (1891-1960), *Áidų Áidužiái (Echo Echoes)*, n.d. [c. 1921], gouache and ink on paper, 23 x 17.5 cm, Kaunas: M. K. Ėiurlionis National Art Museum, ref. MG pl-78. Photo: the author.


1.26: Juozas Mikėnas (1901-64), *Lieutva (Lithuania)*, 1939, in the studio at Kaunas Art School (left), and outside the Lithuanian pavilion (architect Algirdis Šalkauskis) at the New York World Fair, 1939-40 (right), dimensions unknown, whereabouts unknown. Photos: unknown photographers; reproduced in Vilnius, 2001, p. 15.

Chapter 2: Surviving the cataclysm – art school under occupation, in exile and under duress; 1939-45

The onset of World War II might have been expected to signal the cessation of study for the future Centre Five sculptors who had begun their art training: King, Zikaras and Jomantas. Yet all three continued to pursue professional qualifications despite the experience of exile and the threat of internment for King and of successive Soviet and Nazi occupations for Jomantas and Zikaras. Under duress and in exile, what theoretical and philosophical foundations were laid during these years of study? Which other artists were encountered and how did their work resonate with the future émigrés? This chapter examines the artistic circles surrounding King, Zikaras and Jomantas in Glasgow, Kaunas and Vilnius, reinstating these artists into their historical milieus in an attempt to foreground the importance of the ideas and people encountered during these years of cataclysmic change. At the end of the chapter a brief survey is made of the activities and whereabouts of the other four members of Centre Five during WWII. Previously unseen IRO documents cast new light on this period of Kane’s life. Redpath began art studies in Melbourne towards the end of the war while Last and Parr both enlisted and travelled overseas. During these years we see their later professional identities begin to develop.

2.1: Inge King

2.1.1: England under dust sheets and under siege, 1939-41

The first two years of King’s life in England were largely unsettled and entailed considerable adjustments in terms of her ambition to continue art studies. These years are scarcely mentioned in published accounts of King’s career.1 In interview King attested to the kindness of the family in Cheam who had offered her employment, allowing her to escape Berlin, recalling that as the head of the household spoke fluent German she was able to communicate with relative ease while her English gradually improved.2 However, her sponsors understood she would be dissatisfied if unable to further her art training in England and within a short space of time presented King with an ultimatum: either promise to remain with them for the duration of the war, or

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1 Trimble and Grishin each pass over this period in just two paragraphs in their respective monographs on King: Trimble, 1996, p. 4; Grishin, 2014, p. 39.
2 King interview, 2010.
leave so that they might take in someone else. She chose the latter option. With the help of a refugee agency she secured work with another household, this time in London, only to be evacuated soon afterwards with two women and their young children to the village of Great Gaddesden, Hertfordshire. While living here, in the autumn of 1939, she faced a tribunal set up by the British Home Office to establish the level of threat posed to the nation by foreign nationals and refugees. Owing to her gender and her employment in domestic work, she was ranked category C – ‘friendly enemy alien’ – and therefore exempted from internment. Other friends were less fortunate: her former teacher, Hermann Nonnenmacher, who had also fled Berlin, was interned at Onchan on the Isle of Man while his wife Erna was sent to Holloway Prison before being sent likewise to the Isle of Man.

Free to remain at liberty for the duration of the war, King applied from Great Gaddesden for admission to the Royal Academy (RA) in London. On the merit of some drawings and photographs of her work that she had brought with her from Berlin, and on the recommendation of A. J. Makower, Chairman of the Professional Committee for German Refugees, the RA offered her an entrance scholarship covering tuition fees. An international refugee organization added a monthly five-pound scholarship for living expenses. Leaving the family in Hertfordshire, she returned to London and commenced studies at the Academy on 12 March 1940.

The Academy was then offering a restricted program. Towards the close of March 1940 the School’s Keeper, Sir Walter Russell, reported that:

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3 King interview, 2010.
4 King interview, 2010. This was revealed only when I asked her directly about living in Great Gaddesdon, which I had discovered by chance through the Internees Index, 1939.
5 Internees Index, 1939. King’s address at this time was 3 St Margaret’s, Great Gaddesdon (near Hemel Hamstead), Hertfordshire, and her name given as Ingeborg Viktoria Sara Neufeld - the ‘Sara’ being a racial appellation of the Third Reich to which all Jewish women whose first names were not of Jewish origin were subjected after August 1938.
6 Hinrichsen, 1993, p. 190. The Nonnemachers’ escape to Britain and subsequent internment are never mentioned in accounts of King’s life and career yet she remained in contact with them at least until 1969, when she and Grahame King visited them in London, and retained examples of their hand-printed Christmas cards. In London, Nonnenmacher referred King to the émigré photographer Alfred Carlebach FRPS, a contact she in turn shared with Robert Klippel at the Abbey after the war. King interview, 2010; King conversations, 1 November 2011.
7 RA Student Records, 1940.
8 King interview, 2009.
9 RA Student Records, 1940.
There will be no additional models engaged, but I can arrange a class for still life painting for the more advanced Students; there will also be a chance to paint from the cast and for making studies from draperies. Students can be fully occupied if they wish… The Sculpture Class is well attended, but most of the men are now on service.\textsuperscript{10}

Russell’s last comment seems unduly positive in light of the Academy’s attendance figures: for the first six months of 1940 the average daily attendance in the sculpture studio was just two students, with a maximum of six and a minimum of one.\textsuperscript{11} This solitary student was almost certainly King who, according to her enrolment record, attended sixty-three out of a possible sixty-four morning sessions.\textsuperscript{12} While availing of every chance to work in the studio, King thus had little opportunity to meet many other students. Nevertheless, a single documentary photograph (fig. 2.1) of her from this time shows her among a group of unidentified RA students and staff. The group pose on a narrow footpath outside the school, an overflowing pile of debris next to them indicative of the somewhat shambolic state of the Academy – and indeed London – during the Blitz.

Presiding over the sculpture studio at this time was the Scottish monumental sculptor William McMillan (1887-1977), who had been Master of the Sculpture School since 1929.\textsuperscript{13} McMillan was a stalwart of the London art establishment, working mainly to commission on stone and bronze portrait busts and commemorative statues as well as decorative pieces such as the two bronze groups, \textit{Nereid} and \textit{Triton with Dolphins} for the Earl Beatty Memorial Fountain in Trafalgar Square, which he exhibited at the RA in 1940.\textsuperscript{14} He dined daily at the Chelsea Arts Club, was a friend of Frank Dobson’s (who represented the acceptable face of a rather diluted British modernism) and was, in many respects, as out of step with current trends in sculpture as his counterparts at the Vereinigte Staatsschulen – albeit without the excuse of a repressive ideological regime.\textsuperscript{15} It is unsurprising that King never mentioned him in interview and dismissed her own work from this period, done under McMillan’s tutelage, as ‘awful

\textsuperscript{10} RA Annual Report, 1940, appendix 4.
\textsuperscript{11} RA Annual Report, 1940, p. 33.
\textsuperscript{12} RA Student Records, 1940.
\textsuperscript{13} RA Annual Report, 1940, appendix 4.
\textsuperscript{14} The finished fountain was not unveiled until 1948.
\textsuperscript{15} Usherwood, 2010, URL: \url{http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/31396}.
Royal Academy stuff’ (see IK0018 to IK0022). Indeed, she later described the RA as ‘very claustrophobic’ and as having a ‘stilted, academic, grey atmosphere’. In any case it was to be a short-lived period of study. In June 1940, after King had been enrolled for just two brief terms, the RA council decided that, in the face of drastically reduced income from the annual exhibition and dwindling student numbers, the school must be closed for the duration of the war.

Other disappointments lay in store. England, on the whole, failed to stimulate the young art student aesthetically. She felt she had entered a country that ‘had never experienced a war. They were centuries behind’. Compared to Germany after WWI – when leading artists, writers and theatre people congregated in Berlin under the Weimar Republic’s aegis – England seemed unexciting and anchored in the past. Even Britain’s renowned heritage industry proved underwhelming. An anticipated visit to the British Museum to see the Elgin marbles resulted only in deflation when she found them to be hidden away under dust sheets. Given the combination of apprehension, discontent and upheaval that characterised King’s first year in England, it is little wonder that her initial impressions of the country were less than enthusiastic.

At this point King had little contact with either British art circles or London’s émigré artist community. Initially she shared a furnished room with some refugee painter friends of the Nonnenmacher’s. She could not recall their names and when asked if she knew any other members of the émigré community, such as those artists who were involved with the Freie Deutsche Kulturbund (FDKB), she explained she was too inexperienced to participate in such circles and that her time in London during the war was too brief to allow significant contacts to be established. Consequently she is not listed among the three hundred or so German émigré artists that Jutta Vinzent documents as active in Britain between 1933 and 1945. Instead she belonged to that

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16 King interview, 2010.
17 Gleeson and King, 1979, p. 23; Blackman and King, 1989, tape 1, side 1.
18 RA Annual Report, 1940, pp. 13, 17.
19 King interview, 2009.
20 King interview, 2009.
21 King interview, 2010. This has never before been recorded.
nebulous population of refugee art students who, for the purposes of Vinzent’s study, were deemed not yet ‘German-speaking émigré adults’ and who are not recognized as part of Britain’s war-time émigré artist community owing to subsequent migration to such countries as North America, Canada and Australia.24

However, King did establish some contacts within the younger refugee community. After the first Luftwaffe bombs fell on London, in September 1940, King’s furnished room that she had shared with friends of the Nonnenmacher’s was damaged, forcing her to move into a hostel that housed a number of young German refugee women who worked in the East End munitions factories. There she became the architect of a small cottage industry manufacturing dolls – an enterprise not before mentioned in the literature on King. Earlier in the year she had chanced across some dolls’ masks in a London craft shop, inspiring her to design a soft body for the doll and contriving a means by which to make ‘artistic dolls’ with a minimum of material – an essential consideration in a time of shortages.25 Upon moving into the hostel she began teaching some of the younger residents the method of producing multiples of this doll.26 Recognising the commercial potential of this activity, the hostel manageress recruited further residents, including a dress designer who created some clothes for the doll and who, together with the manageress, soon began supervising production.27 By this time King was relieved to step back from the enterprise, which was a distraction from studies; however, she was left with the experience of putting her creative ability to practical use.28 After the war she would carve small household items, such as trays, lamps and candelabra, to sell in Heal’s, London, while in Australia she supplemented her income with the sale of handmade jewellery.29

One significant contact was made during this period in London, although it would not bear fruit until the 1960s. Prior to the RA Schools’ closure King began attending evening life classes at the Central School of Arts and Crafts, relying solely on the Central School for studio space after June 1940. Here she met her first Australian acquaintance: Hal Missingham (1906-94), ‘dark-bearded, in a dark green suit,

24 Personal email correspondence from Dr Jutta Vinzent, University of Birmingham, 25 January 2011.
27 Blackman and King, 1989, tape 1, side 1.
28 King interview, 2010.
teaching commercial art with an Australian accent’. 30 Although she did not take any of his classes, the acquaintance resulted in her approaching him in the early 1960s, when Missingham was director of the Art Gallery of New South Wales, and with his consent arranging for the gallery to hold a Centre Five exhibition in 1965. 31 Her enrolment at the Central School also led to a second, more immediate change of fate. During the autumn of 1940, living conditions in London became increasingly difficult as air raids increased in regularity. The hostel where she staying was hit, rendering her again homeless. Consequently when the school was evacuated to Northampton, in December 1940, King elected to go with it, leaving London and not to return – other than for occasional visits – for another seven years. 32

Unfortunately the art school at Northampton Technical College, where the London Central School students and staff were accommodated, lacked any sculpture studio. Instead King concentrated on figure drawing and etching for six months. 33 She also modelled in clay some portraits and figure studies from life, initially working in the pottery studio until a teacher saw her and put a stop to such ‘immoral’ activities; later she continued to work from a friend’s shed, heated by a potbelly stove. 34 One of the painting teachers at the school, the Scotsman William Johnstone (1897-1981), sympathised with her frustration at the lack of sculpture facilities. On his recommendation King applied to Edinburgh College of Art, which had not only proper studio space but also a Carnegie endowment that enabled them to offer scholarships to students. 35 King’s application was initially successful – only to be turned down on the basis that even ‘friendly’ aliens were not permitted within the coastal exclusion zones, which included Edinburgh. Undeterred she applied to the Glasgow School of Arts (GSA); while they didn’t have the same financial backing as Edinburgh, they were outside the exclusion zone and therefore able to take foreigners. She was accepted and moved to Glasgow in the spring of 1941.

30 Till, 2000, p. 122.
31 King interview, 2009.
32 The month of evacuation is given in Till, 2000, p. 126.
33 For the only etching known to have survived from this period see IKW0026.
34 Blackman and King, 1989, tape 1, side 1. Only one sculpture made during her months in Northampton was recorded; see IK0023.
35 Gleeson and King, 1979, p. 23.
2.1.2: Glasgow, 1941-44

King’s arrival in Glasgow was heralded by one of the worst air raids Scotland received during the war: between the 13th and 15th of March 1941 over six hundred people were killed in Glasgow, with another sixteen hundred wounded.36 The attack marked a change in German military strategy, which saw a new focus on Britain’s industrial towns. As a principal port for transatlantic trade and one of the world’s largest shipbuilding centres, Glasgow was an obvious target. At the same time increasing numbers of Eastern European refugees and military squadrons arrived in the city, primarily from Poland and Czechoslovakia. A medley of tongues began to be heard on the streets: ‘hard Norwegian, rapid French … and hardly audible German coming as though from ashamed voices’.37 With evidence of the recent Luftwaffe attacks still plainly visible it was scarcely an auspicious time for a young Berliner to arrive and set about establishing herself as an art student, let alone as an exhibiting and selling artist. King’s sense of self-identity, as a former German – and now stateless – assimilated Jew, must have been severely tested under such conditions. She attested to never speaking German during her years in Glasgow – despite occasionally taking lunch at the Austrian Club, which was close to the art school – and instead tried to assimilate as quickly as possible.38

The Glasgow that King first encountered was battered but afloat, with the cultural institutions vital to the survival of the arts – including the art school, galleries, and theatres – still functioning, at varying levels, despite the odds. During the March raids many buildings were severely damaged, including the Glasgow Art Gallery at Kelvingrove. It re-opened six weeks later, albeit with the central sculpture hall virtually emptied of work at the behest of the gallery’s director, Dr Tom Honeyman, who seized upon the opportunity to do away with what he saw as ‘an eyesore, with so many pieces of bad sculpture and plaster casts dotted around like so many men on a chess-board’.39 As the war intensified, Glasgow attracted a steady flow of artistic traffic. The Ballet Rambert and Sadler’s Wells toured productions from London, French films screened at the newly established Cosmo Cinema and exhibitions of art

37 Herman, 1972, p. 1.
38 King interview, 2010.
from occupied Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Norway and Poland were shown at the Glasgow Art Gallery.\textsuperscript{40} While few of these exhibitions included advanced or challenging works, they did survey a broad range of international artists and introduced Glaswegians to such newly arrived immigrant artists as Oskar Kokoschka and Feliks Topolski.\textsuperscript{41} The advent of war also marked the arrival in Glasgow of the dancer Margaret Morris and her painter-sculptor husband, J. D. Fergusson (of Scottish Colourist fame), who had both spent the preceding three decades in the south of France. In 1940 they established both the Celtic Ballet and – in the same premises, at 299 West Regent Street – the New Art Club, where the latest developments in art from Paris were debated at twice-weekly meetings and regular exhibitions mounted of work deemed too experimental for the more staid and subscription-only Old Art Club.\textsuperscript{42}

A number of refugee artists also gathered in Glasgow, compelled – like King – to leave the coastal exclusion zones. The two foremost among their number, featured in every account of wartime artistic activity in Glasgow, were the painters Jankel Adler (1895-1949) and Josef Herman (1911-2000), who first met one another in Warsaw in 1935-6 and were reunited in Glasgow in 1941.\textsuperscript{43} Adler had been a friend of Paul Klee’s in Düsseldorf, which fact alone apportioned him a degree of cultural cachet that was only magnified by his wide-ranging knowledge of art, philosophy, Jewish mysticism, modern science, literature, theatre and film.\textsuperscript{44} However, he made few permanent connections in Glasgow and after a small solo exhibition at the Annan Gallery left for London in 1943.\textsuperscript{45} Josef Herman, on the other hand, made lasting friendships in Glasgow with – among others – King’s mentor and teacher Benno Schotz (of whom more shortly) and two of her art-school contemporaries, the painter

\textsuperscript{40} Honeyman, 1971, pp. 82-3, 85; Oliver, 1985, p. 9; Oliver, 2001, p. 19.
\textsuperscript{41} The reviewer of one such exhibition felt that: ‘Our Allies – Belgian, Czecho-Slovak, French, Grecian, Jugo-Slavian, Dutch, Norwegian, and Polish – have given us mainly straightforward pictures. There are a few which will cause the sterling Glaswegian to say, “Ach, Ah could daw as well maself”‘; House, 1941. For similar commentary see also Glasgow Herald, 1941.
\textsuperscript{42} Simister, 2001, p. 97.
\textsuperscript{44} Adler, 1972, pp. 7-9; Herman, 1972, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{45} In his brief final years in London he made a greater impression on a number of young artists among the Gimpel Fils stable, including the young Irish painter, Louis le Brocquy (1916-2012), who painted his \textit{Child with Doll – Homage to Jankel Adler} in 1949, in memory of the man who lost all nine of his siblings in the Holocaust.
Joan Eardley and filmmaker Helen Biggar. Herman’s gratitude towards Schotz, who arranged subsidies for both him and Adler from the Jewish Welfare Board, organized exhibitions of their work, encouraged patronage and even accommodated Herman for a brief period in his own home, is warmly attested to throughout Herman’s later writings. Schotz introduced King to both men though King felt the difference in their levels of experience acutely, perceiving them to be ‘fully fledged artists … a lot older than myself’ (in fact she was only four years Herman’s junior). King felt ‘they couldn’t quite understand’ what motivated her work: ‘they had their own way of working and I was just still modelling from the figure … therefore my contact was very limited with them’. Nevertheless Adler’s and Herman’s presence in Glasgow during the war contributed to the sense that the city was an artistic centre, so that for Cordelia Oliver (1923-2009) – then an aspiring painter and later critic for The Guardian – Glasgow during the war was ‘a stimulating place for anyone who was young and involved in the arts’.50

King commenced studies at the GSA in April 1941. In recognition of her prior studies she was permitted to bypass the first two years of the four-year diploma course. This enabled her to devote the majority of her time to sculpture, aside from some requisite classes in architecture, composition and drawing (taught by Hugh Adam Crawford – ‘a very good teacher … always very helpful’). She also took classes in ceramics though retained no recollection of these. From the registrar’s records it is known that King was awarded a maintenance scholarship of £66 in 1942 and that she completed her diploma in modelling in 1943. A more detailed picture of her progress can be gauged from the local newspapers where her name appears among the list of diploma recipients at award ceremonies in August 1942 and

46 Herman, 1972, pp. 1-2. King greatly admired Eardley’s painting and often talked of her in interview; King interviews, 2009, 2010.
47 Herman, 1975, pp. 75-6; see also Schotz, 1981, pp. 161-6.
48 King interview, 2010.
49 King interview, 2010.
50 Oliver, 1985, p. 9.
51 GSA Registrar Records, 1941-43. The exact date was most probably 28 April 1941, which is when the third term of the 1940-41 academic year commenced; GSA calendar, 1940, p. 3.
52 GSA Registrar Records, 1941-43; Blackman and King, 1989, tape 1, side 1.
53 GSA Registrar Records, 1941-43; King interview, 2010. Schotz took over ceramics after the school’s pottery teacher enlisted: ‘I began to get my students to make terra cottas to keep that department open and going. I was afraid that if it were to shut down, it might be difficult to start up again’; Schotz, 1981, p. 131. See also O’Brien, 2009, p. 25; Oliver, 2001, p. 23.
54 GSA Registrar Records, 1941-43.
February 1943, while in July 1943 she was one of just three students in the school (and the only one from the modelling and sculpture department) to be ‘endorsed for post-diploma study’.\(^5\) Her diploma certificate records that she received the Diploma in Modelling and Sculpture on 10 June 1942 and that she completed ‘a course of Post-Diploma study’, which was endorsed in June 1943.\(^6\)

Among these lists of diploma recipients appear the names of several of King’s art school friends. In August 1942 and February 1943 the only other student mentioned from the modelling and sculpture department was A. E. F. Watson. This was Alison Watson, who was a good friend of King’s while at the GSA.\(^5\) Like many other art students she went on to train at Jordanhill teachers’ college, after which the pair lost contact, but King warmly recalled Watson’s family whose friendship made her feel welcome in wider Glasgow society.\(^6\) Another name to appear frequently is that of Margaret Kennedy Mackenzie (b. 1922), later known in Australia under her married name Margaret Priest.\(^5\) She first enrolled at the GSA in 1939, specialising in sculpture. Although a year behind King they formed a firm friendship, attending orchestral concerts, recitals and operas together.\(^6\) King took Mackenzie around the local timber mills to source seasoned panels of elm, oak and walnut before teaching the young Scotswoman how to carve wood, drawing on the skills she had gained in Nonnenmacher’s and Hitzberger’s studios in Berlin.\(^1\) This occurred in the grounds of Barnaigh House at Kennishead – the home of an older friend, Kathleen McNeil (1894-1968), who was a ‘lively, well educated, [and] artistic’ woman with an interest in history, period furniture and vernacular architecture.\(^6\) She too studied sculpture at the GSA and commissioned King to make a work for her garden, the details of which are now lost.\(^6\) However, King’s family retain a bronze cast of a naturalistically

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\(^5\) Glasgow Herald, 1942; Glasgow Herald, 1943 c; Glasgow Herald, 1943 d.  
\(^6\) King papers, GSA Diploma. Previously published details of King’s education simply state that she studied at the GSA from 1941 to 1943, during which time she was awarded a diploma and post diploma; see for instance Bendigo, 1995, p. 10; Trimble, 1996, p. 4; and McCulloch, 2004, p. 576.  
\(^7\) King conversation, 17 June 2010.  
\(^8\) King recalls that Alison Watson married a Quaker by the name of Boscher; King interview, 2010.  
\(^9\) Citizen, 1943; Glasgow Herald, 1943 d.  
modelled horse, titled *Peggy M’Neil* (IK0044), which was a portrait of one of the horses kept by the McNeil family at Kennishead and which she exhibited in 1944.64

Alongside her new Scottish friends King worked twelve-hour days in the GSA modelling studios, located in the basement of the main school building on Renfrew Street, assisting with fire-watching duty by night.65 In the majority of former students’ accounts this building features highly – unsurprisingly given that, as early as 1936, Nikolaus Pevsner had cemented the building’s position within the pantheon of European modernism.66 Designed by Charles Rennie Mackintosh in 1896 and completed in 1909, the building combined elements of Scots baronial architecture – employing sandstone blocks for the street frontage, heavy massed masonry on the east and west walls and small-paned bay windows – with sweeping Art Nouveau curves, most noticeably in the flight of stairs leading to the main entrance.67 For Cordelia Oliver ‘the essence’ of the building was its ‘continuing space, forever changing, forever rewarding, but always related to the human scale’.68 Mackintosh’s eye for distinctive detailing was found throughout the building, particularly along the main street front in the black-painted wrought iron railings and screens that combined floral-derived organic shapes with geometric patterns of squares and thrusting upright forms. I suggest this juxtaposition of strong design elements imprinted itself upon King in two distinct ways. Firstly, Mackintosh’s use of wrought iron railings and window screens provided an example of abstract welded-metal forms that served a functional purpose while possessing an undeniable sculptural aesthetic. The memory of these striking black forms contrasting against skylights and stonework possibly returned to her in the late 1950s when searching for forms sufficiently bold to contrast with the Australian bush environment. Secondly, the building demonstrated the potential of successfully marrying art and architecture. While Mackintosh designed most of the building’s architectural sculpture himself, the result pointed towards the use to which sculpture could be placed at the service of architecture without

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64 Glasgow, 1944, no. 130; King interview, 2010.
66 Pevsner, 1936, pp. 158–60. For accounts of the building’s significance among King’s contemporaries, see Oliver quoted by Ferguson, 1995, p. 169; Oliver, 2001, pp. 18, 20–1; and Low, 1996, pp. 77–86.
67 Mackintosh’s building replaced the former cramped school quarters in the McLellan Galleries on Sauchiehall Street. Glasgow Herald, 16 March 1940, quoted in Glasgow, 2001, p. 4.
68 Oliver quoted by Ferguson, 1995, p. 169.
dominating or being dominated by the overall design. This was a lesson that King and her colleagues in Centre Five would struggle to impress upon Melbourne’s architectural fraternity throughout the 1950s and ‘60s.

The GSA modelling and sculpture department had long held an anomalous position within the school: while modelling was ‘acknowledged as the most effective vehicle for developing a student’s powers of observation’, and was therefore a compulsory subject for all students, relatively few chose to specialise in the area so that there was only ever a tiny handful of third- and fourth-year students working in the sculpture studio.69 Alongside Watson, Mackenzie and McNeil, King shared the space with architecture students who ‘were required to attend modelling classes as a vital link between the purely imaginary conceptions they produced on their drawing boards and the structures that they would eventually build in the real world’.70 Many years later King would adopt a similar approach at Melbourne University, where – as a guest lecturer – she would set architecture students the task of constructing mobiles as a means of developing their spatial awareness.71 Sculpture and architecture were seen as integral partners.

The department was then presided over by Benno Schotz RSA (1891-1984), a man King appreciated for his humanity and sensitivity and who, by all accounts, enjoyed an ‘excellent rapport with his small group of students’.72 Schotz was an Estonian Jewish émigré; the son of a Lithuanian father and Latvian mother, he was born on the island of Oesel and raised in the seaside resort of Pärnu under similar political conditions to those of Juozas Zikaras and Vilius Jomantas – namely Russian imperialism.73 From childhood he spoke Russian, Yiddish and German and dabbled in poetry and playwriting.74 Owing to the lack of university places open to Jews in Estonia, he travelled in 1911 firstly to Darmstadt via Berlin to study engineering, moving the following year to Glasgow, where he attended evening classes in sculpture at the GSA while working as a draughtsman by day for a firm of Clydebank

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70 McKenzie, 2009, p. 112.
71 King conversation, 7 May 2010.
73 Schotz, 1981, pp. 11-12, 14.
By 1941, when King first met him, Schotz was well established artistically: a member of the Royal Scottish Academy (RSA), he had completed several public commissions from John Keppie’s architectural firm including two allegorical figures for the façade of the Bank of Scotland on Glasgow’s Sauchiehall Street (just down the street from the GSA). His freely modelled portrait busts were frequently compared to those of Jacob Epstein. Schotz himself refuted the comparison – claiming rather that he ‘felt a kinship’ with Rodin – yet he regularly professed his admiration for Epstein’s work to his students, confiding in the elder artist that ‘I teach and preach Epstein’. Examination of Schotz’s numerous portrait heads, such as his head of Helen Biggar (fig. 2.2), reveals his primary concern for the expression of character through a form of realism animated by textured surfaces that deployed light and shadow to dramatic effect, rather than purely formalist concerns or an interest in the sort of primitivism that attracted Epstein. In his memoirs Schotz frequently repeated his modest credo: ‘if I modelled the features correctly, the likeness and character would appear of its own accord’.

Under the benign influence of Schotz, King was able to concentrate on studio practice. As a student she continued to work in an academic vein but a greater diversity of subjects tackled suggests increasing confidence and skill. Some works from this period were evidently set pieces: for instance, Crouching Woman, 1941 (IK0031), carved in stone, was most likely an interpretation of the Louvre’s 2nd century CE Crouching Venus, a plaster cast of which had been in the GSA collection since the late nineteenth century. Two other students’ version of this same subject were illustrated in the prospective for the 1936-7 academic year at the GSA, while Schotz exhibited a stone Crouching Nude at the Royal Glasgow Institute of Fine Arts.

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75 Schotz, 1981, pp. 35-41.
76 Benno Schotz, Two Allegorical Figures, Armorial Shield and Associated Decorative Reliefs, 1929-31, yellow sandstone (figures) and bronze (shield), 2.3 m high (figures), Bank of Scotland, 235 Sauchiehall Street and 147 Blythswood Street, Glasgow. The figures are illustrated in McKenzie and Nisbet, 2002, p. 345.
77 Honeyman reported in Jewish Echo, 1942, p. 4; Halliday and Bruce, 1946, p. 9; and Smith, 1962, p. 5.
79 A range of Schotz’s work is illustrated in Glasgow, 1978, and Christie’s, 1997.
81 With thanks to Peter Trowles, Taffiner Mackintosh Curator, GSA, for confirming the approximate date at which the GSA acquired a plaster cast of Crouching Venus (email correspondence, 2 February 2011). The cast is taken from the Crouching Aphrodite, marble, 1st-2nd century CE Roman copy after a Hellenistic original of the 3rd century BC, Paris, Louvre.
(RGIFA) in 1940. Crouching Woman was the first work that King showed publicly in Scotland, exhibiting it in the autumn of 1941 at the RGIFA. The following year she exhibited two further works at the Institute, one of which might be deemed a typical art school subject: Lady Jane Grey, c. 1941-2 (fig. 2.3, IK0034.2), a plaster for bronze full-length figure of the educated Englishwoman and Protestant martyr who ruled England for just nine days, in which careful attention was paid to the pleats of the full-length brocade gown. As Judith Trimble notes, the figure with her downcast gaze and heavily textured brocade dress, hands grasped humbly before her, recalls Epstein’s The Visitation, 1926. King would later state categorically that Epstein impressed her above all other British artists.

The other work exhibited in 1942 was Pastoral Panel, c. 1941-2 (fig. 2.4, IK0035.2), a relief carving in elm relief depicting three cows in profile, their features carved in assuredly strong outlines with the grain of the wood used to emphasise the animals’ undulating flanks. The three beasts fill the plank of wood almost to the extremities, with only a small perimeter of space between them and the edge of the wood. Pastoral Panel is less academic in conception than Lady Jane Grey. Indeed, when compared to the range of work illustrated in Halliday and Bruce’s Scottish Sculpture, of 1946, it seems to stand apart from the bulk of the work being produced in Scotland at the time. While Scottish women sculptors such as Phyllis Bone (1894-1972) and Gwynneth Holt (1909-95) favoured animal subjects, King’s relief panel eschewed art deco curves and playfulness in search of something more solidly evocative of the massed strength of the heavy creatures. She later recalled that she was inspired by the ‘wonderful sensual quality’ of the cattle in the landscape, indicating a robust, earthy appreciation of animal forms. In the simplicity of the composition, with its mere notation of details (for instance in the area of the beasts’ eyes, which are – in each case – identical and depicted with three carved lines), the work recalls the sort of

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82 GSA calendar, 1936, unpaginated. Glasgow, 1940, no. 93. This is likely the same work illustrated in Halliday and Bruce, 1946, plate XXIX, where it is described as Crouching Nude, stone carving, 20 ins high.
83 Glasgow, 1941, no. 683.
84 The title was suggested by King’s friend, Margaret Mackenzie; King interview, 2010.
85 Trimble, 1996, p. 6. Jacob Epstein, The Visitation, 1926, bronze, 165.1 x 47.0 x 45.7 cm, Tate Gallery, London.
86 King interview, 2009; King interview, 2010.
87 I am grateful to Ray McKenzie for bringing to my attention the work of Bone and English-born Holt, who practiced in Aberdeen for many years; McKenzie conversation, 2010.
88 Blackman and King, 1989, tape 1, side 2.
folk woodcarving that King would have been familiar with as a child in Germany. It extends the craft intentions of the Passover Seder Plate (IK0009), made earlier in Berlin, and applies these same skills – albeit now better honed – to a work of considerable aesthetic power that stands apart from the more curvaceously decorative work then prevalent in Scotland.

Another work of this period, known as Three-Legged Race, c. 1941-3, was more academic in style and depicted two pre-pubescent boys with their arms around each other’s shoulders in an embrace of brotherly or perhaps platonic love (fig. 2.5, IK0039). This was originally exhibited under the title David and Jonathan at the school’s Exhibition by Staff and Diploma Students in aid of Students' War Comforts Fund and at the RSA in 1943.89 The story of David and Jonathan derives from the Book of Samuel in the Old Testament: Jonathan, the son of Saul, King of Israel, and David, the son of Jesse of Bethlehem, were rivals for the crown yet formed a covenant of brotherly love that transcended the political ambitions of their families. The subject demonstrated King’s continued interest in Jewish subject matter while the story of friendship between warring parties was also a fitting allegory of her own position in Scotland as ‘friendly alien’.

Other subjects were even less conventional and in execution looked to the early German expressionists. Three Drunkards, c. 1942-3 (IK0049) was one such: modelled in terracotta around a central core, with the eponymous three figures forming a smooth and undulating mound of massed forms. This was a structure employed earlier by Käthe Kollwitz in Tower of the Mothers, 1937-8, and which King experimented with in at least one other work: Appletree (Three Sisters), 1943 (IK0048).90 King’s plaster Mother and Child, 1943 (fig. 2.6, IK0051) similarly recalls Kollwitz’s Mutter mit zwei Kindern (Mother With Two Children), 1923-37 (fig. 2.7); in both works the mother’s embrace draws the infants back towards the maternal body, as though seeking to reabsorb them. Even as King worked in exile, Kollwitz and Barlach’s work remained of central importance. She shared her deep enthusiasm for both artists’ work with Margaret Priest, who later recalled the

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89 Glasgow, c. 1943, no. 43; Edinburgh, 1943, no. 18.
90 Käthe Kollwitz, Turm der Mütter (Tower of the Mothers), 1937-8, bronze, h. 2.7 m, Baltimore Museum of Art.
stimulating nature of their conversations about European art in general and Barlach, Kollwitz and Picasso in particular.\footnote{O’Brien, 2009, pp. 26-7.} King’s admiration for these artists, as expressed verbally and in her work, presents another plausible conduit for their introduction into Scottish art circles – a conduit usually ascribed solely to Josef Herman.\footnote{Andreae, 2013, pp. 42-3.}

King was not the only sculptor at the GSA then attempting to break free from academic constraints. Benno Schotz likewise found himself hampered by the classical tradition. As the war continued and the plight of Jewish people on the continent became more desperate, Schotz struggled to find a symbol with which to express his feelings.\footnote{Schotz, 1981, p. 163.} The result was \textit{Lament}, 1943 (fig. 2.8), which he designed ‘a year or two earlier’ but took some time to realise owing to a shortage of available material.\footnote{Schotz, 1981, p. 163.} Carved in lignum vitae, \textit{Lament} comprised the head and naked torso of a woman, her stylised hands flattened against her face and her head tilted back, eyes closed, in a recognisable gesture of despair. In my opinion the work reflects Schotz’s admiration of two modern sculptors: Eric Gill (1882-1940), whose austerely carved figures evoked a dignity to which Schotz aspired, and Ivan Meštrović (1883-1962), particularly the latter’s \textit{A young girl in prayer}, 1925, and \textit{In Despair}, 1927.\footnote{Ivan Meštrović, \textit{A young girl in prayer}, 1925, bronze, 77 cm high, with Sotheby’s, London, 2 July 2013, lot 219, and \textit{In Despair}, 1927, marble relief, 117 cm high, Mestrovic Palace Gallery, Split, Dalmatia.} Schotz first encountered Meštrović’s work at an exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1915 and later described the experience as his ‘first real shock of seeing profound and inspired sculpture’. While it would be difficult to see the influence of either Gill or Meštrović on Schotz’s early work, the urgent need to find a form that would express his great distress concerning the events unfolding in Europe – particularly following the news of his sister’s murder in Pärnu – spurred Schotz to abandon classicism and turn instead to a more modernist expressionism.

This same sense of alarm provoked King to make an equally radical departure in two works: \textit{Untitled (figure in grief)}, 1943 (fig. 2.10, IK0050) and \textit{Warsaw}, 1943 (fig. 2.11, IK0053). While others have written briefly on \textit{Warsaw}, comparing it to the...
work of Barlach, Kollwitz, Rodin, Donatello and Masaccio, none have connected it to the more direct interaction with Schotz or to contemporary events of the time. Untitled (figure in grief) is entirely obscure as King never released photographs of the work until recently. King’s sketchbooks contain a number of drawings of a woman crying – her face buried in her hands – that date to December 1942 and January 1943 and are inscribed ‘Nele weeping’ (IKW0047.1), referring to the forlorn love of Till Ulenspiegel who must await her errant knight’s return (for King’s reading of de Coster’s Legend of Ulenspiegel, see chapter 1). This same figure, shorn of smock dress, reappears as a ubiquitous grieving woman (fig. 2.9, IKW0050), which is clearly a sketch of Schotz’s Lament. She then finds three-dimensional form in Untitled (figure in grief), 1943 (IK0050), with the slight modification of one arm being lowered, crossing her body. In conversation, King admitted to the closeness of her carved grieving figure to Schotz’s Lament and said that it was dissatisfaction at having too closely emulated her teacher’s work that caused her to shortly afterwards re-carve the piece, removing the head and re-carving both it and the resultant torso down to angular, cubist forms (see IK0056 and IK0057). The inception of Untitled (figure in grief) as ‘Nele weeping’ and her evolution into a sketch, then modified carving, of Schotz’s Lament, indicates the complex network of influences – literary and artistic – that informed King’s work at this time.

Warsaw, 1943, was likewise an expression of King’s anguish at events in Europe. In this work King borrowed from the formal language of Kollwitz rather than Schotz, enlarging the beseeching hands and splayed feet – one of which is wedged backwards, on the ball of the foot, while the other drops slackerly to the side – in order to emphasise their emotive impact. The tattered garment that shrouds the body had appeared in a sketch in her Glasgow Sketchbook (IKW0047.1), in December 1942, depicting Ulenspiegel being forced to walk in his nightshirt, bare-footed and hatless, behind a Catholic priest as punishment for offending the Church. These garments also recall the quattrocento Mary Magdalene of Donatello (another of Schotz’s

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98 The work was first illustrated in Grishin, 2014, p. 300, but is not discussed therein. I discussed it in a paper presented at AAANZ: Eckett, 2015.
99 King conversation, 1 November 2011.
preferred masters), as do the sunken hollows of the eyes. However, unlike the carved Magdalene, King’s small figure was modelled in clay with the medium built up over a central wire core, dragged and smoothed down over the area of the skull and pinched and cut into around the folds of cloth over the figure’s legs. Technically therefore it was the product of Schotz’s own method of modelling – in turn based upon Rodin – but adapted to a more schematic and emotionally expressive subject than was usual for either King or Schotz. The title was also far more direct and topical than that used by Schotz for his Lament or for a related work, carved the following year: Unto the Hills, 1944. Schotz himself recognised that neither work would necessarily be connected to the plight of European Jewry. By titling her grieving figure Warsaw, King signified not merely the city but more specifically its ghetto from which over 300,000 Jews had been deported (mainly to Treblinka) between July 1942 and January 1943. News of the Nazi’s systematic extermination of Poland’s Jewry made little impact in Britain until December 1942, when it was finally raised in the House of Commons. Over the following months public awareness mounted; for instance Clifford Last’s mother – herself susceptible to occasional anti-Semitic outbursts – recorded in her diary for 14 February 1943: ‘the shocking news on the wireless, about the murder of so many Jews by the Germans’. King had long heard talk about the camps and the gassing but not in any detail. Witness testimony was still scarce and members of the Polish Resistance were still, in 1944, trying to smuggle out photographs of the camps in order to provide proof of their ostensibly ‘unimaginable’ monstrous function – ‘images in spite of all’ to borrow Georges Didi-Huberman’s phrase. While King’s work is far removed from any such documentary evidence, it does enact a form of protest: challenging the viewer to

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100 Donato di Niccolò di Betto Bardi (known as Donatello), Statue of Mary Magdalene, 1453-5, gilded and polychrome poplar wood, 188 cm high, Museo dell’Opera del Duomo, Florence. The similarity was first noted in Trimble, 1996, p. 9. For Schotz’s opinion of Donatello see Schotz, 1981, p. 87.
102 Schotz, 1981, p. 163. Herman, however, later connected Unto the Hills with Jewish suffering during the war; Herman cited in Braber, 2012, p. 177.
103 The Polish Government-in-Exile broadcast news of the Nazi persecution of Jews but only on 17 December 1942 did Sir Anthony Eden, as Secretary of State, issue a United Nations Declaration, announced in the House of Commons, acknowledging that Poland’s ghettos were being emptied. See Behr and Gilman, 2009, p. 92, fn. 17.
104 Broad and Fleming, 2006, p. 23.
105 Blackman and King, 1989, tape 1, side 2.
empathise with terrible human suffering and indeed to imagine exactly that which the Nazis had believed and desired would remain unimaginable.

The social consciousness and grave concern for Jewish people evidenced in King’s \textit{Warsaw} and – more obliquely – in Schotz’s \textit{Lament} and \textit{Unto the Hills} underlay Schotz’s decision to organise the \textit{Jewish Art Exhibition} at the Glasgow Jewish Institute from 20 December 1942 to 10 January 1943.\footnote{Glasgow, 1942-43.} This was a significant – if now little known – event in terms of Scottish art in general and King’s development in particular.\footnote{Braber, 2012, briefly refers to it (p. 180); so too do Bohm-Duchen, 2009, pp. 59, 183, and Andreae, 2013, p. 43. No mention is found in Tom Normand’s chapter on wartime Scottish art (Normand, 2000, pp. 99-138), or in the catalogue \textit{Art Booms with the Guns}, which chronicled events connected to the GSA during WWII (Glasgow, 2001). Judith Trimble briefly referred to exhibition, but mistakenly described it as ‘a sculpture exhibition at the Lived Premises Gallery in Glasgow where Zadkine had shown some works’; Trimble, 1996, p. 11. Margaret Priest’s more accurate recollections of the event are found in O’Brien, 2009, pp. 41-2.} Unlike many of the loan exhibitions staged by the Glasgow Art Gallery under Tom Honeyman’s directorship, the \textit{Jewish Art Exhibition} brought the work of some of the foremost artists of the early twentieth century to Glasgow and made many of them available for purchase. Included were works by Marc Chagall, Max Liebermann, Amedeo Modigliani, Camille and Lucien Pissarro, Chaim Soutine and Ossip Zadkine, as well as naturalised British artists such as Jankel Adler, David Bomberg, Jacob Epstein, Josef Herman, Mark Gertler, Jacob Kramer and Schotz himself. In the accompanying catalogue Schotz wrote of his hope that the show would draw ‘attention to the Jewish Renaissance, and the gradual emergence of a Jewish art’, going on to underscore the exhibition’s contemporary relevance:

\begin{quote}
To-day, when on the continent of Europe Jewish life and culture is being systematically and brutally uprooted and destroyed, there is an urgent necessity for Jews elsewhere to demonstrate their faith in themselves and their future.\footnote{Glasgow, 1942-43, p. [1].}
\end{quote}

The exhibition was thus a significant exercise both in drawing attention to the crimes then being perpetrated against Jews across Europe and demonstrating the key role that so many Jewish artists had played in the development of modernism.
King and Margaret Mackenzie volunteered as exhibition invigilators, giving them long hours in which to study the work on display.\textsuperscript{110} Mackenzie later recalled this as a transformative event:

> Before this I had a lesser view of art – beautiful, rhythmic art – beautiful materials. Art would never be the same. Art was much more real and important – and direct and crude. I loved the roughness. It was a wonderful opening up of a new world – and the disintegration of old attitudes.\textsuperscript{111}

In particular she recalled the presence of a small Zadkine bronze, \textit{The Musicians}, 1927 (fig. 2.12), which attracted considerable controversy when it was purchased for the Kelvingrove Art Gallery. Schotz was called upon to defend the gallery’s purchase in the pages of \textit{The Glasgow Herald}, hailing it as ‘the first really “modern” piece of sculpture in the city’s permanent collection’ and describing its formal properties with a fellow sculptor’s sensitivity.\textsuperscript{112}

This same work of Zadkine’s captured King’s imagination. One sketchbook (IKW0047.1), dated from 15 December 1942 to 4 January 1943, includes a pen and ink sketch of the Zadkine that she recalled drawing while at the exhibition.\textsuperscript{113} The work percolated in her mind for a number of years. In July 1946 she produced a series of pen and ink and pencil sketches of groups of musicians (IKW0102-IKW0107), resulting the following year in the plaster cast \textit{Musicians: Homage to Zadkine}, 1947 (fig. 2.13, IK0064), in which the three figures form a single concertinaed mass, their limbs and instruments interlocking with each other. Zadkine’s residual curves give way in King’s homage to squared-off, block-like forms for heads and triangular instruments, renouncing any pretence of naturalism in favour of a more schematic conception of form.

How did King progress from the overtly expressive modelling of \textit{Warsaw}, 1943, to the far cooler, cubist abstraction of \textit{Musicians}, 1947, in less than four years? To answer this it is necessary to look beyond the walls of the GSA. Around 1943 Schotz

\textsuperscript{110} King conversation, 28 March 2012.
\textsuperscript{111} Mackenzie cited in O’Brien, 2009, p. 41.
\textsuperscript{112} Benno Schotz quoted in Glasgow Herald, 1943 b.
\textsuperscript{113} King conversation, 24 April 2012.
introduced King to a sculptor who had earlier been expelled from the GSA, reputedly owing to the avant-garde nature of his work: George Bradley Innes (1913-70). Remarkably little exists about Innes in the extant literature, possibly owing to war injuries limiting his output, yet his was among the most challenging and advanced work produced in Scotland during the 1930s. Halliday and Bruce included him in their survey of modern Scottish sculpture but placed the four rather blurred plates at the very end of their volume, as though his was the outer limits of what might be embraced under the apparently catchall term of the title. Those four plates, illustrating monumental carved stone and concrete figures and heads, indicate a careful study of ancient Egyptian, Mesopotamian and pre-Columbian sculpture such as likewise inspired Henry Moore. Massive limbs demarcate the edges of the carved block, heads turn at stern right angles and faces are reduced to impassive masks of the most minimal detail. King recalled these works, and similar ones, from her visits to Innes’ studio.

By the mid-1940s Innes had adopted a more austerely geometric idiom as part of an exploration of cubist space, which would continue to preoccupy him throughout the 1950s. A typical example is his Dancers, c. 1945-7 (fig. 2.14), which King also recalled seeing in Innes’ studio. Here the two figures are carved in striated bands of stone so sharp and regular in their outline that they appear machined, replacing curved forms with terraced blocks. In a letter to the curator of the Glasgow Art Gallery, 1957, Innes outlined his approach to material:

> Since the nature of the stone block is its mass and unity the elements of the design must be seen in terms of mass and organized as related parts of a whole. In other words the subject must be recorded in terms of the mass and unity of the stone block. It would be wrong to imitate flesh forms in

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114 Trimble, 1996, p. 11.
115 Innes was badly wounded while a serviceman in WWII. In 1957 he explained to a curator at the Glasgow Art Gallery that ‘I can neither stand, sit, not lie on my back without pain, said to be the result of shock as a result of being blown out of tanks twice and burned’; Innes dossier: letter from George B. Innes, to George Buchanan, Curator of Art, Corporation of Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, Kelvingrove, 10 April 1957. However, McEwan records that Innes produced little work after WWII as a result of burns to his hands; McEwan, 1994, p. 293; also Spalding and Collins, 1991, p. 265.
116 Halliday and Bruce, 1946, plates LXXV-LXXVIII.
117 King interview, 2010.
118 King interview, 2010. *Dancers* was exhibited at the RSA in 1947 and was one of just three works of sculpture illustrated in a volume on the New Scottish Group (Fergusson, 1947, p. 71), a signed copy of which Innes inscribed to King; it remains in her family’s possession.
His approach tallied with Moore’s belief in expressing the ‘stoniness’ of stone and was a logical defence of art that eschewed a nineteenth-century conception of realism. However, far from content with exploring the organic nature of material, Innes sought a rigorous system by which to calculate the angles and dimensions necessary for his work:

The basic element of form is the point which has position alone. The line has length and direction, the plane length, breadth and area, the mass length, breadth, height and density, that is cubic measurement. Of course all sculpture has cubic measurement but this type [such as Dancers] … uses the above system of form as an objective idiom, a language of form in which the subject is expressed. It is one system, complete, and simple.

With this system of cubic measurement, Innes considered his block of stone in terms of primary surfaces (front, back, top, and sides), which were then linked by secondary planes at an angle of forty-five degrees in order to keep them in a rational relationship with the secondary planes and to maintain the tensile strength of the block of stone.

The logic and precision that Innes applied to his work, and which he enunciated so clearly, evidently impressed King as witnessed in her major cubist statement of this period: Mother and Child, c. 1943-44 (fig. 2.15, IK0055). Here a block of limestone has been cut in such a way as to make the viewer aware of what material has been removed, rather than merely what is present. This is achieved through the multifaceted surfaces that, although not as squarely geometric as Innes’, nevertheless call attention to the broad planes and deep undercuts of the chisel’s progress. The work’s three-dimensionality is emphasised by breaking the surface into planes – each with their own length, breadth, and area – while the great density of the limestone can be gauged by the use of pencil to denote the division of fingers, which, had they been carved into the stone, may have resulted in the stone fracturing, unable to withstand fine incisions into its mass. ‘Cubic measurement’, as Innes described it, has been

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119 Innes dossier: letter from George B. Innes to George Buchanan, Curator of Art, Corporation of Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, Kelvingrove, 14 February 1957.
120 Moore, 1965, p. 139.
121 Innes dossier: letter from George B. Innes to George Buchanan, Curator of Art, Corporation of Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, Kelvingrove, 10 April 1957.
considered throughout. As a result the voluptuous tenderness of the slightly earlier *Mother and Child* in plaster (fig. 2.6) gives way to a brooding monumentality which, while no less affecting, is a far stronger statement of artistic intent.

Towards the end of the war one of Schotz’s and King’s most admired masters sent a single work to Glasgow. Epstein’s *Consummatum Est*, 1936-7 (fig. 2.16) was displayed at 36 Buchanan St, Glasgow, in October 1944. It was the only work exhibited and an admission price was charged, with the bulk of the proceeds going to war charities.\(^{122}\) *Consummatum Est* depicted the figure of Christ lying on his back, his arms held rigidly in front of the body with palms upwards, displaying his wounds. The title echoes Christ’s words from the cross – ‘it is done’ – and is said to have arisen from the circumstances under which the sculpture was conceived: contemplating a slab of alabaster in his studio, with Bach’s B minor mass playing on the gramophone, Epstein suddenly envisaged the finished work.\(^{123}\) However, it was not the enigmatic title but rather the pose of the figure that was so unusual as to warrant the work being purchased by Louis Tussaud’s waxworks in Blackpool, where it was put on permanent display as a sort of artistic freak show. This unusual interpretation of the reclining figure motif seems to have stayed in King’s mind eye and – just like Zadkine’s *Music Group* – inspired a work some years later that adopted an equally striking position. *Reclining Torso*, also known as *Little Green Torso*, 1947 (fig. 2.17, IK0067), is a biomorphic form related to those of Arp, Moore or Hepworth that retains the impression of a truncated, limbless torso lying on its back. With the exception of the aforementioned tomb effigies, examples of sculpted figures on their backs are remarkably scarce in art history.\(^{124}\) *Reclining Torso* has the same sense of upwards striving that Epstein achieved in *Consummatum Est*, and would seem to be a considered, if delayed, response to the experience of encountering Epstein’s work in Glasgow.\(^{125}\)

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\(^{122}\) Glasgow Herald, 1944, p. 2. Jacob Epstein, *Consummatum Est*, 1936-7, alabaster, 61.0 x 223.5 x 81.0 cm, National Gallery of Scotland.

\(^{121}\) Scottish National Galleries website, URL: https://www.nationalgalleries.org/collection/artists-a-z/artist/sir-jacob-epstein/object/consummatum-est-gma-2304

\(^{124}\) David Getsy argues horizontal sculptures generally signify either wounded men or fallen women but suggests Epstein’s *Consummatum Est* ‘resists the floor’; Getsy, 2007, p. 118.

\(^{125}\) King could not recall whether or not she saw *Consummatum Est* in Glasgow, but did confirm Epstein’s importance as a role model and influence on her during her decade in Britain. *King interview, 2010.*
2.1.3: Glasgow postscript, 1944–47

The end of the war brought with it mixed fortunes. After finishing her course of studies at the GSA in 1943, King struggled to find direction in her work. Encouragement from Innes to abandon the classical figure and seek a new objective form of expression was stimulating but challenging. The impasse was compounded by the necessity of full-time teaching: as part of the war service required of her by the British government she was called upon to work in nurseries teaching arts and crafts. The greatest difficulties during this period were, however, of a personal nature and were never discussed by the artist in her many other recorded interviews. Consequently her early exhibition record has hitherto been unknown, as any reference to it would necessitate the writer knowing that she exhibited under her first married name: Inge Winter. I first learnt of this when consulting the compiled records of the RSA, in which she is listed as ‘Inge Neufeld (Mrs Winter)’. An online search of a genealogical database revealed basic details of the marriage and King confirmed these in interview. They merit inclusion as the information enables us to trace her earliest exhibition details and explains the use of the ‘IW’ monogram that appears on her earliest carvings in the NGA.

In August 1944 King married a Czech physician and pharmacologist, some twenty years her senior: Karel Antonin Winter, known as Tona. King was consequently granted Czech nationality – a fact that would later cause confusion in Australia where she was sometimes mistakenly said to be of Czech origins. King and Winter met through mutual friends in a circle of Glasgow physicians and psychoanalysts, many of them refugees from central Europe, and shared a common interest in going for long walks in the countryside around Loch Lomond and through the nearby Trossachs. However, five months after their marriage Karel Winter returned to Prague as part of

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126 King interview 2010. The nurseries teaching was organized by the painter Jessie Alexandra Dick (1896-1976), known as Alix Dick, with whom King became good friends.
127 Heathcote briefly mentioned that King was formerly Winter in a review article (Heathcote, 1992 b, p. 18), but the matter was never raised again in his subsequent publications. The marriage was also mentioned in Grishin, 2014, p. 42, drawing on information I had earlier supplied to the compilers of the Mapping the Practice of Sculpture website; see Neufeld, Ingeborg (Inge).
129 General Record Office, Scotland, 1944; King interview, 2010.
130 General Record Office, Scotland, 1944.
131 Her supposed Czech origins are reported in Argus, 1951 Nov 28, p. 8; Australian, 1971 April 3, p. 6; Engleman, 1992, p. 28.
132 King conversations, 28 March and 10 April 2012.
a delegation charged with organising the recovery effort. He remained abroad throughout 1945, during which time he registered the high levels of anti-German sentiment in Czechoslovakia and concluded it would be unwise to bring his young wife to live there. At the end of 1945 Winter returned to England and took up a position with the British Schering Research Laboratory at Alderley Edge, Cheshire. He and King accordingly left Scotland and settled in Wilmslow, two miles north of Alderley Edge and ten miles outside Manchester. Throughout 1946 King worked from a studio at the Manchester School of Art – another aspect of King’s career that has previously been undocumented – continuing to extend her understanding of the human figure, experimenting along the lines suggested her by George Innes. She also resumed her earlier Berlin practice of producing hand-carved decorative furnishings and objects – such as candleholders, trays, and platters – which she sold through Heal’s in London. The period in Wilmslow was cut short by Winter’s suicide in April 1947.

During the subsequent months of extreme emotional and financial distress, King returned to Glasgow to stay with friends. There she met the renowned German psychotherapist Dr Karl Abenheimer who had trained in Vienna with Jung, had been a friend of Karel Winter’s and was partly responsible for Glasgow’s ‘cosmopolitan scent’ during the war years. Like King and Winter, Abenheimer understood from personal experience ‘the anxieties of psychological exile’. King’s circumstances would have been all too familiar to Abenheimer, who was well used to counselling traumatised Mitteleuropeans. However, King attested that she and Abenheimer only discussed art and literature, Abenheimer being also a noted literary scholar (he had, just a year earlier, published an article on narcissism in Shakespeare’s King Lear). Abenheimer was interested in King’s work and purchased one of her woodcarvings, Adebar (Stork), 1947 (IK0063); King also gifted him the limestone Mother and Child, 1944 (IK0052). He later arranged the sale of King’s Dancer, 1948

133 King conversation, 18 October 2011.
134 King conversation, 18 October 2011.
135 King conversation, 18 October 2011.
136 King interview, 2010.
139 Collins, 2009 b, p. 523.
140 King interview, 2 September 2010; Abenheimer, 1945, pp. 322-9.
(IK0070) to a colleague from the Glasgow Jewish Institute: the successful furrier Moray Glasser, who was also a patron of Adler’s and Herman’s. Among Abenheimer’s wide network of contacts in Britain’s European exile community was a woman then living with a German émigré, William Ohly, owner of the Berkeley Galleries in London. Ohly had then recently acquired a large property, known as the Abbey, in New Barnet, on the outskirts of London, and was offering inexpensive living quarters and studio space there for artists. It was Abenheimer who suggested to King that she contact Ohly with a view to moving back to London and re-establishing herself independently. Thus it came about that the young widowed sculptor, Inge Winter, arrived at the Abbey in London in 1947 on the recommendation of one of Scotland’s most esteemed intellectuals. Her years there will be discussed in chapter 4.

2.2: Teisutis Zikaras and Vincas Jomantas

Any account of Zikaras’ and Jomantas’ art schooling must be seen in the context of the political situation in Kaunas and Vilnius at the time. Without this understanding we are at a loss to explain even the most basic details, such as the change in name of their respective schools, let alone broader questions regarding the artists’ cosmopolitanism or how their art education was possible in a war zone. Lithuanian art historians have recently begun to address the complexities of their country’s art production during the war years, when artists adjusted to successive Soviet and German occupations. Giedrė Jankevičiūtė investigates the different motivations of artists under these regimes in a series of articles, in each case pointing to the need for further case studies. The present study of Zikaras and Jomantas supplies two such case studies and – crucially – focuses on art students, rather than established professional artists, thereby casting light on Lithuanian art schooling during the war.

2.2.1: Occupation, deportation and genocide: Lithuania during WWII

Lithuania’s succession of occupations, deportations and mass murders began on 22 March 1939 with the German annexation of Lithuania’s only seaport, Klaipėda, as

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141 King conversations, 1 November 2011.
142 King interview, 2 September 2010. King simply referred to him as ‘a good friend of hers in Scotland, a psychoanalyst’ in Blackman and King, 1989, tape 1, side 2.
143 Not, as Pierse suggests, because of Ohly’s ethnographic collection and friendship with Moore; Pierse, 2012, p. 28.
part of Germany’s wider move to reclaim territories it had lost after WWI. In August 1939, with the signing of the notorious Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, Lithuania was secretly assigned to Russia’s sphere of influence. The following month Germany invaded Poland and sixteen days later Russia did likewise; between them the two aggressors divided Poland with Vilnius – Polish ‘Wilno’ – being assigned to Russia. As the historic capital of the Lithuanian Grand Duchy, from the 12th to the 18th centuries, Vilnius was considered by most Lithuanians to be their cultural heartland, despite its close proximity to Poland and its Polish-speaking majority. Russia held the perfect bargaining chip: in October 1939 they signed a mutual assistance pact with Lithuania allowing them to establish Red Army military bases within Lithuania’s borders in exchange for the Soviets ceding part of the Vilnius area, including Vilnius itself, to Lithuania. The Lithuanian government hurried to ‘culturally’ incorporate Vilnius to its infrastructure, establishing in May 1940 a second art school, the Vilnius School of Art, shortly after renamed the Vilnius Academy of Art. The first nine months of the war therefore consisted of an uneasy peace: Lithuania retained the vestiges of its autonomy, celebrating the return of its historic capital, while tolerating a Soviet military presence on its soil.

On 15 June 1940 the Soviets severed all communications within Lithuania and within the space of just a few hours took control of the country. Latvia and Estonia likewise fell under Soviet control the following day. In Vincas Jomantas’ words: the Soviets simply ‘walked out from the bases and we’re the sitting ducks’. Jomantas was that afternoon invigilating at an exhibition of watercolours, drawings and paintings by a group of amateur artists. When he left the exhibition he saw armed Russians standing on each street corner. In the following days the Soviet Union accused the Baltic states of having violated their various ‘mutual assistance’ pacts and ordered that they each replace their existing governments. Reinforcements of Soviet troops

145 Poland had annexed Vilnius in 1922, after which the Lithuanian parliament moved to Kaunas.
146 Kazokas, 2003 a, p. 28. For the Polish view see Snyder, 2003, pp. 52-89.
147 Jankevičiūtė, 2000, p. 128. In May 1940 the Seimas legislated for the creation of two separate art schools: the fine arts faculty at Vilnius University was reorganised to become an independent entity, the Vilnius Art School, while the Kaunas Art School was renamed the Kaunas School of Applied Arts and comprised studios of painting, sculpture, graphics, architecture, ceramics, and rug-making (or more broadly, textiles). The following year these two would undergo further name changes, becoming the Vilnius Academy of Fine Art and the Kaunas Institute of Applied and Decorative Arts respectively. Rachlevičiūtė, 1996, p. 684; Vilnius Academy, 2010, URL: http://www.vda.lt/index.php/pageid/799.
148 Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 1, side 1.
149 Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 1, side 1.
flooded into the Baltic countries. Electoral laws were rapidly changed, making it all but impossible for non-Communist parties to stand; by July 1940 each of the Baltic countries had pro-Soviet puppet governments in place. On 3 August 1940 Lithuania was officially incorporated into the Soviet Union.

Under the first Soviet occupation of June 1940 to June 1941 leaders of independence organisations were arrested and deported to Siberia, property confiscated, severe censorship introduced, churches curtailed, clergy persecuted, education syllabuses changed to reflect a Marxist-Leninist viewpoint and teachers ‘re-educated’.150 Socialist realism immediately became the only acceptable mode in the visual arts. Giedrė Jankevičiūtė finds the majority of Lithuanian artists actively participated ‘in the consolidation of a new ideology’ during the first Soviet occupation and that ‘the speed with which the changes happened, remains shocking’.151 Some artists, including Juozas Mikėnas, were ideologically inclined to support Communism and already working in a mode of realism approaching socialist realism. Mikėnas had only to tailor his subject matter to appropriate themes, such as the benefits of agriculture and labour, to appease the new masters – his former Cubist-inflected style having given way by then to a heavy neoclassicism that neatly tallied with socialist realism.152 Given the degree to which Lithuanian artists rapidly capitulated to the dictates of the first Soviet regime, or at least struggled to meet its demands, it is perhaps unsurprising that this brief twelve-month period is – as Jankevičiūtė observes – all but absent in most Lithuanian art historiography.153 This has complicated my attempt to trace Jomantas and Zikaras’ art education: the few secondary sources on this period are written in Lithuanian while primary sources are in Lithuanian or Russian.

Exactly a year after the Soviets took Lithuania they embarked on mass deportations, sending approximately 100,000 Balts – including 35,000 Lithuanians – to Siberia within the space of a week.154 To many survivors the event was ‘the most traumatic single experience’ of their lives, although the number of Lithuanian Jews who were...

153 Jankevičiūtė, 2007, p. 27.
deported or killed in the coming Nazi occupation far outstripped these figures.\textsuperscript{155} Vincas Jomantas later recalled the Soviet deportations with a mixture of horror and perplexity, unable to make sense of why the Soviets deported certain people: social democrats rather national democrats and so on.\textsuperscript{156} A week later, on 22 June 1941, Germans advanced into Lithuania and – with the help of Lithuanian guerrilla fighters, partisans and soldiers – took control of the country, incorporating it as part of a greater Reichskomissariat Ostland on 5 August 1941.\textsuperscript{157} The three-year Nazi occupation had begun.

The Nazi occupation differed in kind from the Soviet occupation. Where the Soviets had engaged in ‘cultural revolution’, intent on re-educating their new subjects, German authorities were more concerned with physical infrastructure and resources, which they controlled through a meticulous surveillance system.\textsuperscript{158} Jomantas witnessed at first-hand the notoriously methodical German administrative machinery when he was put to work measuring people’s houses to determine whether they could billet German soldiers.\textsuperscript{159} In the realm of art, the Nazis regulated institutions – art schools, museums and theatres – while allowing some moderate expressions of Lithuanian culture.\textsuperscript{160} Thus among the small handful of exhibitions held during the Nazi occupation at the Vytautas the Great Museum of Culture, Kaunas, were review exhibitions of the Lithuanian Artists’ Union (1942 and 1943), solo exhibitions of the work of Vytautas Kasiulis (December 1943) and Alfonsas Krivickas (May 1944), both of whom were two years ahead of Teisutis Zikaras at the Kaunas Art School, and a group show mounted by the Kaunas Applied Art Institute students (June 1944). However, this concern for institutional control was also wielded as a political stick: on 18-19 March 1943 most Lithuanian higher education institutes, including art schools, were closed in reprisal for Lithuania’s refusal to form a Waffen-SS unit.\textsuperscript{161} Teaching

\begin{itemize}
\item Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 1, side 2.
\item Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 1, side 2.
\item Reichskommissariat Ostland comprised Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and parts of Belarus, Ukrainian Polese and Smolensk.
\item Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 1, side 2.
\end{itemize}
continued in private, behind closed doors in artists’ studios, but opportunities for formal education were thenceforth finished for the remainder of the war.

This period is largely absent from Lithuanian historical accounts. It remains ‘a forbidden and inaccessible memory island’, enmeshed in protracted discussions of politics and military actions at the expense of historical memory on a personal scale. Zikaras’ and Jomantas’ few recorded comments on this period are therefore all the more valuable. They reflect not only their lived realities but also that of many of their peers. For instance Jomantas recalled learning with amazement of the pogroms in Ukraine and Poland but never mention those that occurred in Lithuania, which were, in 1984, still widely unacknowledged. Nor did Zikaras ever raise this painful topic. Nationalist concern for the ethnic majority seemingly took precedence over empathy for minorities.

In the spring and summer of 1944 the Red Army again pushed westwards into the occupied Baltic countries. They retook Vilnius on 13 July; Kaunas followed on 1 August. With memories of the June 1941 deportations still vivid, 80,000 Lithuanians – including Vincas Jomantas, Teisutis Zikaras and approximately 100 professional artists – fled from the advancing Red Army. A narrow vacuum existed between the German and Russian fronts and into this unruly space spilled thousands of Lithuanians fleeing westwards. Their precarious passage will be briefly charted in section 2.2.4.

2.2.2: Academicism assailed: Kaunas Art School and its discontents

On 24 August 1939, around the time of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, Juozas Zikaras wrote to the director of the Kauno Meno Mokykla (Kaunas Art School) asking that Teisutis be allowed to sit the entrance exams. The director agreed and Teisutis accordingly began formal art studies during the final uneasy months of Lithuanian independence. His father’s earlier teaching and preparation were advantageous and

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163 Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 1, side 2.
164 Kazokas, 2003 a, p. 29. These figures are given as approximately 70,000 Lithuanians including 70 artists in Chicago, 1997, p. 6, and Lubytė, 2002, p. 419
165 Zikaras Museum archive, copy of letter from Juozas Zikaras to Director of the Kaunas Art School, 24 August 1939.
he was accepted directly into the second year sculpture class. A census form for Kaunas Art School students, completed by Teisutis on 19 October 1940 for the new Soviet administration, records that he studied sculpture there during the 1939-40 academic year (despite his high school certificate only being dated 12 October 1939), that he had financial support from his father and that he still lived with his parents in their home, which was a mere 300 metres from the art school. The Kaunas Art School records reveal details of the subjects he studied. In addition to his speciality subject of sculpture, during his first year (1939-40) Teisutis studied architectural drawing, perspective and ornament; in the second year (1940-41) he studied anatomy, lettering, art history and ornament; in the third year (1941-42) he took drawing, watercolour, Lithuanian, German, art history and history of culture and everyday life (or social studies); while in his fourth year (1942-43) he studied drawing, art history, history of culture and everyday life, costume history, psychology and pedagogy. This represents a similar mix of subjects to that taken by King at the Vereinigte Staatsschulen and was a typical blend of practical and theoretical subjects deemed necessary for an aspiring professional fine artist. Zikaras notably eschewed most of the decorative applied art subjects, such as ceramics, mosaic or stained glass, that were then being rapidly introduced into the school curriculum in an attempt to meet a demand for skilled artisans. Clearly he intended following his father’s lead into professionalism, rather than pursue a humbler career as an arts worker or as a grammar school drawing master – the latter being the destiny of the majority of the Kaunas students. Zikaras achieved moderately good results in most subjects, excelling particularly in anatomy and sculpture. At the end of the 1942-43 academic year he was awarded a 5 (the highest possible grade) for sculpture. Presumably it was then that he was granted a scholarship for two years study in Rome, which he was

166 de Berg and Zikaras, 1965, tape 161, side 1.
167 Zikaras Museum archive, LTSR Kauno Dailes Mokykla Anketa (Lithuanian Soviet Republic, Kaunas School of Arts, Profile) for Teisutis Juozas Zikaras, 19 October 1940. His high school certificate is also found among the Zikaras Museum archive, Lietuvos Respublika Švietimo Ministerija Pažymėjimas (Lithuanian Soviet Republic Education Ministry Certificate) for Teisutis Juozas Zikaras, 12 October 1939. Author’s own translations.
169 According to Dalia Ramonienė, throughout the 1930s the ‘problem of educating specialists in decorative applied art was a topic of almost every teachers’ council meeting’; Ramonienė, 1996, p. 679. For more on the 1938-39 reforms to the school’s teaching program see also Jankevičiūtė, 2000, p. 128.
Unable to take up owing to the ensuing second Soviet occupation.  

Teisutis recalled that he ‘was worked very hard’ at art school, sometimes remaining there until midnight. Nevertheless, photographs of him taken with fellow students at the school suggest an atmosphere of convivial camaraderie and student hijinks: men strike poses, assuming a nonchalant air of sophistication, or clasp hands with one or other of the few female students in mock embrace (figs. 2.18 and 2.19). These photographs do not identify the other students but possibly include the now little known painters Jonas Jukonis and Vytautas Viktoras Banaitis (1909–90), graphic artist Mečislovas Markulis (1906-70) and the ill-fated Jewish painter Dovydas Kapulskis (1921-44), all of whom were among the ten students enrolled in the second year course, in 1940, at the same time as Teisutis. The casual bravura conveyed in these snapshots suggest they were taken towards the end of the students’ course of study, once they had gained a measure of confidence in their own ability, circa 1942-43. The students appear blithely oblivious to the tragedy unfolding in the nearby Kaunas ghetto – just one kilometre to the north-west of the school – or at the Ninth Fort – a few kilometres further north of the ghetto – where an estimated 30,000 Jews were murdered during the Nazi occupation. It is difficult to reconcile these apparently carefree student photographs with events happening around the school at the time. Perhaps it is unsurprising that Zikaras rarely referred to these years later in interview in Australia.

During his first year at the school Zikaras would have worked in the sculpture studio under the close eye of his father, who ‘inculcated his students with a firm basis for realistic sculpture and emphasised the importance of thorough copying of the human body’. However, at the advent of the first Soviet occupation, in June 1940, Juozas Zikaras was dismissed from his post as head of the sculpture studio. The school’s new director, ceramic artist Liudvikas Strolis, wrote on 4 September 1940 to the new

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171 ‘…There were state scholarships given to outstanding students; I got also one for two years in Rome that I cannot use because war started out and all my hopes was ruined’; de Berg and Zikaras, 1965, tape 161, side 1.
173 Kaunas Art School records, 61.2.48: Kauno Dailės Mokyklos studentų abécėlinis sąrašas (Kaunas Art School student alphabetical list), 6 June 1941.
174 Kaunas Ninth Fort Museum, URL: www.muziejai.lt/kaunas/forto_muziejus.en.htm. Elsewhere this figure has been put at 80,000 – see Wiloch, 1996, p. 365.
minister for education asking permission to reemploy Zikaras with immediate effect.\footnote{Kaunas Art School records, file 61.2.25.} Zikaras was reinstated but was demoted to an instructor of drawing for the first year students, possibly owing to his having been one of the architects of the Lithuanian national revival.\footnote{Zikaras’ change in position is recorded in numerous sources including Vizgirda, 1978 a, p. 325, but the reason for the demotion is never stated.} He continued in this role throughout the Nazi occupation. Thus, while Juozas Zikaras would have overseen Teisutis’ drawing lessons, he probably had less of a part to play in Teisutis’ sculptural education at art school. Nevertheless his earlier instruction at home and during Teisutis’ first year at art school played a key part in Teisutis’ development.

Despite Juozas Zikaras’ absence from the sculpture studio at the Kaunas Art School, from mid-1940 onwards, the teaching staff continued his ethos of emphasizing ‘the social status of art’: that is – the role of sculpture within society, in particular its dialogue with architecture.\footnote{Ramonienė, 1996, p. 679.} Since his appointment in 1935, Juozas Mikėnas was particularly influential in this regard given his role as teacher of ‘decorative sculpture’ – that is, architectural ornament. Mikėnas also taught fresco painting and mosaic – two techniques that would increasingly be used in Western Europe, Scandinavia and further abroad in the post-war years as part of the wider push towards a synthesis of the arts.\footnote{Ramonienė, 1996, p. 679; Nagys, 1973, p. 524. Elsewhere I have written about Centre Five’s involvement with the synthesis of the arts; see Eckett, 2012.} Mikėnas conferred on students his belief in ‘the social significance of art’ and the need for artists to communicate social messages.\footnote{Vilnius, 2001, p. 99; Rachlevičiūtė, 1996, p. 685.} However, during the three-year Nazi occupation Mikėnas concentrated on small-scale sculpture that was frankly Arcadian in its evocations of a rural Lithuanian idyll. Subjects included female field workers, agricultural labourers resting in the fields and a traditional Lithuanian kanklininkas player (fig. 2.20). Where Mikėnas might have followed a similar course to that taken by Hitler’s sculptor of choice, Arno Breker, and created neoclassical monuments to militaristic power, he instead attempted to ‘escape from the tragic reality around him’ by hiding ‘in the world of poetry and dreams of peace and quiet’.\footnote{Vilnius, 2001, p. 100.} As shall be seen shortly Teisutis would follow suit, producing a series
of dreamily poetic works during these years that seem strikingly anachronistic in the context of the Nazi occupation.

In this respect Mikėnas and Teisutis were typical of the vast majority of Lithuanian artists at this time. Giedrė Jankevičiūtė observes that this period produced a veritable golden age in Lithuanian landscape painting, as artists sought to ‘enliven the grisaille of everyday life’ during the bleak war years.\textsuperscript{182} By way of corollary there also arose during this period a substantial body of intimist domestic interiors, studio interiors and portraiture that registered the grim reality of life with utmost banality: humble metal stoves alluding to a scarcity of fuel, heavy wartime boots, tired apathetic sitters and frugal meals.\textsuperscript{183} Collectively these conveyed a mood of introspection: sitters are seen in enclosed spaces, sometimes gazing outwards but rarely actively seeing, while antique trappings such as a Baroque chair or Spanish shawl ‘kindled the imagination and distracted attention from the oppressive and often painful reality of war’.\textsuperscript{184} I contend this extended to sculpture emerging from the Kaunas Art School at this time: neo-classical faces stare blankly, impassively, while small props such as a harp or a ships wheel lend a romantic narrative veneer that leads the mind away from contemporary reality. During the war years, therefore, any sense of sculpture’s ‘social significance’ was theoretical; in the interim, sculptors merely aimed to soothe and divert troubled minds.

Mikėnas’ retreat from reality extended to him physically leaving Kaunas at the start of the Nazi occupation, in August 1941. The sculpture studio then came under the supervision of Bronius Pundzius (1907-59), with instruction in woodcarving from Matas Menčinskas (1896-1942) and in plaster casting and stone and marble carving from the young Vytautas Kašuba.\textsuperscript{185} Pundzius was a graduate of the Kaunas Art School who had spent a further six years studying decorative arts in France. His work, though conservatively neoclassical, was admired for its sensitive poetic nature as seen in his sculpture of a young woman holding a pitcher, \textit{Prie šaltinėlio (By a spring)}, 1938, which was enlarged and installed the following year in the Café

\textsuperscript{182} Jankevičiūtė, 2012, p. 249.  
\textsuperscript{183} Jankevičiūtė, 2012.  
\textsuperscript{184} Jankevičiūtė, 2012, p. 259.  
\textsuperscript{185} Kašuba, 1997, p. 201.
Konrados – a favourite haunt of interwar artists and literati (fig. 2.21). However, according to Kašuba, ‘Pundzius rarely came to the studio and, when he did, hardly talked to the students’; as a result ‘morale was sinking fast’. After Menčinskas died in March 1942, the new director, Vytautas Jonynas, asked Kašuba to take over the studio.

While I earlier characterised Kašuba’s work from the 1930s as being of a stylised neoclassical manner, by the time he took over the sculpture studio his work had incorporated some expressionist elements – exaggerating certain anatomical features to lend dramatic impact. This can be seen in his large relief, The Breakout of the Prisoners, 1942 (fig. 2.22), which was executed in one of the art school classrooms where Kašuba worked alongside his students. The frieze of figures, interwoven with abstract geometric elements and neoclassical drapery, purportedly represented Lithuanians freed from Soviet domination and thereby pandered to the Nazi occupiers although some claimed the composition was conceived a year or two earlier and in fact represented a pro-Soviet ideology. That same year the German government commissioned from him a monumental plaster composition he called Grieving Lithuania, also known as Kenčianti Lietuva (Lithuanian Subject) or Į Sibirą tremiant (To Siberia), depicting ‘a larger-than-life reclining mother with a dead child lying across her arm, the other hand reaching out for help’. This work, mounted on a sarcophagus-like pedestal, was exhibited throughout Lithuania as part of the so-called Raudonojo teroro (Red Terror) exhibition – an anti-Soviet travelling propaganda exercise. Teisutis witnessed the making of these widely publicised works and doubtlessly registered the degree to which his teacher’s work was co-opted by (indeed produced for) the occupying forces. Kašuba’s monumental commissions from the Nazis represented a classic Faustian bargain, perpetuating the dual causes of art and Lithuanian independence at the cost of collaborating with the occupiers. It is quite likely for this reason that Teisutis would later choose to work in an abstract mode for

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his own public commissions, despite the fact that his studio work was exclusively figurative: abstract public sculpture was less easily harnessed to state ideology.

Another significant teacher was Vytautas Kazimieras Jonynas (1907-97). Jonynas taught at the Kaunas Art School from 1935 until 1944, introducing in 1938 a course in wood sculpture, which he had earlier studied in Paris. In 1941, at the start of the German occupation, he succeeded Strolis as director of the Kaunas Institute of Art and Applied Art – a role he continued in until 1944, when he fled to the west. By the 1930s Jonynas was renowned for his intricately detailed woodcut illustrations and – like the younger Kašuba – had won two gold medals for his woodcuts and posters at the 1937 Paris International Exposition. He later designed more than sixty church interiors in the United States, Europe and Australia working in stained glass, fresco and bass-relief, as indeed would Kašuba who was likewise later prolific in the realm of church art. Both Jonynas and Kašuba’s post-emigration careers bear witness to the philosophy espoused at the Kaunas School throughout the 1930s and into the 1940s: namely, the integration of art and architecture. The young Teisutis Zikaras most probably had some instruction from Jonynas at Kaunas or, at very least, benefitted from the sort of informal advice he had earlier offered Kašuba: that one’s ‘outlook’ in life ‘showed up in stylistic expression’. Art, for Jonynas, was first and foremost a vehicle for personal expression. Jonynas would later employ Teisutis to teach at Freiburg, as discussed in chapter 3. While Zikaras did not speak of Jonynas’ influence, and while it cannot be detected in Zikaras’ work, Jonynas represented the ideal of an artist who moved fluently between graphic work, small-scale sculpture, monumental public work, teaching and directing art schools, whose work was recognized outside the Lithuanian community (particularly in Germany, where his postage stamp designs circulated in the later 1940s). As such he gave the young Teisutis a model of professional success to which he could aspire.

Photographs of Teisutis’ earliest student works, most since lost, confirm the academic

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196 Another of Teisutis’ probable teachers was Aleksandras Marčiulionis (1911-98), who taught ornament, drawing and decorative arts at the Kaunas School of Applied Arts, 1938-44 (Kezys, 1994, p. 108). For further see chapter 3.
basis of his work. They also demonstrate the emphasis on modelling rather than carving, which Dalia Ramonienė attributes to the shortages in material that hampered the sculpture studio from its inception (clay and plaster being less expensive than stone and wood). These works are virtually unknown to Australian historians as the photographs that document their existence are in Lithuanian and private archives. Some, such as the Seated female nude (fig. 2.23, TZ0004), were evidently set pieces for they are seen amidst a studio full of other students’ renditions of the same subject, while Stovinti (Stationary) is a classic art school subject (fig. 2.24, TZ0006). However, where the Seated female nude would clearly not have been intended for public exhibition — her muscled torso, downwards-turned breasts and rather sour expression adhering to a most un-poetic academic realism — the Stovinti (Stationary) belongs to a category of depictions of the female body as decorative statuary that would have been deemed acceptable for exhibition, comparable to Pundzius’ Prie šaltinėlio (By a spring) (fig. 2.21). With their downcast gaze and demurely closed legs, both works signify virtuous innocence. The female body, studied and copied in art school life classes across Europe, is here used as a vehicle for ideas on morality, poetry and beauty.

The male body, though studied in as close detail, carried messages of a different kind. Teisutis’ Sėdi vyras (Seated man), c. 1942 (fig. 2.25, TZ0005), encapsulates an idealized athletic figure at repose, his left arm resting on his thigh while his right hand lightly grips the edge of the roughly textured block on which he sits. The pose echoes Rodin’s The Thinker (albeit without the arm flexed to support the chin) and also recalls the Rūpintojėlis (sorrowing Christ) of the old Lithuanian carving tradition. Yet the figure is overtly masculine, with a strikingly chiselled jawline, and while in relaxed pose looks ready for action. He is, in many ways, a close cousin of the writhing prisoners in Kašuba’s Kalinių išlaisvinimas (fig. 2.22), and an even closer relation of Kašuba’s Vyro aktas (Man), 1938 (fig. 2.26). Indeed both Kašuba’s

197 Ramonienė, 1996, p. 679. Ramonienė also records that argil (a form of white clay favoured usually by potters) was most commonly used at the Kaunas Art School, with some works later cast in plaster.
198 Blurred copies of photographs depicting Karys (Warrior), c. 1939-42, and Sėdi vyras (Seated man), c. 1942, were included in the Zikaras retrospective at the McClelland Gallery in 2009; these are the only images of Zikaras’ pre-war sculptures to have been shown publically in Australia.
199 Titles are given in Lithuanian where they have been inscribed as such on the photographs; otherwise only English titles have been used.
200 For another comparable composition see Kašuba’s Mąstytojas (Thinker), 1939, illustrated in Valiuškevičiūtė, 1997, p. 137.
Vyro aktas (Man) and Teisutis’ Žiūri Vyras (Seated man) could be said to represent the ideal Aryan figure, a descendant of the Nordic races so prized by Nazi eugenicists, suggesting a degree of compliance with the dictates of the German occupiers. Just as Juozas Zikaras’ Mastytojas (Thinker), 1910, had earlier conflated French modernism with covert Lithuanian nationalism, Teisutis Zikaras’ Žiūri Vyras (Seated man) and Kašuba’s Vyro aktas (Man) seem to hover uncertainly on the brink of Lithuanian traditionalism and German acquiescence.

Other sculptures completed at art school, though fairly academic in terms of execution, were less usual in subject matter and are open to multiple interpretations. A photograph of a rather ill-proportioned figure at a ship’s wheel (fig. 2.27), modelled in clay and inscribed Jūreivis Žvejys (Sailor Fisherman), reveals a label affixed to the pedestal that reads ‘I Premija’, or ‘1st Prize’. Could the work perhaps refer to the port city of Klaipėda, annexed by Germany in 1939 and the first loss for independent Lithuania? Or might this archetypal worker, stoic at his wheel, have been an attempt at socialist realism for the Soviet occupiers of 1940-41? If so it is awkward not only in execution but in ideology for the worker is a solitary figure, far removed from the Soviets’ collectivised labourer. As with most other Lithuanian depictions of fishermen (not that they were numerous), the subject is seen ‘through a poet’s eyes … filled with admiration for the expanse and the power of the sea’, lacking any real sense of fortitude or ‘the sweat of the brow’. With its clumsy execution we might also group it with other Lithuanian attempts at socialist realism that Giedrė Jankevičiūtė finds ‘too primitive’ with their ‘distorted body proportions [and] unnatural facial expressions’. Without knowledge of the context – in terms of whether it was a set subject and where it was exhibited – it is difficult to decode.

Another student work (fig. 2.28, TZ0007) depicts a women in draped Grecian costume with a stringed instrument – a historicist reference that transports us through time and space, as did the antique accessories in paintings of the period or the kanklės in Mikėnas’ relief composition (fig. 2.20). In Teisutis’ relief the instrument is clearly

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201 It is interesting to note the similarity of Teisutis’ fisherman with that depicted by Vilius Jomantas in 1933 for his image of Lithuanians freeing the city of Klaipėda (Jomantas, 1933). In both depictions the fisherman wears the distinctive sou’wester hat.
a lyre and the woman almost certainly an allegorical figure representing the arts and music. Her body is presented frontally, with her head turned proudly to one side, in instantly legible high relief. It loosely relates to another depiction of a woman with a harp (fig. 2.29), a photograph of which exists in the Juozas Zikaras Museum archive where it is attributed to Teisutis. However, the same photograph is reproduced in Valiuškevičiūtė’s history of the Kaunas Art School, where it is attributed to Juozas Zikaras’ student Petras Aleksandravičius (1906-97) and captioned *Safo (Sappho)*, 1931-32.\(^{204}\) This is almost certainly the same work that Aleksandravičius sent to Riga in 1937 as part of the Lithuanian Art Exhibition, where it was singled out for praise.\(^{205}\) Aleksandravičius’ figure of Sappho gazes dreamily downwards; she is the epitome of poetry and inward vision. In contrast Teisutis’ allegorical figure, while also probably a representation of Sappho, adheres to a Teutonic ideal of the strong and healthy female body: proudly robed, head turned with insouciance to one side allowing us to gaze on her unimpeded, one hand lightly supporting her lyre. As with the *Sėdi vyras (Seated man)*, the work can be assigned multiple conflicting interpretations: neoclassical reference, poetic allegory or female Aryan archetype.

A second allegorical figure with clearly nationalist overtones is the full-length relief *Moteriškė su linais (Woman with flax)*; also known simply as *Linas (Flax)*, c. 1942-43 (fig. 2.30, TZ0009). Lithuania has a long history of flax production and linen weaving – in the 1930s it was the third largest exporter of flax worldwide – as well as an associated cosmology: the old Lithuanian god of flax, *Vaižgantas*, was later reinterpreted as *Rūpintojėlis*, the sorrowful Christ, on the basis of the flax life-cycle mimicking that of Christ: born of the earth and ‘when grown to maturity, tormented, killed and later resurrected’ in the form of linen.\(^{206}\) Zikaras chose to represent not a pensive *Rūpintojėlis*-like figure but instead a classicized Lithuanian woman: her high-waisted goddess gown falling in simple folds, one hand clasping a sheaf of flax and the other holding a length of linen. Her carefully modelled bare feet draw attention downwards to the inscribed block on which she stands, on which appears the word ‘*Linas*’. The work evidently owes much to Juozas Mikėnas: from the massive volumetric forms of the woman, her feet protruding to the edge of the plinth as they

\(^{204}\) Valiuškevičiūtė, 1997, p. 128.


had done in Mikėnas’ monumental figure of *Lieutva (Lithuania)*, 1939 (fig. 1.26), to the impassive gaze and sense of contentment through labour, akin to that found in Mikėnas’ female farm workers such as *Moteris su vaisiais (Woman with fruit)*, 1940-41, or the rather sensually abandoned male and female flax gatherers in his relief panel *Poilsis (Rest)*, 1943 (figs. 2.31 and 2.32). However, where Mikėnas depicted his labourers in realistic dress, Teisutis deified his figure in a full-length robe unsuited to working in the fields. *Linas* thereby takes on an allegorical function alluding to Lithuanian prosperity and pride through agricultural labour and, more discreetly, to self-sovereignty.

Diverging from the naturalistic realism espoused by Juozas Zikaras and closely following the lead of Mikėnas and Kašuba is *Mergina (Girl)*, c. 1942, a crouching nude with an air of inner reverie (fig. 2.33, TZ0008). The dimpled texture suggests Teisutis used Mikėnas’ method of pressing small scales of clay over the surface and possesses a tactile appeal that Juozas Zikaras’ smoothly modelled academic nudes, such as *Spring*, 1933, do not. Moreover the idealised anatomy of the woman, with her perfectly shaped small breasts and rounded flanks, reveals an admiration for the work of Maillol, one of Mikėnas’ favoured early modern masters and one of the first sculptors to respond to the so-called ‘return to order’ after WWI.207 At the same time the romantic mood compares well with Kašuba’s *Peace Sleeping*, 1942, and his *Leda and the Swan*, 1943 (figs. 2.34, 2.35), which both demonstrate the sort of ‘classically interpreted formal dynamism’, married with ‘some expressionist manifestations’, that are said to characterise Kašuba’s works of the 1940s.208 The comparison is not coincidental given that three years later Teisutis produced his own version of *Leda* (fig. 2.36, TZ0013); he was no doubt aware of his teacher’s earlier version of the subject. In both *Mergina (Girl)* and *Leda* Teisutis presented an image of idealized adolescent beauty rather than mature eroticism; they are pensive, yearning compositions, allied in mood with the introspection of the intimist paintings and the romantic neoclassical sculpture produced in wartime Lithuania.

207 Compare, for instance, Zikaras’ *Mergina (Girl)* with Maillol’s *La Méditerranée*, 1905, bronze, 103 cm, Paris, Musee d’Orsay. Kašuba recalled that Mikėnas urged his students to look at Maillol: Kašuba, 1997, p. 197.

With the example of Mikėnas and Kašuba and their urging to look at the work of early modern sculptors from the west, such as Maillol, as well as contemporaries such as Picasso, Teisutis increasingly came into conflict with his father. He later recalled that to even ‘mention the name of Picasso’ in the Zikaras home was the ‘greatest sin’.209 Determined to experiment, he secretly worked for two weeks on a small sculpture that departed from academic precepts. When he father discovered it he ‘looked at it, spat on it, and walked out’.210 Teisutis felt that this was a ‘breaking point in my career’ and embarked on a campaign to change his father’s rigid views, eventually convincing him that ‘there are different ways’.211 His final years in Lithuania, prior to fleeing westwards in 1944, were strained. In many respects Teisutis’ exile to the west would represent liberation from the ways of the father and the forging of more modernist means of expression.

Most historians have, until now, assumed that Teisutis simply graduated from art school in 1943, prior to March when the occupying forces closed the school. The only writer who has attempted to portray Teisutis’s place in the period 1943-44 is Peter Borthwick who, based on his conversations with Rasa Ruibienė and with members of the Zikaras family (his first wife Skaidritė and their sons Rene and Marcus), records the Germans conscripted Zikaras before the Russians arrested him. Lined up for execution, Zikaras pleaded clemency and was subsequently incarcerated for seven to eight months ‘until the American forces took over the area’.212 This surprising claim is unsubstantiated – certainly Zikaras never mentioned it in interview – and seems implausible given that American forces never took Kaunas during the war.

We find an alternative version of events in Vytautas Kašuba’s memoir, which has never before been referred to in this regard. From Kašuba we know that Teisutis and five other sculpture students, including Bronius Vyšniauskas (a future favourite of the Lithuanian Soviet regime) and Kašuba’s soon-to-be-wife Aleksandra Fledžinskaitė (later renowned for her ‘architectural environments’ in the United States), secured the use of a house and studio in a large park at Jurbarkas, approximately 75 kilometres

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211 de Berg and Zikaras, 1965, tape 161, side 1.
212 Borthwick, 2012, p. 120.
northwest of Kaunas.\textsuperscript{213} The buildings were formerly the property of sculptor Vincas Grybas, who had been executed by the Nazis two years earlier on account of his communist sympathies.\textsuperscript{214} Kašuba recalled the period as follows:

In these peaceful surrounds we worked about three months. But, as the front line drew ever closer, the yard and the grounds became crowded with refugees, wagons, soldiers and army trucks. Yet we continued to work as if the world outside our windows did not exist. This idyllic period ended when the retreating German tanks and cannons started rattling our studio windows. The yard cleared. When a silence fell over the place we understood that the time had come to make a move.\textsuperscript{215}

A second account of this period exists from Aleksandra Kašuba, in which certain details are fleshed out; for instance she describes the studio as being ‘well equipped … [with] a pit in the middle for larger works, a large box of clay still malleable, a work bench and four sturdy turntables’.\textsuperscript{216} However, Aleksandra recalls there were only three male students and herself at Jurbarkas, despite her husband having earlier named the six students including Teisutis (indeed Teisutis was the first named in Kašuba’s list). When I wrote and asked whether she remembered Teisutis, she replied: ‘I recall Teisutis Zikaras, knew who he was, but we did not socialize. After my first year in Kaunas, I moved to the Vilnius Academy of Art, and neither heard of nor saw him again’.\textsuperscript{217} There seems little hope of resolving this conundrum – Vytautus Kašuba’s account puts Teisutis in a requisitioned studio in Jurbarkas in 1943, while Aleksandra Kašuba says she never saw Teisutis after 1942. Perhaps it is sufficient to acknowledge the inconsistency of personal memoirs, particularly in this period of widespread hardship. What is clear is that Teisutis and his fellow students and teacher joined the mass exodus to the west in the summer of 1944, not to return until 1975.

\textbf{2.2.3: From Kaunas to Vilnius during Nazi occupation}

Vincas Jomantas completed his secondary schooling in Kaunas a year after Zikaras, in 1940, but did not then enrol in the Kaunas Art School. Perhaps the advent of the first

\textsuperscript{213} Kašuba, 1997, p. 203.
\textsuperscript{214} The building, at Vydūno g. 31, Jurbarkas, is now the home of the Vincas Grybas Memorial Museum.
\textsuperscript{215} Kašuba, 1997, p. 203.
\textsuperscript{216} Kašuba, 2010, URL: \url{http://www.kasubabooks.com/onwaytoamerica/onway1.htm}.
\textsuperscript{217} Email correspondence from Aleksandra Kašuba to the author, 5 September 2014.
Soviet occupation, in June 1940, cast doubt over his future so that he deferred any decision-making until the political situation was resolved. His exact movements during the first Soviet occupation are uncertain. All that can be established is that he was involved with artistic activities by June 1940 (as previously mentioned, he was invigilating at an amateur artists’ exhibition on the day of the Soviet takeover). Later, in Germany, he told IRO authorities he had worked for eight years in Lithuania as an advertising artist and shop-window decorator, a fact that has hitherto been unrecorded in the literature on Jomantas. This suggests he began working as early as 1936, when just fourteen years old, probably as an assistant to his father. When the Germans advanced in June 1941 Jomantas was a hundred kilometres from Kaunas in the countryside where, as the member of a yacht club, he had been called to help crew the yacht of a visiting university team. With German soldiers actively hunting Soviets it was unsafe to travel, so Jomantas stayed in the countryside spending four weeks with friends of his parents. When he returned to Kaunas, in late July 1941, he learnt that his mother had been found ‘dead in the street’. He inquired in vain as to the cause of her death though he did manage to locate where she had been buried. The years of uncertainty, or – in most Lithuanians’ minds – ‘the war’, had begun.

In 1942 Vilius Jomantas was appointed manager of a commercial printing firm called Vaizdas (View), which had opened in Vilnius two years previously. The firm’s main business appears to have been the production of German propaganda posters – indeed Vincas later suggested that the appointment was made at the behest of the propaganda minister – although I have not located any specific examples of their work or of any work that Vilius produced under these conditions. Indeed there seems to be no record of Vilius’ work at all during the Nazi occupation – perhaps

\[218\] Jomantas immigration documents, 1948, form headed ‘Commonwealth of Australia Dept. of Immigration (Germany) particulars of displaced persons wishing to emigrate to Australia’.

\[219\] Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 1, side 2. The town was possibly Siauliai, in northern Lithuania, where an international yachting competition was held on Lake Rekyva during the war.

\[220\] Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 2, side 1.

\[221\] Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 2, side 1.

\[222\] Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 2, side 1. Laima Jomantas believes Vincas’ mother died in a sanatorium while he was hiding in the countryside; Jomantas interview, 2010 b.

\[223\] This is not recorded in the published literature on Vilius Jomantas and is known only through the Lithuanian Artists’ Union papers, questionnaire for members, pp. 4-5. Since 1928 Vilius had been self-employed.

\[224\] Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 2, side 1.
unsurprising given that Vilius later lived under the second Soviet regime, when any wartime publications could be rendered proof of Nazi sympathies. Vilius Jomantas would understandably have taken pains to conceal any work commissioned by the Germans during the war.

Vincas Jomantas accompanied his father to Vilnius, where he lodged with his grandparents and began studying at the Vilnius Academy of Fine Art. This puts the starting date of his studies at 1942, contrary to the date of 1940 that has occasionally been given. Certainly there is no record of him among the Academy’s student lists for the period October 1941 to April 1942, nor does he appear among the recipients of stipends for the period June 1941 to December 1942. From this we must conclude either that he enrolled after April 1942 (a period for which there are no student records) or that his studies were so informal as for him to be an unregistered student. By his own account he concentrated on drawing and painting, primarily owing to the lack of facilities then available to sculptors and the paucity of teaching at the Vilnius Academy. Giedrė Jankevičiūtė observes that sculpture was marginalized in Lithuania during the Nazi occupation at the expense of portraiture and landscape painting – a trend that may be explained by the expense of materials and difficulties in obtaining them in wartime. However, Jomantas’ earliest training was in painting and graphics, studying under his father and working with him in various commercial print works, so it is also natural that he should have continued working in this vein at the Vilnius Academy. In addition he supported himself during this period by working as an apprentice to an unnamed friend of his father’s producing stage sets; painting was therefore his livelihood.

Jomantas never spoke in detail in interview of his time in Vilnius and no record of his work from this period exists even in photographic reproduction. Any notion as to the

227 Some sources state that Jomantas studied at the Vilnius Academy from 1940 to 1943 (see Melbourne, 1959; Bulleen, 2003, p. 35; Langwarrin, 2003, p. 25; Borthwick, 2012, p. 119). However, others put his years of study there at 1942-43, which tallies more accurately with his verbal account in interview with Barbara Blackman and with his father’s employment history (Langwarrin and Shepparton, 1990, p. 2; Kazokas, 2003 a, p. 131).
228 Vilnius Academy records, files 64.1.9 and 64.1.17 respectively.
229 Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 2, side 1.
230 Jankevičiūtė, 2009, p. 149.
231 Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 2 side 1.
The only surviving oil painting of Jomantas’ (fig. 2.37, VJW0002), a self-portrait from his early years in Australia, c. 1948-50, is painted in strong expressive strokes with melancholic blue shadowing around the mask-like face, reminiscent of Vizgirda’s vigorous brushwork and emphasis on strong complementary colours. The downcast gaze also brings to mind the portrait head of Vizgirda sculpted by Petras Aleksandravičius, who began teaching at the Vilnius Academy of Art in 1940 (fig. 2.38). Aleksandravičius’ portraits of both Vizgirda and the graphic artist Jonas Kuzminskis (1906–85), another professor then teaching at the Academy, share the same haunted look, blank introspective gaze and downturned head that we see in the slightly later Jomantas’ self-portrait. In this sense we can see Jomantas’ portrait as a continuation not only of Vizgirda’s manner of painting but also of many

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233 Jankevičiūtė, 2007, pp. 73; Jankevičiūtė, 2010, pp. 98-9 and fig. 2.
236 Jankevičiūtė notes the similarity in mood in this pair of sculpted portrait heads and suggests Aleksandravičius ‘expressed not only the moods of the models depicted, but also his own state of soul’. Jankevičiūtė, 2012, p. 257.
Lithuanians’ inward turn under Nazi occupation – particularly pervasive mood at the Vilnius Academy.

Another teacher at the Academy during Jomantas’ time was Justinas Vienožinskis (1886-1960) who, as first director of the Kaunas Art School (and Vizgirda’s own teacher), was chiefly responsible for introducing the study of art history into Lithuania. However, it was his stress upon knowledge of contemporary artistic developments, rather than historic ones, that was arguably of more importance to his students.237 In his published writings as an art critic Vienožinskis ‘condemned naturalism and provincialism’ – something that must have earned him more than a few enemies in Kaunas at the height of the national revival.238 His own work – mainly landscape and still life – owed much to Cézanne and the French Impressionists as learnt through art school in Kraków. Vienožinskis evidently had an internationalist perspective. As a teacher Vienožinskis was renowned for his emphasis on ‘psycho-emotional empathy’.239 The result was what Liutkus identifies as ‘a typical quality of Lithuanian expressive painting with the artist’s ego laid bare to the point of destruction’.240 While Jomantas would discontinue painting in favour of sculpture, a small number of sculpted works such as Tower of Grief, c. 1957-58 (VJ0021), and Sacrifice I and II, 1964-65 and 1965-66 respectively, do seem to connect with human emotions on a universal scale and demonstrate the sort of ‘psycho-emotional empathy’ urged by Vienožinskis while stopping short of the more autobiographic or personal display of emotion seen in many other Lithuanian works.241 Vilnius Academy therefore gave Jomantas a modernist grounding in French-inflected postimpressionism as well as an awareness of art’s potential for emotional expression – both far removed from the simplistic nativist love of folk art that Australian art historians have usually identified as Jomantas’ Lithuanian inheritance.

2.2.4: Flight to the west

In March 1943 the Germans closed both the Vilnius Academy and the Kaunas

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238 Andrijauskas, 2007, p. 104.
241 Vincas Jomantas, Sacrifice I, 1964-65, wood and copper, 112.0 x 118.0 x 57.0 cm, Lithuanian Art Museum, Vilnius; Sacrifice II, 1965-66, polyester resin with talc filler over wood, 95.3 x 102.3 x 48.3 cm, Queensland Art Gallery, Brisbane.
Institute in reprisal for the failure of Lithuanians to volunteer with the German army. Jomantas later attested that he continued to work in an unofficial capacity at the Academy but for most the year he stayed in the countryside because, in his words, the ‘German occupation forces didn’t poke their noses very much in the country and, if they used to come over, local police would inform you’. In this way he avoided conscription. His younger brother was not so fortunate: he was put to work in Hamburg with a fire brigade and never heard of again, despite Jomantas’ attempts to trace him after the war. At some point in or around October 1943 the Gestapo arrested Vilius Jomantas on the suspicion of having counterfeited stamps or ration cards; a brief document on his Lithuanian Artists’ Union file, dated 20 December 1944, states that since the Gestapo searched his flat and imprisoned him for fifteen months he has possessed no shoes, putting in the request for a pair of boots. Thus when the Soviets approached Vilnius in July 1944 Vincas Jomantas was in the unenviable position of hiding in the countryside from the Germans, who had already taken his father and his brother.

At this point he began moving westwards, availing of a small vacuum between the retreating German and advancing Soviet armies. In his words:

When you start to hear gunfire, well you don’t want to look in the barrel [of a gun] … And you start moving. Very slowly [I] moved nearer to the border… [I] was about four miles from the border – the German border – and Russians was nearly on you and therefore border was no more protected, and you moved into Germany and then travelled in Germany and travelled south and south and south as the troops moved behind you; as simple as that.

In this manner he moved through East Prussia and occupied Poland, occasionally accepting lifts with German farmers, sleeping on abandoned farms, accepting aid when available from refugee organisations, dodging conscripted labour projects.

242 Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 2 side 1. The date of this period of hiding would later mistakenly be put at 1945 in Langwarrin and Shepparton, 1990, p. 2.
243 Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 2 side 1.
244 Lithuanian Artists’ Union papers, p. 20, handwritten note from Vilius Jomantas to the Lietuvos TSR Tarybos Dailininkų Sąjungos Valdybos (Council of the Union of Artists of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic), 20 December 1944. No mention of this arrest is made in the secondary literature.
245 Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 2 side 1. The following account of his movement into Germany is summarized from his comments in this same interview.
(although at one point he was forced to spend four or five days digging trenches), avoiding registering for a rations card by skirting the larger towns and continually moving. At one point he was hit in the leg by a stray bullet, which was removed in a field hospital, but aside from this, and from rheumatic pain in his knees, he stayed relatively healthy. At another point he spent a month in an abandoned guesthouse with approximately thirty others, including some Hungarians, working on mending a railway. With this group he moved further south, into Austria, near the Czechoslovak border, until rumours spread that the Germans had finally surrendered. He then walked north into Munich where he reported to a Lithuanian association. Through them he found temporary accommodation in a disused hospital then occupied by around 90 Lithuanians, expanding to 200 or 300 within weeks. He stayed there for some months until the occupying American forces ordered that the Lithuanians join one of the official DP camps. His experiences in the camp will be charted in chapter 3 along with the resumption of his art studies.

Back in Lithuania Jomantas and Zikaras’ families were left to face the incoming Soviets. In Kaunas, on 12 August 1944, the newly formed Soviet Lithuanian Republic’s People Commissariat’s Board took possession of Juozas Zikaras’ studio and contents. Yet, a few weeks later he was promoted to the rank of professor and Dean of the Faculty of Decorative Sculpture and Ceramics at the Kaunas Institute of Applied Arts (the former Kaunas Art School). The promotion did not protect him. In November the KGB interviewed Juozas Zikaras several times, wanting to know the whereabouts of his three sons. Zikaras had little firm information for them; he had been told by an acquaintance that all three had been shot dead but he had no evidence. It was not until 1952 that the sons contacted the family and informed them they were in the US (where Vaidutis and Vainutis emigrated) and Australia. By then it was too late for Juozas. On 9 November 1944 he returned home after yet

246 There is considerable confusion as to when Jomantas actually arrived in Munich. Germany surrendered on 8 May 1945 so, if we follow his account given to Barbara Blackman, Jomantas entered the city after this date. However, elsewhere it is stated that he was ‘conscripted for forced labour for the German army in Czechoslovakia’, 1944-45 (Langwarrin, 2003, p. 25), while on his emigration forms, processed in Augsburg in 1948, he stated he had arrived in Munich in October 1944 as part of a forced labour gang working on road mending (Jomantas immigration documents, 1948). This final account is probably closer to the truth, given that it was recorded just a few years after the event.
248 Zikaras, J., file, c. 1944, 377.34.15.
249 Ruibienė, 2010.
250 Ruibienė, 2010.
another ‘interview’, wrote a note to his wife and daughter and then took an overdose of sleeping pills.\(^{251}\) His daughter believed his suicide saved her and her mother’s lives: had her father not taken his own life she suspects they would have been deported to Siberia on the basis of not cooperating with the authorities.\(^{252}\)

Vilius Jomantas fared no better. His brother and youngest son were taken by the Germans and Vincas’ whereabouts was unknown. After his release from prison, around December 1945, he found employment for a year at the State Art Institute (the former Vilnius Academy) as an assistant in the graphics department.\(^{253}\) However, he was arrested on 6 November 1947 and charged with ‘betrayal of fatherland’, presumably on account of his work with the German propaganda press. He was deported to Siberia, remaining there in a labour camp for ten years. In 1958, after Stalin’s death, he was reprieved and returned to Vilnius.\(^{254}\) Yet he had contracted tuberculosis and died in Vilnius, 30 December 1960.\(^{255}\) Vincas did not know of his father’s fate until some years later when the Melbourne artist and gynaecologist, Hal Hattam, brought him an old newspaper clipping announcing Vilius’ death.\(^{256}\)

My account of Jomantas and Zikaras’ wartime art schooling differs significantly from that offered in both the Australian and Lithuanian secondary literature. The Australian literature, as stated, has simply not attempted to cover this period in any detail and is riddled with errors and misunderstandings. The Lithuanian literature tends to focus on the Vilnius Academy during the war years, as this is where most of the professors of painting and graphics moved after the Kaunas school was reorganised to focus on applied arts. However, this disregards the continued operation of the sculpture studio in Kaunas, under Mikėnas and then Kašuba. It therefore misses the importance of Mikėnas’ and Kašuba’s influence on the young Zikaras. The account offered here readjusts this view, drawing attention to two parallel streams within the Kaunas sculpture studio: a withdrawn, poetic reverie that

\(^{251}\) Ruibienė, 2010.
\(^{252}\) Ruibienė, 2010.
\(^{253}\) Lithuanian Artists’ Union papers, questionnaire for members completed 2 February 1946.
\(^{254}\) Interestingly, two of Vincas’ former lecturers at the Vilnius Academy, Vienožinskis and Kuzminskis, would later write letters of reference for Vilius Jomantas when, in 1958, he reapplied for membership of the Lithuanian Artists’ Union. Lithuanian Artists’ Union papers, letters of nomination for Vilius Jomantas from Justinas Vienožinskis and Jonas Kuzminskis, April 1958, pp. 17-8
\(^{255}\) Lithuanian Artists’ Union papers, certificate of death for Vilius Jomantas.
\(^{256}\) Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 2 side 1.
seems to be in common with many of the painters of the time, as well as a continued commitment to monumental public art even at the expense of sacrificing personal values to state ideology. These two streams would continue to be relevant to the émigré sculptors after the war.

2.3: Julius Kane: Vienna, Auschwitz and beyond

Like his fellow European colleagues, Kane rarely spoke about his experiences of war. No interview exists owing to his premature death in 1962 (some years before Hazel de Berg commenced her series of interviews for the National Library of Australia) and there is no account of his whereabouts during the war in any of the published sources known to Australian historians. At one moment, we are given to believe, he is a student of law and economics at Budapest and the next he is studying art in Munich after the war.\footnote{This is the standard account given in all sources; see for instance Parkville, 1975, pp. 3, 8; McCulloch, 2004, p. 566 and Borthwick, 2012, pp. 123-4.} Kane told Howard Adelman that he had been interned in a concentration camp in Poland during the war, though this article has never been cited in the secondary literature on Kane.\footnote{Adelman, 1960, p. 9.} Clifford Last thought Kane had been ‘in the camps, in Germany’, but affirmed he never spoke of the time.\footnote{Blackman and Last, 1988, session 2.} With the aid of Kane’s IRO records, uncovered during the present course of research, a new record of events can be reconstructed.

When he applied for emigration to Australia, in 1949, Kane had to account for his whereabouts during the war. His answers were tersely recorded – just one or two words per query – on the IRO resettlement form, from which it appears that he was arrested in Vienna in September 1940 and imprisoned at Auschwitz in Poland.\footnote{Kohn migration selection documents, 1949, ‘I.R.O. Resettlement Registration Form’, 30 June 1949, p. 1.} The following year (the month is not given) he was sent to another concentration camp, identified simply as ‘Wartenberg CSR’, where he remained until May 1945.\footnote{Kohn migration selection documents, 1949, ‘I.R.O. Resettlement Registration Form’, 30 June 1949, p. 1.} On a separate form, completed three months after the first, he stated he had spent five years in German concentration camps as a ‘transport labourer’.\footnote{Kohn migration selection documents, 1949, ‘Processing Centre: Augsburg / Australia / Single Men’, 5 September 1949, p. 2.} This would place him...
among the estimated fifteen million forced labourers put to work on railway and road projects in Germany during the war.

However, it is difficult to assess the veracity of Kane’s account. The vast majority of the 10,900 prisoners sent to Auschwitz between June 1940 and March 1941 were Polish; it was only after May 1944 that nearly half a million Hungarian Jews were deported to Auschwitz, most of them gassed on arrival. No record of Kohn can be found among the list of Auschwitz prisoners, although this list is only partial, based on surviving records and estimated to represent just ten per-cent of SS documents. Further confusion exists over the reference to ‘Wartenberg CSR’. Presumably Kane is referring to the town Wartenberg am Rollberg, the German name for Stráž pod Ralskem, approximately 90 km north of Prague, in the Czechoslovak Republic (ČSR). Yet neither Wartenberg nor Stráž pod Ralskem appear in the published lists of German concentration camps. To confuse matters, Kane later told Adelman that he was interned in Poland. This is the only known instance of Kane revealing where he was during the war other than to the IRO. Was Kane’s account doctored to improve his chances of being selected for migration or did he simply slip into one of the many lacunae that resist examination through historical research? Alternatively, did he assume an alias after the war? Perhaps, like Danila Vassilieff, he was ‘blooded’ in the camps – acquiescing to acts of violence against fellow prisoners in return for leniency – and reluctant to be traced after the war. Kane’s account remains unsubstantiated, overshadowed by question marks and inconsistencies. The only account of his liberation from the camps at the end of the war comes from his IRO resettlement form. From this it appears he was released in May 1945 and spent two months on a ‘transport’ to the Netherlands where, in July 1945, he was employed in Eindhoven for three months as chief clerk at ‘Hq. 68 Base Suppl. Depot.

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263 Gutman, 1994, pp. 10, 16.
264 Search for ‘Kohn, Julius’ in the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum online database, URL: http://en.auschwitz.org/m/index.php?option=com_wrapper&Itemid=31. Piotr Supiński from the Bureau for Former Prisoners, State Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau, also replied to the author, 22 January 2015 (ref. I-Arch-BBW.525.3265.2014), and confirmed that the name Julius Kohn does not appear in any of the museum’s extant archives.
265 My searches for Wartenberg and Stráž pod Ralskem conducted in Megargee, 2009-12, vols. 1 and 2, and on the website: List of concentration camps, URL: http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Holocaust/cclist.html#germ.
267 St John Moore, 1982, p. 16.
Yet on the same form it was said that he could neither read nor write English, which seems unusual given that he was supposed to have worked as a chief clerk for the British army. After this he was reportedly unemployed from October 1945 to March 1946, living in an unnamed DP camp in Eindhoven. However, with the new knowledge that has come to light about his surname – Kohn – and his being in the Netherlands at the end of the war, it is now possible to locate him among a list of Dutch Holocaust survivors held by the Jewish Historical Museum in Amsterdam. From this it appears that in 1945 he was living in Amsterdam at Kloveniersburgwal 97 – a former sea captain’s home converted into a hostel in the 1940s – on the edge of the city’s Jewish quarter. Perhaps he moved from Eindhoven to Amsterdam during the six-month period of unemployment. Evidently he was content to identify as Jewish at this point, when it was once again safe to do so and when Jewish agencies were set up to help survivors.

Kane’s movements during and immediately after the war remain uncertain; he appears and reappears in the surviving documents but without any recordings or transcriptions of his verbal account we are at a loss to place him exactly. We have no idea of his thoughts – if any, at this point – on art or what he may have been looking at or absorbing for future use. Art was presumably far from his concerns at the time. If the brief answers supplied to the IRO in 1949 are accurate, he was a Holocaust victim: imprisoned in concentration camps as a forced labourer for the German war effort. Given that he never spoke in Australia of surviving family or friends, it might be assumed he thought them all dead or lost. With the new account offered above, unsubstantiated and brief as it is, we can better appreciate why fellow Hungarian Andor Meszaros’ sons, Michael and Daniel, would later describe him as unsmiling and desperate – ‘a depressed, sad little chap’. His eventual suicide in 1962 – he gassed himself in his oven at home – is also cast in a more revealing light. From an art historical perspective, Kane’s knowledge of the camps and his wartime

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269 Dutch Survivor Lists, URL: http://www.ushmm.org/online/hsv/person_view.php?PersonId=5633080. Julius Kohn’s date of birth is given as 29 November 1923, rather than 29 November 1921, his place of birth is given as Budapest and his ‘last address’ is recorded as ‘Elov. Burgwal 97’, which is a slight misprint of ‘Kloveniersburgwal 97’, more usually given as ‘Kloveniersburgwal 97’.
270 Meszaros interview, 2014.
271 Light interview, 2010.
experiences ought to be considered alongside assessments such as that of the *Bulletin* critic’s: that Kane aimed to ‘produce the horrors’ in his work, which he felt had ‘a nightmare resemblance to Easter Island sculpture’.272 A better understanding of Kane’s wartime experiences might help in interpreting work that even sympathetic colleagues such as Clement Meadmore described as ‘wildly organic and rather unnerving’.273 Putting aside the overtly reactionary tone of the *Bulletin* critic’s comments we might ask whether perhaps Kane did indeed intend to shock or unnerve complacent Australian viewers – presenting them with a vision of the irrational, the uncivilized, and the ugly, as a form of protest at their ignorance or indifference to events that occurred on the other side of the world.

2.4: Norma Redpath: interrupted beginnings in Melbourne

At the outbreak of war Redpath was a schoolgirl at Strathcona. Her father was by then very ill with tuberculosis and shortly afterwards admitted to the Gresswell Sanatorium, Mont Park (Macleod), where he died on 20 December 1940.274 His death precipitated a crisis in Norma’s life. With mounting family debts, she left Strathcona and went to the non-fee paying Canterbury High School, where she was distressed to discover less curricular emphasis on art.275 She endured it little over a year before consenting to enrol in a business course, where a small number of fine art subjects reconciled her to a presumed fate of clerical work.276 However, in the following year these subjects were eliminated from the course. Combined with the strain of her father’s death, the ‘unstable home atmosphere’ and the loss of stability that Strathcona represented, this precipitated what she described as a nervous breakdown.277 She later wrote that eventually, in mid-1943, ‘in crisis … a thread of direction started to emerge and of my own initiative [I] walked through the doors of Swinburne Technical

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273 Meadmore, 1963, p. 5;
274 *Argus*, 1940 Dec 23, p. 4. Details of Harry Curtis Redpath’s illness and death have not before appeared in any of the literature on Norma Redpath.
276 Redpath, 1991, p. 16.
Although officially too young and without means to pay the tuition fees, she was permitted to enrol in the commercial art course.\(^{279}\)

Swinburne College’s School of Art, on the corner of Burwood Road and John Street, Hawthorn, was not only convenient to Redpath’s home but also boasted a small handful of alumni who had gone on to pursue fine arts careers including sculptors George Allen and Ola Cohn, who studied at Swinburne 1920-25.\(^{280}\) In addition the college’s first director, John Tranthim-Fryer, was a sculptor. Nevertheless the focus was on applied art. The school’s stated aims were to ‘give instruction in drawing, painting, designing, modelling and craftwork to all classes of practical workers, both artists and artisans, that they may successfully apply the principles of art to the requirements of commerce and industry’.\(^{281}\) This was a technical school rather than a fine art school; as such, it differed significantly from the experiences of King, Zikaras and Jomantas. Yet Redpath found satisfaction at Swinburne in ‘learning the craft of drawing, rendering and copying of plaster casts’.\(^{282}\) Painting chiefly preoccupied her. Among her teachers was Eleanour ‘Nornie’ Gude (1915-2002), with whom she studied watercolour painting, while Gude’s husband, L. Scott Pendlebury (1914-86), would teach Redpath painting, 1946-48, when he returned from war service.\(^{283}\) She later recalled Gude and Pendlebury’s ‘intuitive understanding and generosity’ as they involved her in discussions on art and loaned her books such as Cézanne’s Composition by Erle Loran (published 1943), which prompted her awareness of solid space and ‘human participation between the planes’.\(^{284}\) Redpath never mentioned other teaching staff such as Stanley Tompkins, head of the art school from 1928-56, senior instructor Alan Jordan, painting instructor Roger Paton James, or modelling instructor Ronald J. Ferguson.\(^{285}\) We can only assume they left little impression and that it was rather the availability of materials and studio space that stimulated the young student.

\(^{278}\) Redpath, c. 2002, p. 11.
\(^{279}\) In one manuscript (Redpath, 1991, p. 17) she claims she was thirteen when first enrolled at Swinburne, putting the year at 1941-42, but in all versions of her CV she states she started at Swinburne in mid-1943.
\(^{280}\) Allen reportedly studied at Swinburne alongside Cohn; see Australasian Post, 1951, p. 17.
\(^{281}\) Swinburne Technical College, 1951, p. 5.
\(^{283}\) Redpath, 1991, p. 18.
\(^{285}\) A list of teaching staff as of August 1950 appears in Swinburne Technical College, 1951, p. 4.
One of Redpath’s earliest extant works, *Shell Structures*, retrospectively dated 1942 but almost certainly from 1943, is a drypoint etching made when she was just thirteen or fourteen years old during her first year at Swinburne (fig. 2.39, NRW0001). I discovered the original copper plate, smeared with traces of blue ink, among the artist’s effects. *Shell Structures* demonstrates the same interest in the sculptural qualities of natural forms that Henry Moore evinced in his series of shell drawings from 1932 and in his widely reprinted article ‘The Sculptor Speaks’, of 1937, in which he attested to paying ‘great attention to natural forms, such as bones, shells and pebbles’.

This early student work points to the young Redpath’s sympathies with Moore, developed well in advance of the first showing of Moore’s work in Melbourne in 1948.

A photograph included in the portfolio that Redpath submitted for the Italian Government Scholarship in 1961, and dated therein 1944, depicts a deftly modelled head of a woman (fig. 2.40, NR0001). If this retrospectively assigned date is correct, the work is remarkably assured. Although a naturalistic study, it conveys a sense of the sitter’s inner life without employing overt stylistic devices. Traces of the sculptor’s touch are evident; there is no effort made to conceal the manner in which the work has been built up in clay from an inner core (it would have been cast in plaster from the clay original). Clearly Redpath had an aptitude for working in three dimensions.

Nothing else is known of Redpath’s wartime art school experiences. In 1944, before she was yet sixteen years of age, she too contracted tuberculosis. She was confined to hospital for a year of complete rest, followed by a second year of restricted activity at home. Her mother had since moved from the large house in Harcourt Street to another further down the road where Redpath was given ‘the mandatory sleepout in a garden’ and continued to convalesce. During these two years, 1944-46, she was

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286 An etching press was installed shortly before the outbreak of war; Turner, 1939, p. 11.
287 Moore, 1937, p. 338.
289 Redpath papers, folio 3. There is some uncertainty as to whether this is the folio submitted for the 1959 or 1961 competitions, both of which Redpath entered. She won the scholarship in 1961.
290 Redpath, 1991, p. 18. The exact address is unknown but by November 1952 Redpath is recorded as living at 59 Wattle Road, Hawthorn (Casey papers, series 4, box 21, folder 7, and series 4, box 22, folder 11, Redpath entry form to the competition for the Unknown Political Prisoner).
able ‘to develop, question and think’, eventually – once physically able – resuming painting.\textsuperscript{291} The enforced introspectiveness and her reluctance to name her illness apparently helped created an impression of her as being distant and ‘odd’, an impression that some later interpreted as arrogance.\textsuperscript{292} These characteristics may also have contributed to the professional persona that would soon emerge: slightly aloof and cool yet highly motivated to immerse herself in her work. In the interim, however, we must leave her convalescing in her mother’s Hawthorn home, far removed from the war in Europe.

\textbf{2.5: Clifford Last and Lenton Parr: on active service}

Neither Last nor Parr studied sculpture before 1945, yet the war gave them their first experiences of travel, exposing them to different social groups and customs both within the army and with civilians at home and abroad. It is my contention that these horizon-broadening experiences led them each to consider sculpture as a viable career. Travel, liberation from family circumstances, the democratic ‘levelling out’ (even within such hierarchical institutions as the army and air force) and the provision of skilled training collectively gave them the ability to break free of paths they had expected to follow before the war. These same experiences also fed into their professional artistic personas: the citation of rank and file, training courses completed and places where they served later paved the way for their acceptance as serious artists within just a couple of years of embarking on sculptural studies. Their experiences of brutality and destruction were largely suppressed – just as Kane, King, Jomantas and Zikaras likewise focussed their energies on their careers rather than dwell upon past hardships. In the following section I trace Last and Parr’s postings and examine their recorded thoughts about the war in order to elaborate the complex geographic matrix of the Centre Five mosaic and identify the strands feeding into the group’s professionalism.

\textbf{2.5.1: From El Alamein to Tunis}

Most accounts of Last’s whereabouts during the war summarise the places where he was posted (Africa, Palestine, Italy) and cite the highest position to which he rose in

\textsuperscript{291} de Berg and Redpath, 1965, p. 1314.
the army: Infantry Platoon Commander, Cheshire Regiment, 1939-46. These summaries cumulatively characterise Last’s war in terms of action and overseas experience. They disguise the fact that Last spent much of the war in England in a range of occupations, endlessly shunting between training camps and visits home, waiting to be drafted. Max Dimmack, himself an ex-serviceman, depicts the early war years as liberating for Last: describing him as ‘a carefree militia man’. This impression doubtless came from Last, who later described the war years as ‘hedonistic’ and ‘in some strange way … mildly enjoyable’, recalling drinking with fellow soldiers and having no responsibilities as the army provided all food, clothing, accommodation and medical care. Last’s homosexuality is never mentioned yet it was during his years as a soldier that he formed his first relationships and, by 1945, was reading Havelock Ellis on homosexuality – most likely his Sexual Inversion (1897). Just as Dimmack suppressed his own troubled wartime memories of brutality, rape and death until he underwent psychiatric treatment in the 1990s, Last rarely spoke of his army career in anything but an offhand manner and never spoke publicly about sexuality. Yet he later confessed to frequently despairing during his seven years in the army, wondering whether he would ever escape the army and, if so, what he would do afterwards.

Last volunteered just days before war was declared but his first eighteen months in service saw him languishing in a series of training camps during the period Britons dubbed ‘the phoney war’. His first posting was as an infantry private with the Machine Gun Corps in the Cheshire Regiment. Subsequently he trained as an army physical training instructor in Chester and as an instrument mechanic with the Army Ordnance Corps in London, where he experienced the final weeks of the first and

294 Dimmack, 1972, p. 7.
295 Blackman and Last, 1988, session 1.
296 Nella Last diary, entry for 25 May 1945 (section not included in Broad and Fleming’s edited volume). Last’s friendship with airman George Dinnis (elsewhere named George Dunnan) is referred to regularly in Nella Last’s diaries and was probably one of his earliest homosexual relationships; see Broad and Fleming, 2006, pp. 158-9, 161, 169, 177, 181-4, 187; Malcomson and Malcomson, 2010, p. 153, and Last papers, box 5, folder 1.
298 Blackman and Last, 1988, session 1.
most destructive phase of the London Blitz.300 At home on leave, in May 1941, he experienced further raids on Barrow and developed a nonchalant attitude towards the destruction of so much that had previously seemed enduring.301 On 17 July 1942 he sailed on board the Orontes for Egypt – part of the Eighth Army’s Second Offensive.302 He spent the next year in the Middle East, making his way (as numerous journalists later repeated) ‘with Montgomery’s Army … from El Alamein to Tunis’.303 At the start of July 1943, when the Eighth Army began pushing north into Italy, Last was in Palestine.304 Yet it is questionable whether he saw much action in the Middle East. He seems to have still been in training for on 28 July 1943 he passed an exam and was en route to an Officer Cadet Training Unit (whereabouts unknown).305 He was promoted from cadet to Second Lieutenant with the Cheshire Regiment on 29 February 1944.306

As Lieutenant Last, he embarked on 2 June 1944 for Italy where he was part of the Allied push north from Naples.307 He appears to have transferred to the Royal Air Force, general duties branch, and on 21 August 1944 was promoted from the rank of Pilot Officer (probation) to Flying Officer.308 One journalist later recounted that Last flew a troop-carrying glider in Italy but it is more probable that he was involved in ground operations.309 On weekend leave he explored Florence and admired the classical statuary but eventually, after yet more army courses, he saw action.310 At Forli, outside Florence, on 13 November 1944, he was wounded by a hand-grenade whilst trying to advance on a German machine-gun post.311 He was mentioned in dispatches for ‘distinction and gallantry’.312 He was subsequently sent to the 98th

302 Last papers, box 5, folder 1; Blackman and Last, 1988, session 1.
303 Melbourne, 1948, p. [2]. This same phrase is repeated frequently in journalistic profiles of Last.
307 Last papers, box 5, folder 1.
308 London Gazette, 1944 Sept 5, fourth supplement, p. 4168.
309 Bennett, 1949, p. 7. This is the only known reference to Last flying a glider and is the same source that inaccurately portrayed Last’s great uncle as working on ‘old British sailing ships’ (see chapter 1).
310 Blackman and Last, 1988, session 1.
311 People, 1956. The exact date is recorded in Last papers, box 5, folder 1.
312 Last papers, box 5, folder 5, letter of reference from Major B.H. Jackson, ‘N’ Squadron No. 1, Wing Glider Pilot Regiment, 1 March 1946. An online search of the London Gazette failed to reveal the citation but not all MID citations were gazetted.
British General Hospital at Bari, in southern Italy, where part of his right hand was amputated and shrapnel removed from his legs and body.  

In February 1945 he returned to England, wounded, on six months leave. On a trip to Barrow in May he revealed his plan to study interior design at ‘the London Polytechnic’. Elsewhere his mother referred to it as ‘Holborn Polytech’, indicating that in fact it was the same Central School of Arts and Crafts that King had attended in 1940, located at Southampton Row, Holborn, and sometimes known as the Holborn Polytechnic. He immediately left Barrow for London to commence the course while he had three week’s further leave.

On 25 June 1945 he was appointed squadron adjutant (assistant to a senior office) with a wing glider pilot regiment in Watford, Hertfordshire (less than ten kilometres from New Barnet, where King would move in 1947). In October he wrote to his mother announcing that, if commissioned, he would move to Palestine with his unit; later writing that he had proposed to a ‘WAAF girl’ who had ‘money of her own and a certain amount of position’. However, nothing came of either proposition and, by the end of November, Nella was ‘bewildered’ at her son’s vacillations. Four months later, on 26 March 1946, Last was demobilised.

The foregoing account – peppered with dates, places and promotions – gives some idea of Last’s experiences of war. During these years he experienced liberation from the home environment and began covertly testing his sexuality. He later told Barbara Blackman that he was not then intellectually mature enough to dwell upon the morality of war or the possibility of his own death; ‘death was all around you’ but he never thought about it. The war was instead a vast unknowable and irrational construction to be navigated and endured from within. His decision to pursue his own

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313 People, 1956.
317 Broad and Fleming, 2006, p. 282; Last papers, box 5, folder 1; also box 5, folder 5, letter of reference from Major B.H. Jackson, 1 March 1946.
318 Malcolmson and Malcolmson, 2008, pp. 34, 37, 40-1.
319 Malcolmson and Malcolmson, 2008, p. 44.
320 Dimmack, 1972, p. 8; Last papers, box 5, folder 1.
321 Blackman and Last, 1988, session 1.
interests as an independent sculptor, operating outside of institutional constraints, seems partially to have stemmed from a wish to break free of the arbitrary restrictions placed upon him in the army. Nevertheless, the advantages of army life – the provision of food, clothing and accommodation, the social contact with people from other social strata and, after discharge, a small pension – were appreciated. The formal structure of the army also provided the basis of Last’s professional resume and guaranteed him social acceptance in Australia.

2.5.2: From Coburg to Calgary

Parr was completing his third and final year at Preston Technical School when war was declared in September 1939. Despite his having been introduced at Preston to the application of art to industry, Parr’s earliest work experience was in heavy industry: working for a year, in 1940, in the maintenance workshop of A.G. Staley’s Holeproof Hoisery Mill in Brunswick before being apprenticed, in 1941, as a fitter at the Victorian Railways Workshop in Newport.322 Towards the end of the same year he abandoned his job, travelled to Sydney and attempted to enlist by adding an extra year to his age, but the ruse was discovered and he was sent home.323 As with Last, Parr’s relationship with his father at this time was strained and the army seemed a viable escape route from an unhappy family home.324 For the next two years he worked in a variety of industrial workshops, including an agricultural machinery works in Coburg and an engineering firm in South Melbourne, learning ‘most of what I know about metal working’ during these years.325 His sense of isolation at this time was offset by an omnivorous diet of books, mostly second-hand nineteenth-century texts such as Ruskin’s Modern Painters as well as more recent issues of The Studio, purchased from the Victoria Markets where he cycled on his way home from work.326

In 1943, shortly after his nineteenth birthday, he attempted enlisting again and this time was accepted into the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) as a trainee wireless operator / air gunner.327 After six weeks training on Westernport Bay he was sent by

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327 This account of Parr’s wartime experiences is summarized from his more detailed and anecdotal account given in Parr, 1999, pp. 21-2.
boat to Winnipeg, Canada, under the Empire Air Training Scheme. There he was trained in Morse code, radio operations, as well as more mundane physical drills, until qualified to begin flying with an instructor in a two-cockpit single-engine plane. From Winnipeg he was sent to Calgary, in late 1944, for further training in air gunnery. By this stage the Allied invasion in Europe was well-advanced and new bomber-command pilots no longer required. Parr was sent back to Australia. By the time the war ended in the Pacific, 14 August 1945, he was in Ballarat undergoing yet further radio training. He had survived the war in service but without seeing action.

Nevertheless, the war years were central to Parr’s self-image and personal development. He later acknowledged the importance of travel and ‘contact with others’ during his time with the RAAF. He liked and admired the Scottish and Ukrainian migrants he met in Canada – ‘sturdy, warm hearted and hospital’ folk – and was sensitive to the sublime Calgary landscape. Together these experiences led him to ‘the realisation that there was a world of ideas in which I was not doomed to be merely a spectator’, which he counted as the most significant outcome of his war experiences. Parr mentioned his war experiences less frequently than Last, instead emphasising his credentials as an educationist to reinforce his professional persona. Nevertheless, he invariably mentioned his training as a fitter and turner and his having served with the RAAF by way of reaffirming his manual training and his trade-school knowledge of tools and machines that would later be drawn upon in his sculptural practice. Parr’s war was thereby cast as an intrinsically masculine one of machines and technological mastery that would feed into his professional persona.

2.6: On survival and suppression: rewriting Centre Five into European history

The war years represent not so much a hiatus as a watershed period of disruption, challenge and stimulus for the future Centre Five sculptors. We now see King operating within a significant exiled / refugee milieu in Glasgow during the war, dwelling upon her literary and artistic heritage (such as The Legend of Thyl Ulenspiegel and the German expressionist legacy of Barlach and Kollwitz) while attempting to forge local connections, exhibiting with and befriending Glaswegian

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329 Parr, 1999, p. 21
331 See for instance Gleeson and Parr, 1979, p. 1.
artists. The effect of reinserting King into this milieu is to unexpectedly highlight the importance of émigré artists such as Benno Schotz and the small cohort of Jewish refugees he supported, not only to King’s work but also to the growth of the Kelvingrove Gallery’s holdings of modernist sculpture and the wider acceptance of modernism in that city. This is a milieu and a moment in time that has received insufficient attention. At the same time I highlight the largely-forgotten work of George Innes and suggest possible referents for King’s burgeoning awareness of art and architectural synthesis: from Charles Rennie Macintosh’s GSA design to Benno Schotz’s architectural commissions. This reinsertion of King into Scottish art historical narratives, as an artist who brought with her a love and understanding of German expressionist sculpture and who shared that knowledge with her art school friends, renders her doubly strange: no longer simply ‘Berliner’ or ‘Australian’, she is now also ‘Glasgow émigré sculptor’.

Zikaras and Jomantas have long been considered ‘Lithuanian sculptors’ but the geographic and historical specificity of what that means has never been explored. My account locates them within the ‘forbidden and inaccessible memory islands’ of Kaunas and Vilnius under Soviet and Nazi occupation.\(^{332}\) It examines the neglected subject of sculpture studies in Kaunas during the war under Mikėnas and Kašuba, the tendency towards poetic reverie and retreat from reality under German occupation and the dangers of attempting to pursue a nationalist agenda complicit with Nazi ideology. Zikaras’ choice of subjects at the Kaunas Art School reflects his early aspirations to professionalism and underscores the rigorous nature of his fine art training. I have read Zikaras’ early student works – largely unknown to both Australian and Lithuanian historians – as presenting multiple conflicting interpretations: neoclassical referents, poetic allegory, nationalist symbols or Aryan archetypes. I have also attempted to locate the sources of Zikaras’ modernism: namely the early Parisian modernism of Maillol, as interpreted through Mikėnas, and of Picasso, as studied in art magazines. Finally I have traced Zikaras to the intimate circle of Kašuba: working in peaceful retreat in Jurbarkas in 1943, although Kašuba’s wife has since denied Zikaras’ presence in that circle. Regardless of the accuracy of the story, it is telling that Kašuba recalled Zikaras as one of his most loyal students and points to Kašuba’s

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\(^{332}\) Jankevičiūtė, 2012, p. 247
influence on the young Zikaras and their desire for an art that might rise above political co-option.

Jomantas is situated among the Vilnius Academy milieu, which likewise turned inwards under Nazi occupation. His sources of modernism were again French, as interpreted through senior Lithuanian painters such as Vizgirda and Vienožinskis. Jomantas no doubt heard much about the quality of ‘psycho-emotional empathy’ that Vienožinskis espoused and gave expression to this in some of his later work in Australia. It is believed that Jomantas’ father’s work as a lithographer brought political difficulties: his production of German propaganda – under State orders – later resulting in his arrest and deportation by the Soviets. This experience no doubt helped feed Vincas’ own distrust of ideologically driven art. However, in the absence of any extant works or photographs, this period of Jomantas’ career remains obscure. My account of Kane’s wartime experiences differs dramatically from those previously given. It places him in a series of concentration camps in Poland and Czechoslovakia, one of several million Jewish slave labourers in the Axis powers’ military machine. By the war’s end he was working in Eindhoven for the British army (without any apparent knowledge of English) and afterwards in Amsterdam, registering as a Jewish survivor. Howard Adelman, whose insightful profile of Kane has hitherto been unknown to Australian historians, is the only other writer has ever recorded that Kane was ‘in the camps’ during WWII. The war effectively stripped Kane of his former professional qualifications in law, leaving him stateless and without the ability to practice his chosen profession. While we still know almost nothing about his cultural heritage, we do know something of the disasters he survived and can retrospectively hypothesise how they impacted on his later search for means of self-expression.

Redpath was relatively unscathed by WWII but instead faced a series of personal crises in Melbourne precipitated by her father’s death from tuberculosis in 1940 and cumulating, towards war’s end, in her contracting the same disease. In between she moved schools, enrolled in a ‘business’ (secretarial) course, and found temporary solace in studying painting at Swinburne’s School of Art. By her own admission she suffered a nervous breakdown (as had Last before the war) and turned to art virtually as a necessity – as a means of allowing her to develop emotionally and intellectually. The emphasis at Swinburne on art’s application to industry made little impact on her
but she encountered there sympathetic teachers who encouraged her interest in aesthetics and modernism.

Last and Parr had their first experiences of travel overseas during the war: Last was posted to Egypt, Tunisia and Italy, and Parr to Canada. Both referred to these experiences as liberations from unhappy paternal relationships and as foundational to their later embarking on careers their parents had not envisaged. Both also valued the opportunity to mix with people from different social and cultural backgrounds and Last, in particular, responded well to the meritocratic system of promotion within the army hierarchy. In short, their experiences of the army and RAAF gave both men the space necessary in which they began to conceive of different paths for themselves as sculptors. They also gained useful credentials – engendering respect from future employers – and, in Last’s case, a pension that provided some financial independence. Neither men ever attested to being greatly distressed by the events of the war but instead viewed these years as representing a definitive break from family and launch into independent life. Their subsequent decisions to study sculpture and experiences of art school will be examined in chapter 4.
2.1: Inge King (front row, seated at right) with fellow students at the Royal Academy of London, 1940. Photo: unknown photographer, King papers.

2.2: Benno Schotz RSA (1891-1984), *Head of Helen Biggar*, 1932, bronzed plaster, 33.6 cm high, whereabouts unknown. Photo: Christie's, Glasgow (The Studio of The Late Benno Schotz, R.S.A., 24 September, 1997, lot 1).
2.3: Inge King (1915-2016), *Lady Jane Grey*, 1942, clay, approx. 121.9 cm high, whereabouts unknown (plaster cast in the collection of Bienchin Ohly, Abbey Art Centre, London). Photo: unknown photographer, King papers.

2.4: Inge King (1915-2016), *Pastoral Panel*, c. 1941-42, elm wood carving in low relief, 76.2 x 213.4 x 7.6 cm, formerly private collection, Cambridge, UK; present whereabouts unknown. Photo: unknown photographer, King papers.
2.5: Inge King (1915-2016), *David and Jonathan* (later known as *Three-legged Race*), c. 1942-43, clay, approx. 152 cm high, destroyed. Photo: unknown photographer, King papers.

2.6: Inge King (1915-2016), *Mother and Child*, 1943, bronzed plaster, 18.0 x 23.0 x 17.0 cm, estate of the artist. Photo: Stuart Soler, reproduced in Trimble and McGregor, 2009, p. 9.
2.7 Käthe Kollwitz (1867-1945), *Mutter mit zwei Kindern* (*Mother With Two Children*), 1923-37, bronze, 77 x 79 x 84 cm, Duisburg: Stiftung Wilhelm Lehmbruck Museum. Photo: Stiftung Wilhelm Lehmbruck Museum.

2.9: Inge King (1915-2016), *Untitled (female torso, study for a carving)*, c. 1943, pen and black ink on paper mounted on grey card, 17.4 x 8.1 cm, estate of the artist. Photo: the author.

2.10: Inge King (1915-2016), *Untitled (figure in grief)*, 1943, oak, approx. 1 metre high, exhibited at King’s post-diploma exhibition, Glasgow School of Art, circa June 1943, and shortly afterwards re-carved to become *Head*, 1943 (IK0056) and *Torso*, 1943-45 (IK0057). Photo: unknown photographer, King papers.
2.11: Inge King (1915-2016), *Warsaw*, 1943, cast in bronze in an edition of 2 in 1945, 36.2 x 19.0 x 18.0 cm, Canberra: National Gallery of Australia, and private collection, UK. Photo: NGA.
2.12: Ossip Zadkine (1890-1967), Studio interior with *The Musicians* visible on a plinth in the centre: *The Musicians* (also known as *Concerto*), 1927, bronze, cast by Andro Fondeur, edition of five, 55 x 42 x 21 cm, Glasgow: Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum. Photo: courtesy Zadkine Foundation.


2.15: Inge King (1915-2016), *Mother and Child*, 1943-44, limestone, 61 cm high, formerly collection of Dr Karl Abenheimer, Glasgow; whereabouts unknown. Photo: unknown photographer, King papers.
2.16: Sir Jacob Epstein (1880-1959), *Consummatum Est*, 1936-37, alabaster, 61.0 x 223.5 x 81.0 cm, Edinburgh: Museum of Modern Art. Photo: Scottish National Galleries.

2.18: Teisutis Zikaras (second from left, standing) with unidentified students outside the Kauno Meno Mokykla (Kaunas Art School), c. 1942. Photo: unknown photographer, Kaunas: Juozas Zikaras Museum archive, ref. ZA 227.

2.19: Teisutis Zikaras (third from right, standing) with unidentified students in the sculpture studio of the Kauno Meno Mokykla (Kaunas Art School), c. 1942. Photo: unknown photographer, collection of Marcus Zikaras, Hurstbridge, Vic.


2.24: Teisutis Zikaras (1922-91), *Stovinti (Stationary)* c. 1942, plaster or clay, dimensions unknown, whereabouts unknown. Photo: unknown photographer, Juozas Zikaras Museum, Kaunas, ref. ZA 352.

2.26: Vytautus Kašuba (1915-97), *Vyro aktas (Man)*, 1938, clay, dimensions unknown, whereabouts unknown. Photo: unknown photographer, Marijampolės kraštotyros muziejus (Marijampolė Local Lore Museum), Marijampolė, Lithuania.

2.27: Teisutis Zikaras (1922-91), *Jūreivis Žvejys (Sailor Fisherman)*, c. 1939-42, clay (terracotta?), dimensions unknown, whereabouts unknown. Photo: unknown photographer, Juozas Zikaras Museum, Kaunas, ref. ZA 349.
2.28: Teisutis Zikaras standing before a work believed to be his: *Allegorical figure of a woman with a harp, possibly representing Sappho*, c. 1942, plaster or clay, dimensions unknown, whereabouts unknown. Photo: unknown photographer, collection: Marcus Zikaras, Hurstbridge, Vic.

2.29: Petras Aleksandravičius (1906-97), *Safo (Sappho)*, 1931-32, plaster or clay, dimensions unknown, whereabouts unknown. Photo: unknown photographer, Juozas Zikaras Museum, Kaunas, ref. ZA 350, where misattributed to Teisutis Zikaras.
2.31: Juozas Mikėnas (1901-64), *Moteris su vaisiais (Woman with fruit)*, 1940-41, toned plaster, 164 x 110 x 65 cm, Vilnius: National Art Gallery. Photo: the author.

2.32: Juozas Mikėnas (1901-64), *Poilsis (Rest)*, 1943, toned plaster, 63 x 98 x 10 cm, Vilnius: National Art Gallery. Photo: the author.
2.33: Teisutis Zikaras (1922-91), *Mergina (Girl)*, c. 1942, plaster or clay, dimensions unknown, whereabouts unknown. Photo: unknown photographer, Juozas Zikaras Museum, Kaunas, ref. ZA 347.


2.40: Norma Redpath (1928-2013), *Head of a Woman*, 1944, plaster, dimensions unknown, whereabouts unknown. Photo: Mark Strizic, Redpath papers, SLV.
Chapter 3: Aftermath I: archaism and neoclassicism among Germany’s ruins, 1945-52

The immediate post-war years were precarious for the three future Centre Five sculptors who found themselves in German displaced persons (DP) camps: Jomantas, Kane and Zikaras. Few works are known from this period (table 3.1). Zikaras photographed twelve sculptures – mostly terracotta or plaster – at Freiburg, 1945-49, and ten in Australia, 1949-52. Fifteen of Kane’s works dating to 1952 or earlier are recorded, of which ten are known only from exhibition records. Nine sculptures and decorative objects by Jomantas can be dated to these post-war years; mostly produced in Munich and known only through photographs. We sense the artists’ deprivation through these scant statistics, as well as through the modest scale and invariably inexpensive materials used in these years.¹ Professionalism – alternative or otherwise – was scarcely a viable ambition at this point.

Table 3.1: Artworks, 1945-52, by Vincas Jomantas, Julius Kane and Teisutis Zikaras, viewed in person, seen in reproduction or documented by the author, 2009-16.

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<th>Kane</th>
<th>Zikaras</th>
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<td><strong>15</strong></td>
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¹ Exceptions are Kane’s four bronzes (JK0001-3 and JK0013.2) made between 1945 and 1952. It appears that Zikaras’ bronzes from this same period were cast later in the 1970s.
Despite the daunting lack of visual evidence, much can be gained from examining the contexts in which the artists operated. Who did they study with, who did they most admire and which exhibitions did they visit? In what ways did Germany alter their thinking or aesthetic orientation? In the case of Jomantas and Zikaras, how did they reconcile the call to promulgate Lithuanian nationalist rhetoric with contemporary modes of sculpture then practiced in Germany? All three artists examined here responded differently to contemporary sculpture, particularly German and French, illuminating alternative trajectories for sculpture in the post-war years.

The category of ‘DP artists’ distinguishes these three from their future Centre Five colleagues. It defined their early years in Australia in terms of public perception and limited opportunities. In retrospect it also situates them against the backdrop of an emerging anti-Communist ‘West’ that absorbed Baltic and Eastern Europe political refugees. As Gerard Cohen recently argued, the DP issue was central to negotiations between the western Allies and the Soviet Union – fundamentally contributing to the advent of the Cold War. In 1944-45 US occupying forces and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) were primarily concerned with repatriating DPs from Eastern Europe and the Baltic states to their countries of origin. However, in 1945 a further 12 million ethnic Germans were expelled from Silesia (among them the sculptor Hermann Hohaus, who later settled in Melbourne), swelling the German DP camps, while further Eastern Europeans fled west before the borders were sealed. The UNRRA’s distinction between DPs and refugees (who, if repatriated, faced inevitable arrest and deportation to Siberia) became increasingly untenable. Thus in 1947 the UNRRA was replaced with the International Refugee Organisation (IRO), whose chief mandate was not rehabilitation but rather resettlement: finding homes for millions of DPs in the US, Canada, South America and Australia. In siting the three artists within this wider international context we can better understand their strong anti-Communist views, which would later alienate them from many left-leaning artistic factions in Australia.

5 Anti-Communist sentiment was common particularly to Eastern European and Baltic migrants; see also Melnychuk, 2012, pp. 230-2.
Most of the existing literature on DP artists in Germany is framed by the concept of cultural nationalism – that is, the presentation of a cohesive national cultural legacy in terms of shared art, language, religion, history and folk traditions.6 Such accounts typically emphasise the artists’ political exile and their desire for the return of national independence, while artists and artworks operating outside this framework are frequently ignored. For instance the Ukrainian Gregor Kruk (1911-88), whose sculptures of peasants and children featured in the Displaced Persons Art Exhibition in Munich in 1947, is repeatedly discussed within the context of Ukrainian art rather than German modernism.7 Cultural nationalism embraces a much wider gamut of activities than the fine arts; opera, ballet, song festivals, theatre, newspapers, book production, weaving, leatherwork, pottery and children’s art are all included. Artists are subsumed in this overwhelming narrative of nationalist cultural activity. Thus, while some work has been done on Lithuanian DP cultural activity, discussion of the fine arts is confined to a consideration of activities at Freiburg (as detailed in sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2), with virtually nothing on Lithuanian artists elsewhere in Germany.8

3.1: Julius Kane and Vincas Jomantas, DPs in Munich

Contrary to the prevalent emphasis on DP artists’ cultural nationalism, I suggest Kane and Jomantas established, in Munich, transnational connections that foreshadowed Centre Five’s internationalist perspective. As Anna Holian argues in relation to educational reform, the emphasis on national identity in the DP literature occludes our view of the transnational connections created in the DP camps where people of various nationalities lived and studied together.9 Nationalism existed within a multinational context, while projects such as the UNRRA University in Munich (1945-48) fostered support for internationalism. At the Munich Academy Jomantas and Kane worked alongside DPs of various nationalities and studied with German professors under whom they encountered a particularly Munich form of modern

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7 Munich, 1947 a, catalogue nos. 234-249 inclusive.

8 For studies of Lithuanian émigré culture see Aleksandravičius et al, 2002; Saldulkas, 2002; and Saldulkas, 2006.

sculpture. Modernism became the *lingua franca* that connected Kane’s and Jomantas’ art with that of their peers in Munich, ultimately subsuming nationalist concerns.

The date of Jomantas’ arrival in Munich can only be approximated, accounts varying from October 1944 to some time after May 1945 (see previous chapter). It is probable he arrived there before the occupying US army, for he initially found shelter with a Lithuanian organisation, before the military occupiers ordered Lithuanians to join other DPs in a multi-national camp. In 1948, when applying to emigrate, Jomantas gave his address as ‘Munich Freimann Warner Kaserne Area Team 7 B1 B-4-27’.

Built as an SS barracks in the 1930s, the Munich Freimann Kaserne was requisitioned by the UN in December 1945 before being turned over to the American military in 1950. It was a truly ‘multinational DP camp’, housing 7,000 Yugoslav, Polish, Ukrainian, Estonian and Lithuanian DPs alongside some Jews (before they lobbied successfully for their own camp). In interview in 1984, Jomantas simply referred to it as a huge military barracks that, unlike many others in Munich, had running water and all its windows intact. He left the camp at seven each morning to go to art school, four kilometres south in Schwabing-West, not to return until seven that evening. Being a DP did not define Jomantas; rather it was a transitory condition relating primarily to living quarters and meals.

However, there is some evidence of his participating in barracks life and contributing to ‘cultural nationalism’. It is recorded that he gave occasional lessons in drawing, painting, design and craft at the DP camp for which he was paid in extra rations that he then traded on the camp’s internal black market. Architect and close friend George Zalk attended these classes and recalled they attracted not only interested IRO

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10 Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 2 side 1.
11 Jomantas immigration documents, 1948, Commonwealth of Australia Department of Immigration (Germany) Particulars of Displaced Persons Wishing to Emigrate to Australia, p. 1.
13 Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 2 side 2.
14 Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 2 side 2.
15 In the artist’s CV for his posthumous retrospective, it is stated that Jomantas taught design, drawing, modelling and carving at the ‘IRO’s School of Art and Crafts, Munich’ (Langwarrin, 2003, p. 25). However, this seems to be a confused conflation of the DP camp schools, sponsored by the UNRRA and later the IRO (see Saldukas, 2006), with the Munich State School of Applied Arts that was merged with the Berlin Academy of Fine Arts in 1946. Alternatively, it may refer to the little-known UNRRA ‘International Art Institute’ in Munich, established in 1945 under the direction of Viktoras Petričius (Kezys, 1991 b, p. 4).
officers but also well-known stage designers who visited and discussed the work. Jomantas also produced stage sets for theatrical productions within the camps as well as masks and ‘ornamental pieces’ influenced by folk symbolism. Jomantas’ classes probably entailed the sort of applied art and woodwork he employed for crafting small articles such as the pokerwork cigarette case that remains in his widow’s family’s possession (fig. 3.1, VJ0001). Unlisted in the catalogue raisonné of Jomantas’ work that Ken Scarlett and Laima Jomantas compiled for the 2003 retrospective, the calm symmetry of the design, meticulous dovetail joinery and carefully inlaid beads attest to many hours of labour and a commitment to Lithuanian craft traditions. Similar patterns of squares and geometrically disposed flowers can be found in Lithuanian hand-woven textiles such as those seen in fig. 3.2. This previously unpublished photograph, among Jomantas’ papers, was taken at Freimann Kasserne in 1946 and shows a display of Lithuanian textiles alongside three carved reliefs and two small crosses beneath a banner reading ‘Lietuva / Lithuania’ (in art deco font) and a modernistically-rendered national coat of arms. The display was mounted in the DP camp as a means of demonstrating Lithuanian cultural uniqueness, befitting an independent nation. The relation between Jomantas’ cigarette case and the display of Lithuanian arts and crafts is clear: Jomantas is drawing upon his national culture for utilitarian purposes. Yet Jomantas’ small case is also very similar to a number of wooden and leatherwork articles made by anonymous Latvian and Ukrainian DPs in Germany at the same time. All employ repeated designs of mainly abstract patterns but also some symbolic depictions of birds and flowers derived from national crafts traditions. Thus we can situate Jomantas not only within a Lithuanian exile milieu but also within a wider ‘DP arts and crafts’ community in Munich.

Jomantas also carved a number of wooden crosses in the DP camp (figs 3.3 and 3.4 a and b, VJ0002-4). These apparently relate to the Lithuanian tradition of carving wayside crosses and stogastulpis (roofed shrines mounted on poles). At least one

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16 Peter Borthwick’s summary of an interview with George Zalk; Borthwick, 2012, p. 122.
18 For other views see Jomantas picture collection, SLV H2007.33/158-160.
20 For examples of old wayside shrines and crosses see Martinaitis et al, 1994, figs. 14, 17-18, and 23.
(fig. 3.3, VJ0002) was probably produced for an exhibition of Lithuanian culture and used at Freimann Kasserne for religious services. This is the most traditional of the three: it includes a roofed shrine for a carved Virgin and Child and is photographed among spruce pines, symbolising enduring faith while also being evocative of the Lithuanian woodlands from which the carving tradition emanated. However, the dramatically etiolated – almost art deco – forms of the other two noticeably depart from traditional Lithuanian crosses. In particular, fig. 3.4 b employs an asymmetrical design of a cross emerging from a partially closed lily with four hooded prongs like so many stamens, suggesting an organic wellspring for Christianity. It shares morphological features with Jugendstil works such as Hermann Obrist’s *Krupp Fountain*, 1912, which, though destroyed during WWII, was nevertheless a well-known and widely illustrated Munich landmark; both combine softly swelling organic forms with abstract geometry. We might even see a link with the esoteric symbolism of Philipp Otto Runge, whose groups of cavorting cherubim emerge from stylised lilies in his celebrated *Die Zeiten* series of 1803.21 Contrary to initial expectations, therefore, Jomantas’ wooden crosses indicate his openness to influences beyond those of the exiled Lithuanian community.

Less is known about Julius Kane’s lived experience of Munich. Previously unconsulted records from the International Tracing Service (ITS) place him in Munich by 15 April 1946, on which date he commenced employment as an office worker (*büroangestellter*) with the Bavarian National Statistics Office.22 He remained employed here until 15 June 1947, after which time he most likely began studying at the Munich Academy. Yet there was evidently some uncertainty as to his nationality and status: on the same form his nationality is given as ‘unclear’ (*ungeklärt*), despite it being known that he was born in Budapest. Similarly one of his DP registration cards records his nationality as Austrian but this is struck through and replaced with ‘Hung./Jew’.23

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21 Runge, *Die Zeiten, Der Morgen*, 1803, pen and ink, 72 x 48 cm, Hamburg, Kunsthalle.
22 ITS list of foreign nationals, 1948, record for Julius Kohn.
As a Jewish survivor and former forced labourer and concentration camp inmate, Kane was unlikely to associate with Hungarian nationalist DPs.²⁴ Kane seems to have avoided the DP camps; from his arrival in Munich he was instead ‘free living’. His DP card, stamped 12 April 1946, gives his address as ‘Tumblingerstraße 38/v[?], c/Faltermaier’, suggesting he was boarding with a family by the name of Faltermaier.²⁵ In June 1949, when applying to emigrate, Kane was ‘free living’ at the Luitpold Kaserne.²⁶ This former barracks building, near the city centre at Infanteriestraße 19, was much closer to the Academy of Fine Arts, which was barely a kilometre’s walk to the east. However, another form dated the same day gives his address as ‘Zundterstrasse 14/II’, which was a suburban villa approximately five kilometres from the Munich Academy.²⁷ It is possible that this second address was his place of employment, although on the same form he claimed to be working as a stonecutter at the Academy of Fine Arts. Given that he seems not to have associated with Hungarian DPs, there is little sense in looking at his work from a ‘cultural nationalist’ perspective. Instead he needs to be considered more generally as a DP artist in order to better understand his political stance in Australia. As shall be outlined in section 3.1.3, his work was more closely affiliated with his teachers and colleagues in Munich than with any Hungarian or Jewish artistic circles.

3.1.1: Melancholic ruins: Munich Academy of Fine Arts

No record of enrolment exists for either Kane (Kohn) or Jomantas at the Munich Academy of Art between 1944 and 1949.²⁸ Nevertheless they both consistently stated – in curriculum vitae, exhibition catalogues and interviews – that they studied there after the war.²⁹ Kane even gave a date of conferral: 8 September 1949.³⁰ Given the

²⁵ ITS DP-2 card file, 1946.
²⁷ Kohn migration selection documents, 1949, I.R.O. Resettlement Registration Form, 30 June 1949, p. 1. This same address also appears on the ITS DP-2 card file, 1946, after the Tumblingerstraße address was struck out.
²⁸ Email correspondence from Susanne Witzgall, 15 October 2010, and Caroline Sternberg, 29 September 2014, Academy of Fine Arts, Munich. It should be noted that this was not unusual; for instance, Toni Stadler’s partner and pupil during the post-war years, Priska von Martin, was likewise unregistered.
²⁹ Most early biographic profiles of Kane and Jomantas simply state that they studied in ‘Budapest and Munich’ or ‘Vilnius and Munich’. However, the following sources specify the Munich Academy of Fine Arts: Wynn, 1953, p. 41; Adelman, 1960, p. 9; Mildura, 1961, p. 31 (for Kane but not for Jomantas); Scarlett, 1970, p. 2; NGA Jomantas file, typescript biographical form dated 1971; Parkville,
challenges of the immediate post-war period and the incomplete nature of the records from this period, their claims ought to be accepted. This section considers their schooling in Munich, briefly sketching the physical conditions at the Academy before examining their professors’ work and influence. The subsequent section, 3.1.2, surveys sculpture exhibited in Munich during Kane and Jomantas’ years there, while sections 3.1.3 and 3.1.4 consider their work made at the Munich Academy.

Established in 1808 as the Royal Bavarian Academy of Fine Arts, the München Akademie der Bildenden Künste had a long tradition of fostering academic realism. Its strengths in history painting were so renowned that between the 1850s and 1880s Munich was second only to Paris in attracting foreign students, particularly from Hungary and Poland. As Wolfgang Behr argues, the Munich Academy provided artists a visual language with which they could articulate the yearnings and mythology of a host of newly emerging or yet-imagined independent nation states. Jomantas would have known that his father studied there earlier, in 1924, and was also doubtless aware of other Lithuanian artists, such as Petras Kalpokas, who had turned their backs on St Petersburg and joined the colony of Polish artists in Munich producing neo-Romantic inflections of Munich Realism. However, by the advent of the Weimar Republic it was evident that strongly conservative, nationalist forces held sway at the Academy – so much so that in 1933, when other German academies purged their more liberal-minded teaching staff, the Munich Academy’s professorial staff remained intact, their support for a specifically German art untouched by international modernism tallying with Hitler’s objectives. Indeed Walter Grasskamp finds the 1930s and 1940s to be ‘den absoluten Tiefpunkt’ (the absolute nadir) of the Academy’s history when modern art was dismissed as ‘degenerate’ and art and politics complicity interlinked.
In July 1944 the Academy was largely destroyed in an air raid; only the outer walls and the vaulted ceilings on the ground floor survived.\textsuperscript{36} Much of the plaster cast collection – pivotal to academic teaching – was lost although Herbert List’s hallucinatory photographs of the devastated Academy reveal several remaining casts, including a \textit{Seated Hermes} and Michaelangelo’s \textit{Slave}, partially covered in drifts of snow that had entered the unsecured building.\textsuperscript{37} The Academy formally closed in October 1944. When it reopened twelve months later, those staff who had openly supported the Nazi party – notably the sculptors Josef Thorak, Bernhard Bleeker and Richard Knecht – were dismissed though most underwent the process of denazification and rehabilitation in subsequent years.\textsuperscript{38} Casts of their muscled monuments to Nazi triumphs remained in the Academy’s storerooms as melancholic reminders of their disgrace (fig. 3.5), so that Kane and Jomantas would have certainly seen and been aware of their existence and perceived the servitude of so much figurative neoclassical sculpture to political ideology under the Third Reich. A series of directors followed in quick succession: when the Academy reopened in October 1945 it was under the provisional head of painter Adolf Schinnerer; he was replaced the following year by architect Carl Sattler who, in turn, was replaced in 1948 by the sculptor Josef Henselmann. Sattler oversaw the historic merging of the Academy with the \textit{Münchner Staatsschule für Angewandte Kunst} (Munich State School of Applied Arts) in March 1946, after which the Academy was renamed the \textit{Hochschule der Bildenden Künste} (College of Fine Arts). This merging of the two schools reflected the need to consolidate resources in the war-torn city: what few studios remained intact had now to service students who would formerly have been spread across the two institutions.

The precarious nature of teaching at the Academy is gauged visually through List’s photographs such as fig. 3.5, taken during the winter of 1945-46. The building was a ruined shell with the rooms open to the elements. That same winter Schinnerer wrote to Bleeker (recently dismissed) that ‘the Academy is sleeping’, declaring the lack of glass for the windows the primary problem and mentioning that about twenty students

\textsuperscript{36} Munich Academy chronology, URL: \url{http://www.adbk.de/en/archiv-historisches/chronik.html?start=2}.

\textsuperscript{37} Scheler and Harder, 2000, p. 295.

\textsuperscript{38} On the post-war recuperation of Nazi-era artists see Maertz, 2012; on sculptors in particular see Leeds, Berlin and Bremen, 2001, particularly Ursel Berger’s essay therein (Berger, 2001).
had nevertheless ‘settled in the ruins’. These twenty students were, we infer, mostly sculpture students and possibly included Jomantas and Kane. By ‘settled’, Schinnerer meant that they had established makeshift studios, clearing away rubble and debris. Admission to the school was conditional on students agreeing to join the ‘reconstruction crews’, voluntarily working to remove the rubble; these were still operating as late as 1948. In March 1947 Carl Sattler reported to the US military that, during the preceding month, ‘On account of the total lack of coal and fuel it was impossible to take up lessons in the sections for fine and applied arts and in the section seminar for art’, at which point the 1946-47 academic year ended. While the sculpture students laid claim to the few rooms intact at the Academy, other classes were held in reclaimed rooms in the former State School of Applied Arts building (also badly damaged) on Richard Wagner Strasse while most of the painting classes were held in the northern outskirts of the city at the Schloß Haimhausen from 1946 to 1949. Some professors also held classes in their private studio-residences; hence students working under different masters had little contact with one another.

Consequently Jomantas could ‘only remember a couple of works’ by the Silesian Hermann Hohaus, who worked in a different studio at the Munich Academy. Combined with the rubble and lack of heating, these were scarcely ideal conditions for the exchange of ideas.


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40 Kehr, 2008, p. 184, records that ‘… für die Bildhauer einige Räume im Untergeschoß des Akademiegebäudes notdürftig instand…’ (‘…for the sculptors a few rooms in the basement of the Academy building were in makeshift repair’…).
41 For a photograph of one such reconstruction crew, taken by Hans Schurer circa 1948, see Kehr, 2008, p. 190.
42 Munich CCP records, letter from Carl Sattler to the Military Government for Bavaria (Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives Section), Munich, 3 March 1947, document DS nr. 625.
43 Kehr, 2008, p. 184.
Each had studied at the Munich Academy before or after WWI: Georgii studied stone carving under Adolf von Hildebrand in 1905 (and married one of his daughters) while Stadler, Hiller and Henselmann each studied under Hildebrand’s pupil Hermann Hahn. They were all indebted to Hildebrand’s classicism – particularly his belief in the virtues of clarity and compact form rather than naturalistic detail. They had read Hildebrand’s text of 1893, Das Problem der Form in der bildenden Kunst (The Problem of Form in Painting and Sculpture), as a rite of passage and were intimately familiar with his argument that sculpture, as a three-dimensional art, had to satisfy the eye rather than merely the sense of touch (opticality over hapticality) by producing a whole that is greater than the sum of its parts. Sculptors ought to allow ‘truth’ to emerge from form (indeed Hildebrand was one of the earliest advocates of direct carving over modelling). As heirs to Hildebrand’s classicism Henselmann, Hiller and Stadler, together with Georg Brenninger and Heinrich Kirchner, collectively represented the ‘Munich school’ of sculpture, a school that looked past Hildebrand’s preferred Florentine Renaissance to its Hellenistic roots or – in some cases – even further to Romanesque and Etruscan sculpture, rather than to the northern-German tradition exemplified by Barlach and Lehmbrock.

Of these five teachers it was Toni Stadler (1888-1982) and Anton Hiller (1893-1985) who, in the late-1940s, were most concerned with modernising the German figurative tradition. Both admired the work of Maillol (fig. 3.6) and had visited his studio in the 1920s. Many of their works adopt the same standing poses as Maillol’s female models – arms raised and bellies exposed – yet both moved beyond Maillol’s search for womanly perfection, seeking instead something more primitive or instinctive. Stadler was a key figure in the turn from the classical to the archaic in Munich. His Stehender akt mit erhobenen armen (Standing nude with arms raised), c. 1950 (fig. 3.7), is typical in terms of the Maillol-like pose, the well-rounded limbs, the

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46 von Hildebrand, 1907, particularly pp. 94–7; see also Schneckenburger, 2000, p. 415.
47 von Hildebrand, 1907, particularly pp. 124-35.
48 Wackerle and Georgii’s work was more conservative than their colleagues and cannot properly be considered part of the post-war ‘Munich school’ sculptors.
simplified facial mask and deliberately clumsy hands. Yet Hiller was the only one of
the Munich professors to be included in Michel Seuphor’s biographic dictionary, The
Sculpture of this Century, where Seuphor described Hiller as ‘greatly impressed by
Rodin’s and Maillol’s works’, his work concerned with ‘the human figure (in wood,
in bronze) reduced to the essential plastic elements’.50

Both Kane and Jomantas studied in Hiller’s studio, although this fact is rarely
encountered in the literature on either artist. Kane’s application to the Canada
Council, in 1960, is the only recorded instance of his asserting to have studied under
Hiller.51 It was also documented in the 1975 posthumous retrospective catalogue.52
Jomantas has never before been linked with Hiller, despite his telling Barbara
Blackman in interview that ‘Julius [Kane] and myself worked with the Professor
Hiller there [in Munich] together’.53 Consequently it is useful to look closely at
Hiller’s work made before and during Kane and Jomantas’ studentships.

Hiller trained as a wood carver before studying at the Munich Academy under
Hermann Hahn, 1913-23. He visited Italy twice, in 1924 and 1927, and was included
in the 1924 Venice Biennale. In 1938 he had his first solo exhibition at the Städtische
Kunstsammlung, Duisburg, and throughout the 1930s and ‘40s participated in many
group exhibitions in Munich. His work can be broadly grouped with the school of
‘classical modernism’ that dominated German sculpture of the interwar years.54
Hiller’s work of the interwar and wartime years consisted mainly of standing male
and female figures, presented simply without dress or ornamentation, gazing steadily
outwards, heads held evenly aloft, positioned in a state of equilibrium as though
attempting to find their centres of gravity. One foot is usually slightly advanced, as
though hesitantly walking forwards, reminiscent of Greek korai. Many of them, such
as the bronze Gehende, 1943-44 (fig. 3.8), hold a single arm out in front of them,
fingers curled as though around an invisible staff, referring simultaneously to the

50 Seuphor, 1961, pp. 280-1.
51 Canada Council file, application form, 7 January 1960, p. 1.
52 Parkville, 1975, pp. 3, 8. Margaret Plant no longer recalls where she gathered her facts on Kane for
that catalogue; certainly she never met the artist (email to the author, 9 November 2014).
54 Hiller was represented with an early wood carving, Weibliche Holzfigur, 1932, in the landmark
exhibition, Chaos and Classicism: Art in France, Italy, and Germany, 1918–1936 (Guggenheim, New
York, 2010), situating him among the broad sweep of European avant-garde artists affected by
classicism.
academic convention of figures leaning on staffs for support during long modelling sessions as well as classical figures holding spears and javelins. The absence of props reflects Hildebrand’s instruction to shed symbolic referents in figurative sculpture.\textsuperscript{55} Rarely is there any sense of straining or striving. \textit{Stehende Frau (Standing Woman)}, c. 1936-39, is an exception to this generalisation in that her arms are raised over her head (fig. 3.9). However, even she seems to possess an air of unanimated passivity: while her arms are held aloft, her hands are soft and expressionless. Her calm-set face and vacant gaze give no indication of effort.

Such restrained and undemonstrative figures, imbued with classicism, found little opposition in official art circles. Indeed Hiller enjoyed a degree of acceptance under the National Socialists: he was included in three of the \textit{Grosse Deutsche Kunstaustellung} (1938, 1940 and 1941) with five works in total.\textsuperscript{56} Hiller’s modernism might even be said to approximate what Gregory Maertz terms – rather broadly – ‘Nazi modernism’.\textsuperscript{57} Yet his work also shared the same ‘melancholic mood, … orientation towards the archaic, measured gestures and a certain restraint in expression’ that characterised the Berlin-based modernists Ludwig Kasper, Gerhard Marcks and Hermann Blumenthal.\textsuperscript{58} The Berlin modernists are regularly credited with having had ‘no truck with the regime’, although Kasper and Blumenthal were each represented at one of \textit{Grosse Deutsche Kunstaustellung}.\textsuperscript{59} The melancholic restraint of Hiller and the Berlin modernists’ works saved them from the more bombastic purposes to which Breker, Thorak and Wackerle’s classical figures were harnessed during the Third Reich.

\textsuperscript{55} Hartog, 2001, p. 32.
\textsuperscript{56} Photographs of these five works in situ in the Grosse Deutsche Kunstaustellung are available through the recently launched online GDK database, URL: \texttt{http://www.gdk-research.de/db/apsisa.dll/etc}.
\textsuperscript{57} Maertz, 2012, pp. 387-411. Elsewhere I have discussed a smaller work of Hiller’s, \textit{Amazonen}, c. 1933-45, that incorporates a Nazi swastika and evinces a greater degree of compliance with the regime than is usually associated with Hiller; see Eckett, 2009 a, p. 12. This work is notably absent from the catalogue raisonné of Hiller’s work published in Mannheim, 1993.
\textsuperscript{58} Lammert, 2001, p. 83. Kasper, Marcks and Blumenthal worked together with Kollwitz at the Klosterstraße studio, Berlin, 1933-45.
\textsuperscript{59} Taylor, 1997, p. 278. Kasper’s \textit{Hockende} was included in the 1937 \textit{Grosse Deutsche Kunstaustellung} (GDK database, URL: \texttt{http://www.gdk-research.de/de/obj19400367.html}) while Blumenthal’s \textit{Porträt Ruth Gernholtz} was included in the 1941 exhibition (GDK database, URL: \texttt{http://www.gdk-research.de/de/obj19363648.html}).
Chapter 3, Aftermath I

After the war Hiller’s work became increasingly archaic, referencing early Etruscan statuary and abandoning classical proportions and poise. *Ausruhende Frau (Resting wife)*, c. 1946 (fig. 3.10) has a voluptuous eroticism thanks to her well-padded hips and columnar neck – emphasising the erogenous zones – while her facial features are decidedly anti-classical in their absence of high brow or aquiline nose. Other post-war figures of Hiller’s are schematic in their reduction to a cylindrical torso with stiffened limbs and sparingly modelled head, hands and feet. However, they remain recognisably human and engage with the long anthropomorphic tradition – becoming symbols, as Adolf Schmoll put it in 1951, ‘of cosmic wholeness’. Schmoll was referring to those figurative painters and sculptors who eschewed the abstract in post-war Germany such as Gerhard Marcks, who enjoyed immense success after the war thanks to his careful negotiation between modernity and tradition. Marcks certainly provided a powerful example of mining archaic sources for modernist means. More locally, in Munich, Hiller had the example of his colleague Stadler and Stadler’s friend and fellow student, Ludwig Kasper (1893-1945), both of whose work displayed many of the same archaising traits as Marcks. Looking further afield we see a similar trend elsewhere. In Italy, since the 1920s, Arturo Martini – who studied under Hildebrand in Munich in 1909 – produced sculptures that paid explicit homage to his Etruscan roots; his successor, Marino Marini, did likewise from 1929 onwards. In France, Giacometti’s relatively late encounter with Etruscan art, in 1955, confirmed his direction and inspired many subsequent works. Indeed where the pre-WWI avant-garde had looked to the arts of Benin and pre-Columbian America for inspiration, many of Europe’s post-WWII avant-garde looked to Volterra, ancient Greek and Mesopotamia – a move that would be highlighted at *Documenta I*, in Kassel in 1955, where photographs of the archaic and exotic introduced visitors to the succeeding rooms of European modernism. Hiller’s archaising quotations were therefore but one local Munich representative of a significant strand of post-war European sculpture.

Kane and Jomantas were therefore introduced to the German figurative sculptural

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62 For an extensive discussion of Giacometti’s encounters with Etruscan art, sparked by his visit to the exhibition *Art et Civilisation des Étrusques* at the Louvre, Paris, in 1955, see the catalogue Paris, 2011.
63 Grasskamp, 2009, p. 7. Kasper, Marcks and Stadler were all represented in this first *Documenta*, 1955.
tradition via one of its most modernist proponents. The figuration they imbibed was an archaic, anti-classical figuration that took inspiration from such sources as Etruscan art. This departure from the Greco-Roman antique statuary that dominated art academies before WWII would place them in sympathy with other modernists, such as Giacometti and Marini, who likewise sought to reinvent modern sculpture through mining the archaic past. In the following section I survey exhibitions of sculpture in Munich during Kane and Jomantas’ years there, considering the impact of both German and ‘international’ (read: French) modern sculpture on the young DP artists.

3.1.2: Modernist legacies in post-war Germany

Modernism in Germany before, during and after WWII is a subject fraught with anxiety. Until recent decades, scholars have largely conformed to a narrative in which modernism was branded ‘degenerate’ under the Nazis, all but disappeared during the war, and triumphantly re-emerged after the war in the form of a democratic, anti-totalitarian abstraction. Yet it has increasingly become evident that this narrative is not only unsustainable in the face of closer examination but that it is based upon large gaps in our knowledge of German art of the thirties and forties. In the first instance, we have already seen how artists such as Barlach and Kollwitz were variously censored then celebrated by the regime in the 1930s (see chapter 1), indicating the unstable nature of art acceptable under the Third Reich. Scholars have also recently begun reappraising the work of sculptors who continued to work under National Socialism, finding that in many cases their work was not crass propaganda but rather a continued engagement with neoclassicism, which had engaged them since the end of WWI. Artworks previously known only through photographs of Nazi exhibitions, most notably the Große Deutsche Kunstausstellung (Great German Art Exhibitions) of 1937-1944/45, have since resurfaced and been considered in a less-politicized context. Gregory Maertz has located nearly 10,000 German artworks confiscated by the US Army between 1946 and 1948 and, on this basis, argued that the category of ‘Nazi modernism’ be added to our understanding of European

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64 The fascination with ‘degenerate art’, particularly German Expressionism, culminated in Stephanie Barron’s landmark exhibition: Los Angeles, 1991. This is still a benchmark for English-language scholarship on German modernism.

65 I am thinking in particular of the work done in the ground-breaking catalogue, Leeds, Berlin and Bremen, 2001; see also Feist, 1996.
modernism, which he sees as less an art of rupture than one of various early modernisms feeding into a strand of officially sanctioned modernism. The following account of Kane and Jomantas’ encounters with modern art in the years 1945 to 1949 acknowledges these recent developments in studies of German modernism.

In particular I ask: what did ‘contemporary sculpture’ look like in post-war Germany? Arie Hartog concludes that the German figurative sculptural tradition, which had flourished in the interwar period and which continued in varying guises under the Nazis, ‘came to a mute and inglorious end’ in 1945. However, it seems to me that in the immediate post-war period, indeed up to 1950, this was not immediately evident; that tradition was not yet entirely discredited. Instead there was a brief hiatus in 1945, when, as Jost Hermand put it with regards to art critics, there was ‘first of all the feeling of taking a deep breath, of liberation’. This was followed almost immediately by the occupying US military’s wholesale confiscation of contemporary German art, regardless of whether it was officially commissioned regime art or simply art produced in an attempt to earn a living. At the same time the US military mounted exhibitions of restituted art, giving Kane and Jomantas access to early masterpieces of the French, German, Italian and Netherlandish Renaissance as well as German Gothic, Romanesque and Baroque art. Previously branded ‘degenerate art’, however, reappeared only slowly in a select few venues – mainly commercial galleries. Contemporary art came in its wake.

In October 1945 the dealer Hermann Baudenbach presented his first two kleine mixed exhibitions that included some modern sculpture alongside paintings and graphics, a format he continued over subsequent years, although his focus was on the older Munich artists of the pre-war years. The Galerie Freitag mounted two exhibitions of expressionist and Neue Sachlichkeit graphics in 1946, again with mainly pre-WWI work by the likes of Munch, Ensor, Picasso and Nolde. Similarly, the Galerie Otto Stangl, which reopened shortly before 1948, presented regular exhibitions of der

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66 Maertz, 2008, particularly pp. 64-65, 80-82; Maertz, 2012.
67 Hartog, 2001, p. 39
70 Munich, 1946 a and b.
Brücke, Blauer Reiter and Bauhaus artists such as Franz Marc, Paul Klee and Oskar Schlemmer, though contemporary sculpture was rarely if ever presented there during Kane and Jomantas’ time.\(^{71}\) The long-established Galerie Wimmer reopened in 1946 with a successful exhibition of contemporary Munich painting and sculpture, leavened by some Braque and Picasso lithographs.\(^{72}\) However, the most significant of the private galleries in the post-war years was the Galerie Günther Franke – renowned as the meeting place of the avant-garde before and after the war. This reopened in April 1946, in the rented studio of sculptor Franz von Stuck, with an exhibition of the Munich modernist Xaver Fuhr’s paintings, which was proclaimed in the press to be ‘the most important Munich exhibition of modern art’, attracting anyone interested in modern art.\(^{73}\) Günther Franke followed with a regular program of renowned pre-war modernists, such as Max Beckmann, Franz Marc and Oskar Schlemmer, whom Franke had befriended as a young man in Berlin in the 1920s.\(^{74}\) Picasso, Chagall and Klee were also regularly shown. For Kane and Jomantas one of the most significant exhibitions of 1946 was surely Günther Franke’s memorial to Hermann Blumenthal, who had died four years earlier on the Eastern front. Judging from an inventory of exhibitions held in Munich, 1945-49, this was the first exhibition of modern sculpture in Munich after the war.\(^{75}\) It allowed the young DP sculptors access to a body of work by one of the key innovators of interwar German sculpture.\(^{76}\) Blumenthal’s smooth-limbed youths were each variants, in the artist’s mind, of Adam and Eve.\(^{77}\) His early slim and gauchely angled boys, kneeling or sitting slackly atop their horses, betray his interest in archaic Etruscan art, encountered in Italy during a stay in 1931-32. These gave way to more athletically built figures, often with hands crossed at wrists and heads beseeching upwards or gazing steadfastly outwards, suggestive of an

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\(^{72}\) Munich, 1946 c. As Doms, 2004, observes (p. 153), the selection of Munich artists for this exhibition closely paralleled the Swiss judges’ selection for Bavarian Art of Today, which opened the following year at the Neue Sammlung.


\(^{75}\) For a detailed listing of exhibitions, both public and private, held in Munich, 1945-53, see Doms, 2004, pp. 184-95. Franke showed Blumenthal’s work in the summer of 1946 and again in 1949 (16 July – 20 August) alongside the work of Roualt; see Munich, 1983, pp. 205-6.

\(^{76}\) For an indication of the sort of work Franke exhibited in 1946 see Isermeyer, 1947. Kane and Jomantas may have also seen Blumenthal’s work illustrated in earlier magazine articles such as Heise, 1938, which included a reproduction of the bronze Sitzender, of 1938; or Hellwag, 1944, which, alongside a more conservative range of Blumenthal’s portrait heads, illustrated his brooding Hockender (Squatting), also known as Gesamtaufnahme (Absorption), 1937, bronze.

\(^{77}\) Lammert, 2001, p. 82.
inner emotional life. Through exhibitions such as these Franke became credited with educating an entire generation in Munich about the art of the pre-war avant-garde. He also showed the work of younger living artists; for instance, his summer exhibition of 1948 included the work of sculptors Gerhard Marcks, Heinrich Kirchner, Otto Müller and Toni Stadler.\footnote{See also Munich, 1983, for profiles on sculptors such as Anton Hiller (pp. 65-6), Heinrich Kirchner (pp. 72-3), Karl Knapp (pp. 74-5), Gerhard Marcks (pp. 88-9), Ewald Mataré (pp. 90-1), Toni Stadler (pp. 122-5) and Fritz Wrampe (pp. 139-42) who could be seen at Franke’s after the war.} At the Galerie Günther Franke, therefore, Jomantas and Kane had access to German sculpture of the interwar and contemporary periods.

As for non-commercial exhibitions, the first post-war \textit{Münchener Secession} was held in October 1946 at the \textit{Neue Sammlung}, though its selection of sculpture was limited: a handful of terracotta reliefs by Hans Stangl (father of dealer Otto Stangl) and a single wooden relief by Inge King’s former teacher, Otto Hitzberger being the most notable works.\footnote{Munich 1946 d, pp. 2-3. On the reformation of the \textit{Münchener Secession} in 1946 see Best, 2007, p. 25.} The \textit{Münchener Secession} had broken away from the \textit{Münchener Künstlergenossenschaft (Munich Artists’ Association)} in 1892 and generally represented the more progressive Munich artists. Nevertheless, their sculpture section was little better than that of their more conservative forebears, the \textit{Künstlergenossenschaft}, who held their first post-war exhibition at the Städtische Galerie in August 1947.\footnote{Munich, 1947 d.} A more progressive selection could be seen in \textit{Bavarian Art of Today}, at the \textit{Neue Sammlung} in September 1947.\footnote{This was a non-selling exhibition selected by the \textit{Centrale Sanitaire Suisse} for the Kunsthalle in Basel but ultimately not sent to Basel owing to transportation difficulties. Munich, 1947 e, p. [3].} Heinrich Kirchner’s large bronze, \textit{Sitzendes Mädchen (Sitting Girl)}, 1935-37, had the statuesque poise of Egyptian statuary, Georg Brenninger showed two mask-like portrait heads, Priska von Martin a bronze horse, Anton Hiller a plaster \textit{Torso} from 1929, revealing his early neo-classicism, and Toni Stadler a similarly classical \textit{Jünglingskopf (Head of a Youth)}.\footnote{These are either listed or reproduced in Munich, 1947 e, pp. 4-5, 14-15, 19, 24. Artworks were not dated in the catalogue but Kirchner’s \textit{Sitzendes Mädchen} appeared at auction in 2009, when it was dated 1935-37 (Villa Grisebach, Berlin, 6 June 2009, lot 203), and Hiller’s \textit{Torso} is listed and dated in Mannheim, 1993, p. 106.} While many of these were pre-war works, the selection of artists represented the most advanced school of sculptors active in Munich after the war.

These same sculptors were also members of the \textit{Neue Gruppe}, who banded together in
1946 and held their first annual exhibition in July – August 1947 at the Städtischen Galerie (fig. 3.11). The Neue Gruppe aimed to promote ‘strong, original individualities, no matter whether they follow the formal results of expressionism, use an abstract or half-abstract form of utterance, or if – like surrealists and neoclassicists – they turn towards new subjects’.\(^{83}\) Pluralism was encouraged, although in sculpture figurative work – such as that by Brenninger, Stadler, Hiller and Kirchner – predominated. Nevertheless the Neue Gruppe aimed to present the best contemporary painting and sculpture from across Germany, endeavouring to ‘avoid all provincial and local limitation’ in preference for work of ‘a specifically European character’\(^{84}\).

In this way the organisers hoped to integrate German contemporary art with the rest of Europe, shunning provincialism and nationalism in favour of different strands of pan-European modernism. This ‘European character’ signals the growing enthusiasm for an internationalist perspective among post-war Germans. The Neue Gruppe’s third stated aim was to promote original work among the younger generation of art students. Thus alongside senior artists ostracised under National Socialism such as Max Ackermann, Willi Baumeister, Otto Dix, George Grosz and Karl Schmitt-Rottluff, as well as modernists who died during the Third Reich such as Ernst Barlach, Käthe Kollwitz (appositely represented with the lithograph Nie wieder Krieg (Never again War), 1924), Fritz Wrampe and Hermann Blumenthal, there appeared many younger, lesser-known names. The Neue Gruppe thus afforded Kane and Jomantas the opportunity to see the most experimental contemporary art then being produced in Germany.

Yet this did not necessarily impress the young DPs. Jomantas later recalled that, after the war, German artists engaged in what he saw as irrational experimentation:

After the end of the war, a lot of people in the art world … particularly the Germans, got loose like from the leash and they didn’t realize what they were doing. … Everybody cut loose. … [You] can see complete exhibitions where they tried to imitate … you go there and you can see second-hand Salvador Dali’s hanging everywhere... And I think that unsettled period didn’t produce any constructive, logical discussions there.

\(^{83}\) The Working Committee, ‘Introduction’ in Munich, 1947 c, p. 5. Sculptor Josef Henselmann, who would shortly afterwards become director of the Munich Academy of Fine Arts, was on the organizing committee.

\(^{84}\) The Working Committee, ‘Introduction’ in Munich, 1947 c, p. 5.
about the thing at hand. Not at all. It was quite different, with some yes, but it was very limited. Everyone went into some sort of experimentation without goal for that experiment. … It was hit or miss.\textsuperscript{85} Jomantas’ views should not be read as a direct indictment of the \textit{Neue Gruppe} but rather as a protest at imitation. Günter Grass, recalling his early experiences as a sculpture student in Dusseldorf, wrote disparagingly that, after the war, ‘There was a genius on every street corner, but none seemed willing to accept the fact that the ‘Moderne’, from Arp to Zadkine, was by now one big museum piece. Disciples posed shamelessly as dazzling innovators’.\textsuperscript{86} I suspect Jomantas would agree with this view. Nevertheless the \textit{Neue Gruppe}’s exhibitions were one of the few forums for viewing contemporary German art in Munich in these years and it is likely their exhibitions that Jomantas recalled when he described the rage for experimentation. Certainly at the \textit{Neue Gruppe}’s second exhibition, in the summer of 1948, a greater number of abstract works were in evidence. Indeed, in the forward to the catalogue, the organisers declared abstract art to be the ‘\textit{Signatur der Zeit}’ (‘signature of the time’) – a view then being promulgated by influential critics such as Will Grohmann and that would be affirmed at the first \textit{Documenta} in 1955.\textsuperscript{87} Jomantas left Munich in the late summer of 1948, so had the opportunity to see the second \textit{Neue Gruppe} exhibition. Given that his work, from 1955 onwards, became increasingly abstract, it seems unlikely that he objected to the growing number of artists working in an abstract idiom, but was instead critical of those who worked in a jumbled pastiche of modern styles. Of course, his was a retrospective view; what may have seemed exciting and new in 1947-48, in hindsight appeared directionless and futile.

Kane and Jomantas also had access to exhibitions of \textit{ausländische} (foreign) art in Munich. A rather disparate selection of DP artists’ work could be seen at the Central Art Collecting Point office at Amerika-Haus in 1947.\textsuperscript{88} However, none of the artists exhibited could be said to have enjoyed truly international reputations; their inclusion was largely an artefact of their having been swept into Munich in the aftermath of war. The largest and most influential of the \textit{ausländer} exhibitions was \textit{Moderne}

\textsuperscript{85} Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 2 side 2.
\textsuperscript{86} Grass, 2008, p. 297.
\textsuperscript{87} Munich, 1948 b, quoted in Kissling, c. 2006, URL: http://www.neuegruppe-hausderkunst.de/text_kiessling.pdf.
\textsuperscript{88} Munich, 1947 a.
französische Malerei. Organized by Jean Cassou, Director of the Musée National
d'Art Moderne in Paris, it toured to Baden-Baden, Berlin, Mainz, Dusseldorf and
Vienna before opening at the Haus der Kunst in Munich in March 1947. The
exhibition comprised over 160 exhibits drawn from public and private collections
across France, with emphasis on the Impressionists and the interwar School of Paris.
Bonnard, Cezanne, Denis, Gauguin, van Gogh, Picasso, Renoir, Signac and Vuillard
were favoured, with each artist having between five to seven exhibits, while Braque,
de Chirico, Manet, Modigliani, Monet, Pissaro and Utrillo were represented with two
or three works each.89 These numbers would later multiply in Jomantas’ memory. He
recalled the exhibition as ‘huge … [with] around twelve van Goghs, about thirty
Renoirs, ten Manets … it was a tremendous exhibition, it was really a knock-out’.90
He also recalled that some sculpture was included: ‘about ten to twelve Maillols [and]
about twenty Rodins, even his last casts’.91 In fact there was only one Maillol
included (a drawing of a nude) and neither Rodin nor any other sculptor was
represented. Nevertheless it was a singularly impressive exhibition.

Jomantas seems to have conflated in his memory Moderne französische Malerei with
a second, lesser-known exhibition, again orchestrated by Cassou: Moderne
französische Plastik, which opened in Berlin in the spring of 1947 before arriving in
Munich in January 1948.92 The artists best represented in this exhibition were
Maillol, with seven works including life-size bronze casts of his apple-bearing
Pomona, c. 1910, and Flora, c. 1912; Degas, with four small bronze dancers and two
horse statuettes; and of course Rodin, with five bronzes including The Shade, 1881-
86, Walking Man, 1907, and Crouching Woman, c. 1906-08.93 Representing different
strands of cubism were Lipchitz’s large bronze Musical Instruments, 1925, and
Zadkine’s carving in elm wood, For the Glory of Bach, 1935.94 Brancusi was

89 Munich, 1947 b, pp. 21-33.
90 Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 2, side 2.
91 Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 2, side 2.
92 The exhibition Moderne französische Plastik has been relatively under-discussed compared to
Moderne französische Malerie. It appears to have been a continuation of La Sculpture française de
Rodin à nos jours, which Cassou also arranged and which opened at the Zeughaus, Berlin, in the spring
of 1947, before travelling to Prague (May 1947), Bratislava (October 1947) and Brno (November
have used this to help identify works listed in the catalogue of the Munich exhibition.
93 Munich, 1948 a, pp. 7-9.
94 Munich, 1948 a, pp. 7-9. The sole work by Zadkine was dated in the catalogue to 1935 and said to be
of elm wood. It has not been possible to match it with any known work. To complicate matters,
represented with a bronze Bust of Mademoiselle Pogany, 1920, as well as a late wood carving, simply titled Figure, 1944, while Duchamp-Villon was represented with the bronze Seated Woman, 1914, its figure reduced to architectonic shapes and volumes. Giacometti’s single exhibit was a bronze Figure, 1935, which is clearly visible in the foreground of the Berlin installation photograph and can thus be identified as the artist’s final surrealist work: the caged and emaciated Hands Holding the Void (The Invisible Object), 1934-35. Arp and Picasso were not included, but Henri Laurens was represented with three works: two terracottas, Woman with raised arms, 1930, and Woman, 1931, and a small marble, Torso with raised arms, 1932. While these cannot be firmly identified, they were most probably similar (if not indeed one and the same) as his Femme Aux Bras Levés (Woman with Arms Raised), 1930 (fig. 3.12), deriving from a period when Laurens’ figures began to lose their sharp cubist planes and instead took on the rounded biomorphic forms for which he later became best known.

Moderne französische Plastik was arguably the most important exposure to avant-garde sculpture that Kane and Jomantas would have prior to departing for Australia. It was almost certainly their first in-person encounter with surrealist sculpture. The impact of the void that was so critical to Giacometti’s Figure can be felt in Kane’s Group, 1953, and Group Organism, 1960, and Jomantas’ The Birth of Venus, 1955-59, and Tower of Grief, c. 1957-58 (JK0020, JK0058, VJ0011, VJ0021). Henri Laurens would hold a significant influence on Jomantas in the 1950s, as further explored in section 3.1.4. The impact of this first-hand encounter with French modernism in Munich thus had significant repercussions on Kane’s and Jomantas’ work over the next decade.

Pachner (1994, p. 79) claims that Zadkine sent to the shows in Berlin and Munich a small terracotta that was his first idea for what would later become his renowned Rotterdam memorial, The Destroyed City, 1946-53, and that it was destroyed during transit, but no such work is to be found in the Munich catalogue. The Brancusi Figure does not appear in either Sidney Geist’s or Dumitresco and Istrati’s catalogue raisonnés (Geist, 1975; Hultén et al, 1988). It was possibly a half-scale version of Caryatid, c. 1943-48, 228.9 cm high, now in the collection of the Musée National d’Art Moderne, Paris (inventory S 137). Raymond Duchamp-Villon, Seated Woman, 1914, bronze, cast c. 1946, 76 cm high, various collections. Alberto Giacometti, Hands Holding the Void (The Invisible Object), 1934-35, bronze, 152.1 x 32.6 x 25.3 cm, Fondation Marguerite et Aimé Maeght, Saint-Paul-de-Vence. Munich, 1948 a, p. 8. Elsewhere I have explored the interest of holes and pierced form in Kane and Jomantas’ work; see Eckett, 2009 a.
Exhibitions such as *Moderne französische Malerei* and *Moderne französische Plastik* generated considerable diplomatic good will, reflecting the strong cultural relations that had survived the war, as Michèle Cone puts it, ‘before, during and after Vichy’.\(^9\) Effectively instruments of propaganda, they reinforced France’s position as leaders in modern art (a position soon to be challenged by the rise of abstract expressionism in New York), while also reflecting the Germans’ ability to rapidly recoup and stage an exhibition of international standing.\(^1\) As the French diplomat Louis Joseph Comte de Keller observed in December 1947, ‘Munich has become the most advanced home of European culture, even one of its most important centres. Not only has it regained the local sparkle it lost in 1933, but its influence has increased’.\(^2\) Nevertheless, beyond French art, the only other exhibitions of ‘foreign’ art seen in Munich in the post-war years were of contemporary Swiss and Italian art, both held at the Haus der Kunst in 1949 and therefore missed by Jomantas, who left in September 1948. Despite the presence of the US occupying forces, American art was not seen in Munich during these years. The landmark exhibition *Advancing American Art*, assembled by the US State Department in 1946 and shown at the Metropolitan Museum, New York, before being sent in fragmented form to UNESCO, Paris, Budapest and Prague, did not reach Munich as President Harry Truman (capitulating to Republican members of Congress who equated modern art with Communism) ordered the tour be cancelled in 1948.\(^3\) Thus the school of American abstract expressionist sculpture, which Inge King would encounter firsthand in New York in 1949, was virtually unknown in Germany at this time. Contemporary sculpture in Munich after the war was firmly anchored in the German and French figurative traditions.

### 3.1.3: Kane in Munich, 1946-49

Australian critics and historians have underplayed or entirely missed the significance of Kane’s encounter with Hiller and other contemporary Munich sculptors. In a review of the 1956 Melbourne Olympics sculpture exhibition at Wilson Hall, Alan McCulloch perceived ‘an obvious indebtedness to the Italian, Marini’ in Kane’s two

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9 I borrow the subtitle of Cone, 2001.

1 The French were likewise the most active in Berlin in terms waging a cultural offensive; see Schieder, 2005, p. 44; Steinkamp, 2010, p. 24.


exhibits, *Sojourn* and *Olympiad* (JK0046, JK0047).\textsuperscript{103} Seven years later, shortly after Kane’s death, McCulloch described a Mediterranean quality to Kane’s work: ‘warm sensuous and earthy, reminding one of nothing so much as a personal adaptation of Etruscan carvings’.\textsuperscript{104} This astute observation was carried further when he likened Kane’s *Equestrienne*, 1952, to something ‘from the vaults of Terracina’, while noting that ‘the graceful little reclining Hermaphrodite which he called, to conform to local conventions, *Reclining Figure*, had a Hellenistic simplicity and refinement of texture’.\textsuperscript{105} McCulloch did not, however, mention the relevancy of Etruscan carvings to German sculptors such as Hiller in the 1940s, thereby missing the link between Kane’s archaism and his Munich training.

In the 1975 Kane retrospective catalogue, Margaret Plant simply described Kane’s education in Munich as ‘traditionally based’ and noted that his earliest works, *Reclining Figure* and *Wanderer* (figs. 3.13 and 3.14, JK0002, JK0003), displayed ‘certain of the traits of the archaic greek [sic] sculpture which flavoured modernized work in Germany during the twenties and thirties’.\textsuperscript{106} Three years later Graeme Sturgeon noted that Kane’s early work was ‘a stylised and consciously primitive figuration related to German sculpture of the 1940s’.\textsuperscript{107} Gary Catalano also detected a Mediterranean quality to Kane’s work, ascribing this to Hiller’s admiration of Maillol.\textsuperscript{108} These constitute the sum total of statements made to date on the significance of Etruscan and ‘Mediterranean’ (short-hand for Maillol and neoclassical figurative sculpture) influences on Kane.

Clifford Last intuited a link between Hiller and Kane but did so largely in ignorance of Hiller’s work. His manuscript notes for an illustrated slide lecture he gave at the time of Kane’s retrospective, in 1975, point to Hiller’s influence in Kane’s *Reclining Figure* and in Hermann Hohaus’ work, adding: ‘Kane developed original creative style. Hohouse [sic] continued seeing through the eyes of former teacher’ (Last was apparently unaware that Hohaus studied under Wackerle not Hiller).\textsuperscript{109} Kane and

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\textsuperscript{103} McCulloch, 1956 Nov 28, p. 16.
\textsuperscript{104} McCulloch, 1963 a, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{105} McCulloch, 1963 a, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{106} Parkville, 1975, p. 8.
\textsuperscript{107} Sturgeon, 1978 a, p. 139.
\textsuperscript{108} Catalano, 1981, p. 106.
\textsuperscript{109} Last papers, series 5, box 5, folder 4, notes for a slide lecture on Kane’s work, c. 1975.
\end{flushright}
Hohaus’ works of the 1940s and early ‘50s do share a similar archaic quality. Compare, for instance, Kane’s *Reclining Figure* and Hohaus’ *Girl with Hat* (figs. 3.13 and 3.15). Kane’s work, dating from his time in Munich, c. 1948, is of an adolescent, androgynous (rather than hermaphroditic, as McCulloch suggested) male nude: longhaired and lithe, the wide-brimmed hat accentuating the figure’s insouciant nudity. The simplified archaic style is typical of Munich post-war figurative sculpture while the ambiguous gendering recalls the androgynous nudes of a much earlier Expressionism (I am thinking here of Egon Schiele and Otto Dix). Hohaus’ figure is likewise archaic and sports a similarly outlandish hat, though she is unmistakably female: her long skirts emphasising the soft rise of her abdomen and curve of her waist.\(^{110}\) The distinctive hats in both works recall a third work: the Munich sculptor Georg Brenninger’s *Dame mit Hut*, 1948 (fig. 3.16). Brenninger’s figure is clothed in a simple long gown, Hellenic-style, and her wide-brimmed hat sits at the back of her head like a halo, giving her the appearance of an ancient deity. She is one of a series of similarly be-hatted figures, one of which was exhibited at the first *Große Münchner Kunstausstellung* at the Haus der Kunst – a combined exhibition of the *Neue Gruppe*, Secession and New Munich Artists’ Cooperative that opened 7 September 1949 (six weeks before Kane sailed for Australia), concurrent with the landmark *Blaue Reiter* exhibition at the same venue.\(^{111}\) Collectively, Kane, Hohaus and Brenninger’s figures represent different interpretations of a single device: Kane using the hat to emphasise nudity, Hohaus to emphasise feminine charm and Brenninger to lend a degree of holiness to an otherwise secular figure. Despite the different uses to which the hat has been put, the obvious archaism of all three figures point to a shared set of aesthetic concerns arising from the Munich sculptural scene.

Another Munich sculptor Kane likely admired was Heinrich Kirchner. Kirchner’s archaism dates from a visit to Italy in 1931, after which he produced a series of charioteers and equestrian subjects referring to antiquity.\(^{112}\) Tentative attempts to

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\(^{110}\) Hohaus, 1970, plate 110, where stated to be in the collection of ‘Mr N. R. Seddon, South Yarra, Trustee, National Gallery Melbourne’. Hohaus did not date his figure, nor indeed any of the plates in his self-published book, but if we are to assume from the ordering of the plates that they are approximately chronological then *Girl with Hat*, from the Richard Seddon collection, is a mid-career work made in Melbourne.

\(^{111}\) Munich, 1949 b. Brenninger’s *Dame mit hat* was mentioned for its archaism and illustrated in a contemporary review of the exhibition: Nemitz, 1949, URL: http://neuegruppe-hausderkunst.de/GKA-1949-Plastik.pdf (where caption with Anton Hiller’s *Mädchen mit Blume* has been switched).

\(^{112}\) Erlangen, 2009, p. 3.
fulfil National Socialist propagandistic commissions were abandoned in 1937 when he withdrew from public life, burying his work and emerging after 1945 with an almost missionary zeal to reinvigorate figurative sculpture with a new Christian humanism.\footnote{Erlangen, 2009, pp. 4-6.} One of the best-known themes in Kirchner’s repertoire emerged in the late 1940s with the figure of the wanderer or pilgrim who searches for spiritual meaning in the aftermath of war (fig. 3.17).\footnote{A smaller example was offered at auction in 2009: Heinrich Kirchner, Wanderer, 1949, bronze, 26.5 cm high, Villa Grisebach, Berlin, 28.11.2009, lot 935.} These somewhat two-dimensional figures, each holding a straight staff, arms held slightly away from their bodies, one leg partially advanced, share an affinity with the stiffened archaic forms of ancient Greek kore. Kirchner, however, averred that he was not intentionally seeking archaic forms but was rather ‘striving for the absolute in form and expression, for formal and spiritual truth’.\footnote{‘Das Streben nach dem Unbedingten in Form und Ausdruck, nach formaler und geistiger Wahrheit…’, Heinrich Kirchner, undated note (author’s translation), quoted in Erlangen, 2009, p. 17.} Writing in 1957, Alfred Hentzen perceived Kirchner and Marini’s shared interest in simplified archaic forms but distinguished their different intentions and content: ‘Marini’s mounted figures are pagan in spirit, while Kirchner’s subjects, such as the Pieta and the Good Shepherd, belong to the Catholic world. His Wanderer can be placed between the two trends – it is a primeval man of the forest, formed with great plastic simplicity’.\footnote{Hentzen in New York, 1957, p. 187.}

Perhaps Kane had Kirchner’s Wanderer in mind when he produced his own version of the subject in 1948 (fig. 3.14, JK0003). Alternatively, perhaps the influence ran in the opposite direction?\footnote{The earliest known Kirchner Wanderer dates to 1949. The dating of Kane’s version, 1948, is based upon the date stated in Kane’s exhibition at Mirka’s Gallery (Melbourne, 1954 a). Kane also exhibited a work in plaster titled The Shepherd at the VSS in 1950 (East Melbourne, 1950 b, catalogue no. 17, ref. no. 2020); whereabouts unknown.} Certainly Jomantas later recalled that Kane was such a ‘stirring personality,’ that ‘even in Munich’ he dominated his peers with his forthright ideas on art.\footnote{Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 3, side 2.} Could such a ‘stirring personality’ have inspired Kirchner to take up the subject of the wanderer? Or perhaps this was simply a subject appropriate to the times? Kane’s Wanderer is robed but adopts a similarly static pose, the left hand flexed in a gesture suggesting a halt of some kind – perhaps a halt to the madness of the war years. While it is tempting to see in this single work a Christian iconography
not evident elsewhere in Kane’s known oeuvre, it is probably more accurate to see it as evidence of his interest in seeking, like Kirchner, ‘formal and spiritual truth’. This search for truth would later lead him to abstraction – a formally inventive, even frenetic, abstraction that nevertheless had its roots in the post-war humanist impulse.

Other early works of Kane’s, made in Melbourne but hearkening back to his years in Munich, continued to draw upon sources from antiquity and evinced an interest in simplicity and the human figure stripped of its allegorical trappings. Kane’s Equestrienne, c. 1952 (fig. 3.18, JK0013), draws upon certain ancient depictions of Europa and the bull wherein the female rider sits compliantly on her mount in a sidesaddle position with one hand resting on the animal’s neck. The inclusion of a cape also points to early representations of Epona, the ancient goddess of horses, who was similarly portrayed sitting side-saddle, gently guiding her mount. While drawing upon mythology, the work is nevertheless devoid of allegorical content and positively shuns the sort of heroic posturing – man’s command of the animal world – seen in Bernhard Bleeker’s well known Rosselenker (Reins man), 1925-28, in the grounds of the Technical University in Munich, or indeed in Teisutis Zikaras’ Karys (Warrior), c. 1939-4 (TZ0003). Kane’s rider is frankly peaceful: smiling and unabashedly revealing her nudity beneath her cape. Her steed is grossly oversized, with a shrunken nose and decoratively arrayed mane, and closer in appearance to certain archaic Chinese terracottas than to the elegant arabesques of Franz Marc or Edwin Scharff. Together with the stocky rider they present a mildly comical pair, mocking the bombastic intent of earlier equestrian statues. Equality rather than domination is the key here, as it is in the undated monotype, Figure and Horse, c. 1956-62 (JKW0011), where the horse’s bent forelegs lower it to the same height of the man. It is probable that the untraced plaster relief Girl with Horse, c. 1950 (JK0005), and Man and Horse, c. 1951 (JK0009) – which Gordon Thomson described as ‘deliberately gauche, from its stiff silence to its ochre-red colour’ – were similarly anti-classical and anti-heroic. Together these equestrian works stem from the same archaic sources and post-war humanist impulse that both Marini and Hiller expressed in their horse and rider subjects.

119 Bernard Boles first noted the Europa theme in connection to Equestrienne; Boles, 1975, p. 834.
120 Thomson, 1951, p. 6.
Kane’s pair of figures, *Adam and Eve*, c. 1954 (fig. 3.19, JK0034), ebullient and brimming with life – their feet protruding slightly over the edge of their respective bases – share the same slightly comic air as *Equestrienne*. Their air of vitality is somewhat counteracted by the top-heavy nature of the broad shoulders tapering down to narrow hips and ankles, recalling the more experimental work of the Berliner sculptor Edwin Scharff.121 So too the rather awkward and absurd manner in which their arms are held stiffly out from their bodies – one hand turned backwards, the other forwards – gives them the appearance of automatons. The figures can be placed at various angles so that their arms can be linked or positioned in mirror image to each other. Like Blumenthal – who declared all of his figures to be variants on the Adam and Eve theme – the silhouette of the figures is all-important; there is a sense of completeness, an instant legibility, coupled with the intimation of an inner life, that links Kane’s and Blumenthal’s work. The combined effects of simplified forms, smooth contours, an air of droll absurdity and a vitalist ethos that imbues the work with a life of their own, reflects the various strands of Munich influences upon the young Kane.

One last glimpse at Kane’s archaising tendencies, initiated in post-war Munich, can be seen in a pair of woodblock print Christmas cards sent to Frank and Van Hodgkinson (fig. 3.20, JKW0006 and JKW0007). One depicts a naked man and woman (perhaps Adam and Eve again): the man holds aloft a small flaming torch, his head encircled by a wreath of leaves, while the woman gazes up as if at a beacon of hope. The second print depicts a dove carrying an olive branch of peace, flying over a Grecian ionic column with three stars studding the otherwise black background. Dated ‘1950s’ by the Art Gallery of New South Wales (AGNSW), I believe they can more accurately be dated c. 1955-56, when Olympic Games fever gripped Melbourne and the iconography of peace dove, laurel wreath and torch held particular significance. However, Kane’s rendition of these classical symbols is decidedly anti-classical: the dove is a crude emblem outsized by the ubiquitous olive branch while the figures are elongated, pinheaded and rubbery-limbed. Like Hiller’s *Ausruhende Frau*, c. 1946, or Stadler’s *Stehender akt mit erhobenen armen*, c. 1950, Kane’s figures are deliberately gauche and clumsy, pointing to their archaism, while simultaneously enlisting the

121 Compare, for instance, with Scharff’s *Stehende mit aufgestütztem Knie* (*Standing figure with bent knee*), 1934, bronze, reproduced in Fischer-Defoy, 1988, p. 85.
classical iconography of peace. This is the post-war humanist inheritance of Kane’s Munich years.

I have described the foregoing works variously as mocking, gauche and clumsy. Cumulatively these point to Kane’s anti-monumentality. It seems absurd to imagine any of these works scaled up to a size befitting a city square or corporate foyer. Kane’s earliest works eschew the rhetorical flourishes required for such sites. They represent the artist’s rejection of sculpture’s public function and may explain why Kane never produced any public works in Australia. Despite his overtures to architects and lobbying for greater public acceptance of modern sculpture, he did not have any experience of working in a public manner. He began his sculpting career at the very moment when the plausibility of public sculpture was called into question. Surrounded by Thorak and Bleeker’s bombastic marble musclemen in the storerooms of the Munich Academy, he was all too aware of the pitfalls of producing work that could be ideologically co-opted by the state. Abstraction would later provide him with the means of circumventing this danger. In the interim his small-scale archaic and tragi-comic figures just as assuredly turned their backs on the state and the public arena.

3.1.4: Jomantas in Munich, c. 1944-48
Jomantas’ Lithuanian roots have, until now, occluded due consideration of his Munich years. Admittedly, very few works can be dated with certainty to this period. Aside from the few items of Lithuanian interest, discussed earlier in section 3.1, Jomantas is known to have painted some murals on hardboard on the theme of veteran soldiering, commissioned by the US military for a concert hall in Mannheim, although the details are untraced. He told Barbara Blackman he occasionally worked in sandstone during this period yet the few extant photographs reveal works in clay and wood. He recalled these student works were ‘dear to him’ but he gifted them to friends who later moved to Canada and North America, after which he lost contact. Of the four works he photographed, Study – clay (standing male nude), c. 1946-48 (VJ0006), is the most naturalistically modelled, approaching a typical academic study, while the broken or unfinished right arm reveals the inner armature around which the

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122 Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 2, side 2. My attempts to locate these were in vain; email from Dr James C. McNaughton, Chief Historian, US Army Europe, 24 August 2010.
clay has been worked. The clearly outlined silhouette reflects Hiller’s insistence upon legibility, inherited from von Hildebrand.

More interesting in terms of a developing sculptural aesthetic is Torso (later known as Kneeling figure), c. 1948, also modelled in clay (fig. 3.21, VJ0008). Here the contrapposto torso is reduced to an elongated cylinder, with the slightest suggestion of breasts and naval, the arms bluntly severed. The positioning of the legs – straddled apart, wider than the forward tilting hips, amputated at the right knee and left mid-calf – is unusual; kneeling women were more usually modestly posed with legs together or with one leg advanced in a supplicating position, as in Lehmbrock’s iconic Kneeling Woman, 1913. Jomantas’ positioning results in the overall silhouette being bifurcated: the two thighs buttress a narrow, slightly convex torso and form an incomplete triangle at the base. Adding to the sense of formal precision is the counterbalancing of the limbs: the upper portion of the right arm is intact, offsetting the left leg with its extension below the knee. This makes the severing of the limbs seem more deliberate than the accidental fragmentation of classical statuary. Formal exploration is the key here. This is sculpture as object, rather than figure as allegory, and in this respect points to the impact of Laurens’ work. I have therefore dated it c. 1948 on the basis of that first encounter at the Moderne französische Plastik exhibition. Here we see the beginning of a sculptural philosophy that would prevail throughout Jomantas’ career, namely: the belief that ideas take priority over material.¹²³

His Venus, c. 1946-48 (fig. 3.22, VJ0007), is equally peculiar though less successfully resolved. Here the torso is but a spine supporting an ovoid head and raised arms, which are held aloft in an attitude of liberation or celebration. The stiffly held arms and hands recall a caryatid or allegorical figure of victory, or contemporary works such as Hiller’s Stehende Frau (Standing Woman) (fig. 3.9), though here there is no attempt at naturalistic modelling nor suggestion of underlying bones or musculature. The draped legs are curvaceous but the cloth sharply ridged, creating an abstract supporting pillar. Like a primitive forged-iron icon, she bears no resemblance to such wide-hipped figures of Venus as Renoir’s bronze Venus Victorious, 1914, which had

¹²³ ‘… Material to me is second. First thing is [the] idea’; Jomantas in Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 2, side 2.
featured in *Moderne französische Plastik*, or Maillol’s countless bathers with their arms raised over their heads to reveal their naked perfection.\(^{124}\) Jomantas’ *Venus* is more akin to an archaic fertility goddess than a modern embodiment of female beauty and invokes something of the same mysterious power as those ancient fertility totems. Ten years later Jomantas would return to this theme, though by then she was entirely abstract – a totemic construction in metal (VJ0011). The Munich version remains rooted in a simplified figuration but points towards formalised abstraction.

The influence of German figurative sculpture was not as strong on Jomantas as it was on Kane. Nevertheless it can be detected in some of the earliest works Jomantas made in Australia. His *Wanderer I* and *Wanderer II*, c. 1957-58, are abstract totemic forms that retain the vestigial suggestion of heads, trunks and legs (VJ0022 and VJ0023). While far removed from Kirchner’s and Kane’s wanderers of the late 1940s, they do evoke a sense of alert watchfulness and an almost talismanic aura, so much so that the editors of *Modern Art News* commented in 1959 that if Jomantas were commissioned ‘to make a 50 foot high *Wanderer* Melbourne would possess a rare landmark which, like the Sphinx, is capable of arousing a feeling [of] reverence for the unknowable’.\(^{125}\)

An untitled drawing in the National Gallery of Victoria (NGV), believed to have been purchased from the *Six Sculptors* exhibition in 1959 but possibly included in *Survey One* at the same venue one year earlier, shows a standing man with heavily bowed head, his body fatigued and beaten (fig. 3.23, VJW0006).\(^{126}\) He is perhaps that most pious of unbelievers: Job. The figure shares the same angularity, clarity and ‘plastic sureness’ evinced in Gerhard Marcks’ figure of Job, 1957, for St Klara Kirche at Nuremberg (fig. 3.24). Could Jomantas have seen the Marcks’ figure in reproduction? It is reasonable to assume he was familiar with Marcks’ works, either having seen it in person (at the Galerie Günther Franke in the summer of 1948) or in

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\(^{124}\) Munich, 1948 a, no. 68, Renoir, *Venus als Siegerin*, bronze, 1914, 1.8 m.

\(^{125}\) Gooday and Mora, 1959, p. 13.

\(^{126}\) The provenance details for this drawing were apparently added to the NGV records at a later date. Arnold Shore noted that Jomantas exhibited a ‘drawing of an abstract human figure [which] combined subtle, supple movement with plastic sureness’ at the exhibition *Survey One*, in 1958 – a comment seemingly appropriate to this work (Shore, 1958 Feb 4, p. 2).
reproduction.\textsuperscript{127} Certainly both figures are typical of the existential desolation characterising much post-war German art.

French modernism, as encountered in Munich, left a more indelible mark on Jomantas than did local Munich sculpture. In particular the work of Henri Laurens made a significant impact. Laurens’ figures of the early 1930s, as seen in the exhibition \textit{Moderne französische Plastik}, were voluptuous with simplified trunk-like torsos, massive thighs and melon-like breasts, their faces reduced to masks with razor-sharp noses and perhaps a small gash to denote an eye or mouth. They were not yet the ripe curvaceous figures with full breasts and bulging twisted limbs by which Laurens would become best known. There is a considerable distance between the early 1930s terracottas and the marble \textit{l’Aurore}, 1944, and \textit{La Lune}, 1948 (fig. 3.25).\textsuperscript{128} These latter two works are clearly cited in Jomantas’ \textit{Sitter}, c. 1955-57 (fig. 3.26, VJ0009), \textit{Girl with Birds}, 1956-57 (VJ0020), and \textit{Standing figure}, c. 1959-60 (VJ0026). It is not known where he saw the later Laurens works; perhaps he read some of the illustrated reviews of the Laurens retrospective held in 1951 at the \textit{Musée National d’Art Moderne} in Paris, or perhaps it was Laurens’ death in 1954 that prompted him to look anew at the Frenchman’s work.\textsuperscript{129} However, it can be reasonably assumed that his interest in Laurens was sparked by this firsthand encounter with his work in Munich in 1948.

Overall, Jomantas and Kane were exposed to two parallel strands of modern sculpture in Europe. The first was the German figurative tradition, which, I suggest, had not yet come to a ‘mute and inglorious end’. Rather, contemporary sculptors welcomed the reappearance of work suppressed under National Socialism by the likes of Barlach, Lehmbruck, Marcks and Blumenthal, and continued to develop the tradition in a modified archaic manner. This was particularly the case with the Munich school sculptors Kirchner, Brenninger, Stadler and Hiller. The second strand was modern French sculpture of the interwar period, particularly that of Laurens. The modernism

\textsuperscript{127} Jomantas may have accessed the following feature articles on Marcks, published before his departure to Australia: Grohmann, 1936, pp. 256-60; Heise, 1941, pp. 156-61; and Vogt, 1948, pp. 23-5.


\textsuperscript{129} Jomantas may have read Sylvester, 1951, pp. 236-7, or Kahnweiler, 1954, pp. 66-7.
that Kane and Jomantas imbibed in Munich might broadly be described as Franco-German, though with a decidedly pan-European, anti-nationalist emphasis, with one eye cast to the distant archaic past.

### 3.2: Teisutis Zikaras in Freiburg, 1946-49

From Zikaras’ previously unconsulted IRO migrant selection documents, it appears he worked initially as a labourer in Germany for just over a year (location and details unspecified); this was most probably from mid-1945 until the autumn of 1946.\(^{130}\) By November 1946 he had registered for a series of immunisations at ‘Fribourg’ (the French name for Freiburg im Breisgau) near the French and Swiss borders of West Germany.\(^ {131}\) Here, in Freiburg, it is possible to locate Zikaras within a definitively ‘DP artist’ context.

A large number of Lithuanian refugees gathered in Freiburg in the French zone of occupation.\(^{132}\) Under the leadership of Vytautas Jonynas, former director of the Kaunas Institute of Art (1941-44), they established both the Fribourg École des Arts et Métiers (Freiburg School of Art and Crafts) and the Lithuanian Institute of Fine Arts. The École des Arts et Métiers has been described as the Lithuanian émigré community’s ‘single greatest visual art achievement of post-war cultural activity’.\(^ {133}\) Indeed some regard it as marking ‘the establishment of a global movement for the survival of the nation’ – a critical mass of Lithuanian artists and intellectuals who would agitate in exile for the return of Lithuanian independence.\(^ {134}\) Lithuanian historians have closely examined the École des Arts et Métiers for a number of reasons: it was the only Lithuanian art school whose diplomas were fully accredited by French educational authorities; the instructors were all former teachers and graduates of the Kaunas Institute and Vilnius Academy of Art, so that the École effectively re-established the leading forces of interwar Lithuanian national art; other exiled Lithuanian intelligentsia gathered in Freiburg and taught French, German and

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\(^ {130}\) Zikaras migrant selection documents, 1949, emigration document processed in Haslach Bad [Freiburg], 12 January 1949.

\(^ {131}\) Zikaras migrant selection documents, 1949, Commandement en Chef Français en Allemagne, GMZFO Fiche de vaccination de Personnes Déplacées, issued 14 November 1946.

\(^ {132}\) Precise numbers are unknown but by July 1947 there were an estimated 5,000 Lithuanians in the French zone of occupation; Chicago, 1997, p. 8.

\(^ {133}\) Kazokas, 1992, p. 50.

\(^ {134}\) Urbonavičiūtė and Ažubalis, 2012, p. 25: ‘… iškūrimas buvo visuotinio išeivijos sąjūdžio už tautos išlikimą…’ (my translation).
theoretical subjects; and finally a great many Freiburg teachers and students afterwards emigrated to the US, settling in Chicago, where they commemorated the achievements of the École in numerous exhibitions. Consequently there is a considerable body of literature that can be mined for information on Teisutis Zikaras, yet most of it is Lithuanian – rendering it obscure to Australian art historians.136 Likewise, Lithuanian art historians rarely consider Zikaras’ works in any detail.137 Only three of his works are reproduced in Lithuanian art historical texts: the widely-exhibited aluminium Figure, 1959 (TZ0071), a small maquette Figūra (Figure) also known as Atsisveikinimas (Farewell), 1965, and the highly atypical bas relief, Profile portrait of the artist’s father, Jūzasis Zikaras, 1975.138 Zikaras donated these last two works to the small house museum in his father’s memory, which is how they came to be known in Lithuania. While his small terracotta figure of a grieving woman, titled Po Kryžium (Under the Cross), c. 1948 (TZ0017), was illustrated in the well-known book Lithuanian Art in Exile, 1948, none have commented it.139 These are the only visual references to Zikaras’ work in the Lithuanian art historical literature, despite the abundant availability of illustrations in Lithuanian- and English-language publications from Australia.140 The two bodies of literature simply have not been drawn together. Thus, while Zikaras’ presence in Freiburg is well documented, his work remains unexamined.

Yet a study of Zikaras’ work at Freiburg addresses what I perceive to be the single most contentious issue at stake in discussions of the Freiburg École des Arts et Métiers: namely, the degree of openness to Western European modernism. In general, younger artists who studied in the west are characterised as open to non-Lithuanian modernist influences while older artists are considered firmly entrenched in Lithuanian traditions regardless of whether their earlier work was influenced by German Expressionism or French Impressionism. Rasa Andriušytė-Žukienė addresses the issue at greatest length, concluding:

Artistically and socially it [the École] sought not so much to become part of Western European culture as to distinguish itself ethnically by representing Lithuanian national and artistic values. Though its artists were interested in Western culture, they mostly did not seek vital contact with it. The need to maintain Lithuanian national and community identity willy-nilly became a strategy of separation. The loyalty to classical traditions that dominated the school gradually discouraged creativity… [and] the folk art traditions and neotraditionalism that had given so much creative impetus to Lithuanian art in the pre-war years … became a conservative phenomenon, a form of ethnically motivated withdrawal from, and resistance to, an alien world.

Andriušytė-Žukienė does concede that some of the younger students ‘subsequently successfully integrated themselves into the Western art world’. Thus Freiburg students who went on to study in Paris, such as Antanas Mončys and Elena Ubraitytė, are often discussed in terms of avant-gardism and their work still frequently exhibited in Lithuania. Owing to his prior education and his being on the teaching staff, Zikaras was ineligible for one of the coveted Paris scholarships. Nevertheless, I suggest he was open to a range of influences at Freiburg, both Lithuanian and French, as shall be seen.

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142 Andriušytė-Žukienė, 2007, p. 78.
143 Andriušytė-Žukienė, 2007, p. 78.
144 Mončys was later recognized in Lithuania with a house museum at Palanga while Ubraitytė donated over 2,000 of her works to national galleries and archives in Lithuania where they are now widely exhibited. See Kurauskas, 1965, pp. 63-72; Liutkus, 1961, pp. 109-11; Liutkus, 2003 b, pp. 132-5 (English summary); Lubyté, 2003, pp. 198-206. I am grateful to Elona Lubyté for drawing my attention to Mončys in conversation, 22 July 2010.
3.2.1: A brief history of the Freiburg École des Arts et Métiers, with emphasis on Zikaras and the sculpture studio

Any historical account of the École des Arts et Métiers is hampered by difficulties in establishing basic facts as most primary documents are either in private archives in the United States or in the Lithuanian Research and Studies Centre in Chicago, which relatively few Lithuanian art historians have accessed.145 The following outline has been constructed primarily from secondary sources, supplemented by translated articles from the contemporary press and a single scarce booklet issued by the school in 1948 that is rarely referred to in the secondary literature.146

Vytautas Jonynas first conceived the idea for a Lithuanian art school as a means of rallying those artists and intellectuals who had ‘retreated’ to the west in 1944, providing them with meaningful employment while living in the DP camps, awaiting what they expected to be the forthcoming liberation of Lithuania.147 His initial request to the American military authorities in Hanau fell on unsympathetic ears, so he turned instead to the French military and education authorities in the state of Baden.148 Capitalizing on his fluency in French (he had studied in Paris in the 1930s) and on his friendship with Raymond Schmittlein, former professor of French literature at the Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas, and now director of public education in the French zone, Jonynas met with a more benevolent response.149 The French agreed to grant full recognition to the École. With their accreditation and with start-up aid from the UNRRA and BALF (the Lithuanian War Relief Fund), the École des Arts et Métiers was formally registered on 11 February 1946.150 In May that year Jonynas advertised in Lithuanian émigré periodicals for enrolments, with preference given to former students of the Kaunas Art School or Vilnius Academy whose studies were

145 The École’s founder, V. K. Jonynas, brought the records of both the École and the Lithuanian Art Institute with him to New York in 1952 (Chicago, 1997, p. 12). Dalia Ramoniene has noted the difficulty in accessing these and related primary sources; see Ramoniene, 2007, p. 17; also Urbonavičiūtė and Ažubalis, 2012, p. 27. More recently Rasa Žukiene has uncovered further archival material relating to the Freiburg École in the Stadtarchiv Freiburg im Breisgau and the Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg (Žukiene, 2013). The preliminary findings informed her recent paper (Žukiene, 2014), and forthcoming publication (Žukiene, 2016).
146 Jardot et al, 1948. I am grateful to Algimantas Lekevičius, Vilnius, for photographing this rare booklet on my behalf. I also draw primarily upon those accounts give in Chicago, 1997, and Vilnius, 2006.
interrupted by war.\textsuperscript{151} He also wrote to those former colleagues from Kaunas whom he could trace, asking them to join the teaching staff and offering salaries, food and accommodation in formerly Nazi-requisitioned residences.\textsuperscript{152}

Suitable studio space proved difficult to secure. When the École officially opened on 11 July 1946, the painting, graphics, drawing and textiles studios were located at Bergleweg 6, Freiburg, while the sculpture and ceramics studios were in a private pottery studio in the small village of Kandern, 30 kilometres to the south of Freiburg.\textsuperscript{153} In the summer of 1947 all six studios were brought together under one roof in the restored Rebhaus (‘Vineyard House’), a picturesque former sanatorium located at Wonnhaldestraße 1, two kilometres to the south of Freiburg’s centre, with views of the Black Forest mountains.\textsuperscript{154} Zikaras was fortunate to secure his own studio at the Rebhaus while living offsite – at one point in a DP camp and, at another, at Johann-von-Weerth-Straße 10, approximately one kilometre north of the Rebhaus.\textsuperscript{155} These were favourable conditions compared to those experienced by most other the DP artists in Germany at the time, so much so that Freiburg would later be described as ‘an oasis of art and joy’.\textsuperscript{156}

Zikaras was one of fifteen teaching staff at the École, and – with sculptor Juozas Bakis, who worked in the ceramics studio – the youngest; most of the other teachers were more than a decade older than him (fig. 3.27).\textsuperscript{157} Nevertheless they were mainly

\begin{footnotes}
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\item \textsuperscript{151} Chicago, 1997, p. 7.
\item \textsuperscript{152} Chicago, 1997, p. 7.
\item \textsuperscript{153} Jardot et al, 1948, p. 14; Chicago, 1997, p. 8; Vilnius, 2006, p. 9. Saldukas puts the date at 11 July 1947 (Saldukas, 2006 URL: http://www.lituanus.org/2006/06_3_02%20Saldukas.htm) but all other sources state the year to be 1946.
\item \textsuperscript{154} Vilnius, 2006, p. 9. The Rebhaus was built as a spa house in 1891 by the Jewish family Lasker, who were forced to abandon the property in 1933, although no mention of the building’s past is made in any of the literature on the Freiburg École. Narratives of Jewish dispossession and Lithuanian exile are apparently difficult to reconcile. Rasa Žukiienė has recently identified several other Freiburg addresses used by the École: Lorettostr. 55, Talsstr. 1, Baslerstr. 10, and Hildastr. 66; see Žukiienė, 2013, URL: http://lk.mf.vdu.lt/lt/node/41.
\item \textsuperscript{155} Details of his Rebhaus studio are from Vilnius, 2006, p. 9. In January 1949 he gave his address at ‘CAPD camp, Freiburg’; Zikaras migrant selection documents, 1949, I.R.O. Resettlement medical examination form, 10 January 1949. His address was given as Johann-von-Weerth-Straße 10 in Freiburg, 1949, p. [4].
\item \textsuperscript{156} Danas Lapkus in Chicago, 1997, p. 3.
\item \textsuperscript{157} In order of age the staff were Adomas Galdikas, b. 1893; Viktoras Vizgirda, b. 1904; Adolfašis Valeška, b. 1905; Antanas Tamošaitis, b. 1906; Vytautas Jonynas, b. 1907; Antanas Muraitis b. 1907; Aleksandras Marčiulionis, b. 1911; Eleonora Marčiulionienė, b. 1912; Telesforas Valius, b. 1914; Adolfašis Vaicaitis, b. 1915; Vytautas Kasiulis, b. 1918; Alfonsas Krivickas, b. 1919; Juozas Bakis, b. 1915.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotes}
artists he had known from his years in Kaunas. His appointment as instructor was an honour, elevating him to a position of colleague with his former teachers. He did not initially teach in the sculpture studio but rather in the drawing studio, which Jonynas led (1946-47) before another Kaunas graduate, Vytautas Kasiulis, succeeded him in the autumn term of 1947.  

Most sources simply state that Zikaras was an assistant teacher in the drawing studio although his biographical outline in the book Lithuanian Art in Exile (1948) states that ‘since 1947 he is the head of the drawing class’, a role unacknowledged in the secondary sources. In the École’s own commemorative book, published in 1948, Zikaras is listed as ‘Professeur de dessin 1947/48’, suggesting he was not employed at the school when it first opened in 1946. One secondary source states that he also taught in the sculpture studio, from 1948-49, a claim supported by the memories of one of the sculpture students, Vitolis Dragunevičius, who recalled his instruction. As such he would have worked alongside one of his former teachers from Kaunas, Marčiulionis, who ran the sculpture studio at Freiburg.

Aleksandras Marčiulionis (1911-88) had studied under Juozas Zikaras and Juozas Mikėnas, 1930-36, and taught ornament, drafting and drawing at the Kaunas Art School, 1938-44. Few examples of his work from Freiburg are known, but the two illustrated in Lithuanian Art in Exile show him to be working in terracotta in a freely modelled, mildly expressionist style. For instance, his Resurrection, c. 1948 (fig. 3.28), is a relief panel depicting an ascending Christ, the surface mottled by small discs of clay pressed onto it in Mikėnas’ manner, but with greater freedom to the form and less legibility than espoused by his former teacher. The subject was doubtless a thinly veiled allusion to the hoped-for return of Lithuanian independence. Two slightly later examples, Prayer from the Ruins, c. 1950, and The Fauns, c.1954, both in terracotta and made in Adelaide (where he lived from 1949 to 1956), are similar in

1922; Teisutis Zikaras, b. 1922. It has not been possible to establish a date of birth for textile artist Danutė Šurkutė.

158 Urbaitytė, 1984, p. 18; Vilnius, 2006, p. 12. This was the same Kasiulis who had held a solo exhibition at the Vytautus the Great Museum of Culture – a rare event in Kaunas in 1943. Zikaras would certainly have known his work and most likely the artist too.

159 Augius and Petričiūtė, 1948, p. 15.


162 Like Teisutis, Marčiulionis emigrated to Australia, though he and his wife Eleonora – who taught in the ceramics studio at Freiburg – left after seven years and moved to Chicago, disliking the cultural environment of Adelaide.
technique, though the subject of the latter is more playful and drawn from Greek mythology.\textsuperscript{163} After moving to Chicago, in 1956, he frequently depicted Biblical subjects and concentrated on church commissions.\textsuperscript{164}

In some respects Zikaras’ earlier works made at Freiburg share an affinity with Marčiulionis. For instance, his \textit{Liūdesys (Sorrow)}, 1948, and \textit{Po Kryžium (Under the Cross)}, c. 1948, and (figs. 3.29 and 3.30, TZ0016 and TZ0017), explore the notion of individual suffering as befitting both the narrative of the crucifixion and the plight of Lithuanian refugees – an emotional parallel frequently encountered in Marčiulionis’ work. Both works also employ the same techniques utilized by Marčiulionis and – earlier – by Mikėnas. However, few other similarities can be detected and it would be unwise to over-emphasise the importance of Marčiulionis for Zikaras. The expression of despair and sorrow was pervasive throughout the Lithuanian émigré community, with artists such as Viktoras Petraičius depicting what one contemporary reviewer described as ‘the Golgotha of our own nation, the travails of our exile, … the tragedy of fate’s storms and life’s maelstroms’.\textsuperscript{165} Zikaras’ own expression of these same emotions and his linking them with the life of Christ cannot simply be attributed to Marčiulionis’ influence; rather they reflect his receptiveness to the wider Lithuanian émigré community’s sense of its own tragic narrative, which was frequently overlain with stories from the Old Testament.

However, the expression of grief was largely suppressed in the cloistered environment of the sculpture studio at Freiburg. There the teachers continued to promulgate the neoclassical ideals espoused in interwar Kaunas. Contemporary photographs of the sculpture studio show students at work on portrait busts, reclining female nudes and impassive-faced figures, their eyes open but unseeing in emulation of classical statuary.\textsuperscript{166} One student’s diploma work from 1948 depicted a kneeling male nude limply holding before him an open sack of fish, ostensibly representing a

\textsuperscript{163} Illustrated in Kazokas, 1992, vol. 2, figs. 356, 357.
\textsuperscript{165} Vykintas, 1948, reproduced in Kezys, 1991 b, p. 133.
\textsuperscript{166} Photographs reproduced in Rannit, 1948, and Chicago, 1985, n.p. Very few works produced at the Freiburg École are extant. Clay was in such short supply that works were frequently destroyed shortly after production so that the material could be reused. Other works were ‘lost to the hazards of emigration and resettlement’ (Ciurlionis Gallery, 1985, p. [1]).
The subject was possibly Zikaras’ choice, though the result was vastly different from his earlier attempt at a realist depiction of the same subject, made in Kaunas during the war (fig. 2.27). Another student, Dragunevičius, developed at Freiburg a great admiration for the work of Aristide Maillol and Charles Despiau – the two greatest exponents of neoclassicism among the early twentieth-century French moderns. Before WWII both Maillol and Despiau had turned away from the expressive mode of their teachers (Bourdelle and Rodin respectively) and championed a calm classicism and ‘the eternal feminine’. These were the exemplars Marčiulionis and Zikaras apparently urged their students to emulate, just as Mikėnas had done when they were students in Kaunas. German critic Hilde Herrmann, reviewing the third and final exhibition of Freiburg students’ works, in 1948, perceived the sculptors to be ‘dealing with the problems raised particularly since Maillol’. At least one of the students, Antanas Mončys, came to resent the inherent conservatism of this manner of teaching. In 1950, upon arriving at Zadkine’s studio in Paris, Mončys reportedly ‘felt liberated from the neoclassical standards imposed by the Fribourg’s school [sic]’, although he may have formed his view with the benefits of hindsight.

A photograph of Zikaras in his studio at Freiburg, c. 1948-49 (fig. 3.31), shows him to be working well within a neoclassical mode – his figures carefully modelled with softly rounded forms. Behind him is the figure of a crouching woman (TZ0011), her head and one arm resting on her bent knee, as if in sorrow, while the other arm draws back in an elegant arabesque. The figure’s pensive positioning – allowing the viewer to gaze unimpeded – instantly recalls Maillol’s *La Méditerranée*, 1905, while the subdued air of grief echoes the sense of loss among the Lithuanian exile community, which more typically found expression in the medium of the graphic arts. Here Zikaras seems to be treading a fine line between neoclassical worship of beauty and the need to vent feelings of alienation and grief.

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167 Vytautas Raulinaitis’s work is illustrated in Rannit, 1948, and briefly discussed in Vambra, 1948, p. 481.
169 I borrow the phrase from Ritchie, 1945, p. 12.
170 Herrmann, 1948: ‘… die Auseinandersetzung mit den besonders seit Maillol aufgeworfenen Problemen der Plastik vollzieht ...’ (my translation).
171 Liutkis, 2003, p. 132.
Admiration for French neoclassicism was not confined to Baltic minorities; Maillol and Despiau enjoyed widespread acclaim in the immediate post-war years. We have already noted the importance of Maillol’s example to Stadler and Hiller in Munich. Similarly, after the Australian sculptor Robert Klippel first visited Paris in 1947 he ranked Rodin, Bourdelle, Maillol and Despiau as ‘first class’, followed by Brancusi, Gaudier-Brzeska and Duchamp-Villon. In the immediate aftermath of war, classical beauty and order were often valued over Expressionist angst or Cubist manipulation of form. However, a commitment to beauty would increasingly be seen as anachronistic in the wake of WWII. Indeed, classicism’s reign in post-war Europe was to be brief and rapidly subsumed beneath a flood of abstraction emanating particularly from Paris, Copenhagen, Brussels and Amsterdam – *l’art informel*, non-objective art, and *tachisme* – while developments from across the Atlantic were shortly to herald still further changes.

Such developments had little chance to impact upon the Freiburg École owing to its short duration. The final exhibition of student work was held in August 1949, by which time Zikaras was already in Australia, having sailed from Naples in May. On board the same ship was Henrikas Šalkauskas (1925-79), who had been a graphics student at Freiburg and who became a driving force in the Australian printmaking scene, helping found the Sydney Printmakers in 1961 along with another Lithuanian émigré: Vaclovas Ratas. In the mid-1960s Šalkauskas began experimenting in watercolour, his large wet-on-wet abstracts in grey and black corresponding to the oils of international contemporaries Franz Kline and Pierre Soulages. Šalkauskas represents Zikaras’ counterpart in terms of his successful integration with networks of artists in his adopted city and involvement with groups that agitated for change in the local art scene, as well as his openness to modernist developments beyond the narrow confines of the Lithuanian artistic community. Rather than grouping Zikaras with the other teachers at Freiburg, whose style of work changed relatively little after emigration, it is instructive to consider Zikaras alongside the more experimental students who were closer to him in age (Šalkauskas being three years younger, Antanas Mončys being a year older than Zikaras). This allows a clearer view of the

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radical changes Zikaras underwent in Germany and the openness with which he would embrace modern art – particularly French modern art – encountered first hand in Freiburg.

3.2.2: Zikaras and the Lithuanian Institute of Fine Arts

On 14 December 1947 Jonynas co-founded a second organisation: the Lithuanian Institute of Fine Arts. The Institute had sixteen elected members with Viktoras Vizgirda as their first president. Zikaras was elected the next year and by the end of 1948 the Institute had thirty members (fig. 3.32). Most of the Freiburg teachers were represented but other members included senior Lithuanian artists living elsewhere in Germany, such as the printmakers Paulius Augius and Viktoras Petravičius, or abroad, such as Vytautas Kašuba who had sailed for New York in 1947. The membership represented the most progressive of the Lithuanian émigré artists and, as such, the Institute has been described as ‘focused on l’art moderne in the broad sense of the word, “modernism”’. Yet, despite this modernist tenor, the aims of the Institute were conservative, namely: ‘the preservation and cultivation of Lithuanian identity, cultural life and best cultural traditions under the conditions of exile in every way possible’. In this way, we might see the Institute as a continuation of the Janus-faced project established by the Ars group in 1932 (described in section 1.2.6): a project that looked to a nativist past in order to produce an authentically Lithuanian brand of modernism. This project was now all the more urgent given that Lithuanian heritage was threatened with being subsumed under a flood of Soviet ideology.

The Institute set about achieving their aims through organizing informal discussion groups (one such seems to be captured in fig. 3.32), mounting exhibitions and publishing books on Lithuanian art. One of the first exhibitions was held in June 1948 in Hanau, near Frankfurt, chosen as it had the largest Lithuanian community in Germany. Zikaras joined a cohort of fellow Freiburg artists who travelled north to

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178 Ramonienė, 2007, p. 29.
see the show.\textsuperscript{180} His own exhibits included a large relief titled \textit{Taikos Siekimas (Pursuit of Peace, or Seeking Peace)}, c. 1947-48 (fig. 3.33, TZ0014), for which he was awarded a prize by the Augsburg-based newspaper \textit{Žiburių (Lights)}.\textsuperscript{181} This complex composition – known only from photographs – depicts a young woman, her hair swept upwards as though floating in water, holding a peace dove. Beside her a diminutive male nude kneels in submissive homage before a sternly impassive mask, possibly representing the sacrifice of manhood to the god of war. The girl’s pose, particularly her left hand held coyly out from her hip, echoes that of Bronius Pundžius’ \textit{Prie šaltinėlio (By a spring)}, 1938 (fig. 2.21), although her head is upstretched, rather than bent, and her feet hang softly downwards as in the feet of Christ in Marčiulionis’ \textit{Resurrection} (fig. 3.28), which was also included in the exhibition. More revealingly, the overall composition recalls Kašuba’s \textit{Eglė, Queen of Adders}, 1946 (fig. 3.34), which Kašuba had carved while living in a DP camp in Lohengrin, near Munich, prior to emigration, and which was illustrated in \textit{Lithuanian Art in Exile} in 1948.\textsuperscript{182} Kašuba’s \textit{Eglė} likewise portrayed a longhaired beauty with two small figures to her left who are clearly out of scale. An adder encircles her feet, its form echoed in the sinuous contours of Eglė’s body. Zikaras has replaced the serpent with a rather theatrical piece of drapery, but the overall composition remains closely allied with that of Kašuba’s, pointing to his continued admiration for his former teacher’s work.

The exhibition in Hanau led a few months later to one of the most outstanding Lithuanian publishing ventures during the postwar years: \textit{Lithuanian Art in Exile} (1948).\textsuperscript{183} In the context of paper shortages and scarcity of printing equipment, this remarkable book showcased works by all thirty members of the Institute with brief biographies on each artist and single-page plates, many in colour, illustrating at least one work by each artist. Zikaras was included in the publication with one example: \textit{Po Kryžium (Under the Cross)}, c. 1948 (fig. 3.30, TZ0017). Essentially a very quiet, rather un-expressive rendering of a girl kneeling in a beseeching position, the title gave it a Biblical context that tied the girl’s humility to a grander narrative of Christian mourning. The style owed much to Mikėnas and his version of French

\textsuperscript{180} Ramonienė, 2007, p. 27.
\textsuperscript{181} Ramonienė, 2007, p. 23.
\textsuperscript{182} Augius and Petravičius, 1948, illustrated p. 67; Kostkevičiūtė, 1997, referred to briefly, p. 29.
\textsuperscript{183} Augius and Petravičius, 1948.
neoclassicism, as exemplified by Maillol, while the subject overlaid Christian iconography with an allegory of Lithuanian suffering.

The works gathered for Hanau and illustrated in *Lithuanian Art in Exile* formed the nucleus for the Institute’s exhibition that toured to New York (October – November 1949) and Chicago (August – October 1950), where sizeable Lithuanian communities sponsored the venture. The Institute acquired certain works for this purpose, most likely by donation.184 Zikaras’ *Po Kryžium (Under the Cross)* and *Taikos Siekimas (Pursuit of Peace)* were probably thus acquired and sent to the US (both now untraced). Zikaras was also included in a second significant exhibition organised by the Institute: *Ausstellung der Litauischen Kunst*, held at the Augustiner-Museum in Freiburg in March 1949. Here he was one of just twelve exhibiting artists and (with Juozas Bakis) equal youngest. However, where most others showed approximately a dozen works each, Zikaras showed just two: *Rast (Rest)* and *Trauer (Mourning)*, which can tentatively be identified respectively as his *Aktas (Female nude)*, 1947 (TZ0015) and *Liūdesys (Sorrow)*, 1948 (TZ0016).185 *Liūdesys* again evinced a universal suffering equally pertinent to a Biblical narrative, a protest at Lithuania’s lost independence, or a generalized lament regarding the plight of refugees. Through the auspices of the Institute, therefore, Zikaras was able to exhibit internationally in the USA and Germany. While the venues – particularly in the US – were not premier contemporary art spaces, the mere fact of his having shown in these countries would be advantageous to him in Australia, adding a veneer of international prestige to his name.186 In this manner, the close community of Lithuanian DP artists to which Zikaras belonged soon helped him gain a foothold in Australia.

### 3.2.3: Freiburg beyond the École and the Institute

Immediately after the war a range of art could be seen in Freiburg that moved beyond impressionist or neoclassical beauty. Nevertheless, French art predominated. Grazina Matulaityte-Rannit, opera singer and wife of the art historian Aleksis Rannit, wrote to a friend in 1946 of the ‘countless cultural attractions’ in Freiburg, Tübingen and

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184 According to the minutes of an Institute meeting, 30 November 1948, they had already acquired works by several members including Zikaras; see Ramoniè, 2007, p. 28.
185 Freiburg, 1949, catalogue nos. 117 and 118. With thanks to Marita Mayer, Augustiner Museum, Freiburg, and Nikki Anderson, Freiburg, for their efforts in locating this catalogue on my behalf.
186 For instance, the fact that he had exhibited in Chicago and New York was advertised on the invitation to *Twelve Melbourne Sculptors* at Brummel’s Gallery, South Yarra, in September 1957.
Baden-Baden including ‘breathtaking’ exhibitions that surveyed French art ‘from impressionism to modern art, Renoir to Picasso’. One of the most significant post-war exhibitions in Freiburg opened in November 1947: Meister französischer Malerei der Gegenwart (Masters of French Painting of the Present) featuring the work of Bonnard, Braque, Chagall, Gris, Léger, Matisse, Picasso and Rouault. While these may be loosely grouped as School of Paris, cubists dominated the show with a pair of cubist works flanking the entrance to the exhibition. Picasso’s dealer, Daniel Henry Kahnweiler, visited Freiburg shortly before the exhibition opened and gave a lecture on the origins and development of cubism, which was reprinted the following year in the official catalogue. Maurice Jardot, Kahnweiler’s former business partner and current chief of the Bureau des Beaux-Arts in the military government at Baden, co-curated the exhibition. Picasso was represented in the exhibition with six works including his foreboding wartime Still life with steer’s skull, 1942, its heavy palette speaking of malaise and menace – a work that likewise impressed King when she saw it at the Glasgow Art Gallery the year before. Chagall’s paintings in ‘strong, glowing colours’, described as ‘Slavic’ (he was born in Belarus), and reminiscent of stained-glass windows from the early Middle Ages, were another notable feature. Chroniclers of the Freiburg École have not before mentioned this particular exhibition but a contemporary German reviewer noted that it attracted considerable interest, particularly from ‘painters and others who are interested in art, [who] come from afar’. Indeed the exhibition reportedly attracted 10,000 visitors, including 3,000 students, over a period of four weeks. It is reasonable to assume that Zikaras and his colleagues at the École frequented the exhibition, which was such a highlight of Freiburg’s cultural program. In addition the exhibition’s curator Jardot...

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188 The exhibition was held 20 October – 23 November 1947 in the converted Konzerthaus at the Friedrichsbau. The catalogue was published the following year: Baden Baden, 1948.
189 Die Meister französischer Malerei der Gegenwart presented key works of classical cubism, such as Juan Gris’ Hommage á Pablo Picasso, 1912 (Art Institute of Chicago), as well as ‘post-cubist’ works. On the impact of this important exhibition on German audiences see Schieder, 2005, pp. 25-6 and van der Meulen, 2006, pp. 186-90.
190 Kahnweiler’s lecture was delivered at Freiburg University, 23 October 1947, and appears in essay form in Baden Baden, 1948, pp. 7-18. See also van der Meulen, 2006, p. 196.
191 Pablo Picasso, Still life with steer’s skull, 1942, oil on canvas, 130.2 x 97.2 cm, on loan to the Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen, Düsseldorf, Germany. Trimble, 1996, p. 9.
192 Spiegel, 1947, p. 16.
193 Spiegel, 1947, p. 16.
supplied the lead essay to Jonynas’ small book on the Freiburg École in 1948.\footnote{Jardot et al, 1948, pp. 9-12.} Jardot’s connection with the École lends further credence to my suggestion that the *Meister französischer Malerei* exhibition was significantly important to the École staff and students.

It is possible to see Chagall’s influence in some of Zikaras’ early Melbourne sculptures such as his *Face*, 1951 (TZ0028), with its expression of brooding introspection, or in works on paper such as *Untitled (head)*, 1955 (TZW0013), in which the frame tightly encloses a hooded face in a manner reminiscent of some of Chagall’s shrouded heads pressed close to the picture plane.\footnote{Compare, for instance, with Rouault’s *Maitre Testu*, 1936, oil, in Baden Baden, 1948, catalogue no. 38.} However, it is the influence of Picasso that is most evident in Zikaras’ final works made at Freiburg, c. 1948-49, and in Melbourne in the 1950s. One such is *Gimimas (Birth)*, 1948 (fig. 3.35, TZ0021). This transitional work reduces the naked figure of a woman to a series of sinuous curves and melon-like breasts, one of which is bare while the other is marked with a nipple, as though presented side-on, presenting two views simultaneously – a simple cubist device. The daughter to whom she will presumably give birth, or has already birthed, is a miniature replica of the woman, already sexually mature, referring to the female ability to procreate. Technically the work still bares the hallmarks of Mikènas’ training, but the attempt to present more than one view of the woman in a flattened, two-dimensional format (shunning the obvious aptitude of sculpture for three-dimensionality) reveals Zikaras’ interest in cubist relief, particularly his fascination with Picasso.

The interest in cubist relief continues in *Couple embracing*, c. 1948-49, and *Sauksina*, c. 1948-52 (figs. 3.36 and 3.37, TZ0022 and TZ0023). *Couple embracing* again employs two disparate scales for the two figures: the woman barely half the size of her male partner. The schematic reduction of the figures and relief-like flattening points not only to Picasso’s influence but suggests that Zikaras was also looking at the work of Zadkine, whose work was becoming increasingly admired in Germany after his return to Paris in 1945 (not only Mončys but also many German sculptors were attracted to the Russian émigré’s appealing ‘cosmopolitanism, exuberant liberalism...
and educational ethos’). Sauksina depicts the head and torso of a woman with bulbous arms and hands, her head thrown back as if in anguish, recalling at once Picasso’s early bathers and his later crying women of the Guernica and Dora Maar period. The cubist influence is also felt in some works on paper, such as a gouache Composition, 1956 (TZW0022), which depicts a woman sitting cross-legged with one arm raised over her mask-like face, unseeingly presenting her body to the viewer while a profusion of crenelated shapes suggesting hands and feet claustrophobically entrap the figure. The aggressive rendering of the female body as sexual commodity, frequently encountered in Picasso’s work, became a recurrent motif with Zikaras. While these same influences would prove pervasive in the oeuvres of other Australian artists, few such had the opportunity to see Picasso’s wartime works or recent works of Chagall and Rouault at first hand in the late 1940s. Zikaras’ influences arguably came from his direct encounter with these artists’ works in Freiburg and speak of his increasing liberation from the narrow confines of Lithuanian art.

Freiburg offered Zikaras a stimulating environment in which he prospered and developed. On the one hand he shared the company of artists he had earlier known and studied under in Kaunas and, despite being on average ten years younger than most, enjoyed equal standing with them as a teacher at the Freiburg École and as a member of the Lithuanian Institute of Fine Arts. From this privileged position he was able to send works to DP exhibitions in Freiburg, Hanau, Chicago and New York. The Lithuanian DP context thereby gave him the chance to build an exhibition history extending beyond his country of birth. Freiburg was also subject to strong French cultural influences, owing to it being in the French zone of occupation, enabling Zikaras to encounter significant works of French modern art at first hand. Exhibitions such as Die Meister französischer Malerei der Gegenwart and associated lectures provided unparalleled opportunities to study Picasso, whose work was previously known to Zikaras only through reproductions in books and magazines. In this respect we should see Freiburg as showing Zikaras a path beyond neoclassicism as it was interpreted in interwar Lithuanian sculpture. Where Munich offered Kane and Jomantas the opportunity to forge transnational connections, Freiburg represented more of a cloistered Lithuanian DP experience for Zikaras. Nevertheless he was able

to there expand his repertoire of visual references so that Freiburg ultimately helped him to adopt the lingua franca of French modernism in a manner that would prove fruitful in Australia.

3.3: Margaret River, Beechworth, Bonegilla, Melbourne; the arrival of Jomantas, Zikaras and Kane in Australia under the temporary labour scheme, 1948-52

‘The grey colourless land, the vastness, the isolation were very depressing in the first few days’.198

‘There was nothing there to uplift the spirit or claim to be civilized’.199

The details of the three DP artists’ emigration read as a series of dry facts culled primarily from Australian immigration records in the National Archives in Canberra, arrival documents in the Public Record Office of Victoria and ships’ passengers lists. Nevertheless, their first impressions of the new land can be gathered from interviews and circumstantially with knowledge of where they lived and worked. As DPs all three had to sign a compulsory two-year contract of indentured labour, the terms of which stipulated that they could not take jobs where they might deprive Australian citizens of employment or accommodation.200 The motivation behind this policy was to increase Australia’s population for defence reasons – first Immigration Minister Arthur Calwell’s slogan being ‘populate or perish’ – while mollifying an Australian citizenry ‘notoriously insular and inclined to view a stranger with a great deal of suspicion’.201 As Egon Kunz (himself an educated DP) put it: ‘charity had to be served up as utilitarian gain, and calculated gain as charity’.202 The Commonwealth Employment Service therefore assigned DPs manual-labouring jobs irrespective of their trade or profession.203 For those such as Jomantas, Kane and Zikaras, who were educated to tertiary level, this system of ‘flattening out’ was often humiliating and led

200 Kunz, 1988, p. 142.
202 Kunz, 1988, p. 256.
to a sense of insecurity. During this period artistic ambitions and desires were largely set aside although there is evidence that Jomantas, at least, continued to sculpt in his spare time.

Jomantas was the first of the three to leave Germany. The IRO established his eligibility to emigrate in February 1948 but it was only owing to the intercession of a friend who, unbeknownst, submitted Jomantas’ name into a camp lottery that Jomantas was sent to Australia. Travelling south by train to Genoa, he boarded the SS *Kanimbla* on 17 September 1948. The *Kanimbla* was an Australian naval vessel that, on this sole occasion, was used to transport European DPs – around half of them Balts. After docking at Fremantle, Western Australia, on 11 October, Jomantas was sent by bus to Graylands migrant hostel for a few weeks ‘transition’ to the new country. Graylands was a rather Spartan ex-military camp consisting of rows of drab huts lacking insulation or glazed windows. Jomantas arrived there barely a fortnight before the *Anna Salen* notoriously brought over 50 children seriously ill with measles and malnutrition to the same hostel (poor conditions in Italian holding camps were blamed). However, his first impressions of Australia seem unconcerned with migrant difficulties; rather they were architectural: noting that the houses appeared very small and low-set like dollhouses. The observation is carefully judged, avoiding any criticism of the immigration authorities and instead dwelling on the impoverished aesthetics of the built environment.

In early November 1948 he was sent by train to the tiny township of East Witchcliffe, nine kilometres south of Margaret River, where he joined the town’s sole industry: a timber mill owned by the Adelaide Timber Company. Jomantas apparently felt welcomed from the outset, with the small community (approximately 30 families and 15-20 single people) inviting him to picnics and other social events. Witchcliffe was close to the sea so there were occasional trips to the beach, and he admired the

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204 Kunz, 1988, p. 165.
205 As later recounted to a journalist; see Hawken, 1967, p. 28, and repeated in Edwards, 1993, p. 498.
206 Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 3, side 1.
208 Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 3, side 1.
210 Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 3, side 1.
211 All references to East Witchcliffe are from Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 3, side 1.
lightly wooded surrounds of kauri and jarrah forests. The mill’s manager encouraged Jomantas to work on his sculpture in his spare time, permitting him to build a small studio and providing glass for the windows and ‘Ruberoid’ (tarred matting) for the roof. He also allowed Jomantas to use any offcuts from the mill for his own work. In this studio Jomantas ‘fiddled a bit’, at first using chisels and later – after saving the necessary money and waiting nine months for a shipment from England – with carpenter’s gouges.\(^\text{212}\) None of the works made during his eighteen months at East Witchcliffe were photographed and none seem now extant.\(^\text{213}\)

In 1950 he moved to northeast Victoria to another rural town: Beechworth, where a small Lithuanian Association had been established the year before.\(^\text{214}\) A former school friend encouraged Jomantas to join him there while improving his English.\(^\text{215}\) Together they worked as painter-decorators for a builder, most memorably working on repairs at the Victorian-era Beechworth Mental Asylum.\(^\text{216}\) When the builder finished the contract, they stayed on as self-employed house painters. Jomantas later recalled Beechworth as having ‘a good feeling about it’, where it was easy to meet people and have ‘a very good relationship with everyone’.\(^\text{217}\) After ‘the whole hassle’ of the war and its aftermath, he found it ‘pleasant in such a quiet place’.\(^\text{218}\) Sculpting, however, was impossible as he was lodging in a hotel and had no studio facilities. His only creative outlet in Beechworth was watercolour painting and helping a friend who did some leatherwork as a hobby.\(^\text{219}\)

To resume work as a sculptor and forge the necessary contacts it was necessary to move to the city. He arrived in Melbourne in 1951, living at Sandringham (1951-52), Cheltenham (1952-53) and Highett (1953-59).\(^\text{220}\) At these first two addresses he set up small seven-foot-square studios in which he could paint and carve by night, four to

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\(^\text{212}\) Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 3, side 1.
\(^\text{213}\) Ken Scarlett’s efforts in preparation for the 2003 retrospective at the McClelland Gallery failed to uncover any extant work from the period 1948-57. My own inquiries with the Margaret River and Districts Historical Society were likewise unsuccessful.
\(^\text{214}\) Kazokas, 1992, p. 353.
\(^\text{215}\) Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 3, side 1.
\(^\text{216}\) Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 3, side 1.
\(^\text{217}\) Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 3, side 1.
\(^\text{218}\) Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 3, side 1.
\(^\text{219}\) Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 3, side 1.
\(^\text{220}\) Langwarrin, 2003, p. 25. In interview with Barbara Blackman he put the date to ‘mid-1953’ when he arrived in Melbourne.
six hours a day.\textsuperscript{221} For income he worked in a South Yarra furniture factory before finding a better-paid position with a toy company in Moorabbin, spray-painting dart- and hooky-boards and fabricating parts for billiard tables and clock casings.\textsuperscript{222} In 1955, at the recommendation of architect George Zalk (whom Jomantas befriended in Munich), he secured work as a draughtsman for the State Rivers and Water Supply Commission in Frankston, remaining in this relatively stable position until 1961.\textsuperscript{223} In the interim he found his way into Melbourne’s contemporary art circles, embarking on exhibitions in 1956.

Zikaras was the second to emigrate. In April 1949 he married one of his students from the Freiburg École, a Latvian painter, Skaidrite Veiss, who was then pregnant with their first child: Rene.\textsuperscript{224} Shortly afterwards they departed for Naples from where they sailed, 2 May 1949, aboard the \textit{S.S. Skaugum}.\textsuperscript{225} On board were also Skaidrite’s mother, Olga Veiss, family friends Christine and Vera Jonas (whom Zikaras claimed as immediate family), and painter Henrikas Šalkauskas.\textsuperscript{226} They arrived in Melbourne 31 May 1949 and Zikaras was immediately dispatched to the Bonegilla migrant centre outside Wodonga.\textsuperscript{227} There he spent two months learning to speak rudimentary English and being summarily prepared for working life in Australia.

By all accounts Bonegilla was a disorienting and harsh introduction to Australia. In the words of one Lithuanian migrant:

\begin{quote}
Bonegilla was in the middle of nowhere. There was not a tree, not a flower, just an army barracks in an empty, hot, dusty place. There was barbed wire all around it like a German concentration camp. … We felt
\end{quote}

\begin{flushend}
\textsuperscript{221} Jomantas recorded in Burstall, 1969.
\textsuperscript{222} Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 3, side 1. The chronology given here differs slightly from that given in Langwarrin, 2003, p. 25.
\textsuperscript{223} Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 3, side 1; Borthwick, 2012, p. 128.
\textsuperscript{224} Teisutis Zikaras and Skaidrite Veiss were married at Freiburg on 7 April 1949 (certificate no. 204/1949; Zikaras arrival documents, 1949, registration book, p. 6). Rene Zikaras was born in Australia, 13 October 1949 (email from Marcus Zikaras, 19 January 2015).
\textsuperscript{225} Zikaras arrival documents, 1949, incoming passenger card. Teisutis was registered under his Christian name: Juozas.
\textsuperscript{226} SS Skaugum passenger list, URL: \url{http://www.immigrantships.net/v6/1900v6/skaugum19490531.html}. Zikaras misinformed IRO officials in Germany that Vera Jonas and her mother Christine were his mother and grandmother in order to enable them to emigrate. Vera later became Marcus Zikaras’ godmother in Australia (Zikaras conversation, 2010).
\textsuperscript{227} Zikaras arrival documents, 1949, registration book, inside cover.
this enormous sense of deepening isolation. We didn’t know where we were, we just knew that there was no way back.\textsuperscript{228}

Zikaras never mentioned this time at Bonegilla in later interviews.\textsuperscript{229} The introduction can scarcely have enamoured him to the country. His later plans to leave for the United States – ultimately unrealised – make better sense in light of the knowledge of his initial weeks of Australia.\textsuperscript{230}

After Bonegilla, Zikaras returned to Melbourne to complete his compulsory two years labour in various factory settings. Little is known of these years, 1949-52, other than that he worked as an army labourer before serving two years at the Carlton United Brewery glass factory; he apparently also did some woodcarving in a furniture factory and worked ‘at a metal spinners’ (possibly Westinghouse).\textsuperscript{231} From his registration book we know his earliest addresses: by August 1949 he was living at 406 Queen Street, Melbourne, one block south of the Queen Victoria markets; a year later he moved to the suburbs into a sleep-out behind a Federation redbrick home at 98 Maltravers Road, Ivanhoe; and eighteen months later, in January 1952, he was at 8 Royalty Street, Clayton.\textsuperscript{232} The same source also reveals that by 1952 he was employed ‘with McIlwraith, Richmond’.\textsuperscript{233} This was almost certainly the Richmond factory of John McIlwraith Industries – a long-established manufacturer and supplier of builders’ and plumbers’ hardware in both glass and metal. Zikaras’ earliest years in Australia were therefore spent mainly in Melbourne’s suburbs and city-fringe, working a variety of industrial jobs, with Bonegilla providing his only experience of the bush.

Kane likewise served most of his two years indenture in Melbourne rather than regional districts. He left Munich, 29 September 1949, travelling by train to Naples where he was temporarily housed in the Bagnoli DP camp.\textsuperscript{234} From Naples he sailed on board the \textit{USAT General Haan}, 20 October 1949, docking at Port Melbourne on 15

\textsuperscript{229} Though it is mentioned in the brief artist’s biography in Langwarrin, 2009, p. 19.
\textsuperscript{230} Ken Scarlett mentioned this otherwise unrecorded anecdote during his floor talk at the McClelland Gallery, 14 May 2009. Zikaras also informed Australian immigration authorities that he proposed staying only two years; Zikaras arrival documents, 1949, incoming passenger card.
\textsuperscript{232} Zikaras arrival documents, 1949, registration book, pp. 2-3.
\textsuperscript{233} Zikaras arrival documents, 1949, registration book, p. 6.
\textsuperscript{234} ITS resettlement centre list, 1949; ITS passenger list, 1949.
Like Zikaras he was sent directly to Bonegilla for two weeks, after which he returned to Melbourne to be contracted to Messrs Butler and Moss of Sydenham. Butler and Moss operated a chaff mill, producing horse feed. Kane’s job was most likely bagging chaff – heavy, hot and uncomfortable work. He seems not to have found work as a ‘stone cutter’ – the occupation he claimed upon arrival in Australia. However, according to a letter of reference supplied by Victor Greenhalgh in 1959, Kane attended classes in sculpture ‘for a few years’ at the Melbourne Technical College (MTC). Evening art school perhaps compensated for days of heavy manual work.

In December 1951, after his contract expired, he switched to more agreeable work as a window dresser with one of the oldest department stores in Australia: Foy and Gibson’s – another feature of his early years in Australia hitherto unrecorded. Presumably he cited his experience working for his father in Vienna to secure the position. This opening into Melbourne retailing enabled him, in January 1954, to join the renowned display department in the gilded and mirrored edifice that was the Myer Emporium in Bourke Street. There he remained until his death in 1962, his Australian identity becoming inextricably linked with Myer.

Kane’s appointment at Myer coincided with a boom in retailing and merchandising. Indeed, by the 1950s shopping at Myer was purported to be ‘a cultural experience’. Much of this experience was orchestrated by the head of visual displays at Myer: Fred Asmussen. Openly camp at a time when homosexuality was still criminalised in Australia, Asmussen’s taste for chandeliers, gilt furniture and the fantastic bordered

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235 Kohn arrival documents, 1949; ITS passenger list, 1949; USAT General Haan passenger list, URL: http://immigrantships.net/s/5/1900v5/generalhaan19491115.html (sequence no. 446). Owing to the prior confusion over Kane’s name researchers have never before ascertained these details.
237 Kohn arrival documents, 1949, incoming passenger card.
238 Canada Council file, letter of reference from V. E. Greenhalgh, 23 December 1959. Kane’s study at MTC has never been recorded elsewhere.
239 Kohn arrival documents, 1949, registration book p. 6. He began work with Foy & Gibson on 5 December 1951, most likely at their flagship Bourke Street store rather than the Chapel Street, Prahran store or the original Smith Street, Collingwood store.
241 Light interview, 2010; Tanaka-King and Hey conversations, 2014.
242 Profits generated at the Bourke Street store nearly doubled between 1950 and 1958; Marshall, 1961, p. 278.
on the baroque.\textsuperscript{244} He instigated the practice of installing Christmas windows that replaced merchandise with fantasy: his team of creative workers, including Kane, working to such themes as the Olympics (in 1955) or Aladdin’s Lamp.\textsuperscript{245} Asmussen prospered under the patronage of Sidney Myer’s second wife, Dame Merlyn Myer, who enlisted him to decorate dinner tables and theatres for her many charitable projects, and Asmussen used this position of influence to employ designers of similar sexual persuasion.\textsuperscript{246} In Asmussen’s sympathetic milieu, Kane was accepted as an equal: a gay man who used art and visual media to express himself creatively.\textsuperscript{247}

Among a number of significant contacts forged at Myer was his friendship with Mervyn Cassidy (1926-2000), who worked in credit control and painted in his spare time.\textsuperscript{248} Along with Kane and their mutual friend Erica McGilchrist he was involved with the reinvigorated Contemporary Art Society.\textsuperscript{249} Cassidy and his first wife acquired at least three of Kane’s sculptures, one of which (‘a raw plastic figure’) deteriorated in his garden in Beaumaris in the early 1960s.\textsuperscript{250} According to his second wife, Cassidy twice dissuaded Kane from killing himself.\textsuperscript{251} When Kane finally suicided in 1962, it was Cassidy who wrote to Kane’s Canadian patrons, collectors Sam and Ayala Zacks, to inform them.\textsuperscript{252} In his letter he described himself as Kane’s ‘closest friend in Australia’ and stated that he was compiling a catalogue of Kane’s sculpture, asking them to submit details of any works of his that he might have left in Canada.\textsuperscript{253} Cassidy’s manuscript has not come to light but was presumably used the following year by Clifford Last, who compiled a memorial album and catalogue of

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{244} Willett, 2005, p. [8].
  \item \textsuperscript{245} Marshall, 1961, pp. 164, 203-5.
  \item \textsuperscript{246} Willett, 2005, p. [8].
  \item \textsuperscript{247} Kane’s homosexuality has never been acknowledged in the literature beyond a single reference to Kane’s ambivalence about his sexuality in Borthwick, 2012, p. 159. However, it was referred to in King conversation, 23 April 2010, 26 January 2015; Cassidy interview, 2014, Meszaros interview, 2014.
  \item \textsuperscript{248} Mervyn Cassidy, born in Launceston, Tasmania, studied biology and commerce at Melbourne University and lectured in biology at the university before moving to Myer where he could earn a higher wage. Cassidy interview, 2014.
  \item \textsuperscript{249} Melbourne, 2015, p. 112.
  \item \textsuperscript{250} Paton Gallery archive, item no. 1990.0144.0014, letter from Mervyn Cassidy to Kiffy (Rubbo) Carter, 15 August 1974.
  \item \textsuperscript{251} Cassidy interview, 2014.
  \item \textsuperscript{252} This correspondence has only recently come to light thanks to the digitization of the Zacks’ papers finding aid and has not before been referred to by Australian researchers. With thanks to Amy Marshall Furness, Rosamond Ivey Special Collections Archivist at the Art Gallery of Ontario, for supplying scans of the relevant correspondence.
  \item \textsuperscript{253} Zacks papers, letter from Mervyn Cassidy to Ayala Zacks, 24 August 1962.
\end{itemize}
work that was deposited in the La Trobe Library. Through this web of connections we glimpse the importance of Kane's employment at Myer for any understanding of his social network.

As ‘DPs’ Kane, Jomantas and Zikaras arrived in Australia as indentured labourers, enduring a variety of manual jobs – some of them surely dispiriting – while acclimatising to a new language and culture. The task of resuming modernism’s pre-war trajectory was necessarily halted during these years of labour. Aspirations to artistic professionalism were likewise placed on hold. Nevertheless, their experiences in Munich and Freiburg gave them professional credentials in terms of institutional affiliations and exhibition histories and broadened their artistic horizons, enabling them to perceive different paths forward for post-war modern sculpture. These credentials and experiences would enable them to join the modernist advance guard in Melbourne in the mid-1950s and ultimately underpinned their activities with Centre Five in the 1960s.

254 Last, 1963.
Chapter 3 illustrations

3.1: Vincas Jomantas (1922-2001), *Cigarette case*, c. 1944-48, wood with poker work decoration and inlaid coloured beads, 7.3 x 10.3 x 1.5 cm, private collection, Vilnius. Photo: the author.


3.5: Munich Academy of Fine Arts storeroom, winter 1945-46, with Josef Thorak’s plaster model for an unrealised monumental group marking the completion of an autobahn under the Nationalist Socialists, 1938, visible to the left, next to a cast of the Seated Hermes from the National Archaeological Museum in Naples. In the foreground is an Aries relief by ‘the school of Adolf von Hildebrand’. Photo: Herbert List, reproduced in Kehr, 2008, p. 182.

3.6: Aristide Maillol (1861-1944), Baigneuse se coiffant (Bather fixing her hair), 1898, enlarged and cast in 1930, bronze, 157.5 cm high, Jardin du Carrousel, Paris. Photo: Hans Mauli.
3.7: Toni Stadler (1888-1982), *Stehender akt mit erhobenen armen (Standing nude with arms raised)*, c. 1950, toned clay, 58.5 cm high, estate of the artist, with Schloss Ahlden, 4 May 2007, lot 711. Photo: Schloss Ahlden.


3.12: Henri Laurens (1885-1954), Femme aux Bras Levés (Woman with Arms Raised), 1930, terracotta, 43.8 cm high, private collection. Photo: Christie’s, New York, 7 May 2014, sale 2846, lot 239.
3.13: Julius Kane (1921-62), *Reclining Figure*, c.1948-49, bronze, 30.5 cm high approx., collection of Dame Margaret Scott and Professor Derek Denton, Toorak, Victoria. Photo: unknown photographer, scanned from a slide in the King papers.

3.14: Julius Kane (1921-62), *The Wanderer*, 1948, bronze, 40.7 x 10.2 x 7.6 cm, collection of the late Thelma Wynn, Kew, Victoria. Photo: unknown photographer, scanned from a slide in the King papers.

3.17: Heinrich Kirchner (1902-84), *Der Wanderer*, 1950, bronze, 131 x 42.5 x 41 cm, whereabouts unknown. Photo: unknown photographer, reproduced in Erlangen, 2009, p. 17.

3.19: Julius Kane (1921-62), *Adam and Eve*, c. 1954, bronze, edition of 3; 55.0 x 51.5 x 13.5 cm, Canberra: National Gallery of Australia; Langwarrin, Vic.: McClelland Gallery and Sculpture Park; and private collection. Photo: unknown photographer, scanned from a slide in the King papers.

3.20: Julius Kane (1921-62), *Greeting cards: Man and woman (Olympic couple) and Dove and column (Peace)*, c. 1956, woodblock prints mounted onto red craft paper, 23.6 x 12.6 cm and 16.7 x 11.5 cm respectively, Canberra: National Gallery of Australia, and Sydney: Art Gallery of New South Wales. Photos: the author.

3.23: Vincas Jomantas (1922-2001), *Figure (standing male figure with head bowed)*, c. 1958, pen and black ink over pencil on cream wove paper, 22.4 x 8.0 cm, Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria. Photo: the author.


3.27: Teisutis Zikaras (second from right) with fellow teaching staff of the École des Arts et Métiers, Freiburg, 1949. Left to right: Telesforas Valiūs, Adolfas Valeška, Aleksandras Marčiulionis, Liudas Vilimas, Eleonora Marčiulionienė, Viktoras Vizgirda, Paulius Augius, Viktoras Petravičius, Teisutis Zikaras, Antanas Tamošaitis. Behind them is a sgraffito mural, *Pavasaris (Spring)*, 1947, executed by the École students to Petravičius’s design. Photo: Martynas Mažvydas, National Library of Lithuania, Vilnius.

3.29: Teisutis Zikaras (1922-91), *Trauer (Mourning)*: also known as *Liūdesys (Sorrow)*, 1948, terracotta, dimensions unknown, whereabouts unknown. Photo: Photopress Bilderdienst, Artur Hindrichs, Heidelberg-Schlierbach, collection of Marcus Zikaras.

3.31: Teisutis Zikaras in his studio, Freiburg, c. 1948-49. On the easel beside him is Taikos Siekimas (Pursuit of Peace) (see fig. 3.42). Photo: Haarstuck, Freiburg, collection of Marcus Zikaras.

3.33: Teisutis Zikaras (1922-91), *Taikos Siekimas (Pursuit of Peace, or Seeking Peace); also known as Kompozicija (Composition)*, 1947, gypsum relief mounted on board, dimensions unknown, whereabouts unknown. Photo: Photopress Bilderdienst, Artur Hindrichs, Heidelberg-Schlierbach, collection of Marcus Zikaras.


Chapter 4: Aftermath II: artists at the Abbey, in a hayloft and at ‘the Tech’; London and Melbourne, 1945-52

This chapter considers the four future members of Centre Five whose immediate post-war experiences differed starkly from those of the DPs: namely two voluntary immigrants, Inge King and Clifford Last, and two Melbourne-born sculptors, Lenton Parr and Norma Redpath. The geographic focus is firmly on London and Melbourne – a well-established axis traversed by numerous Australian art historians.¹ However, where most of these studies consider Australians who went to England, garnering professional credentials, the first half of this chapter follows the opposite trajectory with a German-born British citizen (King) and a fledgling British sculptor (Last) moving to Australia.² It also considers Last’s return trip to England in 1951-52. The second half considers the Australian art school experiences of Parr and Redpath and returns to England to consider Parr’s years working with Henry Moore in the mid-1950s – a period technically beyond the remit of the thesis but imperative to the formation of Parr’s alternative professional persona. Chapter four brings the narrative of Centre Five up to the point at which they effectively enter art history. I therefore end the chapter with a concluding summary of my overall findings with a view to further potential avenues of exploration.

Compared to the scant visual record of the DP artists – 57 works in total – considerably more data exists for the Australian and ‘British’ sculptors: 287 works (tables 3.1 versus 4.1). King’s work from this period, 1945-52, is the best documented owing to the existence of three sketchbooks and 141 loose sketches along with photos of thirty-six sculptures (one third of which have been seen in person). Last’s sculptures are similarly well documented: forty-four sculptures from the same period are known at least from photographs. These are mostly in durable materials: wood, stone or bronze. Last’s relatively large output reflects his rapid ascent from student to professional sculptor, with two solo exhibitions held in Melbourne: in 1948

– the first solo show by a sculptor in Melbourne after the war – and 1950.\textsuperscript{3} Parr enrolled in art school in 1951 and completed just one documented sculpture in 1952. While I have extended the time parameters of this chapter to include his period in England, 1955-56, these post-1952 works are not represented in table 4.1. Redpath began sculpting in 1949 so her work is likewise under-represented here. Nevertheless, her earliest carvings indicate her debt to the modern British school of direct carving – positioning her on the Melbourne-London axis that delineates this chapter.

Table 4.1: Artworks, 1945-52, by Inge King, Clifford Last, Lenton Parr and Norma Redpath, viewed, seen in reproduction or documented by the author, 2009-16.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Redpath</th>
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Most of the sculpture examined in this chapter is small-scale, carved and closely linked with the British vitalist school of direct carving. Vitalism, a branch of philosophic and metaphysical inquiry that sought to identify the crucial spark of life differentiating animate and inanimate matter, attracted many modern sculptors:

\textsuperscript{3} Dimmack, 1972, p. 10, and Sturgeon, 1978 a, p. 167, both assert Last’s 1948 exhibition was the first of its kind in Melbourne after WWII. Their assertion is examined later in this chapter.
notably Arp, Brancusi, Lipchitz, Moore and Hepworth. In Britain the concept of vitalism became inextricably bound with Moore’s sculpture and talismanic published statements. Moore believed sculptors should infuse their materials with life rather than merely imitate nature. ‘Sculpture’, he wrote, possessed ‘a pent up energy, an intense life of its own, independent of the object it may represent’. Critic Adrian Stokes argued this ‘pent up energy’ was best released through direct carving – a process in which the sculptor was ostensibly at one with the material – rather than modelling, which entailed coercing the material to assume new forms. Direct carving enabled the sculptor to liberate the material’s inner life. The concept was closely allied with the Arts and Crafts ‘truth to materials’ principle, which Moore popularised and many carvers held obsessively dear: namely, the belief that a sculptor should not attempt to make a material look like something else, but should instead draw upon its innate qualities – stoniness, graininess, hardness and so on. Truth to materials and direct carving remained core principles of many sculpture departments in Britain up to the 1950s. King, Last, Parr and Redpath initially embraced direct carving, while their interest in vitalism remained constant throughout their careers.

Given this chapter’s British focus, I refer to the recent scholarly literature on modern British sculpture emanating from the Henry Moore Institute in Leeds and appearing in the pages of the *Sculpture Journal*, which Australian historians writing on post-war Australian sculpture have largely neglected. One topic of particular relevance is the post-war campaign for ‘sculpture in the home’. The hotly debated divide between abstract and figurative public art is also considered in light of the South Bank exhibition at the Festival of Britain, which Last visited in 1951. The rise in Britain, in the early 1950s, of welded metal sculpture, expediently dubbed ‘geometry of fear’ sculpture, is canvassed with respect to work that Parr produced in England in the mid-

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5 Moore, 1934, pp. 29-30.
7 On vitalism and direct carving see Curtis, 2004.
9 With the exception of Lewi and Jordan, 2010, who draw upon the work of Margaret Garlake in the context of Australian public art and post-war urban planning.
10 Burstow, 2008; Burstow, 2009.
1950s.\(^{12}\) I consider how Parr’s work might extend prevailing conceptions of the ‘geometry of fear’ category.\(^{13}\) I also examine the post-war activities of sculptors at the Abbey Art Centre at New Barnet – an artists’ community that has, to date, largely escaped the attention of scholars in Britain.\(^{14}\)

Australian scholars have likewise paid little attention to the early works of these four sculptors, with most of the secondary literature focused on their mature work from the 1960s onwards. King is best served with Judith Trimble and Sasha Grishin discussing King’s years at the Abbey (1947-51) and her visits to Paris (1948, 1949) and New York (1949-50).\(^{15}\) However, both accounts are overwhelmingly monographic – missing the broader commonalities of the artists at the Abbey – while omitting crucial details of the Paris and New York sojourns. Last’s early carvings were admirably reproduced in Dimmack’s monograph and briefly mentioned in the National Gallery of Victoria (NGV) retrospective catalogue of 1989 but otherwise ignored.\(^{16}\) Parr documented selected student works in his monograph but did not illustrate anything prior to 1955; this work remains generally unknown.\(^{17}\) Redpath’s carvings up to 1952 were likewise unfamiliar until her recent posthumous studio sale, where three were reproduced alongside my monographic essay.\(^{18}\) Consequently I have drawn from unpublished manuscript accounts, diaries, newspaper clippings and photographs of early works housed among each artists’ papers in order to reconstruct their respective developing sculptural philosophies.


#### 4.1.1: Expatriates and émigrés at the Abbey Art Centre

Regularly cited in monographs and studies of Australian artists in London in the 1950s, the Abbey Art Centre is nevertheless conspicuously under-researched by

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\(^{13}\) See also Eckett, 2010.

\(^{14}\) Exceptions to this are King, 2009, and Pierse, 2012, pp. 28-9.


\(^{16}\) Dimmack, 1972, pp. 9-10, plates 2-8; Melbourne, 1989, pp. 24-5, 67. Three of Last’s early works were included in a recent exhibition (Langwarrin, 2012), but without any accompanying catalogue or contextual information.

\(^{17}\) Edwards, 1999, pp. 43, 152.

\(^{18}\) Richmond, 2013, pp. 3, 12.
Australian and British art historians. The lack of an archive is partly at fault; the Ohlys, who have owned the Abbey since 1946, never kept so much as a visitors’ book. Much valuable material can be gleaned from James Gleeson’s papers in the National Library of Australia (NLA) though these have been neglected with regards the Abbey. Instead, historians usually defer to two published accounts of the Abbey, both from Bernard Smith: the first in his biography of Noel Counihan and the second in his memoir, *A Pavane for Another Time*. Smith’s assumed authority – as both witness and historian – renders these accounts opaque. For instance, Smith recounts in vivid detail the events leading to the establishment of the Abbey as if he were present (he was not) or privy to the information through his acquaintance with the Abbey’s founder William Ohly. In fact Smith relied upon Ohly’s son Ernest’s rather sketchy recollections and an unacknowledged privately published booklet on Barnet local history and the occult. Smith’s accounts should therefore be treated as any other secondary source, with a degree of circumspection.

William Ohly purchased the Abbey, with its eccentric assortment of buildings, in 1945 (for a detailed history of the Abbey, see Appendix B). Throughout the following year he converted the schoolhouse, cottage and outbuildings into studios and rooms to rent to artists at affordable terms. Ohly had trained as a sculptor in Frankfurt and, upon the rise of fascism, left Germany voluntarily. He was therefore sympathetic to the plight of uprooted artists scouring London for studio and living space – both then in acutely short supply following the war. The additional availability of cooked meals and access to the metropolitan galleries and art schools

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20 Ohly interview, 2010.
22 Smith papers, letter from Ernest Ohly to Smith, 7 March 2001; Cobban, 1997. With sincere thanks to Sheridan Palmer for showing me both items in 2012, prior to their donation to NLA.
23 A further cause for concern is Smith’s attribution of some press photographs taken at the Abbey in 1950 to the *Picture Post* (Smith, 2002, pp. 356-8). These photos exist among his papers but are unmarked. My search of the *Picture Post* archive failed to uncover the article and no copy exists among Smith’s, King’s or Gleeson’s papers (URL: http://gdc.gale.com/products/the-picture-post-historical-archive-1938-1957/).
24 Ohly’s anti-fascist credentials are reflected in the fact that his third wife, Kate, was a Communist; see Kate’s first husband’s account of Communist life in Berlin: Petersen, 2009.
25 King attested to Ohly’s generosity with struggling artists such as Phillip Martin, who was virtually destitute after serving with the Navy (King conversation, 19 June 2012).
via nearby Cockfosters station made the Abbey a haven for such artists. King, who arrived there early in the summer of 1947, secured a room and small kitchen in the clock-tower cottage and a studio in the schoolhouse for one pound’s weekly rent. It should be clarified that the Abbey was never a commune, despite several historians describing it thus. Rather, King felt it was modelled on the sort of artists’ communities that proliferated in Germany during Ohly’s youth – communities that burgeoned in rural areas or on the fringe of urban centres, where artists could live simply and return ‘zurück zur Natur’ (back to nature). Certainly King embraced this ideal, taking advantage of the Abbey’s orchard to supplement her rationed diet. Nevertheless, while not a commune, as Bernard Smith put it: ‘propinquity made for friendships’. The mix of artists of different nationalities and artistic credos, working and living alongside one another in a frugal, semi-rural environment, with access to Ohly’s ethnographic collection (see Appendix B) as well as London’s museums and galleries, created a fervently creative atmosphere.

Australian expatriates initially dominated, as news of the Abbey’s existence spread by word of mouth. In approximate order of arrival they included Mary Webb, Robert Klippel, James Gleeson, Wendy Solling, Max Newton, Grahame King, Peter Graham, Douglas Green, Oliffe Richmond, James Wigley, Bernard Smith and Kate Challis, Leonard French and Noel Counihan. Alongside them were a small band of European refugees including the Austrians Helen Grünwald and Angela and Kate Varga and the Hungarian painter Peter Foldes, who, with his British-born wife Joan, would move into avant-garde cinematography later in the 1950s. Each of these lived at the Abbey during King’s time there. A number of South African émigrés also visited including the sculptor-painter-printmaker Lippy Lipshitz, who, in early 1948, was preparing for his London debut exhibition at the Galerie Apollinaire consisting of

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26 Blackman and King, 1989, tape 1, side 2. I estimate King’s date of arrival based on her first husband having died in late April 1947 and she is known to have returned to Glasgow before moving to London.
28 King interview, 2010. For a discussion of one of the better known such communities, that of Worpswede, see Perry, 1993, particularly p. 54.
32 Clark papers, TGA 8812/1/2/4848, letter from Ohly to Clark, 24 November 1948; Gleeson papers, box 4, folder 29, letter from Klippel to Gleeson, 16 March 1949; King, 2009, pp. 102-4.
carvings in stone, ivory and wood that reflected his interest in African tribal carving. His presence at the Abbey has not before been recorded in the secondary literature. He is possibly the unidentified person captured in a press photograph observing King (fig. 4.1), who recalled only it was ‘a South African sculptor’. Another South African to visit was the sculptor-painter-writer-curator and later architect David Lewis, who introduced Klippel to his Cape Town friend Lipshitz.

A number of British and Irish artists and administrators also came. Some, such as Moore, Epstein, Bernard Meninsky, Frank Dobson and Kenneth Clark, visited in a formal capacity at Ohly’s invitation and were taken around the artists’ studios and duly introduced. King recalled meeting Epstein in this way, though she was absent for the visits of Moore and Clark. She also met Eduardo Paolozzi, who came to visit fellow Scotsman Alan Davie. Anthony Caro visited the Abbey in the early 1950s and there first heard tell of Jackson Pollock, although this was after King had left. Of all the British artists connected with the Abbey, the tachiste painter Alan Davie exerted the greatest influence. His relationship with the Kings will be explored in section 4.1.5.

In retrospect the Abbey emerges as a nexus of artists from across Britain and its colonies and from Central and Eastern Europe. While the basic need for studio space and shelter drew them together, each artist was broadly involved with reviving modernism through mining the art of distant times and cultures. The Byzantine mosaics of Ravenna, Lascaux cave paintings, rock art from Oenpelli in Arnhem Land, African wood carving, anti-classical Romanesque architectural sculpture and pre-Columbian metalwork were studied and admired. This reflects a retreat from hardened ideological or national lines, in favour of a more cosmopolitan mix of multiple ‘primitivisms’. The eclectic range of cultural material the young Abbey

33 Gleeson papers, box 7, item 1, diary entries for 25 January, 29 February, 13–14 March, 12 April 1948. Gleeson attended the opening of Lipshitz’s exhibition at the Galerie Apollinaire on 12 April 1948.
34 King conversation, 19 June 2012.
35 Lewis correspondence, 2014.
37 King interview, 2009, and King conversations, 23 April 2010, 2 May 2014. This contradicts Grishin’s assertion that King first met Moore at the Abbey; Grishin, 2014, p. 47.
38 King conversation, 23 April 2010.
artists reappraised was sufficiently distant to their immediate past to be untainted by nationalist politics, safely cordoned from the realms of fascist or socialist art. Any sacred content – such as that in the Romanesque church statuary – was converted into a more generalised humanist expression; in other words, religious doctrine was bypassed in favour of secular humanism. King, in particular, rejected all forms of religion and instead focussed attention on form and material. In this way the artists at the Abbey collectively sought a way past the crisis in confidence about the possibility of making art after the war.

4.1.2: Inge King at the Abbey
The early Abbey years marked a watershed in King’s career. In the first eighteen months at the Abbey she turned from the severe cubist geometry derived from Zadkine (and, more immediately, from George Innes) and instead began experimenting with rounded organic forms akin to those of Arp, Hepworth and Moore. This change is perhaps best seen in the evolution of a pair of cubist figures (fig. 4.1, IK0065) that were re-carved to become two separate dancing figures (figs. 4.2 and 4.3, IK0070 and IK0071). The first version of the work (fig. 4.1) was carved in sharply angled flat planes strongly reminiscent of Innes’s Dancers, c. 1945-47 (fig. 2.14). By 1948, however, the work was entirely re-carved to become two new works: a boldly ‘primitive’ Dancer, 1948 (fig. 4.2) and a more organic abstract Flower Dancer, 1948 (fig. 4.3). The former clearly owed its frontal flattening and syncopated rhythm to Gaudier-Brzeska’s celebrated Red Stone Dancer, c. 1913 (fig. 4.4). While the two new works both abandoned the severe planes of the earlier cubist figures, Flower Dancer progressed the furthest towards a non-objective art; torso and limbs now lost among a ripe profusion of curling fronds and spiralling nebulae. Sketches from this time illustrate how King played with the idea of organic forms curving in on themselves and sprouting forth again in exuberant abundance (see IKW0186-189).

Her interests clearly tallied at this time with those of Klippel. The raised arms of Dancer (fig. 4.2), with their clear echo of Gaudier-Brzeska, find their counterpart in Klippel’s Opus 40 Red Sandstone Carving (also known as Anatomy of Sculptural Energy), 1948 (fig. 4.5).\footnote{Klippel began carving Opus 40 in May 1948 although related drawings date to December 1947.} Klippel first encountered Gaudier’s work in reproduction,
in 1944, and while in Britain came to consider him ‘the greatest sculptor of the century’.41 Opus 40 can be read as an abstracted reworking of Gaudier’s Dancer, although the comparison has not before been made. Both King and Klippel’s works are carved in Scottish red sandstone, echoing Gaudier’s choice of red Mansfield stone.42 While the link with Gaudier has not before been drawn, Judith Trimble notes the similarities between King’s Flower Dancer (fig. 4.3) and Klippel’s Opus 40.43 Both works mimic processes of natural growth, exploring the relationship between the interior skeleton of the work and its surface. Yet King’s work is leaner, more muscular and pierced; Klippel retained more sense of the sandstone block. Nevertheless, this single moment of formal correspondence sparked Klippel’s antagonism and thenceforth marred their friendship.44

Gleeson’s unpublished diary for 1948 reveals he and Klippel regularly socialised with King. Klippel and Gleeson, whose meeting at the Abbey is well documented, first visited Paris in September 1947 and there met André Breton and his surrealist circle at the café La Dragonne.45 They repeated the trip in December 1948, when, independently, King also travelled to Paris. Gleeson and King dined together in Paris on a number of occasions, sometimes joined by William Ohly’s son Ernest and – at least once – by Klippel.46 One evening Gleeson and King visited the Bar Vert, a renowned meeting place for existentialists.47 King later recalled she read Camus around this time, though felt ‘existentialism was … [then] almost passé’.48 When cross-referenced with the few recorded facts about King’s visit, Gleeson’s diary also reveals they both visited the first exhibition of Picasso’s ceramics, at the Maison de la Pensée Française – an exhibition that possibly prompted King to produce a number of

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42 King brought the block of red sandstone with her to the Abbey from Glasgow in mid-1947 (Blackman and King, 1984, tape 1, side 2, and King interview, 2010), while Klippel sourced his from a bombed-out site in London that same year (Gleeson and Klippel, 1978, pp. 1, 6).
43 Trimble, 1996, p. 13. The comparison was recently made visually in the installation of the NGV exhibition, Lurid Beauty; see Melbourne, 2015.
44 King interview, 2010.
46 Gleeson papers, box 7, item 1, diary entries for 15 Dec., 21 Dec., 24 Dec., 26 Dec. 1948. He also records visiting ‘Inge’s flat in Av Tilsitt’ (21 Dec. 1948); this was most likely a privately rented room on the Rue de Tilsitt, in the 8th arrondissement, although King maintained she stayed on the Boulevard Saint-Michel, opposite the Luxembourg Gardens (King interview, 2010). In fact this was her address during her second post-war visit to Paris, in March to September 1949.
47 Gleeson papers, box 7, item 1, diary entry for 15 Dec. 1948.
48 King interview, 2009.
hand-painted ceramic reliefs of comical birds and animated figures in Melbourne in the early 1950s.\footnote{For more on the exhibition see Penrose, 1981, p. 398. For examples of King’s ceramics see IK0135 and IK0136.} On Christmas Eve, 1948, after visiting Breton, Gleeson met with King to attend midnight mass at Notre Dame before continuing together through the Latin Quarter, visiting the Église Saint-Séverin, the thirteenth-century Saint-Julien-le-Pauvre and the Oubliette Rouge cabaret.\footnote{Gleeson papers, box 7, item 1, diary entry for 24 Dec. 1948.} The blend of Parisian nightlife, Catholic liturgy and Gothic architecture experienced in a single night (a culmination for Gleeson of his European experiences; he sailed to Sydney a few days later) can be seen as a reflection of many of the spiritual, intellectual and existential interests prevalent among the Abbey artists.

Back in London King held her first solo exhibition in March 1949 at the London Gallery, in Mayfair’s Brook Street. Gleeson and Klippel had shown there in November 1948 and King felt this established a precedent she ought to follow.\footnote{London, 1948 Nov; King interview, 2009.} The gallery was owned by Roland Penrose and managed by the Belgian surrealist E.L.T. Mesens. In operation from 1938 to 1950, it represented ‘a surrealist sanctuary in the bleak atmosphere of post-war austerity in Britain’, exhibiting the works of such artists as Leonora Carrington, Giorgio de Chirico, Salvador Dalí, Max Ernst, Lucian Freud, Wifredo Lam, André Masson, F.E. McWilliam and Joan Miró.\footnote{Desmond Morris quoted in Levy, 2005, p. 26.} It was an unlikely venue for a recent convert from cubist to biomorphic sculpture. However, Mesens occasionally held exhibitions of cubist and abstract work.\footnote{For instance, London, 1947.} He also charged exhibitors a fee so expediently welcomed applications from many quarters.

Details of King’s exhibition at the London Gallery have hitherto been unknown as she exhibited under the name of Inge Winter. No copy of a catalogue was made available to King’s biographer, Judith Trimble. I located a single copy along with the advertising poster and invitation among Roland Penrose’s papers, in Edinburgh, while a second copy of the catalogue recently came to light in a private Melbourne collection (fig. 4.6).\footnote{Penrose archive; London, 1949.} From these I have ascertained details of the ten carvings and ten drawings exhibited. Most of the carvings were non-representational: Dancer

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49 For more on the exhibition see Penrose, 1981, p. 398. For examples of King’s ceramics see IK0135 and IK0136.
50 Gleeson papers, box 7, item 1, diary entry for 24 Dec. 1948.
54 Penrose archive; London, 1949.
being the only recognizably figurative work, while titles of others such as *Animal Shapes in Space* (IK0068), *Crouching Birds* (IK0069) and *Portrait of a Bird* (IK0074) refer to animal forms but are not recognisable as such. What is immediately apparent is the interest in tension and the debt particularly to Epstein and Gaudier-Brzeska. *Wrench*, 1948 (fig. 4.7, IK0076), in Belgian black marble, is a compact work comprising two vertical shafts bound by tightly coiled horizontal bands and a heavy rounded form on top. These two shafts are sundered in *Treeform*, 1948 (fig. 4.8, IK0077), leaving a narrow slit in the centre and a protruding spike near the base that threatens to hurt those who would run their hands along the work’s smooth contours. A drawing (fig. 4.9, IKW0198), just visible in the installation photograph (fig. 4.10), includes a sketch of *Treeform* alongside a double Möbius strip connected by wires or string – suggesting King was looking not only at Moore’s stringed forms but also the Swiss sculptor Max Bill, who worked with Möbius-strip-derived forms from the 1930s onwards.

A single photograph of the exhibition installation (fig. 4.10) shows the works displayed on plinths of varying heights and design, on emptied bookshelves and on a mantelpiece over a gas fire. Panelled walls, plinths, window shutters and fireplace were painted uniformly white, giving a fresh modern feel to the gallery, while King’s drawings (which Grahame framed) were hung with their lower edges neatly aligned. King wrote to Gleeson that ‘Mesens arranged it beautifully’ and noted ‘there was quite a crowd’ at the opening.55 Klippel was in London that month and visited the show, afterwards telling Gleeson that the exhibition ‘looked quite good’ but that the other two shows in the gallery were ‘absolute rubbish. What Mesens won’t do for money!’56 However, King’s show seems not to have been reviewed. Mesens regularly bemoaned the failure of critics to review shows in his gallery; possibly he was a poor publicist.57 None of the works sold (*Dancer* sold a year later to Moray Glasser, through Abenheimer’s intercession, while most of the drawings sold later in Australia) and King wrote ruefully to Gleeson that she was ‘absolutely broke’.58

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56 Gleeson papers, box 4, folder 29, Klippel to Gleeson, 16 March 1949. Exhibited concurrently with King were works by Gordon Bird and Hanna ‘Kali’ Weynerowska.
57 See for instance his complaints re the ‘deplorable’ lack of notice of Wifredo Lam’s exhibition in Mesens, 1947.
later felt her choice of venue was ill judged.\textsuperscript{59} However, it may be seen to her advantage to have exhibited in a gallery with an internationally respected profile – a gallery that has occupied an increasingly prominent position in accounts of post-war British modernism and European surrealism.\textsuperscript{60} As Klippel recognised at the time, ‘being International’ was to an artist’s advantage.\textsuperscript{61} King was already ‘International’ owing to her Berlin youth, British training and the cosmopolitan nature of her Glasgow and London circles, but her debut at Mesen’s London Gallery confirmed her as a committed modernist and helped establish her professional avant-gardist credentials.

4.1.3: Paris

While the exhibition generated no income, King inherited a few hundred pounds, allowing her spend the next six months in Paris, April to September 1949.\textsuperscript{62} There she socialised with a group of Left Quarter university women ‘full of fervour and energy and enthusiasm’.\textsuperscript{63} One of the group had worked at London University and visited King at the Abbey (they had met on the boat to England the previous December); another, Marguerite Rebois, worked for the United Nations, later becoming head of foreign exhibitions at the Louvre, and corresponded with King for many decades.\textsuperscript{64} Through Rebois she secured a small attic room on the Boulevard Saint-Michel, opposite the Luxembourg Gardens, for six months. Her new friends were unconnected with the contemporary art scene but she regularly visited the Palais de Tokyo as well as the Louvre and the Musée de l’Homme and was particularly struck by an exhibition of Kandinsky’s work.\textsuperscript{65} This was probably the survey of Kandinsky’s Paris works, 1934-44, at the Galerie René Drouin, which Klippel, who was also living in Paris at this time, likewise visited.\textsuperscript{66} Klippel was at first stimulated by the exhibition but on reflection felt less enthusiastic, dutifully writing to Gleeson
that ‘I feel sure he is very important but Non Objective art is not for me’.\(^{67}\) King felt otherwise, responding to Kandinsky’s late works in which colourful biomorphic forms floated amoeba-like across a flat ground, perhaps recognising in them the rich potential of organic forms for her own work.

In the same letter Klippel recounted meeting King in Paris, dismissively noting that she had ‘just discovered Kandinsky’ and that she was ‘doing drawings which look very much like D. Villon’s Cheval’.\(^{68}\) A small posthumous bronze cast of Duchamp Villon’s *Cheval*, 1914, was then on exhibition in Paris at the Galerie Maeght (Klippel wrote to Gleeson that it impressed him greatly).\(^{69}\) Looking through King’s Paris sketchbook, we find a few sketches (IKW0206 b, IKW0208, IKW0210, fig. 4.11) that perhaps echo the overhanging menace of Duchamp Villon’s horse’s head, while a more finished pastel drawing, dated 3 January 1950 and done in New York (fig. 4.12, IKW0216), develops the sketches towards an idea for two interlocking horses’ heads – an idea she would return to almost a decade later in *Animal*, 1958 (IK0150). King admitted that *Animal* owes something to Duchamp Villon’s *Cheval*.\(^{70}\) However, the sketches and finished work seem further removed from Duchamp Villon than does Klippel’s own *Entities Suspended from a Detector*, 1948; perhaps he feared the comparison, sparking his criticism of King’s Paris sketches.\(^{71}\) In any case, King’s sketches and the later sculpture, *Animal*, developed an earlier preoccupation with horse heads, as evidenced in a sheet of three coloured studies, from October 1948, that suggest an interest in interlaced Celtic design and foretell the interlocking forms of her own sculpture in 1958 (IKW0190). The exchange reveals not only Klippel’s antipathy towards King but also their mutual interest in early Cubist sculpture, which was only then – in post-war Paris – being introduced to younger generations through the commissioning of posthumous casts.\(^{72}\) Pre-WWI modernist sculpture continued to be of relevance in the aftermath of WWII.

\(^{67}\) Gleeson papers, box 4, folder 29, Klippel to Gleeson, 8 July 1949.

\(^{68}\) Gleeson papers, box 4, folder 29, Klippel to Gleeson, 8 July 1949.

\(^{69}\) Gleeson papers, box 4, folder 29, Klippel to Gleeson, 8 July 1949.

\(^{70}\) King interview, 2009.

\(^{71}\) Robert Klippel, *No. 48, Entities suspended from a detector*, 1948, wood, carved, painted wood and dowels, 48.3 x 34.2 x 11.5 cm, Sydney: AGNSW.

\(^{72}\) On the distribution of posthumous casts of Duchamp Villon’s *Cheval* see Parigoris, 1997, pp. 136-7.
While based in Paris, King spent several weeks in Holland staying with her late husband Karel Winter’s mother, brother and German sister-in-law, who had all fled there during the war and survived. Later, in July 1949, she hitchhiked through southern France, visiting one of her university friends near Toulouse, and there sketched the renowned Romanesque carvings at Moissac Abbey (IKW0211). Her sketches demonstrate a cubist analysis of form but depart from the severe geometry of her earlier work, done under Innes’ influence, and instead emphasize the decorative flattened forms of medieval statuary. Back in Paris, Klippel introduced her to the Canadian *tachiste* painter Jean-Paul Riopelle, just as Riopelle was beginning to eschew his former surrealist work in favour of ‘all-over’ impasto layering of abstract strokes. This was King’s first encounter with *tachisme*, preparing her for her firsthand encounter with abstract expressionism in New York later that year. Both this engagement with non-objective art and the sustained interest in mining the past for present means, as seen as Moissac, reflect dual strands that preoccupied many artists back in London at the Abbey.

King also recalled first seeing Calder’s work exhibited in Paris (Klippel had earlier drawn her attention to articles and books on Calder). This must have been at the *Salon des Réalités Nouvelles* (successors to the *Abstraction-Création* group). King’s visiting their show reflects an awareness of the latest developments in European abstraction. The immediate repercussions of seeing Calder’s works are felt in a handful of sketches done in the *Jardin des Plantes*, where trees appeared like hinged contraptions (IKW0211). However, it is only in New York that the sketchbook begins to fill with drawing for mobiles, or what King called ‘constructions’. Some drawings, indicating discs of metal threaded on steel rods, inevitably recall Calder; others are of nervous wiry contraptions in bent steel and recall the more frenzied abstract expressionist sculpture of the New York school.

73 King conversation, 2 August 2011.
74 King conversation, 24 April 2012; Eckett, 2014, p. 11.
75 King interview, 2010.
76 King interview, 2009.
4.1.4: New York

King departed Southampton for New York on 7 September 1949 with six carvings from the Abbey and an introduction to the sculptor Herbert Ferber. Then one of the leading experimental sculptors in the United States, Ferber was an early admirer of African and Pre-Columbian carvings as well as Barlach, German Expressionism and Romanesque sculpture – which likely gave him common ground with King – though his work was then increasingly concerned with surrealist conjunctions of outer and inner realities. Ferber would eventually be classified an abstract expressionist sculptor (Eugene Goossen identified him as such in 1959), though the term was unknown at the time of King’s visit.

By 1945 Ferber had abandoned stone and woodcarving, initially – after Moore – to work in reinforced concrete, and soon afterwards – following the example of González – to weld in metal. For Ferber, the attraction of metal was not the material itself but rather its means of allowing the creation of openwork sculptures that pierced and incorporated space. As he explained in an article of 1954, the so-called ‘new sculpture’ of the post-war era was anti-monolithic in that it ‘allows the free use of spaces as essential parts of the sculpture. One becomes involved in these spaces, as if there were a kinetic compulsion to move into and about them’. King no doubt found much in this philosophy that chimed with her developing approach to sculpture, as will be explored shortly. However, it was not Ferber’s work or ideas that King later recalled but rather his generosity in introducing her to the most exciting artists of the period.

Ferber was well embedded in the New York art scene: at the very moment of King’s arrival, in the autumn of 1949, Ferber became a charter member of ‘The Club’ where, in a rented loft at 39 East Eighth Street, Greenwich Village, around twenty – mainly male, mid-career – painters and sculptors met to debate aesthetics and rail against the

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78 King interview, 2009. Her sister, Gerda Silverstein, had settled in Massachusetts and sent her the fare. The carvings can be identified through the existence of studio photographs among King’s papers taken by J.W. Russell, 6 5th Avenue, Greenwich Village: Reclining Torso, 1947; Animal Shapes in Space, 1948; Portrait of a Bird, 1948; Viola da Gamba, 1948; Wrench, 1948; and Frederick (Rooster), 1948. With thanks to David Wilson for supplying the exact date of sailing (email to the author, 10 May 2016).
79 Morgan, 2007, p. 156.
84 Blackman and King, 1984, tape 2, side 1; King interview, 2009.
hegemony of Paris over the modern art market. Members of the Club included Robert Motherwell, Franz Kline, Willem and Elaine de Kooning, Clyfford Still and Ad Reinhardt. According to one habitué, talk revolved on endless discussions about ‘Henry James, Kierkegaard, Artaud, Gertrude Stein, Zen, Blake, Camus, Hegel, Faulkner and every painting in the world’. A few doors down from the Club was Studio 35, where artists congregated every Friday evening to listen to such invited speakers as Barnett Newman and Mark Rothko. This was the heady scene to which Ferber introduced King. Ferber and Rothko were by then good friends, while Newman wrote the foreword to Ferber’s first show at the Betty Parsons Gallery in December 1947. Rothko and Newman, in particular, welcomed King into their circle of friends. King was deeply impressed not only by their work but by their intellect – especially Newman, who was the more articulate of the two. Ferber also directed her to his dealer, Betty Parsons, at whose gallery King saw an early Jackson Pollock exhibition and (most likely) Ferber’s solo show in March 1950. As a result of these encounters King believed she had made the necessary contacts to establish herself in America; more immediately, she felt ‘carried away by abstract expressionism’.

Through Ferber she placed some work with the Laurel Gallery (later renamed the Borgenicht Gallery), although my search of their archives failed to reveal details of her exhibits. In any case the Laurel Gallery, at 108 East 57th Street (midtown Manhattan), seems to have been rather conservative in tone, though it did show the work of a handful of New York expressionist sculptors such as Ibram Lassaw and Calvin Albert. However, these two were better represented at the Clay Club (shortly afterwards renamed the Sculpture Centre), which was then located in a converted

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86 Hess, 1975, p. 82.
87 The foreword was reprinted for Ferber’s show at the Betty Parsons Gallery in 1950. See Newman and O’Neill, 1992, p. 110.
88 King interview, 2009.
89 Blackman and King, 1984, tape 2, side 1.
90 New York, 1949 b, 1950 b. The former was Pollock’s third with the Betty Parsons Gallery, not first as stated in Trimble, 1996, p. 16.
91 King interview, 2009.
92 Laurel Gallery records.
carriage house in the East Village at 4 West 8th Street. The Clay Club Sculpture Centre was a substantial force in New York both in terms of art schools and exhibition spaces for contemporary art. The fees charged to the fifty or so students and ‘apprentice sculptors’ who daily used the studios and specialist library were used to subsidise the running of an ambitious exhibition programme, which entailed offering free exhibition space, a modest 25% commission on sales, and freely distributed catalogues and educational material. Among the better-known sculptors who regularly exhibited and sometimes worked at the Clay Club were Louise Nevelson (then still working – like King – with direct carving, and whom King met), Ferber, David Hare, Richard Lippold, Ibram Lassaw, Seymour Lipton, Theodore Roszak, David Smith and Alexander Calder.

In December 1949, again under the name of Inge Winter, King was included in a group show at the Clay Club with a wooden carving of a bird: *Frederick*, 1948 (fig. 4.13, IK0073). The simplified form of *Frederick*, in which the shape of the timber determined the overall form and the grain was revealed to full effect, must have looked curiously analogous in the New York setting. The work belongs firmly with the modern British school of vitalist carving, epitomised by Gaudier-Brzeska, Epstein and Moore. It has little in common with the more surrealist-influenced work of Ferber’s in the same exhibition: *Intrasubjectives* (the title referencing a show of the same title held at Samuel M. Kootz’s gallery in September 1949), in which four welded lead ‘presences’ were arranged in a row in a potentially menacing dialogue.

Nor does *Frederick* share any affinity with others in the same Clay Club show such as Roszak’s steel piece, *The Raven*, or Lipton’s construction in brass and lead, *Astral Flight*, both of which likewise owe a debt to French surrealism. A subsequent show, *Direct Metal Sculpture*, which opened at the Clay Club in February 1950 and which King saw, included Calder’s *Aspen*, 1948 (fig. 4.14), and Smith’s *Structure of a Small*
The show further emphasized the distance between contemporary East Coast American sculpture – which, at its most advanced, was typically open-form, welded metal and often spikily aggressive – and King’s beautifully hand-finished carvings, which were self-contained, based on human or animal forms and reassuring or gently comical rather than threatening.

King registered the difference and felt strongly drawn towards assemblage rather than carving. Based in a small studio on East 8th Street, close to the Clay Club, and intensely stimulated by this firsthand encounter with the New York school, King filled the latter half of the Paris sketchbook with ideas for assemblages and constructions in metal (fig. 4.15, IKW0211). The drawings vibrate with energy and clearly relate to works she saw exhibited in New York at the end of 1949: Smith’s surrealist assemblages, Lassaw’s abstract open-frame constructions, Roszak’s savage biomorphs – all jaws and teeth – and Lipton’s caged constructions. Nevertheless they are distinct: revealing not a macabre surrealist imagination but instead an interest in spatial relationships that reflects her still recent explorations of Cubism. If New York gave King the impetus to break free of the British vitalist school of carving, not to mention her earlier indebtedness to German Expressionism, it did so not by means of mimicry but through stimulating her to further her experiments in cubist explorations of space.

Her continued engagement with Cubism is also reflected in the little-known fact of her visiting Jacques Lipchitz’s studio in New York. Neither the sculptor (‘he was an elderly man’) nor his then preferred technique of modelling wax for bronze interested her, but she took ‘a good look round the studio’ where she would have seen many of Lipchitz’s monumental public works in various stages of development. While most of these were far from recognisably cubist, concerned instead with a gestural Expressionism (although some early works remained, prior to their being lost in a studio fire in 1952), they adhered to the notion of ‘sculpture as an identity in itself, rather than as an imitation of anything else’ – a discovery afforded Lipchitz during his

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100 King interview, 2009: ‘when I got to New York, there I discovered … that for me, the way I want to work … was assemblage’.
101 King interview, 2010.
cubist phase before WWI. This sense of sculpture’s own identity was something King already understood, imbuing her work with distinct personalities (even naming some, such as Frederick, 1948) that demanded recognition of their physical presence. Her visit to Lipchitz surely confirmed her conception of sculpture as an independent entity that occupies space shared with people.

King’s interest in Calder’s work, first seen in Paris, led to her contacting him in New York and arranging to meet at his dealer’s, Curt Valentin. However, she felt their meeting was not a success as their approaches were irreconcilable: ‘Calder was an engineer’, she recalled, whereas her own work, in Grahame King’s opinion, was ‘anti-engineering’. The observation is astute, pointing to the spontaneous and instinctual nature of King’s approach to cubist experimentation. This is evident from a photograph of a mobile that King made at the Abbey after her return from New York in March 1950 (fig. 4.16, IK0079). While the Abbey mobile lacks the frenetic energy of some of the New York drawings, it also demonstrates her distance from Calder. Where Calder’s Aspen, 1948 (fig. 4.14), is based on a series of carefully calculated weights and balances (the small red pods anchoring the slender rods with their sheet metal discs or flowers), King’s mobile is more intuitively constructed with the wire bent and soldered as though drawn in metal with little prior planning. Similarly, a number of monotypes (such as fig. 4.17, IKW0218) produced at the Abbey in the latter half of 1950 are clearly ideas of assemblages that, at first glance, appear to derive from Calder but which, after prolonged inspection, reveal a disregard for weights and balances and a greater interest in creating a form that spontaneously vibrates and occupies space – the vitalist legacy of her earlier training.

It strikes me that King’s engagement with the way sculpture occupies space three-dimensionally – a characteristic inherent to sculpture – and her desire to entice viewers to move around and interact with her work, took definitive root during her New York visit. Prior to this she was still preoccupied with cubist experiments, with distorting the figure for greater plastic impact and with abandoning her academic training. If one seminal moment can be identified in which she began truly thinking

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102 Lipchitz quoted in Fineberg, 2001, p. 58.
103 Then still called the Buchholz Gallery; the name changed in 1951. King interview, 2009.
104 King interview, 2009.
spatially in terms of sculpture’s embodied presence, it must be the occasion of her meeting renowned Bauhaus architect Walter Gropius at the end of 1949 or early 1950. Gropius then held the chair of architecture at the Harvard Graduate School of Design in Cambridge, Massachusetts. While staying with her sister, who lived in Springfield, Massachusetts, King visited Gropius and later described the meeting as ‘one of the very important experiences of my life’.105 The interview lasted nearly three hours during which Gropius impressed on King the fundamentally alien nature of American life to the German temperament.106 Through their conversation King glimpsed the poignancy of the *deux rivages* fate of the mature émigré, realizing how much more difficult his exile from Germany had been than it was for her owing to their difference in ages.107 More prosaically, on the basis of viewing some photographs of her work, Gropius offered to recommend her for a scholarship to the renowned Institute of Design in Chicago.108 Gropius’ friend and Bauhaus colleague László Moholy-Nagy founded the Institute in 1937. Initially named the ‘New Bauhaus’, the teaching syllabus was essentially the same as that in the original Bauhaus as elaborated upon in Moholy-Nagy’s final book: *Vision in Motion*, 1947.109 Gropius gave King a first edition of the book, which she later cited as seminal to her thinking.110 King would ultimately adapt Moholy-Nagy’s ideas not for the creation of kinetic sculptures (as occupied Moholy-Nagy, Calder and many others) but rather towards an idea of sculpture that enticed people to move around and through the work.111 This philosophy – one that embraced sculpture’s three-dimensionality and its relationship with the viewer – was, I contend, the lasting legacy of her first visit to America.

### 4.1.5: London again

Back at the Abbey, in March 1950, she found all of the original residents gone except

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105 Gleeson and King, 1979, p. 28; Grishin, 2014, p. 61.
106 King interview, 2009.
109 Moholy-Nagy, 1947. The New Bauhaus underwent successive changes in name only to become incorporated, in 1949, with the Illinois Institute of Technology, when it became the Illinois Institute of Design.
111 On kinetic sculpture’s dominance in the post-war era see Selz, 1966; also Cone, 2001, p. 142.
one: Grahame King.112 Both had independently developed a keen appreciation of abstract expressionism. During her absence, Grahame King had befriended Alan Davie. I have argued elsewhere that Davie provided Grahame King with the necessary confidence to shed the last vestiges of figuration and move into non-objective art.113 Here I argue that Davie was equally important to Inge King. If, as many commentators have claimed since his death in April 2014, Davie was ‘the enfant terrible’ of postwar British art, the first to practice action painting in England and one of most influential British artists overseas, this encounter between Davie and the Kings ought to be seriously considered.114

Together with Davie, Inge and Grahame King experimented with monotypes, which epitomised the capture of fleeting gestures and random chance. Davie began working in monotype towards the end of 1948, writing to his father that:

I am really finding something in the black and white mediums – discovered a lot of Klee’s tricks too… Through this wonderful medium I have discovered so much and developed so much so rapidly … I am amazed … my work is becoming something very strange.115

His early monotypes combined spidery lines, scratched on the reverse of the paper with his fingernail, against mottled clouds of black and grey and were essentially experiments in surrealist automatism.116 Between mid-1950 and 1963 King produced at least twenty-seven monotypes (not including those she sold in England and during her early years in Melbourne) – a widely unknown side of her practice.117 Some were studies for sculptural constructions (fig. 4.17, IKW0218), others were figure studies and abstract designs (fig. 4.18, IKW0217), but all reveal her new passion for chance mark making – a process she found liberating.118 The monotypes were invariably rapidly executed, free from concern for balance or weight, and instead expressive of a

112 King arrived back at Southampton on 16 March 1950. With thanks to David Wilson for supplying the date of the boat’s arrival (email to the author, 10 May 2016).
117 Only one of King’s monotypes has been exhibited recently (in a show I curated, see Collingwood, 2013, catalogue no. 64); the rest have not been seen since the 1950s and are generally unknown to scholars, critics and collectors alike.
118 Blackman and King, 1984, tape 2.
fluid and sinuous line. As with the Abbey mobile, they were concerned with minimally delineated forms emerging within space, which was articulated by an all-over pattern of rubbed and blotted texture akin to Davie’s cloudy grounds. The improvised nature of their making is evident even the type of paper used: drafting paper from the De Havilland aircraft company in nearby Hatfield, Hertfordshire. Grahame King produced monotypes on the same paper; further investigation may reveal whether Davie did likewise. Informal snapshots of the Kings at this time often include glimpses of these monotypes drying on lines in the background or pinned to a kitchenette wall. Monotype became the avenue through which King finally shook free of any vestigial adherence to figuration.

Alan Davie was also then experimenting with ephemeral mobile sculptures made of grass. He later recalled that, while living at the Abbey:

I was making mobiles with grass stems — very elaborate and fragile — we had several hanging from the ceiling and they moved continuously — being made in such a way that each piece never touched another, but had completely free range of movement. The interest in life in space led me to do several sculptures with wire and plaster (later destroyed).

No photographs of these sculptures exist but the description indicates that King may have had these improvised sculptures in mind when she produced her own Abbey mobile (fig. 4.16, IK0079). Certainly, Davie’s interest in objects that related to each other in space paralleled King’s developing concern for objects that accounted for their occupation of space and their relationship with the viewer.

In other respects, too, King’s work from 1950-51 paralleled Davie’s. At the Abbey she commenced a series of plaster reliefs, some of which had a recognisable subject albeit reduced to a series of almost hieroglyphic characters. For instance, three reliefs titled *Impression from Autun Cathedral*, which she exhibited in Melbourne in 1951,

119 The paper was date-stamped 1949. See IKW0217-218 and IKW0220-225 inclusive.
120 Details of the shared use of materials only came to light when I was cataloguing Grahame and Inge King’s respective studio contents, between 2010 and 2012.
121 See for instance photograph reproduced in Eckett, 2014, pp. 4-5.
123 Grishin, 2014, p. 47, notes that Davie was then making ‘sculptures in clay, plaster, metal and wire, with moving parts even of grasses and twigs’, but does not speculate on Davie’s significance for King.
summarized the Romanesque saints’ figures in a series of intersecting lines and dots to the extent that they resembled grasshoppers and praying mantises (surrealist imagery) or Klee-like stick figures (fig. 4.19, IK0084-86 inclusive). King’s admiration of the Romanesque predates her meeting with Grahame King and the Davies, although it was certainly a shared interest. However, the reduction of the figures to a series of hieroglyphs distinctly echoes the work of both Klee and Davie. Other plaster reliefs were entirely abstract and reveal her concern for spontaneous mark making, again akin to Davie or Riopelle (fig. 4.20, IK0080-83 inclusive). These were made in clay, with lines gouged out then cast in plaster so they stood in raised relief. King appreciated the element of unconscious chance thereby introduced.124 The dynamic web of lines recalls biological forms such as nervous systems or skeletal marine-life. Trimble felt these works recalled Man Ray’s renowned photograph, *Dust Breeding*, 1920, but stopped short of asserting any interest in surrealist automatism on King’s part.125 I feel that a more useful comparison can be made with Davie’s monotypes and paintings, in which spontaneous gestures and chance accidents recall microscopic views of organic life. Indeed the plaster reliefs of 1950-51 point to various levels of engagement with Davie: from a shared interest in early Christian art, the hieroglyphic forms of Klee, and biological life forms, to a concern for chance liberated gestures as characterised both *tachisme* and abstract expressionism.

While at the Abbey, Davie also made hand-beaten jewellery in order to earn an income, selling it through Harrod’s among other outlets.126 Bernard Smith recalled this was ‘inspired by Celtic design’, and certainly many others have discussed Davie’s strong Celtic affinities, though pre-Columbian American influences were also evident.127 Later, in Melbourne, King followed Davie’s lead: making hand-beaten silver and copper jewellery with semiprecious stones, drawing upon multiple sources including Celtic, Assyrian and Aztec traditions, and selling it through Georges department store.128

124 King conversations, 3 August 2015.
125 Trimble, 1996, p. 29.
Given their many shared interests – monotypes, mobiles, Aztec and Pre-Columbian inspired jewellery, chance mark making, hieroglyphs, Klee and tachisme – it is natural that King should have found Davie an exciting influence at the Abbey.129 Many years later, in 1979, when Davie lectured in Australia, he stayed with the Kings at Warrandyte.130 He later recalled the trip as his opportunity to encounter Aboriginal art at first-hand but, on a more personal note, the visit also confirmed the close sympathy between him and the Kings.131

Inge and Grahame King were married at the Barnet registry office on 10 June 1950.132 Douglas Green was present as witness and Alan Davie made the wedding ring of intertwined silver and copper bands.133 The Kings canvassed the possibility of returning to North America but restrictions on visas for Australians put paid to the plan.134 Nevertheless, remaining in England was an unattractive prospect. Both felt that survival among London’s art world depended upon membership of particular cliques. As John Berger observed in 1958, in his novel A Painter of Our Time: ‘The London art world is extremely parochial, and such foreign artists as are admitted into it nearly all have Parisian reputations’.135 King’s obscurity at that time in London was ‘typical of dozens, or even hundreds, of other painters and sculptors’ from continental Europe.136 Grahame’s sister, Io Myers (later Lady Myers, wife of the future Vice-Chancellor of the University of New South Wales, Sir Rupert Myers), then living outside Oxford, assured Inge that Australia was more akin to America than England.137 They embarked for Australia on 18 January 1951 from Tilbury Docks, London, on the P&O liner Strathaird, sailing via Port Said, Aden, Bombay and

129 Blackman and King, 1984, tape 1, side 2.
130 King interview, 2010. Davie was present during Gleeson’s interviews with Inge and Grahame King at Warrandyte, 18 October 1979, and is audible on the former although his presence is not recorded in the interview transcript.
131 Davie and Roberts, 2000, tape 5 (F8714), side A.
133 King conversations, 19 June 2012. Elsewhere it was reported that King designed and made her wedding band; see Adelaide News, 1952, p. 26.
134 King interview, 2009.
137 Blackman and King, 1984, tape 2. Rupert Myers was then deputy chief of the British atomic research station at Harwell, ten miles south of Oxford.
Colombo, arriving on February 13th in Fremantle and in Melbourne five days later.138

4.1.6: Melbourne, 1951

Most accounts of King’s earliest years in Australia characterise the period as one of difficult readjustment: a combination of culture shock and coping with the dual distractions of building a house and raising a young family.139 Certainly, in December 1952, when the Kings moved into their renowned modernist home at Warrandyte, designed by Robin Boyd and largely built by Grahame, it was still a single-roomed shell with no studio space for either artist. The birth of daughters Joanna and Angela in 1953 and 1955 respectively was another incontestable factor. King was also underwhelmed by Melbourne, which she infamously compared to ‘a can of flat beer’.140 The first exhibition she saw in Melbourne was that of Fred Williams, Ian Armstrong and Harry Rosengrave at the Stanley Coe Gallery (held before any of them had gone to London).141 Recalling the show, King ‘thought I was back a hundred years – I didn’t know what had struck me! And I thought they were miserable paintings’.142 Subsequent exhibitions that year seemed to confirm the lack of a thriving art scene, which was only worsened by the dramatic contrast with the milieu she had met in New York.

In addition she grappled with the dislocating effects of migration: As she told Barbara Blackman:

I found it very difficult to work here in Australia. You know you can’t transplant a person into another country, and you can’t – I couldn’t – just start working. It had nothing to do with whether Australia stimulated me or didn’t or whether I liked it or didn’t like it. I liked living here but also I had a young family. It took me a long time to find my feet.143

While this sense of disorientation might be deemed typical of the migrant artist experience, it would be erroneous to simply group King with the exiles and DPs who

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139 For instance Trimble, 1996, p. 24; Coslovich, 2003, p. 7; Grishin, 2014, pp. 69, 73.
141 Melbourne, 1951 Feb.
142 Blackman and King, 1984, tape 2, side 1.
143 Blackman and King, 1984, tape 2, side 1.
arrived in Australia during and after the war. King adamantly did not class herself as a migrant for she had arrived here as the wife of an Australian. Nevertheless she shared the same sense of dislocation from her former life experienced by many migrant artists.

She also encountered some of the same intolerances they faced and felt it prudent to curtail discussion of her background given the then still prevalent prejudices against Germans. Few newspaper reviewers in the 1950s mentioned King’s German origins. Indeed one early reviewer described her as a Czechoslovakian-born ‘silversmith who studied jewellery and design at the Glasgow School of Art and in London’ (the confusion arising over her being listed by Australian immigration officials as a Czechoslovak, owing to her first marriage). One of the few exceptions to this inaccurate reportage during the fifties would be a perceptive review from German exiled art historian Gertrude Langer, a lone advocate of modernism in Queensland. King’s Jewishness was even more closely suppressed. By the time of her marriage to Grahame she had decided to shun religion of all kinds and consequently declined to make contact with Melbourne’s Jewish community.

Moreover, she perceived herself to be in an entirely unfamiliar physical terrain: a disorderly landscape of peeling gums, dense scrubby undergrowth and vast monotonous swathes of grey-green bush. ‘It’s an untidy landscape and a very hard landscape to conquer’, she regularly observed. The contrast with the formal glades and avenues of Berlin’s Tiergarten, the sweeping bare hills around Loch Lomond or the Abbey’s overgrown orchard could not be greater. Sculpture is largely tied to landscape: frequently sited in green spaces – from gardens to public parks – it must contrast and compete with its environs. It is unsurprising that the majority of King’s first works made in Australia were plaster reliefs and small constructions in soldered

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145 A typically imprecise report would claim that ‘Miss King’ [sic] had studied abroad – Age, 1953 June 2, p. 10. However, The Age critic’s first review of King’s work, in November 1951, mentioned she had studied at the Berlin Academy of Fine Arts; Age, 1951 Nov 27, p. 7. Alan McCulloch also mentioned that King was a German but claimed she had studied in Edinburgh rather than Glasgow; see McCulloch, 1955 Dec, p. 514.
146 Argus, 1951 Nov 28, p. 8; see also New Australian, 1953, p. 2.
148 King interview, 2010.
149 Blackman and King, 1984, tape 2, side 1.
steel, designed for domestic interiors, or jewellery and monotypes. It was only once she began working on projects for specific outdoor sites, in the later 1950s, that she began to see how she could ‘conquer the landscape’ (her term) by contrasting strong, simple gestalt forms against the unruly bushland backdrop.

Despite King’s early sense of dislocation, in November 1951 she held her first joint exhibition with Grahame at the Stanley Coe Gallery, directly beneath their studio at 435 Bourke Street. She showed nine carvings made earlier at the Abbey as well as six plaster reliefs, including the Impression from Autun Cathedral series, a case of jewellery and five works on paper. The carvings were clearly linked to the British vitalist school of sculpture, which Alan McCulloch recognised in describing the manner by which ‘the various figures [sic] emerge from the heart of the materials used – Italian marble, alabaster or oak – as though they had always resided there, and needed only … a skilful hand to awaken them’. The reliefs and works on paper were done after New York and after meeting Alan Davie at the Abbey – influences that went undetected and generally continue to elude commentators. However, The Age art critic noted that her drawings had ‘some of the sensitive sophistication of Paul Klee’ – an influence usually detected in Grahame King’s work (whose ‘Klee feet are showing’, as Alan Warren remarked in 1950) but which was just as prevalent in Inge’s work. McCulloch likewise surmised that ‘here is a sensitive, highly-trained art, containing all the inbred sophistication of Europe’. Australian critics were clearly attuned to European influences but not yet alert to American ones.

Ten grainy snapshots survive as a record of the Kings’ second joint exhibition, held at the same venue but renamed the Peter Bray Gallery, in October 1952 (fig. 4.21). King showed five plaster reliefs and eleven metal constructions: some suspended as freestanding mobiles using high tensile steel and copper, soldered together, the ideas for which had germinated in Paris and New York in 1949 (IK0100-116 inclusive).

150 Melbourne, 1951 Nov. All sculptures have been identified other than two plaster reliefs (Chinese Motif and Seaplant).
151 McCulloch, 1951 Nov 27, p. 9.
152 Trimble, 1996, pp. 31-2; Zimmer, 2005, p. 96, and Grishin, 2014, p. 65 saw the impact of abstract expressionism but not of Davie, although earlier Zimmer had noted that Davie had ‘a profound influence on her [King’s] attitudes to art’ (Zimmer, 1984, p. 150).
These were some of the earliest steel sculptures produced in Australia: Margel Hinder’s intricate maquettes in fuse wire and solder date from 1953 onwards; Clement Meadmore’s interest in steel was awakened during his trip to Europe in 1953; Robert Klippel took classes in arc- and oxy-welding in 1953–54 and produced his first assemblages in 1956; and Lenton Parr’s earliest steel constructions date to 1955. Superficially King’s constructions recall those of Calder. For instance, while Centaur, 1952 (fig. 4.21, IK0105), stands on three arched legs in a manner reminiscent of Calder’s More Extreme Cantilever, 1949, King’s interest is clearly in defining space through the use of open-form metal work rather than the sort of improbable extension through space that Calder effects. Maie Casey purchased one construction, Merry-go-round, and later gave it to textile designer Frances Burke (fig. 4.22, IK0107). This and the other eleven constructions in the exhibition have since disappeared and are now known only through Grahame King’s small black-and-white photographs.

Conservative critic Arnold Shore found the constructions reminiscent of ‘the wire and metal gadgets which surmount airport terminals and the weather bureau’, but conceded them to be ‘well made and ingenious’. Shore’s comparison pre-empts many of the critiques made the following year of Reg Butler’s winning entry for the Monument to the Unknown Political Prisoner, 1951-52. In comparing them to technological ‘gimcracks’, Shore missed the animalistic and figurative references, despite such titles as Centaur, Tattie Bogle (Scottish for scarecrow), Bird Alighting, White Shape Fishing, Little Elk and Cockatoo. These titles and the surviving photographs reveal the continued relevance of several strands of King’s training and early years. Firstly we see the interest in folk tales and legend (Centaur and Tattie Bogle) developed in Berlin. Secondly we see further exploration of sharp, pointed forms derived from natural organic shapes, as seen in Treeform and Frederick (figs.

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156 Alexander Calder, More Extreme Cantilever, 1949, sheet metal, rod, wire, string and paint, 223.5 x 339 x 78.7 cm, Calder Foundation, New York, reproduced in Giménez and Rower, 2004, plate 44.
158 Shore, 1952 Oct, p. 5.
159 Butler himself likened his tower to the radio and radar towers on the coast at Bawdsey, Suffolk, which he photographed; see Butler cited in Tate, 1981, URL: http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/butler-working-model-for-the-unknown-political-prisoner-t02332/text-catalogue-entry.
160 Melbourne, 1952, catalogue nos. 13, 18, 19, 20, 22 and 24 respectively.
Thirdly we see the fundamental shift from carving to assemblage in metal that occurred in New York. As such, this lost group of constructions in steel represents King’s attempt to fuse the multiple strands of her work and push forward into new territory.

War’s aftermath, 1945-52, was a period of immense change for King. Her earliest attempts to move beyond her academic training were experiments in Cubism (inspired by Zadkine and encouraged by the Glaswegian Innes) and, soon afterwards, biomorphism as pioneered in the 1930s by Moore and Hepworth. During her early years at the Abbey she mixed with an eclectic mix of artists – Australian, British, Irish, South African, Austrian and German – who were, virtually unanimously, interested in ‘primitive’ art. King shared their interest in primitivism, as evidenced in her London sketchbook, c. 1947 (IKW0150) and in Dancer, 1948 (fig. 4.2, IK0070). Her experiments at the Abbey were in close accord with fellow resident Robert Klippel. Both artists abstracted from nature and employed an almost surrealist combination of menacing forms and taunt, playful shapes. Surrealism was a backdrop to their experiments – from Moore’s enigmatic drawing of standing stones in Ohly’s collection (see Appendix B) to the regular exhibitions of British and European surrealism at Mesen’s London Gallery. Yet King was less interested in psychological states than in searching for forms that evinced an inner torsion – evidence of material vitality. Carvings such as Flower Dancer and Wrench, both 1948 (figs. 4.3 and 4.7, IK0071 and IK0076) seem to wrap themselves around an inner core of energy, demonstrating the sort of ‘pent up energy’ that Moore espoused. They belong to the British vitalist school of direct carving, while also sharing some of the same concerns of earlier modernist sculptors such Duchamp Villon, whose Cheval, 1914, King first encountered in Paris.

This formal concern with relationships within a particular sculpture arguably predisposed King to tachisme and Abstract Expressionism. In both instances meaning lay within the medium itself – in its disposition of shapes and lines to one another – rather than in an external subject. Exposure to these latest developments led her towards an art of gestural freedom and spontaneity – traits seemingly inimical to sculpture and which she first expressed in a hand-soldered mobile (fig. 4.16, IK0079).
and in a series of plaster reliefs and monotypes (figs. 4.17-20, IK0080-83 and IKW0217-231). If, as King frequently claimed, sculpture is ‘drawing from a thousand different angles’, then here we see the origins of her concern for the rapid, freehand drawn line and the potential of sculpture to offer a multiplicity of different views.\(^{161}\) Her period in New York also exposed her to Moholy-Nagy’s writings and led to her conception of sculpture as an art form for people to move around and through. These concerns would be explored slowly in Melbourne in the 1950s, during a decade of adjustment to her new environment, but signal the direction taken later on her large-scale commissions of the 1970s.\(^{162}\)

4.2: Clifford Last

4.2.1: From interior design to sculpture: London, 1945-46

In May 1945 Last enrolled at the Central School of Arts and Crafts (‘Holborn Polytechnic’) to study interior design. Nothing further is known of his course but after demobilisation, in March 1946, he found work with at least two interior decorating firms: in the Brunswick Street studios of renowned society hostess and decorator Lady Sibyl Colefax, where he learnt about Georgian furniture, and with Charles Hammond of Sloane Street, Belgravia.\(^{163}\) Both firms were renowned for their English country house style. In Melbourne, some years later, journalists regularly profiled Last and his studio home – breathlessly itemising details such as his Georgian teapot, Blue Pheasant plates and horse-brasses hanging on the rafters.\(^{164}\) While his tastes evidently differed to those of his employers (more country inn than country house), it is probable that his love for antiques and objets d’art was fostered during his brief time as an interior designer.

Over the ensuing months he regularly visited art galleries and, in his own words, ‘was so stimulated by important exhibitions of sculpture by Henry Moore and Barbara Hepworth that I felt inspired to try to express myself in a similar way, in a way that I

\(^{161}\) The quote originated as ‘drawing from endless angles’ in Architect, 1962, p. 46, and provided the title of the documentary film: King and Cavadini, 2009.

\(^{162}\) I explore these connections with the work of later decades in Eckett, 2014, and Eckett, 2016 a.

\(^{163}\) Last papers, box 5, folder 5, letters of reference from John Fowler of Sibyl Colefax and John Fowler Ltd, June 1946, and from V.T. Tibrey of Charles Hammond Ltd, n.d. [c. October 1946]. Also Blackman and Last, 1988, session 1.

\(^{164}\) Oliver, 1949, p. 24; Pix, 1949 Sept 3; People, 1950.
had not been able to do previously in drawing or painting’.165 He later claimed that ‘a voice said to me … you can do this. You know how to handle tools [and] you know all about wood’.166 Although Last never specified exactly which exhibitions these were, they must have been Hepworth’s solo exhibition at the Reid and Lefevre Galleries and Moore’s New sculpture and drawings at the Leicester Galleries – both held in October 1946.167 Both artists showed their most recent work, which moved beyond earlier surrealist explorations to focus on the figure and its relationship to landscape – at times in purely abstract form, as in Hepworth’s seminal carving Pelagos, 1946, or semi-figurative works such as Moore’s large elmwood reclining figures, which Last recalled in particular.168 Wood and stone-carvings predominated. As Hepworth explained in an article for Studio magazine, published to coincide with the exhibition, carving brought ‘satisfaction’ and ‘pleasure’ to the sculptor who could successfully meet the demands of both their idea and the material’s vitality.169 Many of the opinions Hepworth set forth in the Studio article would be echoed by Last over the subsequent decade, particularly her desire for buildings that incorporated special plinths for the sensitive display of sculpture.170 Similarly, Last would soon employ Moore’s renowned analogy – first made in print in 1937 – that modern sculpture was akin to the forms of pebbles collected on the beach, thereby helping reconcile the Australian public with his own work.171 Both Hepworth and Moore’s work and published statements left a deep impression.

Another exhibition that Last likely visited was the Artists’ International Association’s (AIA) ‘Sculpture in the Home’, held in October 1945 in the elegant Mansard Gallery of Heal and Son’s Tottenham Court Road furniture store. With over a hundred sculptures exhibited for sale, the organisers hoped to popularize sculpture among collectors and demonstrate its suitability for domestic settings by exhibiting them among Heal’s own furniture and textiles.172 The Arts Council of Great Britain

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165 Last cited in Dimmack, 1972, p. 22.
166 Blackman and Last, 1988, session 1.
167 These were Moore and Hepworth’s only solo exhibitions in London in the years 1945-46.
168 Blackman and Last, 1988, session 1. Barbara Hepworth, Pelagos, 1946, elm with colour and strings on oak base, 43.0 x 46.0 x 38.5 cm, Tate Gallery, London.
169 Hepworth, 1946, p. 98.
170 Last would likewise call for architects to incorporate alcoves and specially designed areas for the display of sculpture; see Last, 1952, p. [8].
sponsored the exhibition and subsequently sent a selection on tour to regional
galleries, 1946-47, before instigating their own series of ‘Sculpture in the Home’
exhibitions, 1950-1, 1953-4 and 1958-9. With his interest in interior design, it is
unsurprising that Last responded to the aims of the exhibition, which was ultimately
about improving British standards of design and taste. Significantly, in November
1947, *The Age* published a profile on Last subtitled ‘Sculpture in the Home’ in which
it explained that ‘Mr Clifford Last, a young English sculptor now resident in
Melbourne, will provide an exciting example of the adaptation of sculpture and the
place it should take in the artistic decoration of the modern home’. Last thereby
promulgated the ideals of the AIA (and British Arts Council) in Australia within just
two years of their first being circulated in London. He would continue into the 1950s
to espouse similar views and regularly advocate for the place of modern sculpture in
domestic settings.

Inspired by Hepworth and Moore, Last enrolled in evening classes at what he later
referred to as the ‘Hammersmith School of Wood Sculpture’, circa October 1946. This was the Hammersmith School of Building and Arts and Crafts at 40 Lime Grove,
Shepherd’s Bush, run by London County Council, where wood carving was taught
alongside the usual array of technical art school subjects. Trevor Tennant joined
the staff at Hammersmith in 1946 and probably taught Last. Tennant was an active
member of the AIA and believed that figurative contemporary sculpture should be
seen in public spaces where it could be ‘a force for civic good’. He also wrote the
introduction to the AIA’s ‘Sculpture in the Home’ exhibition the previous year. The first work that Last made at Hammersmith was a small-scale piece ideally suited
for a domestic setting: *Bird Form*, 1946, in mahogany (fig. 4.23, CL0001). The work
reveals his ability to extract a stylized, simplified form from the block of wood and
points to the impact of Hepworth (I am thinking particularly of her *Doves (group)*,
1927) as well as to the growing fashion for domestic sculpture as espoused by

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174 *Age*, 1947 Nov 1, p. 8.
175 Dimmack, 1972, p. 8.
176 Brian Jones referred to it, more correctly, as the ‘Hammersmith School of Art’ in Melbourne, 1948, p. 2], and most journalists of the period followed suit.
179 London, 1945, p. [1].
Tennant.  

Last later admitted the work’s derivative nature but nevertheless valued it for representing ‘a turning point, almost. It was a realization that I had found a meaningful way of expressing all the past stirrings and longings and the feeling that I was different from others around me’.  

On the merits of this modest carving he won a small scholarship to the City and Guilds of London Art School at 124 Kennington Park Road, Kennington. City and Guilds was then one of the foremost schools in London for the study of woodcarving and modelling. Staff prided themselves on the school’s ‘individual character’ and emphasis on fine art rather than craft. Here he studied briefly (less than two months) under Allan Howes. Edgar Allan Howes FRBS (1888-1969) was a protégé of Eric Kennington (himself a graduate of City and Guilds) and numbered among the so-called ‘New British Sculptors’ of the interwar years who collectively espoused direct carving, admired the work of Epstein, Gill and Gaudier-Brzeska as well as Maillol, Brancusi, Archipenko, Zadkine and Laurens, advocated collaborating with architects and were interested in ‘primitive’ art. Other members of this loose band included Leon Underwood, Frank Dobson, Maurice Lambert, John Skeaping, Barbara Hepworth and Henry Moore. Last therefore studied briefly with one of the lesser figures of the most progressive group of sculptors then active in Britain.

He most likely enrolled in City and Guild’s newly devised short course of a few months in ‘woodcarving, drawing and decorative ornament … for the young

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180 Barbara Hepworth, *Doves (group)*, 1927, Parian marble, 29.0 x 33.0 x 21.5 cm, Manchester City Art Gallery.
181 Last cited in Dimmack, 1972, p. 22.
182 My search of the City and Guilds Art School card index failed to reveal any enrollment details for Last, although the index is clearly incomplete as there are no cards for a number of other students known to have studied there during the years 1931-51.
183 City and Guilds originated in 1879 as an independent extension of the Lambeth School of Art and was renowned for sculpture owing to its connection with Aimé-Jules Dalou, who taught there in the 1870s. See Liveryman, 1951, pp. 23-4.
185 Melbourne, 1948, p. [2]; Dimmack, 1972, p. 8. Given that the Hepworth and Moore exhibitions were in October 1946, Last most likely only began studying at Hammersmith that month and cannot therefore not have spent more than around eight weeks at City and Guilds before emigrating. He admitted to not completing his course at City and Guilds in Dimmack, 1972, p. 22, and later said he never took up the scholarship that Howes offered him because he had already ‘put in to go to Australia’ (Blackman and Last, 1988, session 1).
187 This loose group was first identified as such in Parkes, 1931, vol. 1, pp. 113-4.
demobbed service man’ that was introduced in 1946. It was intended to train sculptors for the urgently needed restoration of London’s bomb-damaged buildings and monuments. The intimate relationship of sculpture to architecture was integral to the course. It was also a principle that Allan Howes espoused, having worked with Eric Kennington and on his own executing numerous architectural sculpture commissions between the wars. If Last inherited a particular set of views from his brief time at City and Guilds, they may be summarised thus: the belief that sculpture and architecture belonged together and the belief that direct carving represented the way forward in contemporary sculpture.

The reasons for Last’s precipitate decision to terminate his studies and migrate to Australia are unclear. Shortly after emigrating he claimed he simply longed for a warm climate where he might be outdoors as much as possible, but this does not explain his abandoning his course at City and Guilds. He was at that time considering South Africa, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Arthur Calwell’s free passages for British ex-servicemen were announced in March 1946, providing easy means to escape a cold climate, food rationing, and an unhappy family situation. The free passage scheme was available for two years after demobilisation, so Last had until March 1948. However, he later told Barbara Blackman that, in a club in London, he met an Australian who said he could ‘fix’ a passage in exchange for cash, which Last paid him ‘under the counter’. He also told a journalist, in 1949, that he had the address of ‘one solitary Australian – the man who, in England 10 years ago, had sold him the idea of Australia’. The first mention of his plans to move to Australia appear in his mother’s diaries in October 1946, which – by my calculations – was when he commenced studies at

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Hammersmith. Throughout 1946 he made occasional trips back to Barrow (in March, June and September) and his mother visited him in London in April and November.\(^{195}\) During these visits he worried her with his inconstancy, talking of never marrying but rather living with her in London and their adopting one or two children or instead moving to Australia.\(^{196}\) In early November he wrote announcing his firm plan to emigrate after Christmas, although this date was soon brought forwards.\(^{197}\) While his motives remain unclear, it was certainly a period of flux and rapid decisions that belie the smooth narrative later offered to journalists.

### 4.2.2: Sculptor in a hayloft; sculpture in the home: Melbourne, 1947-50

Last departed England from Tilbury Docks, London, 14 December 1946, aboard the Orient liner Orontes on her first post-war passenger voyage.\(^{198}\) The Orontes hailed from the Vickers shipyard in Barrow. Not only did Last recall leaning over Walney Bridge at Barrow as a boy, watching the boats bound for Australia being built and dreaming of stowing away, but, by sheer coincidence, he had sailed on the Orontes during the war from England to Egypt.\(^{199}\) They landed at Fremantle, 9 January 1947, whereupon Last informed officials of his intentions to continue eastwards, supplying the address of ‘Studio 1.9 Collins St, Melbourne’.\(^{200}\) This was Grosvenor Chambers, Australia’s first purpose-built artists’ studios. With a list of eminent former tenants including Tom Roberts, Arthur Streeton, Jane Sutherland, Clara Southern, E. Phillips Fox, John Longstaff, Louis McCubbin and – since 1946 – Wolfgang Sievers, it also boasted a sculpture studio in the basement with twenty-foot high ceilings and tall doors opening to the street to allow the movement of large works, which Ola Cohn had occupied in the 1920s and ‘30s.\(^{201}\) Either a contact in London gave Last the address or this was the address of his ‘solitary Australian’ friend; in any case this is the first time Last’s name has been connected with the building’s history. However, he missed the ship’s onward sailing and chose instead to buy an airfare to Melbourne, where he arrived 14 January only to find his bags had been rifled since Fremantle.\(^{202}\)

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195 Malcolmson and Malcolmson, 2008, pp. 88, 92, 102, 121.
197 Malcolmson and Malcolmson, 2008, p. 130.
198 Details of Last’s emigration have not before appeared in print. Exact date comes from Last papers, box 5, folder 1. Details of the ship are from Argus, 1947 Jan 15, p. 6.
199 Blackman and Last, 1988, session 1.
This incident apparently unsettled him and he chose to continue onto Sydney, arriving in late January 1947.

There he enrolled at the East Sydney Technical College under the Commonwealth Rehabilitation Training Scheme (CRTS), which funded ex-servicemen and women to retrain after demobilization. At East Sydney he ‘came into contact’ with the sculpture department’s head, Lyndon Dadswell, and most likely also with Paul Beadle, who taught there in 1946-7. Dadswell, himself a returned serviceman, was, in his student Tom Bass’ view, ‘a gifted teacher… with enormous prestige, charisma and ability’. In Dadswell’s opinion art could not be taught, but a good educationist should inculcate students with a sense of orderliness and ability to complete a project on schedule. He therefore did not interfere with a student’s work, which suited Last. According to Bass, Dadswell ‘knew exactly how to deal’ with the influx of mature-age CRTS students who flummoxed some staff members. These CRTS students included Tom Bass, Robert Klippel (who departed for London in March 1947), Alan Ingham and Bert Flugelman – all future members of the soon-to-be-formed Society of Sculptors and Associates (SSA). The contact with these sculptors is likely the reason for Last being one of a small handful of Melbourne sculptors regularly mentioned at SSA meetings. In 1955 Last would borrow slides of SSA members’ works for a slide lecture on ‘Sculpture in NSW’ he gave at his hayloft studio for Contemporary Art Society (CAS) members, while in 1956 he was among the invited exhibitors at the SSA’s exhibition. In the interim, his work would again be seen in Sydney in 1949, when he showed two works at the Macquarie Galleries’ Easter exhibition alongside Dadswell. The brief period at East Sydney Technical College was therefore useful to him in making contacts in Sydney that most of the other Centre Five sculptors lacked.

204 Dimmack, 1972, p. 9.
205 Bass and Smart, 2006, p. 47.
206 de Berg and Dadswell, 1960.
207 Bass and Smart, 2006, p. 47.
208 SSA records, minutes of AGM, 27 February 1954, and of executive meetings, 26 February 1955 and 16 December 1955. Other Melbourne sculptors regularly mentioned at the SSA meetings in the 1950s were Redpath and Meadmore.
209 CAS slide lecture delivered 13 March 1955. Sydney, 1956, catalogue no. 43 (see CL0093).
210 Sydney, 1949, catalogue nos. 29 (Pioneer Woman, c. 1949, lambertina pine) and 30 (Shell Form, 1949, alabaster, approx. 38 cm high).
According to his own list of ‘important dates’ Last returned to Melbourne not in ‘mid-1947’, as his biographer Max Dimmack stated, but on 12 March 1947. After an intervening period of solitary hiking in Tasmania, and an eight-month search for studio space, he found a disused coach-house with hayloft at 441 St Kilda Road for rent at the rear of an old mansion with ‘overgrown garden peopled by outmoded statuary’. This he converted into a studio-residence, moving the staircase and knocking out windows, installing a tiny kitchen and bathroom on the ground floor below a thirty-foot long room that functioned as studio, living room and bedroom. His interior decorating skills were given full scope as he added ‘rustic’ details such as a rope staircase-handrail and Cobb and Company lanterns. The hayloft studio would be his home for the next decade and featured regularly in the press as a Melbourne equivalent to the ubiquitous ‘Paris attic’. A certain degree of bohemianism was evident (his elegant small soirees were regularly mentioned). However, the hayloft was primarily portrayed as a place for work: both for Last’s own sculpture and his private classes, which he had established by July 1949 (one article showed him instructing Fay Gerber). Professionalism, even at this early stage in his career, was carefully promoted.

By September 1947 he had enrolled at the Melbourne Technical College (MTC, now Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, RMIT), known colloquially as ‘the Tech’, again under the terms of the CRTS. Focus at MTC was on the application of art to industry, with the aim of its sculpture school being: ‘to promote the study of Plastic Art – not alone for its own sake – but in relation to Ornamental Design, Architecture, and the Industrial Arts and Crafts’. Students could enrol in a four-year ‘Associateship Diploma of Fine Arts (Modelling and Sculpture)’, studying the usual subjects such as anatomy, drawing, modelling from the antique and from life, with some introduction to carving and metal casting, but the emphasis was always on

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211 Dimmack, 1972, p. 9; Last papers, box 5, folder 1.
212 Oliver, 1949, p. 23.
213 People, 1950, p. 34.
214 People, 1950, p. 34.
216 Last enrolled in the sculpture program at MTC in 1948; there is no record of conferral of any diploma (with thanks to Lachlan Glanville, RMIT archives, email of 26 February 2015). However, he was photographed in the MTC sculpture studio in Change Over, 1947, p. 3, and was involved with the college’s diamond jubilee exhibition in September 1947, more on which shortly.
application to practical purposes. Last did not complete a diploma and indeed distanced himself from the taught syllabus to such an extent that he later described himself as self-taught.

Last viewed his time at the MTC as ‘limited and wasted’. He thought the standard of teaching under George Allen and Stanley Hammond ‘very very low’ and he had little respect for their work. He recalled Allen disparaging one of Moore’s abstract works, saying it looked like nothing more than a piece of sea-washed stone, yet claimed Allen would readily agree to imitate Moore at an architect’s request. Graeme Sturgeon likewise later dismissed Allen’s teaching as ‘academic and uninspired’, and ‘hopelessly out of date’, with students urged to study Maillol, Meštrović, Milles and ‘the second-rate decorative sculptor, Frank Dobson’. Sturgeon’s views, formed with the benefit of hindsight, neglect the historical specificity of Allen’s sculptural knowledge. As already seen, in the late 1940s Maillol still enjoyed widespread popularity in Europe, King’s teacher Benno Schotz held Meštrović in high regard, Carl Milles was widely discussed, lauded for his collaboration with Eliel Saarinen at the Cranbrook Academy, and Dobson was ranked with Moore and Hepworth as one of the ‘New British Sculptors’ who rejuvenated sculpture in the 1920s and ‘30s. While these sculptors’ works were figurative and in a neoclassical or art deco mode, it should be underscored that, in 1947, little else was known. The avant-garde work of Arp, Brancusi, Duchamp-Villon, Giacometti and Schwitters, championed by Carola Giedion-Welcker in the 1930s but not translated into English until 1955, was widely unknown among English speakers and only just beginning to register in French and German circles. It is scarcely surprising that Allen would not urge his students to study such work and unduly harsh to condemn

220 Dimmack, 1972, p. 23.
221 Blackman and Last, 1988, session 1.
222 Blackman and Last, 1988, session 2. Last is referring here to George Allen’s Untitled (Freeform carved sandstone), 1957, sandstone, part 1: 109 x 242 x 103 cm; part 2: 49 x 98 x 39 cm, University of Melbourne Art Collection, reg. no. 1971.0049.000.A.000.B. Dubbed The Thing by a Herald staff-writer, the commission for an abstract ‘free form’ work came from Swiss architect Ric Bonaldi from Bates, Smart and McCutcheon’s firm. It was rejected by the clients, Humes Ltd, who claimed never to have approved the inclusion of sculpture on the front terrace of Hume House, Melbourne. See Herald, 1957 Sept 21, p. 1; Herald, 1957 Sept 23, p. 3; Herald, 1957 Sept 24, p. 5; Scarlett, 1980, pp. 9-10; and Marginson and Sloggett, 2010, p. 26. Last felt the fault lay with the architect for not properly consulting with the client and convincing him of the need for ‘decorative stonework’.
the man for ignorance of sculptural developments that were little known in Europe, let alone Australia.

Last was one of fifteen CRTS students then enrolled in the MTC art school but felt that he was ‘the most disliked student they’d ever had … because all I wanted to do was sculpture’, shunning lectures on architecture and the human form.\textsuperscript{224} However, he made some lasting friendships including that with Max Dimmack, who was also studying art there under the CRTS in 1947 and who would write a monograph on Last in 1972. Another friend was Ron Opie who, circa 1948, while still a student of interior design, co-founded the Interior Design Association of Australia with a group of MTC students and became its first treasurer.\textsuperscript{225} Opie later owned at least three of Last’s works, ranging in date from 1948 to 1978, and penned an admiring profile of him for the \textit{Australian Journal of Architecture and Arts}.\textsuperscript{226} In 1975 Opie also wrote Eric Westbrook to recommend that the NGV mount a retrospective exhibition of Last’s work, a suggestion that Westbrook gently rejected on the basis that mid-career surveys were better left to commercial galleries while agreeing with Opie’s assessment of Last’s achievements.\textsuperscript{227} These friendships with Dimmack and Opie thus established helpful bridges into the Melbourne art world.

Despite Last’s misgivings about the ‘Tech’, he took an active role in helping mount an exhibition celebrating the college’s diamond jubilee at Melbourne Town Hall in September 1947.\textsuperscript{228} From a single surviving photograph of the sculpture display (fig. 4.24) it appears that the majority of students were working along the lines recommended by Allen, with art deco simplification of forms alongside an awareness

\textsuperscript{224} Blackman and Last, 1988, session 1. Details of CRTS enrolments are from Argus, 1948 Oct 23, p. 22.
\textsuperscript{226} Opie, 1964, pp. 48-9. The works of Last’s that Opie owned were: \textit{Figure}, 1948 (CL0020); \textit{In Youth is Pleasure}, 1961, blackwood, 47 cm high, ref. no. 0890; and \textit{New Age Symbol III}, 1978, jarrah and pine, 42 x 37 x 21 cm, ref. no. 1199.
\textsuperscript{227} Last papers, box 8, folder 3, letter from Westbrook to Opie, 4 April 1975.
\textsuperscript{228} Last’s participation in the exhibition display is recorded in his caption on the reverse of a photo sent to his brother Arthur: ‘Zulu Boy / Plaster for Bronze / College Exhibition / I arranged / Sept 47 / (Dearie [Nella Last] has a photograph of me working on this and I sent you a cutting of me casting it in plaster from clay)’. The cutting referred to is Change-Over, 1947, p. 3, and the exhibition is mentioned, p. 2. The sculpture photographed was a rather anomalous student piece; see CL0003.
of African carving. Two of Last’s works are visible: his *St Christopher*, 1947 (fig. 4.25, CL0005), and the smaller *Monk (St Francis)*, 1947 (CL0004). Last used his interior decorating skills effectively to highlight *St Christopher* against a black backdrop. The subject of *St Christopher* reportedly came to mind as he contemplated carving a log of wood that had a protruding branch, which would become the Christ child. As the patron saint of travellers, it may also have seemed apt on a personal level after seven years travelling with the army and a further eighteen months journeying to and within Australia. Stylistically it is quite different from the other student works in fig. 4.24 in its expressionist use of flowing form, the figures contained within the original form of the log with no attempt to disguise the medium or impose extraneous details. It shuns Allen’s preferred models and shows Last looking to British modern carving for inspiration.

During his eighteen months at MTC he worked twelve hours a day and developed a sizeable body of work. A few works – mainly portraits of friends from the ballet and theatre world – were modelled in plaster and cast in bronze. The majority, however, were carved either in wood, freestone (a type of sandstone), alabaster or Siena marble. Welding was not then taught at the Tech. Among the works completed at MTC were the small pearwood *Fish Form*, 1947 (fig. 4.26, CL0006), which exploited the wood grain to emphasise the sensuous, undulating forms, contrasting with the unpolished natural sea-rock on which it perched. The work was one of 300 entered in the CRTS art students’ exhibition at Melbourne’s Myer Emporium, in November 1948, where it won the Ford award for sculpture.

*Figure*, 1947 (fig. 4.27, CL0012), in freestone, was one of Last’s earliest attempts at carving stone and is somewhat constrained and conservative in keeping to the contours of the block. Nevertheless, the work has a sense of monumentality lent by the massive feet and limbs, showing little concern for anatomical correctness and instead revealing Last’s respect for Moore and African and Oceanic carving.

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229 The photograph is one of a series held at the SLV (accession nos. H84.425/195-212) documenting the MTC’s diamond jubilee celebrations and is dated 20 August 1947. The exhibition, however, only opened on 16 September 1947; see Argus, 1947 Sept 17, p. 11.
230 As reported in Age, 1947 Nov 1, p. 8.
231 Blackman and Last, 1984, session 2.
232 Details of the exhibition are from Argus 1948 Nov 2, p. 7. Details of *Fish Form* being Last’s winning entry are from Gallagher, c 1949.
Composition, c. 1947-48 (fig. 4.28, CL0018), is more individual and relates to a series of plant-derived forms carved in wood and stone around this time. They point to a burgeoning interest in abstract form. Yet other works from this period at the Tech were still relatively realistic and are clearly student works, such as the romantically-titled South Wind, 1948 (fig. 4.29, CL0021), where the somewhat awkwardly massive limbs of a woman contrast with a dramatically flowing cloth that runs the length of the figure. Here Last evidently struggled to reconcile his desire to carve and his need to master basic figure modelling as required by his art-school teachers.

A second Bird Form, 1947, in alabaster (CL0011), was more severely simplified than his wooden version from London and immediately entered the collection of Robert Haines – one of Last’s earliest friends and most significant contacts in Melbourne. Haines had earlier studied painting at the National Gallery School and sculpture in Ola Cohn’s studio before persuading the owners of Georges to open a small gallery within the elegant department store, in 1944, and install him as director. After two years he was appointed NGV assistant director (effectively foisted upon Daryl Lindsay by progressive board members Max Meldrum and Sir Keith Murdoch). In this capacity Last befriended him. Both men shared a love of beautiful objects – Haines being remembered as a man of taste – and were covertly gay. Last’s hayloft studio was a few hundred metres from Haines’ flat at 30 Queens Road and Last occasionally had his mail sent care of Haines. In January 1950, when Haines went to England on a British Council grant, he visited Last’s parents in Barrow and went motoring with them through the Lake District. Nella Last found him ‘extremely likeable … [as he] walked round touching or looking at different things, saying, ‘I think the chief attraction of Cliff is his love of discussing every and anything. He is so interested in life from every angle’.

Their mutual love of conversing on many topics, Haines’ understanding of sculpture (developed in Cohn’s studio), and their somewhat diffident and conflicted attitudes to sexuality gave the two much in common. Many years later, when Haines was director of the David Jones Gallery in

234 France, 1999, p. 75.
235 Last papers, box 8, folder 5, letters from Brian Lewis to Last care of Haines, 17 March and 4 May 1949.
236 Malcomson and Malcomson, 2010, pp. 5-6.
237 Malcomson and Malcomson, 2010, p. 5.
Sydney, he facilitated Last winning the commission to design the David Jones fashion award, 1975. More immediately, his friendship with Haines led to his choice of venue for his first solo exhibition in 1948, as detailed shortly.

During his time at MTC Last felt that there was little to no sculpture to be seen in Melbourne and sculptors merely waited for commissions rather than exhibit.\(^{238}\) Sculpture had to be actively sought out. To this end he visited Ola Cohn’s studio (possibly at Haines’ suggestion) and later attested to her generous advice and professionalism.\(^{239}\) In Last’s view, Cohn’s history of having worked with Moore lent her a degree of cosmopolitanism. However, he felt her to be surrounded by sycophantic admirers who persuaded her to produce work merely to please, and that her most important work was done prior to 1949.\(^{240}\) The galleries at that time were rarely showing or buying sculpture, though he recalled seeing Rodin’s work at the NGV. With funds from the Felton Bequest the gallery had by then purchased Rodin’s marble *Minerva without a helmet*, c. 1896, and four bronzes – a small scale version of *The Thinker*, 1884, being the most significant – while a bronze *Mask of the man with the broken nose*, 1863-72, came from the Howard Spensley Bequest in 1939. They had also recently purchased three Epstein’s bronzes – *Albert Einstein*, 1933, *Head of an Infant*, 1902-04, and *Rabindranath Tagore*, 1926 – to sit alongside a bust of *Mrs McEvoy*, 1909 (none of which approached his more radical carved work). These were exhibited alongside ‘examples of Greek, Roman, Chinese, French, English, Australian, and Pacific Island sculpture’ from the gallery’s collection in a sculpture survey, in November 1947, but this was one of the few sculpture exhibitions to be seen during Last’s first year in Melbourne.\(^{241}\) The situation mirrored the poverty of instruction that Last found at MTC.

Frank Fitzgerald, staff writer and occasional critic for *The Argus*, likewise bemoaned sculpture’s lowly standing in the post-war years.\(^{242}\) In December 1946 Fitzgerald

\(^{238}\) Blackman and Last, 1988, sessions 1, 2.
\(^{239}\) Blackman and Last, 1988, session 1.
\(^{240}\) Blackman and Last, 1988, session 1.
\(^{241}\) Argus, 1947 Oct 25, p. 43.
\(^{242}\) Fitzgerald signed his brief art notices ‘F. F.’ but his identity is found in an article noting the success of his art student son; see Argus, 1949 March 10, p. 6. Alan McCulloch held the post of Argus art critic from 1944 to 1947 but was overseas from 1946 onwards and Fitzgerald seems to have covered his position. Arnold Shore took over in 1949.
recorded there had been only three sculpture exhibitions in Melbourne that year, highlighting the need for a properly equipped sculpture school in Melbourne. In June 1947 Fitzgerald welcomed the imminent arrival of Arthur Fleischmann and Lyndon Dadswell’s exhibition at the Velasquez Gallery (later renamed Tye’s) on the basis that ‘sculpture exhibitions are all too rare in Melbourne’, yet towards the end of the exhibition, in early August, he noted the poor sales despite record attendances of 2,000 visitors a week. Barely a week later Fitzgerald described Melbourne’s sculptors as ‘reticent, retiring people of whom little is heard nowadays’, before announcing the opening of the Victorian Artists’ Society’s (VAS) first exhibition of sculpture in fourteen years, organised by Orlando Dutton. Reviewing the exhibition sympathetically, he found the standard high though the works generally small scale, suitable for domestic interiors. He was also quick to decry the NGV’s failure to purchase any works from the VAS sculpture exhibition. Fitzgerald’s articles support Last’s view that Melbourne’s sculptors rarely exhibited and were largely obscure.

Last’s announcement, in November 1947, of his intention to hold a solo exhibition was therefore audacious, particularly given that he had then been studying sculpture for little over a year. The exhibition took a further eleven months to assemble, opening at Georges Gallery, 5 October 1948 (fig. 4.30). Haines no doubt recommended the venue (then managed by Sunny Ebbott) and opened the show. He also loaned the small Bird Form, while his ‘Titian haired’ sister Jean loaned her portrait bust in bronze. Georges was, as Last described it, ‘a beautiful little gallery … one of the most professional galleries and attractive galleries in Melbourne at that time’. The mirrored columns in the centre of the space allowed sculptures to be seen instantly ‘in-the-round’, a device long favoured by European modernists such as

243 Argus, 1946 Dec 21, p. 17. Sturgeon mistakenly attributed the article to Orlando Dutton (Sturgeon, 1978, p. 244, fn 22). The three exhibitions included Marjorie McChesney Mathews at Kozminsky’s in May and Ola Cohn’s studio sale in November.
244 Argus, 1947 June 7, p. 43; Argus, 1947 Aug 2, p. 39. According to Fitzgerald in the Argus, 1947 Aug 23, p. 39, the National Gallery purchased Dadswell’s Man and Horse from this exhibition – enabling a more accurate dating of the work than the NGV’s present date of ‘c. 1950’.
245 Argus, 1947 Aug 9, p. 43; see also Turnbull, 1947.
247 Argus, 1947 Aug 30, p. 43. In 1954 the NGV purchased Dutton’s Iris, which was included in the 1947 VAS exhibition.
248 Age, 1947 Nov 1, p. 8.
249 Sue (Portrait of Jean ‘Sue’ Haines), c. 1948 (CL0023); Argus, 1948 Oct 5, p. 7.
250 Blackman and Last, 1988, session 1.
George Minne. At the same time items of modernist furniture by craftsmen such as Schulim Krimper, whose work Haines favoured, were incorporated to enhance the domestic feeling of the gallery, while Turkish rugs softened the bare floorboards and potted plants appeared side-by-side sculpture pedestals, so that clients could envisage how they too could incorporate modern artworks into their homes.251

This acknowledgement of domesticity suited Last’s ambition to produce ‘sculpture in the home’, as it was termed in England. Last had already announced his intention to produce sculpture for domestic settings.252 In September 1948 The Age art critic wrote: ‘Seeking a solution of the problem of earning a living by their art, a number of English sculptors are developing an intimate type of sculpture, which is small enough to take a place in, and lend distinction to, a beautifully appointed room’, continuing on to claim that Last’s impending exhibition would be the ‘first display of its kind in Melbourne’.253 Last’s Englishness served as a sort of hallmark of authenticity in his attempts to import this recent ‘English’ trend towards domestic sculpture. The inclusion of a catalogue foreword written by the British Council’s Australian representative, Brian Jones, for the first Georges Gallery exhibition, underscored the legitimacy of Last’s links with the latest developments in British sculpture.

Many of the pieces in Last’s first exhibition were small enough to hold in the hand, smoothly polished and appealing to touch, and suitable for display on bookshelves, desktop or mantelpiece. Slightly larger pieces were usually frontally conceived and suited to display against a wall or in a corner. Few were entirely abstract; while eschewing any pretence of mimetic realism, they nevertheless remained recognizably human or animal or plant. One notable feature of Last’s 1948 exhibition was the inclusion of a false fireplace surround and mantelpiece with two carved female figures supporting it, caryatid-like, and a smaller carving displayed on top (CL0014 and CL0016). While sculpture, as Last conceived of it, was to be enjoyed on a personal level in the comfort of one’s own home, this did not necessarily mean that he aimed to placate the viewer: the fireplace figures shun one another, with one covering her face

252 Age, 1947 Nov 1, p. 8.
253 Age, 1948 Sept 25, p. 4.
as though protecting herself from the fire or imagined maelstrom, while his *Jeremiah*, 1947 (CL0008), and *Figure*, 1947 (fig. 4.27, CL0012), both dwelt in the realm of melancholia. Domestically scaled sculpture did not preclude emotionally charged work. Nevertheless, the exhibition installation as a whole was harmonious. The inclusion of the mantelpiece and items of furniture seemed proof positive, in the words of at least one British war-time commentator, that the ‘average man … has become sculpture conscious[;] a little something on the mantelpiece, or in the entrance hall, or in the garden, pleases him’.254 Sculpture was no longer purely a public art but could play a domestic role.

The domestic scale of such works arguably later impeded their critical reception. In England in the late 1950s Lawrence Gowing decried the term ‘sculpture in the home’ as ‘dead weight’, claiming its ‘cosy connotations are all wrong for sculpture at the moment’.255 By ‘sculpture at the moment’ Gowing referred to the burgeoning commissions of public sculpture in England and the US (likewise in Australia) in governmental and corporate sectors that characterised the 1960s. The cosiness and – by implication – feminine associations of domestically scaled sculpture had little attraction to those concerned with increasingly large and dominating public sculpture. In addition, as Penny Sparke notes, this ‘cosiness’ was ‘anathema’ to critics and historians ‘who undoubtedly linked it with intellectual flabbiness and a retreat from the public commitment of avant-garde art’.256 Last’s embrace of the ‘sculpture in the home’ movement and his proselytizing on its behalf in Australia ultimately did little to endear him to later generations of art historians, who have largely bypassed him in their accounts of Australian art.

The 1948 exhibition was successful both in terms of press and sales.257 *The Age* critic approved of Last’s ‘developed contemporary outlook’ and ‘fine craftsmanship’ and wrote of the works’ ‘harmonious relationships of planes and balanced design’, singling out *St Christopher, The Monk, Fish Form* and *Composition* for approval.258 George Bell reviewed it briefly, preferring the abstract to the representational
John Loxton (a skilled but conservative watercolourist and briefly critic for *The Argus*) mentioned the ‘abstract and modernistic rhythmic figures, carved with the utmost economy of form and planes’, adding that ‘Australian woods have responded well to his skilful hands’. Only the arch conservative *Bulletin* critic felt the works lacked observation and that ‘the quality of his line is commonplace’.

Prices ranged from 6 guineas for a small bronze to 100 guineas for the large elmwood *Madonna and Child*, 1948, that would eventually be bought by public subscription for the Church of The Prince of Peace, Lobethal, South Australia (fig. 4.31, CL0007). Most pieces were under 30 guineas. Sales were reported as totalling £250 (tallying with Last’s annotated copy of the catalogue, in which half the exhibits are marked as sold, totalling 238 guineas, or approximately £249). This was a large sum relative to his weekly rent of 30 shillings. Yet, in the same year, a senior watercolourist such as Lionel Lindsay could sell 600 guineas worth of watercolours and a further 400 guineas of woodcuts and etchings at an exhibition in Brisbane, while William Dargie, then aged 35, charged between 150 and 200 guineas for an oil portrait and had five times won the Archibald Prize, which was then valued at about £450. Painting still commanded higher prices than sculpture.

A similar pattern of small-scale, modestly priced figurative works followed over the next two years, when Last held further solo shows at John Martin’s in Adelaide, September 1949, and again at Georges Gallery in October 1950. For the John Martin’s exhibition he sent eleven works shown previously in Melbourne (three of which had sold but were loaned for Adelaide), mostly reduced in price, and thirteen new works. Many of these new works were then shown the following year, 1950, back in Melbourne at Georges Gallery. In her profile on Last, written in March 1949, journalist Joan Leyser noted that ‘certain sculptors both here and in England, were lowering their prices considerably so that their work would move into homes and not remain in the studios. Possession’, she wrote, ‘is a sure way of fostering a growing

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259 Bell, 1948.
260 Loxton, 1948, p. 5.
263 His rent is mentioned in Blackman and Last, 1988, session 1.
appreciation for all art’.265

In the Adelaide exhibition the elmwood Madonna and Child, 1948 (CL0007), was reduced from 100 to 70 guineas. Even at this reduced price, it required considerable fundraising before a parish committee could purchase it for the Church of The Prince of Peace, Lobethal, in the Adelaide Hills.266 This was the first work of Last’s to enter a public space. It was considered a daring and potentially cultivating move; as one journalist contended, ‘many people who never enter art galleries attend churches’.267 The sale came about through the auspices of Victorian artist John Ashworth, who had then recently moved to Adelaide to become a novice with an Anglican order.268 Ashworth advised the Lobethal community on what was claimed to be one of the first modernist makeovers for an Australian country church. Later, in 1961, he was appointed inaugural director of the Hamilton Gallery, in western Victoria, and in that capacity attempted to mount what would have been – had it come about – the first Centre Five exhibition.269 By reducing the price of the Madonna and Child, and thereby finding a purchaser, Last established a significant contact in the Adelaide and Hamilton arts communities that would have professional repercussions for Centre Five.

The Adelaide exhibition also cemented another important early connection: with the winemaking Wynn family. David Wynn, son of the Melbourne vigneron Samuel Wynn, had studied at Adelaide University and served with the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) during WWII, after which he entered the family business, purchasing Coonawararra estate in 1951.270 David and his first wife Thelma likely encouraged Last to exhibit in Adelaide; certainly Last gave them one of the key exhibits from that show: an early Mother and Child, 1948 (CL0030), possibly in thanks for introducing him to Adelaide’s art cognoscenti or for hosting him between July and September 265 Leyser, 1949, p. 13.
267 Kohlhagen, 1949.
268 For more on Ashworth’s early years see Mail, 1949 Feb 12, p. 11.
269 McOwan, 2011, pp. 2-4. Details of the failed Hamilton exhibition are from the Centre Five archive, file marked ‘Miscellaneous correspondence’, draft letter (unsigned but in Inge King’s hand) to [John] Ashworth, 13 February 1962.
1949. Last’s friendship with the Wynns likely arose through English Ballet Rambert
dancer Sally Gilmour, who first visited Melbourne on tour in September 1947 and
married Melbourne doctor Allan Wynn (David’s brother) the following August
1948. Last had seen Gilmour dance in the role of Mrs Tebrick in *Lady and the Fox*
at least four times in England and twice in Australia, and portrayed her in this role in a
portrait bust that would be the focus of press attention for the Adelaide exhibition
(CL0036). Gilmour and Allan Wynn left Melbourne for London in 1949 but Last
became a regular visitor at David and Thelma Wynn’s home in South Yarra. Aside
from the stone *Mother and Child*, they acquired three other works of Last’s and nine
of Kane’s early works (Last likely being the conduit for the introduction). It was
also David Wynn who would pen the most supportive review of the Group of Four’s
exhibition in 1953 and later defended the NGV’s decision to mount *Six Sculptors* in
1959. The Wynns and their Melbourne-Adelaide connections were therefore of
considerable significance both in helping Last establish himself professionally and in
championing him and his future Centre Five colleagues.

In the years 1948-50 journalists invariably referred to Last as a fully-fledged sculptor
able to live off his art: ‘probably one of the most successful exhibitors in Australia’,
wrote one; his exhibitions breaking ‘all records’ claimed another. These inflated
accounts probably derived from Last and unwittingly reveal the financial
precariousness of his chosen career along with a defensive need to assert himself as a
working professional rather than hobbyist. Like King, who, in the late-1940s made
candelabra and trays to sell through Heal’s in London, Last supplemented his income
with the sale of hand-carved platters and salad bowls (CL0068 – CL0079 inclusive).
He also had an army pension and occasionally painted friends’ kitchens and
bathrooms for cash. In addition he began teaching in late 1948 as part-time lecturer
in modelling at St Margaret’s school in Berwick (the position was created specifically

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273 His diary entries for 1952 and throughout the 1960s are peppered with regular references to dinner
and drinks at David and Thelma Wynn’s, visits to the ballet and theatre with them, and letters from
Thelma. Last papers, box 4, diaries for 1952 and 1967.
274 Clifford Last, *Female Form*, 1950 (CL0048); *Group Invocation*, 1964, Tasmanian oak on slate base,
65.0 x 43.0 x 28.0 cm; and *Gemini*, 1974, beech and pine, 81.0 x 38.0 x 21.0 cm. All now collection
McClelland Gallery and Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, gift of the estate of David Wynn AO, 1996.
275 Wynn, 1953, pp. 40-1; Wynn, 1959, p. 2.
277 Blackman and Last, 1988, session 1; Zimmer, 1989, p. 35.
for him, partly at the suggestion of Haines).\textsuperscript{278} He later worked at Camberwell Boys’ Grammar and at Mercer House teachers’ training college, 1955-62, where, at Barbara Falk’s invitation, he began teaching modelling one hour a week, gradually becoming more involved in the training of art teachers until February 1959 when he was appointed lecturer and tutor on a two-thirds time basis – a position he resigned from in December 1962 after failing to make any sculpture over a twelve month period.\textsuperscript{279} Yet he rarely mentioned his teaching, instead emphasising his vocation: that of sculpture. While many of his early press appearances portrayed him as jocular and light-hearted – focussing on the artistic trappings of his hayloft studio, his clothing (baggy, slightly outlandish), his frugality and his war stories – they also invariably mentioned the long hours he spent on his work and the seriousness to which he devoted himself to sculpture. He was regularly quoted on matters relating to modern sculpture, proselytising, explaining his wish to avoid ‘photographic likenesses’ and instead express himself through his work. In this way he managed to foreground his professional persona in the face of attempts to characterise him as yet another bohemian artist or art teacher.

\textbf{4.2.3: London and Europe, 1951-52}

By 1950 Last was a prominent figure among Melbourne’s modernists. However, he felt the need for artistic stimulus beyond that available locally.\textsuperscript{280} He was also keen to assert himself in England. Aside from regularly sending clippings about his work to his parents, who fed them to the local Barrow press, in February 1951 he succeeded in placing five photographs of his recent carvings with the John Tiranti trade magazine \textit{Wood}, where they were illustrated alongside a short profile on his work under the banner: ‘Australian wood sculptures’.\textsuperscript{281} Given Tiranti’s eminence in the realm of sculptors’ supplies and art publications, this constituted considerable advance publicity. Building on this small success, on 6 March 1951 he departed for England – the first of only two such visits he would make – working his passage aboard a Swedish freighter, the \textit{Mongabarra}, whose captain, Nils Runbalk, and his Australian

\textsuperscript{278} The Argus, 1948 Aug 17, p. 25. Last papers, box 5, folder 5, letter of reference from Hilda Stoneywell, 4 December 1948.
\textsuperscript{280} Palmer, 1990, p. 6.
\textsuperscript{281} Wood, 1951, pp. 76-7.
wife Last had previously befriended, modelling portrait heads of them both (CL0042 and CL0051). The *Mongabarra* was delayed for six weeks in Fremantle after a storm damaged the deck, so Last only signed off in Rotterdam on 21 June, arriving in London a week later and in Barrow on 3 July. He spent the next nine months staying in borrowed flats in London, regularly visiting Barrow and travelling to Northern Ireland (to visit his brother), France, Spain, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, from where he sailed back to Australia on 25 March 1952.

The trip merits consideration for one principal reason: it was here that he met his almost exact contemporary, the British sculptor Robert Adams (1917-84), whose work greatly impressed him. Their meeting possibly came about through mutual acquaintances at the Central School of Art and Design, where Last had briefly studied in 1945 and where Adams had taught since 1949 alongside leading Constructivists Victor Pasmore and Kenneth and Mary Martin. In 1951 Adams’ reputation was just as ascendant as Last’s. Having had his first solo show with Gimpel Fils in 1947, he had exhibited with them biannually since then; he was also in the process of completing a major commission for the Festival of Britain and had just been named one of eight young sculptors representing Britain at the Venice Biennial of 1952 (the group who were to be dubbed ‘the geometry of fear sculptors’, after Herbert Read’s much-quoted essay in the accompanying catalogue). Adams was then becoming known as one of most significant sculptors in Britain.

Adams only became fully committed to abstraction in 1951. Nevertheless, his earlier work, whether carved in wood or stone or constructed in welded or brazed metal, was primarily concerned with ‘the unity of form, scale and material and the suggestion of pent-up movement by asymmetric balance’ – concerns that carried over into the later work. In an article for *Harper’s Bazaar*, January 1952, Robert Melville wrote perceptively of the self-referential nature of Adams’ sculpture, so

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282 Last papers, box 5, folder 1; Nella Last diaries, box 152: entry for 20 December 1951.
283 Last papers, box 5, folder 1; Nella Last diaries, box 152: entry for 17 May 1951; Malcolmson and Malcolmson, 2010, p. 177, entry for 3 July 1951.
284 Last papers, box 5, folder 1.
285 The British Festival commission was *Apocalyptic Form*, 1951, ash, 310 x 91 x 97.8 cm, Arts Council Collection, London; see London, 2007, illustrated p. 2.
286 Adams produced a series of ‘bud’ carvings in 1947 that were essentially abstract but clear figurative references remained in his work at least until 1951. Grieve, 1992, p. 15.
287 Grieve, 1992, p. 15.
much so that the works appear entirely abstract even ‘to those of us who have grown so used to the sign language of Paul Klee that we can deduce the thing signified from the most far-fetched diagram’. Nevertheless many works retained a residual figurative reference through verticality and the use of two or three supports or ‘legs’. His *Divided Pillar*, 1950 (fig. 4.32), is typical: the ‘body’ is divided into irregular blocks, hewn from a single piece of timber, and stacked vertically over three short legs. This work was exhibited in July 1951 at Gimpel Fils at Adams’ third solo exhibition. Adams’ younger colleague, Anthony Hill, wrote in the foreword to the catalogue that the work was ‘powerful in a purity and simplicity that is primarily architectural’ and that Adams was most keenly concerned with ‘a sense of balance and tension and a heightening awareness of the prime element, space’. The ‘architectural’ simplicity evident in *Divided Pillar*, and in the handful of other carved works in the show (not to mention the numerous brass wire ‘spatial constructions’), demonstrated Adams’ allegiance to the British Constructivist school. The rather cool formalism of the work marked not only a strong divergence from the older organic vitalist school of Hepworth and Moore but also distinguished Adams from the more expressive forms of the other ‘geometry of fear’ sculptors for whom Last felt little sympathy.

Adams’ influence on Last is regularly cited and was openly acknowledged by Last, who described his work of the period 1952-54 as ‘influenced by a year in Europe [in 1951-52] and working with Robert Adams in London’. This claim of working with Adams is unsubstantiated. No diary exists among Last’s papers for 1951, no correspondence between Last and Adams exists in either artists’ papers, and Alastair Grieve, who catalogued Adams’ archive, knows of no connection to Last and believes

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289 Last was in Barrow by 3 July 1951 and did not to return to London until 12 August. Whether he had a chance to see the exhibition in the first two days of July is unknown but he would likely have seen the catalogue and at least some of the work once it was returned to Adams’ studio.
291 Last visited the *Sixteen Young Sculptors* exhibition at the ICA, London, and noted in his diary that it was ‘not very impressive’. Last papers, box 4, diary entry for 14 January 1952. Selected by David Sylvester, the exhibition was effectively a rehearsal for the Venice Biennale of 1952; see Burstow, 1993, p.127; Garlake, 2007, p. 139.
Adams did not take on any assistants until after 1960. All that can be firmly established is that Last attended a cocktail party at Robert and Patricia Adams’ London home in January 1952 and had dinner with them later the same month. He later recalled that he regularly saw Adams during that visit. On a return trip to London, in 1967, Last recorded dining again with the Adams who seemed ‘genuinely pleased to see me, and cross I hadn’t looked them up’. On that occasion they discussed ‘spiritual matters’ (Last’s esotericism and attachment to the Lucis Trust often led him to discuss such matters with friends; Adams was a Catholic convert who periodically worked on religious commissions) until midnight, when Adams drove ‘me home via his studio – most generous in every way’. Noel Hutchison also recalled that Adams gave Last a print, which Last valued highly. These few shards of evidence link the two sculptors.

Nevertheless, the connection was important. Most writers characterise Last’s works of the early 1950s as ‘frank in their derivation’ and revealing of ‘Adams’ sobering influence’. These assessments were made before Alastair Grieve’s monograph on Adams had appeared and before Adams’ early work was well known in Australia. With greater knowledge of both Adams’ and Last’s early work, it becomes apparent that the influence was not simply stylistic. Comparison of Adams’ Divided Pillar and Last’s Two Standing Figures (figs. 4.32, 4.33) indicates a mild degree of formal similarity – in terms of the vertical stacking of irregular blocks – but this is the closest that Last’s work approaches Adams. Two Standing Figures (CL0061) also seems to be more concerned with the potential for interaction between the two units (a potential that was later somewhat lessened when they were mounted on a single base) and, as such, connects to Last’s longstanding professed interest in exploring human

293 Email correspondence with Alastair Grieve, University of East Anglia, Norwich, UK, 4-5 July 2011. My search of the Adams papers, series 4 (correspondence, 1944 onwards, items 1-179), conducted 12 July 2010.
294 Last papers, box 4, diary entries for 19 and 30 January 1952.
295 Blackman and Last, 1988, session 2.
296 Last papers, box 4, diary entry for 20 July 1967.
297 Last papers, box 4, diary entry for 20 July 1967.
298 Hutchison interview, 2011. The print had disappeared by the time that Hutchison went to Last’s home to collect his books and papers after his death.
300 Grieve, 1992. No examples of Adams’ early works were included in Recent British Sculpture (Ottawa, Auckland, Melbourne and Sydney, 1961-63). However, Noel Hutchison was aware of one of the earliest publications on Adams (Alloway, 1954), and Geoffrey Edwards would have had access to a rare copy of this contained in the NGV Shaw Research Library.
relationships in his work. Indeed Last’s work of this period, even at its most rigorously geometric, seems always concerned with human thought and spirituality. Last’s friend David Wynn astutely wrote (probably on the basis of conversations with the artist):

The abstract geometric forms of Clifford Last are clean, orderly constructions arising out of chaos. The chaos out of which they arise is human rather than social or economic. The figures themselves are human in basic proportions and each one is an organised spiritual system that towers above the confusion around it – an intellectual rather than emotional concept.301

Thus a work such as Abstract Head, 1952 (fig. 4.34, CL0058), is not an abstraction of a head but rather an architectural arrangement of squares, rectangles and recessed circles – resembling a Le Corbusier house – that represents a system of rational, compartmentalized human thought. It is categorically different from the sort of concrete abstract form that Adams sought.

Noel Hutchison suggests that a series of drawings of ship bollards that Last produced on the return to Australia in 1952 ‘indicated the change he had undergone, but not entirely understood, while in Europe’, adding privately in interview that Last’s bollard studies were prompted by his encounter with Adams.302 While these drawings are untraced, there is one amongst a collection of 62 undated sketches of Last’s in the SLV that possibly derives from a study of two bollards connected with a cross rod (fig. 4.35, CLW0004). If this is related to those shipboard studies (and the age of the paper makes this proposition plausible), then it confirms that Adams’ influence was less stylistic than might be assumed. Last’s drawing brings two upright forms into close dialogue: linking and literally yoking them together. The human analogy is clear and his concern again seems to be with human relationships rather than the purely formal concerns that Adams evinced.

301 Wynn, 1953, p. 40.
Instead, I argue, the influence was more philosophical than stylistic. At the time of their meeting, Adams had just executed his first two architectural commissions. Both of these were realist and figurative, evidently meeting his clients’ need (either perceived or dictated) for recognizable symbolic elements. Adams continued to tailor his architectural commissions to each specific project, enjoying a successful career as a public sculptor in the 1950s and ‘60s. Most of the commissions were abstract, often consisting of reliefs in cast cement. Ironically, as Grieve suggests, Adams’ willingness to meet the demands of architects and clients, as well as the non-symbolic abstract nature of his work, resulted in their being misunderstood by later generations as mere decoration. Few remain in situ to this day. These issues of integrating art and architecture were undoubtedly of keen interest to both Adams and Last, whose own efforts in the field date to 1949, when he worked with architect Brian Lewis on an unrealised sculptural scheme for University House, Canberra. Adams’ and Last’s shared concern for sculptural and architectural synthesis was, I suggest, the most significant legacy of their connection – a legacy that subsequently underpinned many of Centre Five’s activities in the field of art and architectural synthesis.

Much else could be made of Last’s visit to England and Europe in 1951-52. He would certainly have visited the South Bank Exhibition for the Festival of Britain where, in addition to the futuristic Skylon tower (designed by a team of architects), he would have seen Victor Pasmore’s shallow relief mural as well as scores of freestanding works of which those by Hepworth, Moore and Epstein were simply the better known. He surely also visited the London County Council’s Second Open-air International Exhibition of Sculpture, staged in conjunction with the Festival at Battersea Park and featuring the work of forty-four international sculptors including Giacometti, Arp, Pevsner, Marini and Manzù. While Last’s thoughts on these significant events are unknown (owing to the absence of the 1951 diary from his papers), we can draw at least two conclusions. Firstly, he would have likely gained

303 Robert Adams, Relief for British Linen Bank, 1950, plaster, c. 122 cm long, present whereabouts unknown, and Boy with owl on shoulder, 1950, reinforced cement, c. 137 cm high, Kings Heath Lower School, Northampton; reproduced in Grieve, 1992, pp. 159 and 34 respectively.
304 Grieve, 2008, p. 73.
305 Grieve, 2008, p. 73.
306 Last papers, box 8, file 5, letter from Lewis to Last, 4 May 1949, and letter from Last to the ANU Registrar, 11 May 1949.
307 For further reading on the South Bank sculptures at the Festival of Britain see Burstow, 2001, pp. 95-106, and Jolivette, 2008, pp. 23-36.
the impression that ‘humanistic, moderately-modernist’ work, either derived from classicized interpretations of the figure or from ‘genteel forms of primitivism’, was the acceptable mode for public sculpture. Secondly, he would have had ample opportunity to observe that sculpture could exist in relation to buildings in many different conjunctions – as external reliefs, offset in contrast to a building, or set alone in a pool of water.

Other aspects of this trip abroad can be firmly established. We know that he visited the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum, collecting postcards of works such as a Mexican stone axe (c. 3-4 C. AD), an oak stem of a Viking ship (c. 800 AD), and a sixteenth-century bronze head of a girl from Benin. These are the same sorts of archaic examples from world cultures that interested King and Klippel at the Abbey. In September 1951 Last visited Paris before driving south to Spain and Mallorca with an unnamed Australian friend. Further postcards were collected, including one of a large cubist-derived Le Grande Nu, 1949, by Henri-Georges Adam who had exhibited in London in 1950 alongside Robert Adams at the Institute of Contemporary Art’s (ICA) ‘London-Paris: New Trends in Painting and Sculpture’ exhibition (Adams perhaps recommended Last seek out the Frenchman’s work); Picasso’s Man with Sheep, 1943, in the main square at Vallauris, where it had been unveiled in August 1950; and Zadkine’s large elm crucifix at Les Arques, carved in 1939-40. (Meanwhile, another postcard that he had left tucked into his bedroom mirror at Barrow, of a surrealist composition by Dutchman Jaap Mooy, was giving Nella and William Last the horrors). He was back in Paris by early October and in London at the end of the same month. In November he received a ‘… letter from the Art Master of the Studio where [he] attended before he left England, [who] wrote and offered him a corner of the studio and use of any models’. This was likely Allan Howes at City and Guilds. Last accepted the offer (he had brought his tools with him from Melbourne). From his 1952 diary we know that he was working on two

309 Postcards contained in Last papers, box 1, folder 8.
310 Last papers, box 1, folder 8.
311 Nella Last diaries, box 152: entries for 4 August and 16 September 1951. Jaan Mooy, Tekening (drawing), year and dimensions unknown, Kunstenraars Centrum, Belgium. The postcard in Last’s papers matches the description given by Nella, who did not mention the artist’s name.
312 Nella Last diaries, box 152: entry for 6 November 1951.
313 Malcolmson and Malcolmson, 2010, p. 177, entry for 3 July 1951.
unidentified sculptures in London: Mermaid (CL0054) and a small wooden figure.\footnote{Last papers, box 4, diary entries for 10 January and 15-17 January 1952. I have not catalogued the small wooden figure as it may well be a work catalogued under another title.}

We also know that he dined out and went to the theatre most nights, working by day and visiting galleries such as the Hanover, where he saw solo shows of William Turnbull’s and Francis Bacon’s in January 1952.\footnote{Last papers, box 4, diary entry for 21 January 1952. This was Bacon’s third solo show at the Hanover Gallery, December 1951 – January 1952. Last notes it consisted mainly of ‘wounded bathers’, though a catalogue for the show is unknown.} His final six weeks in Scandinavia are more obscure – his diary peppered with the first names only of male friends as well as references to films, opera and the ‘sizzling’ nightlife of Stockholm. A friend in Oslo arranged for an interview with the local tabloid, Dagbladet, which published a rather innocuous profile alongside two photographs of earlier works (Lady into Fox and Male Torso, both 1949).\footnote{Dagbladet, 1952.}

This was the summation of his time abroad.

This final section has dwelt upon Last’s first return trip to England in order to consider the exact nature of the oft-cited Robert Adams influence. I conclude that this influence was chiefly philosophic, relating to Adams’ then burgeoning interest in architectural commissions and the key issue of creating work to suit client, architect and site. Stylistically, Last’s work did become more geometrically configured in the two years after meeting Adams. However, the work produced was far from a mere pastiche of Adams and was more concerned with Last’s own preoccupations with human relations than with purely formal spatial matters. Last’s interest in finding opportunities for architectural collaboration was, I suggest, strengthened by his contact with Adams who was then seeking such commissions. Last also no doubt witnessed the large-scale use of public sculpture at South Bank for the Festival of Britain, again seeing the potential for sculpture’s ability to add symbolic value or harmonize with or enliven architecture. Furthermore, his time in London and travels through France and Scandinavia exposed him to contemporary art and he was particularly struck by its sympathetic use in post-war architecture. Upon his return to Australia he penned an article on this very subject for the fledgling journal Architecture and Arts, praising Dutch and Norwegian architects ‘who must surely
have included … sculpture in their initial designs’. This is a pivotal theme that would be taken up by Centre Five in the 1960s.

4.3: Lenton Parr

At the end of the war Parr re-enlisted and was posted to 35 Squadron; based in Townsville he flew transport aircraft between Australia and New Guinea. When his squadron disbanded he joined 86 Wing at Quakers Hill, outside Sydney, and continued to fly throughout Australia carrying mail, cargo, service personnel and civilians. He also flew regular courier services to Japan just months after the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In his own words, in 1946 he ‘stood among the ashes of Hiroshima, travelled a little through the Japanese country side, [and] walked through shabby bombed out streets around the Ginza in Tokyo’.

In interview he expanded on this experience, explaining he flew to Japan on four or five occasions, staying a few days each time, servicing the Occupation forces, and that he visited Hiroshima by train. Parr believed the experience had little direct relevance to him; Hiroshima was ‘just a ruined city, a plain of cinders’ that he happened to witness. Yet he dwelt upon the experience, attempting to make sense of the Japanese who, he felt, had so little regard for the occupying troops’ opinions that one man traded in scarves printed with the front-page of a New York newspaper reporting the dropping of the bomb. While this appeared to be craven debasement, Parr suspected it was merely a mechanical acting out the role of the vanquished. His hesitancy in talking about these memories suggests he struggled coming to terms with his post-war experiences.

4.3.1: Among the ashes of Hiroshima: Parr and the ‘geometry of fear’

What effect, if any, did these experiences in Japan – particularly Hiroshima – have upon his work in later years? Parr himself was silent on the subject, preferring instead to insist on his work’s abstraction and avoiding comment on earlier works where subject matter is evident. Yet it is possible to argue that memories of gutted buildings, twisted iron, wreckage and annihilation lay beneath his work from the years

317 Last, 1952, p. [8].
318 Parr, 1999, p. 22.
319 Parr, 1999, p. 22.
320 Blackman and Parr, 1989, tape 1, side 1.
321 Blackman and Parr, 1989, tape 1, side 1.
322 Blackman and Parr, 1989, tape 1, side 1.
Elsewhere I have written of this period of Parr’s work in terms of what Herbert Read labelled ‘the geometry of fear’ – that is, the ‘nervous, wiry’ art of some British sculptors of the 1950s that evoked, in Read’s words (partially quoting T.S. Eliot), ‘images of flight, of ragged claws “scuttling across the floors of silent seas”, of excoriated flesh, frustrated sex, the geometry of fear’. Nancy Jachec suggests Read’s formulation of ‘geometry of fear’ sculpture pertains to many western European sculptors – an observation I contend can be expanded to encompass artists both side of the Atlantic and in Australia. Critics regularly described Parr’s early works in biomorphic terms similar to those employed for the British sculptors: menacing ‘ministers of death – black, welded steel insectoid pieces, like ocean mines with anchor legs’ or ‘an ancient, scaly and horribly fascinating creature obtruding its great mandibles’. Parr himself acknowledged that his work from the mid-1950s to mid-1960s had much in common with his British colleagues of that period: ‘I suppose the earliest sculptures I made were certainly strongly influenced by the art of the fifties, the sculptural art of the fifties – the geometry of fear type of thing’. However, he did not elaborate on what that morphological similarity might mean.

Without resorting to psychoanalytic interpretations, I suggest these works arose from Parr’s post-war experiences in Japan. Kyo Maclear argues that the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki indelibly impacted upon all those who witnessed either the events or their aftermath, tracing their reverberations across a wide spectrum of art from the Zero-kai (Zero Society) artists of the 1950s to Andy Warhol. Parr’s references to standing among the ‘ashes of Hiroshima’ and the bombed out streets of Tokyo may provide the key to works such as the Horseman of the Apocalypse series, 1955 (fig. 4.36, LP0009-LP0013), or Flying Man, 1956 (fig. 4.37, LP0019), which seem imaginatively engaged with the horrors of apocalyptic devastation. Flying Man shares much in common with Kenneth Armitage’s Sprawling Woman, 1957, and F.E. McWilliam’s later Women of Belfast series that encapsulated the random violence of bomb blasts that plagued Northern Ireland during the euphemistically termed ‘Troubles’. All three depict a body violently propelled forward by external forces.

326 Gleeson and Parr, 1979, p. 4.
This is not to suggest that Parr’s early work documented what he saw in Japan, but that the horror and fear evoked by what he saw there underlay his early sculpture.

A further piece of evidence supports this argument. Towards the end of the 1940s Parr began writing short stories and plays and taking part in amateur theatraics in an attempt to conquer his own fear of speaking in groups of more than two or three people.\(^{328}\) A search of the NLA’s digitised newspapers on Trove reveals one such story, titled ‘The Cult of the Cat’ published in 1949.\(^{329}\) It is a piece of lurid pulp-fiction about an African who hunts his fellow villagers for the thrill of the kill. Despite the story’s obvious shortcomings (excusable in a piece of juvenilia in this genre), it does include some convincing passages about the protagonist’s fear of being caught; for instance: ‘He was confused and thought worked slowly around the frozen block in his consciousness which was fear and the knowledge of fear’.\(^{330}\) Above the sensationalist themes of murder and mutable identities, it is this plausible description of fear that distinguishes the story. Parr soon afterwards abandoned fiction but, towards the end of his life, those who visited his home invariably noted the wall of neatly shelved crime novels; evidently the interest in fear and the baser human emotions remained.\(^{331}\) I suspect this interest in crime fiction was a manifestation of Parr’s preoccupation with fear, which took root after witnessing war’s aftermath in Japan.

In October 1948 Parr was transferred from aircrew duties to Adelaide, then Launceston, where he worked as an Air Training Corps Cadets instructor.\(^{332}\) In Tasmania, in 1950, he was diagnosed with a severe form of arthritis and confined to a hospital bed for some months.\(^{333}\) Like Last and Redpath, he contemplated his future while convalescing: a period of enforced introspection brought about by physical trauma that he later viewed as virtually a rite of passage for visual artists.\(^{334}\) Recalling the advice of a teacher at Preston Technical College he decided to apply to study art at

\(^{328}\) Parr manuscript, c. 1970, p. 2.
\(^{329}\) Parr, 1949, pp. 16-7. None of Parr’s early literary efforts were preserved with his papers in the SLV.
\(^{330}\) Parr, 1949, p. 16.
\(^{331}\) Edwards, 2003, p. 9
\(^{332}\) Parr, 1999, p. 22.
\(^{333}\) Parr manuscript, c. 1970, p. 2.
\(^{334}\) Blackman and Parr, 1989, tape 1, side 1.
In June 1951 he was discharged from the army, medically unfit for service, and immediately left for Melbourne.

4.3.2: ‘Moderately art-deco’ at the ‘Melbourne Tech’

Although the academic year was by then well underway and he did not have matriculation English, Parr was permitted to enrol in the MTC’s Associate Diploma course in August 1951. He completed the first year of the art certificate – including lettering, perspective, drawing from natural forms, copper repoussé and pottery – in just five months, topping his cohort. At the beginning of 1952 he transferred to the sculpture department, then still headed by George Allen, who had run the department for twenty years.

In a newspaper interview, in 1951, Allen had explained that he avoided ‘dull and prosaic … realism’ and, while attempting his own personal form of expression, acknowledged his work no longer looked ‘exceedingly modern’. Yet he believed his simplified forms, stripped of mimetic detail, suited the clean lines of international style architecture. He also praised younger sculptors who ‘read a lot’, noting that they ‘almost all prefer the simplified forms’, suggesting they shared his taste for simplification. Parr would neatly fit this description, as a voracious reader who would soon move beyond ‘simplified forms’ to non-objective abstraction. Unlike Last, Parr found Allen ‘a courteous and dignified teacher’, diplomatically describing him as ‘a well-respected artist whose own work favoured a restrained version of Art Decoratif conventions’. However, he also recalled that Allen adhered strictly to the ‘truth to materials’ dictum – disabling to those who interpreted it to the letter, preventing appreciation of the likes of Bernini or Rodin – and that ‘abstraction beyond formalist modifications of natural appearances was entirely suspect’. Allen urged his students to read Malvina Hoffman’s *Sculpture Inside and Out*, which

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335 Parr, 1999, p. 22.
337 Blackman and Parr, 1989, tape 1, side 1.
338 Parr, 1999, p. 23.
339 Australasian Post, 1951, p. 19.
340 Australasian Post, 1951, p. 19.
341 Australasian Post, 1951, p. 19.
focussed on the technical aspects of sculpture.\textsuperscript{344} Hoffman, a pupil of Rodin’s and later Meštrović’s (both feature in the book), gave a rather airy account of sculpture across the ages, brushing conversationally over seminal figures such as Brancusi (describing her sole visit to his studio), omitting German Expressionism and stopping short of assemblage or steel sculpture (González is not mentioned).\textsuperscript{345} It was far from up-to-date and hardly a scholarly work. Reading between Parr and Last’s accounts and comparing them to Allen’s few published statements, it appears that Allen, although a skilled stonemason keen to work with architects, was rather uninspired as an artist and reliant on imported English-language texts for his knowledge of contemporary sculpture. This tallies with King’s view that Allen and his colleague Stanley Hammond were competent technicians but not original artists.\textsuperscript{346}

Despite his teacher’s limitations, Parr enjoyed his studentship.\textsuperscript{347} Yet he documented only seven works made between 1952 and 1955 in his catalogue raisonné and illustrated none of them.\textsuperscript{348} While these technically fall outside the remit of the present chapter, it is expedient to discuss them while examining the training of the individual members of Centre Five. The earliest, \textit{Torso}, 1952 (LP0001), is notable mainly for the sensual appeal of the wood graining and rather idealized female proportions.\textsuperscript{349} In 1954 he took part in a competition to design a relief for Melbourne Grammar’s Bromby Street sports building, organized by the architects Mockridge, Stahle and Mitchell in association with the Victorian Sculptors’ Society (VSS) (fig. 4.38, LP0007). His was one of thirty or more submissions, indicative – in Parr’s words – of ‘the state of sculpture in Australia at that time!’\textsuperscript{350} His winning entry depicts two relay runners holding a torch and was, as Parr later recognized, ‘moderately art-deco’ and in the manner of Allen and Greenhalgh.\textsuperscript{351} This was the modest result of his initial training at the MTC: a limited range of technical skills encompassing carving and modelling, exposure to some of the milder expressions of modernism, and a first experience of working with architects.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{344} Parr, 1999, p. 26.
\item \textsuperscript{345} Hoffman, 1939, pp. 51-4.
\item \textsuperscript{346} King conversation, 7 May 2010.
\item \textsuperscript{347} This is evident in his memoir; see Parr, 1999, p. 23.
\item \textsuperscript{348} Edwards, 1999, p. 152. An eighth work, \textit{Head}, 1955 (LP0008) is known from a photograph among the Parr papers, box 18.
\item \textsuperscript{349} Lenton Parr, \textit{Torso}, 1952, laminated wood, 61 cm high, private collection, ref. no. 0083.
\item \textsuperscript{350} Parr manuscript, c. 1970, p. 3; also Parr, 1999, p. 27.
\item \textsuperscript{351} Gleeson and Parr, 1979.
\end{itemize}
4.3.3: Moore’s studio: an encounter with alternative professionalism

With the prize money from the sports relief, Parr sailed for England in late 1954 or early 1955 with his future wife: artists’ model and writer Johanna (Joan) Bretton (who portrait medallion he modelled; see LP0006). He advertised his arrival in England with textbook professionalism: calling upon members of the Royal Society of British Sculptors, advertising his services in an arts magazine and writing to Henry Moore, canvassing for work. He also apparently courted publicity for when he visited Nottingham he was profiled in the local press. A photograph therein showed him respectably be-suited while the accompanying story identified him as the designer of thirty masks that had impressed Melbourne audiences for the Royal Command performance of *The Tales of Hoffman* in March 1954. The article noted his innovative use of a fast-setting plastic putty to make the masks and added that he had designed sets and costumes for Shakespearian plays and ballets. It concluded that he was ‘over here to study and work with British sculptors’, discreetly aiding Parr’s goal of securing studio experience.

Parr’s advertisement drew a response from Eduardo Paolozzi, who invited Parr to his Essex cottage to help him try to build a small bronze foundry (despite several weekend visits, their efforts appear to have been in vain). Exact contemporaries, Parr found Paolozzi’s ‘off-beat originality’ invigorating and ‘a good guide into a fresher and livelier art scene’ than that of Melbourne’s. Through Paolozzi, Parr met Nigel Henderson, Peter and Alison Smith and other members of the Independent Group at London’s ICA. Given this acquaintance, it is probable that Parr visited the Independent’s renowned exhibition, *This is Tomorrow*, at the Whitechapel Art Gallery in 1956, and there witnessed the series of pavilions demonstrating collaborations between artists and architects. Parr had worked with architects on the Melbourne Grammar commission but *This is Tomorrow* envisaged collaboration on a far more ambitious and daring scale. Paolozzi and his circle represented a sort of stimulating

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352 Parr, 1999, p. 29. No copy of the letter exists in either the Moore archive or among the Parr papers.
353 Nottingham, 1955.
354 This aspect of Parr’s career has not before been documented.
355 Parr, 1999, p. 29.
356 Parr, 1999, p. 29. For more on the Independent Group see Foster, 2011, pp. 182-91;
apéritif for Parr, opening his mind to further discoveries and dispelling any lingering aftertaste of his mediocre Melbourne training.

Parr’s letter to Moore resulted in an invitation for an informal interview at Hoglands, Perry Green, Hertfordshire, on 15 April 1955. He was promptly hired and began working for Moore full-time on 6 June. Anthony Caro and Alan Ingham had then just left Moore’s employ, Tasmanians Stephen Walker and Daryl Hill worked part-time one or two days a week and Oliffe Richmond worked there sporadically (Moore purportedly liking the Australians’ work ethic and manual dexterity). Parr and the other assistants took on the laborious work of enlarging maquettes in plaster or wood, polishing bronzes and patinating them. Moore had just acquired the neighbouring six acres and farmhouse, the Bourne Cottage, which he offered to Parr and Bretton for living quarters. The cottage came with a shed, where Parr was permitted to work in his spare time, and was a short walk from the self-built home of Australian-born textile artist Michael O’Connor, one of whose idiosyncratic concrete planters adorned the Bourne Cottage garden. Here Parr was quickly immersed amidst both an active artistic community, where the likes of Hepworth and Lyn Chadwick visited, and in the busy workshop of England’s foremost sculptor.

Most writers on Parr attribute his decision to work in steel as an attempt to avoid Moore’s pervasive influence. Certainly Parr recognised the need to differentiate his work from Moore’s and noted that steel ‘was about the only medium that Moore was

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358 Moore diary entry for 15 April 1955; information kindly supplied by Michael Phipps, Henry Moore Foundation.
359 Moore archive, ’Receipts from Sales of Sculpture and Drawings, Cheque Payments for Sculpture Expenses, and Estimated Expenses Through Year 1954-1955’.
360 St Claire, 1949, p. 13; de Berg and Walker, 1965; Thomas, 1967, p. 8; Ingham, 1987, p. 338; Waterlow, 1992, p. 12; Parr, 1999, p. 29. Parr later recommended Redpath write to Moore for work. Redpath did so but Moore declined, saying he had no vacancies at the time, although inviting her to visit when she came to England, Moore archive, letter from Redpath to Moore, 26 May 1957, and Moore to Redpath, 20 August 1957.
363 With thanks to Michael Phipps for showing me through the Bourne Cottage gardens (16 July 2010) and pointing out the O’Connell planter. For more on O’Connell see Edquist, 2011.
364 Alan Ingham, who worked for Moore 1950-54, recalled meeting at Hoglands Herbert Read, architects Le Corbusier and Walter Gropius, and sculptors Hepworth and Marini. See Nash, 1994.
Indeed his earliest works, such as the marble *Head*, 1955 (fig. 4.39, LP0008), photographed in London and probably produced after Parr began working for Moore, indicate he initially struggled to formally distinguish his work from Moore’s. Like Moore’s series of bronze *Helmet Heads*, 1939-50, Parr’s head reduces the skull to a receptacle for pinhole eyes and sunken nose, conveying man’s vulnerable psychological state through physical distortion. Yet this formalist similarity remains evident even after Parr began working in steel. For instance Moore’s *Maquette for Fallen Warrior*, 1956 (fig. 4.40), shares much in common with Parr’s *Danae*, 1956 (fig. 4.41, LP0025), although here the wounded soldier is transmogrified into the arched-backed figure of a woman, straddled in ecstasy or agony, impregnated with Zeus’ golden shower of rain. The comparison supports David Getsy’s contention that all horizontal sculptures reference either wounded or dying men or sexually available women. Whether Parr recognised Moore’s fallen soldier in his figure of a raped Greek princess is unknown, but he certainly realized that whether he worked in ‘stone or wax or wood or clay Moore’s forms got in the way’. A formal relationship between the two sculptors’ works is therefore in evidence even after Parr moved to steel.

A more meaningful way of examining Moore’s importance to Parr is to consider Moore’s vitalist credo. This not only pervaded Moore’s work but also came to define Parr’s own approach to sculpture. As Parr put it in his manuscript memoir:

> Moore’s sculptures were not objects – things to look at. They were *presences* – creations so charged with vitality and professions of identity that it seemed as that they gave meaning to the sculptor and not the reverse. In my own work I have consistently sought this quality of presence and vitality above any other and it is the quality I look for in the work of others.

This notion of a sculpture possessing its own identity, ‘personality’ or presence that accounts for its occupation of space, was first grasped in Moore’s studio and became

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367 Compare, for instance, with Henry Moore, *Helmet Head No. 2*, 1950, bronze, 34.0 x 24.7 x 24.0 cm, Sydney: AGNSW.
368 A photograph of this particular maquette of Moore’s is among Parr’s papers at the SLV.
369 Getsy, 2007, particularly p. 122.
pivotal to Parr’s thinking.\(^{372}\) Indeed it prompted the title of his monograph: *Vital Presences*. Yet, despite this, Geoffrey Edwards did not mention the notion of vitalism in his essay on Parr for the same monograph. While registering that Parr’s work was ‘full of zest and a compelling spontaneity’, and that the early works of the 1950s ‘engage the viewer in a seemingly dangerous confrontation’, Edwards did not extrapolate from this Parr’s (and Moore’s) underlying vitalist ethos.\(^{373}\) Even more surprisingly, Parr himself declined to write directly about vitalism in his monograph, instead noting merely that he desired to make sculpture that ‘… had an organic wholeness and the kind of presence that confronts or abides as a person or creature confronts or abides’.\(^{374}\) Moore’s vitalist ethos was crucial to Parr’s own approach to sculpture and should be acknowledged as his principal legacy.

The decision to work in steel was not entirely a means of avoiding imitating Moore, but also a positive reaction to some of the most progressive work then being produced in England, particularly by Reg Butler, whose studio Parr visited in 1955. Butler was then widely regarded as the most promising of the younger British sculptors, having featured in key exhibitions including *Young Sculptors* at the ICA in January 1952 and *New Aspects of British Sculpture* at the Venice Biennial later that summer. In March 1953 Butler was announced overall winner in the world-wide competition for the Monument to the Unknown Political Prisoner, his entry being an abstract steel tower likened by some to an electricity pylon or, in Parr’s view, ‘a Constructivist cage’.\(^{375}\) Further developments of the winning entry were shown the following year at 1954 Venice Biennale – the press thereby generated resulting in Butler being, in the first half of the 1950s, ‘the most widely discussed sculptor of his generation’.\(^{376}\) Butler was invariably identified as a steel sculptor and the juxtaposition of his iron figure next to Moore’s outside the British pavilion at the 1952 Venice Biennale, followed by the publication the next year of Lawrence Alloway’s article, ‘Britain's New Iron Age’, did much, in Margaret Garlarke’s estimation, ‘to encourage belief in an intense ferrous episode in mid-twentieth-century British sculpture’.\(^{377}\) Parr arrived in England just as this ‘ferrous episode’ was at its zenith, later referring to it as ‘the

\(^{372}\) ‘What interests me most is to create objects with personality’; Parr cited in Holloway, 1978, p. 8.
\(^{373}\) Edwards, 1999, pp. 9, 12.
\(^{374}\) Parr, 1999, p. 30.
\(^{375}\) Parr in Melbourne, 1977 a, n.p.
\(^{376}\) London, 1983, p. 11.
sculptural “iron age”’, whose artists devised ‘spiky imagery eloquent of the miseries of displaced persons, the Cold War and the H bomb’. Butler represented the greatest exponent of this new age. Crucially, like Butler, Parr had considerable experience of working with steel having trained as a fitter and turner; his father’s past work as a blacksmith also gave some sense of legitimacy so that Parr felt that ‘steel was a very natural medium’ for him. The choice of steel was therefore not entirely a negative choice – a rejection of Moore – but instead was a positive turn towards something that felt both natural to Parr and relevant to contemporary sculpture. In mid-1955 he purchased oxy-acetylene welding equipment and began experimenting with welding together scraps of metal such as fence railings and door hinges found around the farm, producing works such as the already-discussed Horseman of the Apocalypse series and Flying Man (figs. 4.36 and 4.37).

I suspect a further factor that contributed to Parr’s change in direction – albeit one he never mentioned – was the growing reputation in Britain of French sculptor Germaine Richier. Writing in the catalogue for Richier’s exhibition at London’s Hanover Gallery, in October 1955, David Sylvester declared Richier occupied a ‘crucial’ position in contemporary sculpture, applauding her ability to evoke the ‘human image challenged, battered, ruined, and still obstinately human’. Richier’s hybridized biomorphs – mat-bat, woman-toad, man-insect – reflected a perceived ‘regression to a more bestial universe in the aftermath of the atrocities of the war years’. Sarah Wilson posits Richier as the formative influence on the British geometry of fear sculptors, citing Richier’s exhibition at the Anglo-French Art Centre in 1947 as a decisive turning point in the direction of British sculpture. Certainly her work shares many formal similarities with that of Parr’s. For instance, the spindly arms of spun molten metal in Parr’s Horseman of the Apocalypse II (fig. 4.36, LP0010) echo the spidery arms in Richier’s Le Griffu (Man with Claws), 1952, or the attenuated legs of La Mante (grande), 1946. The title of Parr’s Horseman also connects with

379 Blackman and Parr, 1984, tape 1, side 1.
381 Wilson, 2005, p. 53.
383 Germaine Richier, Le Griffu (Man with Claws), 1952, bronze, 89 x 98 x 85, private collection; Le Mante (grande), 1946, bronze, 158 cm high, Museum an Ostwall, Dortmund, illustrated in Curtis, 1999, p. 253.
Richier’s eschatological concerns arising from her Catholic beliefs. This concern for an impending world’s end, coupled with an interest in hybridized human and insect forms, expressed in the medium of steel, suggests Parr was familiar with Richier’s work in London and perhaps inspired by it to make the necessary steps away from Moore’s pervasive influence.

Parr exhibited these first efforts in steel in 1956 at the Obelisk Gallery, 15 Crawford Street, London. Run by Jimmie McMullan, the Obelisk Gallery was then ‘one of the most active and flourishing of the modern art galleries in London’, despite being off the so-called ‘Bond Street run’ of galleries. The gallery mainly staged mixed shows of work ranging from Pre-Columbian figurines to surrealism, handling works by the likes of Magritte, Matta, Ernst, Schwitters, Arp, Fautrier, Marini, Le Corbusier and Moore. Parr possibly approached McMullan at Moore’s suggestion; certainly another of Moore’s assistants, Daryl Hill, had a ‘mildly successful’ show at the Obelisk Gallery in 1957. No catalogue or reviews of the show survive among Parr’s papers. Parr records merely that he exhibited ten sculptures (probably including the Horseman of the Apocalypse series and Flying Man) and that Moore visited it and was ‘generous in his comments’. The exhibition marked Parr’s first presentation as a professional sculptor and was a significant step in his early formation as an avant-garde alternative professional.

I have argued that Moore’s vitalist ethos was crucial to Parr’s conception of sculpture and that the work of Butler and possibly Richier, encountered in England, made a profound impact on the young Australian, convincing him to try oxy-acetylene welding. However, there remains a final crucial legacy from Parr’s experiences in England in the mid-fifties, and that is his encounter with what I argue was a form of alternative professionalism. Again, this aspect has not hitherto been elucidated in writings on Parr, possibly owing to the little that Parr himself said on the subject. In his unpublished memoir Parr wrote of his time with Moore:

384 Wilson, 2008 a, p. 28.
386 Many of these works were on consignment from collectors such as Lady Norton (Noel E. ‘Peter’ Norton); see Norton papers, letter to Obelisk Gallery, 30 September 1955.
387 London, 1957; Dawes, 1965, p. 44.
388 Parr, 1999, p. 31.
… As time went on I learned to feel what it is to live a life completely for sculpture, and some sense of professionalism. Yet in the final published version Parr merely said that Moore and his friends ‘showed me how devotion to art can be a completely satisfying way of life, needing no justification beyond its intrinsic honesty of purpose’. The reference to professionalism was dropped, perhaps in feared that it would be confused with the idea of art as ‘merely a profession’, as Parr once termed it. Yet the professionalism encountered in Moore’s studio had nothing to do with wearing three-piece suits or maintaining office hours. Rather, it concerned the large-scale international enterprise that was Moore’s workshop. Here orders and commissions from private, corporate and public patrons across England, Europe and North America were fulfilled. Earlier works were cleaned and sent out on touring exhibitions. Maquettes were gradually sized up and adjusted as new ideas developed. Large quantities of raw materials were ordered, stored, retrieved and used for a myriad of purposes. Account books were kept, studio diaries maintained, correspondence continually entered. Journalists, curators, dealers, architects, collectors and fellow artists were served tea – politely, without pretension – and given tours of the various studios and extensive grounds. Stephen Walker recalled that it gave him a ‘more balanced point of view on what is the professional life of a sculptor’. On the evidence of this impressive operation sculpture was a worthy and significant occupation.

However, to argue that Moore’s practice represented a form of alternative professionalism – as cultivated by the avant-garde – necessitates recognition of Moore’s standing among critics in the 1950s. Moore had then long been lauded: he had held a major survey show at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, in 1946; won the International Sculpture prize at the Venice Biennale in 1948; and been granted his first British retrospective at the Tate in 1951. Significant public commissions during the fifties included the large reclining figure for the Festival of Britain (1951), the *Time/Life Screen* (1953), and the *Reclining Figure* for UNESCO, Paris (1958). Nevertheless, this very success marred him in the eyes of several key critics: among them Clement Greenberg, who, by 1947, found Moore’s work

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391 Parr, 1966 a, p. 115
academic in its attachment to classicism. Even James Johnson Sweeney, who felt Moore remained in 1946 ‘some sort of avant-garde figure’, recognised that Moore’s Englishness diminished his avant-gardist credentials: modernist exploration appeared merely as ‘conservative experimentation’.

Thus, when I argue that Moore’s practice represented a form of alternative professionalism, I accept that Moore’s central place in the modernist canon was, by 1955, in question. I would counter, however, that this particularly English, humane and conservative form of avant-gardism and professionalism was deeply attractive to Parr, who manifested many of the same traits himself throughout his long dual career as sculptor and educationist.

Indeed, the sense of art’s self-containment – its exemption from the constraints of economic imperatives – that Parr observed in Moore’s milieu, was something Parr came to value so highly that he became effective spokesman for artistic independence. As Simon Klose observed in interview, ‘With Len there was always the sense that he had to broach society and the art world. He felt that he had to visibly [and] measurably achieve in this profession’. Parr would become Australian sculpture’s supreme diplomat, smoothing ruffled relations between artists, architects and governmental and corporate commissioners. Artistic independence was a hallmark of artistic professionalism and must be defended at every turn. This philosophy was something he first conceived in Moore’s studio. Moore’s approach to sculpture as an independent and justifiable profession would underscore Parr’s activities upon his return to Melbourne, particularly his involvement with Centre Five.

### 4.4: Norma Redpath: painting at Swinburne, sculpture at ‘the Tech’

Redpath returned to Swinburne in 1946 as a non-fee-paying painting student after two years convalescence from tuberculosis. Rather than enrol in a particular course, she was ‘permitted to follow my own choice of direction at my own pace, painting, drawing and inner questioning’. Fellow students at this period included James Meldrum, Shay Docking and returned serviceman Ray Crooke. Meldrum provides an interesting precedent for Redpath: he won the Italian Government Scholarship in

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395 Klose interview, 2012.
397 Gleeson and Salmon, 1979, p. 3.
1955 (five years before Redpath) and studied at the Universita per Stranieri, Perugia, where Redpath followed – self-funded – in 1956. Redpath retained a black and white etching of Meldrum’s that was likely swapped for one of her own.  

While at Swinburne, Redpath poured over art books in the college, state and municipal libraries, questioning what she saw: ‘how does one gauge rightness, to what depth must one plumb, how to define the rules, what is an absolute value, why, when is it time to change or modify?’ Realism and its a priori claim to truthfulness were challenged. *Untitled (pair of bird forms)*, c. 1947-49, dates from this period (fig. 4.42, NRW0007). While Redpath retrospectively dated this ‘1940s’, it was almost certainly painted after September 1947 when she saw Russell Drysdale’s *The Rabbiters*, 1947, at the NGV. She later recalled the ‘extraordinary impact’ the work had upon her in terms of its scale relationships between man and landscape, although here it is the palette of burnt umber, terracotta, black and white that is most strongly reminiscent of Drysdale. She also cited Arthur Boyd and Sidney Nolan as significant to her in terms of their exploration of scale and their attempts to relate the figure to the vastness of the Australian landscape. In Redpath’s view, each of these painters were also distinctively Australian – something she believed lacking from a later generation of American-influenced colour-field painters. However, in mid-1949 Redpath concluded painting was ‘an exercise in nihilism, for there would be multiple solutions to each idea and I would extend every possibility as far as it was possible. … I went too far and had to stop’.

In desperation she recalled the pleasure experienced playing with modelling clay as a child and more recently working in clay and plaster at Swinburne. Exhibitions of sculpture were also then appearing in Melbourne, awakening in her a sculptural consciousness. She visited Last’s exhibition at Georges Gallery in 1948 and cited it

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398 James Meldrum, *Untitled (landscape with flowers)*, c. 1946-49, etching, 23.6 x 31.1 cm, estate of Norma Redpath.


403 For Redpath’s comments on *The Field*, see Basile, 1968 Aug 22.

404 Redpath, 1991, p. 20; see also her comments in Pratt, 1972, p. 9.

as ‘probably my first actual contact with ... contemporary sculpture’.  She also visited the studio of former Swinburnian Ola Cohn, though she apparently felt daunted by Cohn’s professional practice, feeling instead that sculpture was something she was simply compelled to do.

Most crucially she visited Tye’s Gallery in April 1949, when painter Danila Vassilieff first exhibited his Lilydale limestone carvings. Rather than mallet and chisel, Vassilieff used an electric drill to cut into the brittle blocks of limestone before grinding the surface with carborundum discs to produce smooth, highly tactile surfaces akin to those that Moore and Hepworth. Following Moore’s emphasis on sculpture’s tactility, Vassilieff encouraged gallery visitors to ‘handle the carvings, to look at the stones and the arrangement’. Vassilieff had read Herbert Read’s *Education Through Art* (1943), which promoted a haptic sensibility – that is, sensitivity to inner bodily sensations and experiences – over the purely visual. Vassilieff’s earliest carvings, 1947-49, were strongly expressive and usually figurative or animistic, with certain features exaggerated such as the self-righteously pursed mouth and protruding bottom of *The Politician*, 1947 (fig. 4.43). This particular work – the only sculpture that sold at the 1949 Tye’s exhibition – demonstrates Vassilieff’s primacy of the tactile and haptic over the visual. It left a deep impression and confirmed Redpath’s desired direction. This response to accumulated bodily knowledge and an awareness of self in relation to her environment would become hallmarks of her mature work.

Towards the end of 1949 Redpath enrolled in the sculpture program at the MTC. At ‘the Tech’, 1949-55, her studies were again largely self-directed though she acknowledged Stanley Hammond imparted valuable technical skills in

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409 Gleeson and Vassilieff, 1979, pp. 7-8; St John Moore, 1982, p. 79.
410 Melbourne, 1949.
411 Read, 1943; St John Moore, 1982, pp. 76-7
414 According to records held in RMIT archives, Redpath was enrolled 1949-55, although she usually gave her final year of study as 1952. In a letter to Geoffrey Edwards she explained her use of the studio facilities continued into 1953 (Redpath papers, letter to Edwards, 3 March 2000, p. 2). She took subjects in sculpture, jewellery and art history, but with no degree or diploma conferred (with thanks to Lachlan Glanville, RMIT archives, email of 26 February 2015).
woodcarving.\textsuperscript{415} She also recalled Hammond discussing the ‘problems and responsibilities of producing large scale commissioned works’ (Hammond assisted Paul Montford on the Shrine of Remembrance sculptures in the 1930s and was responsible for enlarging George Allen’s design for the Shrine’s World War II cenotaph, 1951-55) and mused that this perhaps marked the beginning of her ‘inner colloquium concerning the moral situation of the sculptor in relation to society… [and] the function of sculpture’.\textsuperscript{416} These two issues became pivotal to her thinking as she increasingly worked on large-scale public commissions in the 1960s.

Among the handful of other sculpture students during Redpath’s time at the MTC were Pam Hallandal, Patricia Lowe, Max Lyle and Lenton Parr, who each undertook teacher training alongside sculptural studies.\textsuperscript{417} Lowe, Lyle and Parr were the first to undertake the diploma in sculpture, which was first offered in 1949.\textsuperscript{418} In the various versions of her memoir Redpath mentioned them only in the context of the precariousness of the sculptor’s lot in the 1950s, and the unlikeliness that any of them could survive without the extra income from teaching. She recalled Parr’s remark that ‘to be a sculptor means absolute dedication similar to that of a religious order’ – a sentiment with which she agreed.\textsuperscript{419} Sculpting was a vocation rather than occupation.

However, Redpath found her main source of inspiration at the MTC not in the sculpture studio but rather in the Department of Humanities, where John Rossiter and Alfred Andrew Berriman both taught. According to Berriman, the department aimed to share ‘the benefits of culture’ through such subjects as literature, history, languages, psychology, philosophy and ethics, in order that a working person’s leisure-time be profitably enjoyed rather than squandered.\textsuperscript{420} Redpath became particularly interested in psychology, later citing Gerhard Adler’s \textit{Studies in Analytical Psychology} (1948) and a collection of Jung’s writings (1949) as critical to her thinking.\textsuperscript{421} She likely encountered these works through Berriman and Rossiter, whom she recalled as ‘humanist philosophers’ who shared an office at the Tech and

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{416} Redpath, 1991, p. 27.
\textsuperscript{417} Herald, 1953 Sept 1.
\textsuperscript{418} Linn and Lyle, 2004, p. 13.
\textsuperscript{419} Redpath, 1991, p. 27.
\textsuperscript{420} Berriman, 1949, p. 37.
\textsuperscript{421} Redpath, 1985, p. 8.
\end{footnotes}
with whom she became very friendly.422 This reference tallies with a separate allusion to ‘a humanist philosopher’ in Redpath’s memoir of 1979 where she recorded her introduction, circa 1948, to an unnamed ‘person who was not directly connected with the arts but very much a humanist and philosopher who was able to widen my vision and who opened a direction to a wealth of new reading’.423 There developed between them ‘a deep and valuable relationship’ that ‘lasted a number of years but for multiple and complicated reasons could not be permanent’.424 This relationship was possibly with Rossiter, who was then married and, in the 1950s, increasingly involved with the Liberal party.425 While the relationship seems not to have lasted beyond Redpath’s years at the Tech, the experience consolidated her ‘search for absolute values and quality of experience’ and helped formulate her views on equality within marriage.426

If Redpath felt the Tech had little influence on her sculpture beyond providing technical instruction, she also felt Australia offered little in the way of an existing sculptural tradition. In years to follow she frequently bemoaned the lack on an existing ‘form language’ or ‘sculptural tradition’.427 Retrospectively she perceived that the war ‘no doubt exacerbated’ Australia’s ‘relative cultural isolation’.428 However, she never referred to pioneer modernists such as Rayner Hoff or Clive Stephen (the latter who was still exhibiting and lecturing during these years), let alone earlier Victorian- and Edwardian era sculptors – such Bertram Mackennal, Charles Web Gilbert, Charles Douglas Richardson or Margaret Baskerville – whom Parr admired. If their ‘form language’ derived chiefly from the British tradition, then this was little different to the situation with painting with the exception that painters were preoccupied with landscape as a vehicle for national expression. The Australian landscape was unique; ergo Australian landscape painters were distinctively

422 Redpath papers, box 17, letter from Redpath to Dimity Webb, 7 November 1994.
Australian. Sculptors, long preoccupied with the figure, had fewer opportunities to develop a distinctly Australian sculpture beyond statues of pioneers or explorers. Redpath consciously turned to Australian landscape painters such as Drysdale, Nolan and Boyd for inspiration, beginning ‘mentally to attempt parallel developments’ in her sculpture.429

Her earliest sculptures were figurative – usually female – and stylised with bodies presented as simplified masses. If we compare her *Woman with arms raised*, c. 1952 (fig. 4.44, NR0011), with Clifford Last’s *South Wind*, 1948 (fig. 4.29, CL0021) – both full-length figures of clothed women with their arms raised – it is immediately clear that Redpath was already thinking in the abstract, disregarding niggardly details such as the neckline of the dress in preference for a strong silhouette. There is an expressive force here akin to Vassilieff, though without the emphasis on folk-art or child-like intuition. *Two Figures*, 1949 (fig. 4.45, NR0005) is a more complex composition with the figures of a man and woman standing back to back, simultaneously pushing back into one another (her head raised, his downturned) and supporting an unresolved convex shape at one shoulder. The work perhaps reflects her interest in Jungian unity of opposites. Technically, both of these works are carved in limestone (Redpath tended to refer to her stones as marble, a term that can be applied to polished limestone) and show the same preference for immaculate surfaces that incorporate the delicate veining of the stone into the overall design that Last and Vassilieff favoured.430 In formal terms they are balanced, harmonious and, as Gordon Thomson remarked, of a quality that ‘stood out in the small company in which they were shown’.431

*Sleeping Bird*, 1949 (fig. 4.46, NR0004), is ostensibly a natural form: a series of arcs quietly delineating folded wings and curved neck. Yet we are also given a notional idea of the stone’s contours, lending a sense of immutable form, or stasis, that characterised much of the modern British school of carvers.432 This same stillness is

430 Last possibly provided guidance on materials. His *Warrior’s Head*, c. 1947, in ‘Australian marble’ that he sourced from central Australia, was reportedly white with fine red veining (see Gill, 1950, p. 27). The so-called ‘soapstone’ that Redpath used for *Sleeping Bird*, 1949, and *White Spheroid*, c. 1950-1, shares the same colouring and is likely this same ‘Australian marble’.
432 On direct carving and stasis see Curtis, 2004, p. 293.
also found in Last’s work of this period, particularly his two carvings titled *Bird Form* that he showed at Georges Gallery in 1948 (CL0001 and CL0011). Natural forms were subjected to geometric simplification – their unruliness subdued.

Other early works were explorations of abstract geometry. In *White Spheroid*, c. 1950-51 (fig. 4.47, NR0009), we are immediately aware of the roundness of the original stone, which is carved away on two sides and opened internally with two cavities either side of a supporting core. The work is a study of solid and void, spheres, circles and ellipses, the mathematical precision countered only by the fine red veining that runs through the stone. Another version of the same subject, *Ovoid*, 1950 (fig. 4.48, NR0008), in Huon pine, was executed approximately twelve months earlier (it was shown at the VSS in November 1950, whereas the *White Spheroid* was shown at the same venue in November 1951). A drawing (fig. 4.49, NRW0008) exists that shows Redpath toyed with the idea of painting the internal structure of *Ovoid* white, possibly to emphasise the skeletal nature of the supporting armature. However, this would have related the work too closely to the likely source for her explorations: namely Barbara Hepworth’s *Oval Sculpture* of 1943 (fig. 4.50), in which the wooden form is likewise internally painted white.\(^{433}\) If this particular work was the not exact source for Redpath, then she would most certainly have been familiar with such well known works of Hepworth’s as *Pelagos*, 1946, and *Pendour*, 1947-8, which both took the form of hollowed-out rounded and spheroid forms internally painted white or pale blue.\(^{434}\) Redpath later acknowledged her debt to Hepworth and Moore, for whom – even during her student years – ‘reference was abundant’, particularly following the touring exhibition of Moore’s work in Australia in 1948.\(^{435}\)

*Bird Form*, c. 1950 (fig. 4.51, NR0007), is further example of the impact that Hepworth and Moore made upon the young student Redpath. Both Hepworth and Moore were, by the late-1940s, beginning to work increasingly with upright vertical forms that explored the interrelation of outer and inner forms. *Bird Form* indicates an awareness of this recent sculpture – the bird rendered as a thin vertical form, folding

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433 Redpath could have seen reproductions of this work in any number of publications including Gibson and Browse, 1946, illustrated on front cover, or Hepworth, 1946, p. 100.
434 Barbara Hepworth, *Pelagos*, 1946, elm with colour and strings on oak base, 43.0 x 46.0 x 38.5 cm, collection Tate Gallery London; and *Pendour*, 1947, plane wood with colour, 30.6 x 74.5 x 23.8 cm, Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Washington D.C.
435 Redpath, c. 2002, p. 8. The SLV holds two early volumes on Moore: Grigson, 1944, and Read, 1944. In addition Redpath may have seen Read, 1934, or Sylvester, 1948 a and b.
in on itself in a study of open and closed form – while also harking back to her earlier version of the same subject on paper: *Untitled (pair of bird forms)*, c. 1947-49 (NRW0007). The multiple pierced holes or voids, the ‘wing’ held protectively close to the central core and the hollowed-out convex shapes behind this form, encourage the viewer to continually move around the work yet there is also a stillness and containment to the work, as there was in the earlier *Sleeping Bird*.

During Redpath’s student years at the Tech she attempted to synthesize a range of ideas about contemporary sculpture. From the local painting scene she absorbed an awareness of scale relationships in the work of Drysdale, Nolan and Boyd. Only two ‘local’ sculptors – Last and Vassilieff – registered with her but their example proved stimulating. From Last she absorbed the importance of fine craftsmanship and finish and the satisfaction of simplified organic forms. Like Last, Redpath employed traditional techniques for modern ends: carving stone with mallet and chisel – a capability that journalists seized upon, perceiving news value in photographs of female art students wielding heavy ‘manly’ tools (fig. 4.52).\(^{436}\) In Vassilieff she divined a haptic sensibility that extended beyond surface finish to embodied knowledge and awareness of the self in space. Her reading of Jung, possibly at the suggestion of John Rossiter, also led to her interest in fusing opposites, as in *Two Figures*, and a search for archetypal biologically significant forms such as the spherical shape of *Sleeping Bird* and *White Spheroid* or the tall vertical ellipse of *Bird Form*. Her other main influence was the contemporary British school of sculpture dominated by Moore and Hepworth. In this she was typical of most young Australian sculptors who, at the time, had not yet travelled and met with a wider range of influences. Travel followed, but not before Redpath had first been taken up by three recently arrived émigrés – Kane, King and Last – and with them, in 1953, formed the Group of Four, fore-runners to Centre Five.

### 4.5: London-Melbourne, Melbourne-London

This chapter has focussed on specific moments in the lives of four of Centre Five’s future members, as they occurred mainly in London and Melbourne in the immediate post-war years and up to the mid-1950s. Appearing throughout has been the looming

\(^{436}\) A similar photograph of Redpath carving a block of stone appeared in Herald, 1953 Sept 1.
figure of Moore, whose influence on Australian sculpture of the post-war period has long been recognised (Patrick McCaughey thought it ‘smothering’) if perhaps under-examined. For King, Moore was a significant but absent presence: while Ohly owned some of Moore’s work, exhibited it at the Berkley Galleries, and brought Moore out to visit the Abbey, King did not meet Moore until her return visit to England in 1969-70. Nevertheless his influence was pervasive as suggested not only by the drawings of Moore’s sculptures that her future husband Grahame drew at the Abbey but by her own work, which changed dramatically at the Abbey away from the cubist geometry of the Glasgow and Liverpool period towards a smoothly finished organic abstraction. Moore and Hepworth had a more direct impact on Last, who cited their respective exhibitions in London in 1946 as precipitating his realisation that he wished to carve. His brief training under Allan Howes, one of the so-called ‘new British sculptors’, reinforced Moore’s edict of truth to materials and his practice of direct carving, which Last referred to regularly in interview in Australia. These same edicts were of importance to Redpath, who found reference to Moore ‘abundant’ while she was a student and whose earliest carvings strongly resembled Hepworth’s. By the mid-1960s, however, vestigial allegiances to Moore would be held against some members of Centre Five. Daniel Thomas, for instance, claimed King and Last displayed less formal imagination than Jomantas and Parr as their forms were largely dictated by their materials.

Of the four sculptors dealt with in this chapter, Parr had the greatest contact and direct dealings with Moore as his studio assistant, 1955-56. From a formalist perspective, Moore’s trademark reclining forms are evident in some of Parr’s horizontal works such as Danae (fig. 4.41, LP0025). Parr’s decision to work in welded steel, rather than carve, was partly a result of his attempting to resist his employer’s magnetic influence and partly a response to new directions in sculpture visible in London in the 1950s – particularly the work of Butler and, arguably, the Frenchwoman Richier. More significant, however, was the impact of Moore’s vitalist ethos. From Moore, Parr learnt to respect sculpture that accounted for its own occupation of space – sculpture that possessed a living presence. It might also be noted that King was likewise highly conscious of this aspect of public sculpture; she too would become

438 Thomas, 1964, p. 63.
increasingly concerned with sculpture’s living presence in the landscape and its potential for vitalising an inhumane urban landscape. This awareness of sculpture’s three dimensionality, and accounting for the way in which it shares space with the viewer, places Parr and King at the forefront of later developments in minimalist sculpture, where the viewer’s engagement with sculpture takes on a self-aware theatrical aspect.

In addition, I have argued that Moore provided a crucial example of what I term alternative professionalism. Working in Moore’s studio gave Parr his first experience of what it meant to successfully pursue modernist ideals with a wholly professional – and very English – demeanour. The other sculptors surveyed in this chapter also made significant steps in establishing their own alternative professional credentials. King exhibited in 1949 at E.L.T. Mesens’ London Gallery, the home of British avant-gardism in the 1940s, and held two exhibitions within her first two years in Melbourne, both at the Peter Bray Gallery, one of Melbourne’s few professionally run galleries. Last also exhibited there in 1953, showing the constructivist work done after his trip to England, and Parr did likewise (alongside Last, Jomantas and Zikaras) in a group show upon his return to Melbourne in 1957. Parr’s first exhibition at the Obelisk Gallery was a similarly avant-garde move, placing his work among the most exciting to be seen in London in the mid-fifties. Last was precociously active in the area of exhibitions, holding three solo shows in Melbourne and Adelaide, 1948-50. He carefully cultivated an image of himself as a hardworking professional, courting the press in his ‘Parisian’ styled loft and beginning to proselytize on the importance of public sculpture. Redpath had fewer opportunities to do so, being still a student, yet the few press photographs of her in these early years always presented her with her ‘progressive’ work, sometimes (as in fig. 4.52) with mallet and chisel in hand. At the advent of the 1950s, all four sculptors were beginning to formulate themselves as alternative professionals.

In this chapter I have again attempted to reintegrate the four sculptors into their respective post-war milieus. In the case of King, this entailed placing her among a diverse group of Australian, South African and refugee European artists at the Abbey,

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representing an avant-garde mix of European Expressionism and British modernism invariably inflected with an interest in ‘primitive’ art. She was also introduced to and mixed with New York’s avant-garde at one of the most exciting periods of its history, in 1949-50. Robert Klippel at the Abbey provided a useful comparison, in his parallel development from cubist carving to surrealist construction. Herbert Ferber in New York introduced her personally to the new openwork metal sculptors, while Moholy-Nagy’s ideas regarding ‘vision in motion’ – which Walter Gropius brought to her attention – expanded her thinking about sculpture’s three-dimensionality and its potential to present constantly evolving new views. Finally, Alan Davie provided a stimulating sounding board for her ideas on abstraction as well as a concrete example of working in spidery, freehand monotype, ‘barbaric’-influenced jewellery and ephemeral mobile sculpture. This reconstruction of her milieu places King amidst some of the most avant-garde artists active in London and New York at the end of the 1940s and counteracts the widely accepted picture of Australian artists lagging behind, or not being fully aware of, developments in these two centres.

Last cannot be said to have had an artistic milieu in London, given the very brief nature of his training there (less than eight weeks by my reckoning), although he certainly had some exposure to the so-called ‘New British Sculptors’, including his teacher Allan Howes. He was nevertheless abreast of the latest trends in design and fine art as evidenced by his embrace of the ‘sculpture in the home’ campaign. This latter aspect would arguably place him at odds with critics and historians favouring a more public, avant-garde form of sculpture in the 1960s. Last befriended Robert Adams on his return visit in 1951, thereby strengthening his contacts with avant-garde British sculpture. The work he produced immediately upon his return was widely rejected in Australia, only to be later defended by Graeme Sturgeon, who viewed it as Last’s best body of work on the basis of its ‘toughness’ and lack of popular appeal.440

As an Englishman, Last was readily welcomed into Australian society and quickly established a network of contacts who could help with such matters as finding exhibition opportunities, sales and commissions, giving him an advantage over the DP artists considered in the previous chapter. A parallel might be found in the ease with

which another Englishman, Professor Joseph Burke, adapted to Australia where his British qualifications were immediately accepted, compared to the suspicion faced by his German and Austrian art historian colleagues Ursula Hoff and Franz Phillip, who were arguably better qualified than Burke.441 A brief period working at the East Sydney Tech introduced Last to many of the leading Sydney sculptors, with whom he corresponded and liaised in the 1950s. In Melbourne his contacts were largely with doyens of the theatre and ballet and leading society members such as the winemaking Wynn family who would support his meteoric rise over the next decade.

While students together at the Melbourne Tech, Parr and Redpath were both exposed to the ‘moderately art-deco’ mode espoused by George Allen and Stanley Hammond and mixed with fellow student sculptors Pam Hallandal, Patricia Lowe and Max Lyle. Parr’s milieu broadened greatly upon his arrival in England, in 1955, when he met many of the younger sculptors such as Butler and Paolozzi and the Independent Group. Working for Moore he was at the heart of an artistic community, albeit in the quiet backwaters of Hertfordshire, with strong connections in the London art world. These connections with the British avant-garde diminished in the sixties, as Parr became firmly entrenched in the Australian art world.

Redpath’s closest associates during the post-war years seem mainly to have been philosophers rather than artists, reflecting her growing interest in Jung and creative development. Her ‘internationalism’ would not occur until the late 1950s and early 1960s, when repeated visits to Italy would bring her within the milieu of many of Italy’s top sculptors. There she befriended Arnaldo Pomodoro (a press photograph captures them together in a water taxi visiting the Venice Biennale, c. 1964), Alik Cavalieri, Giacomo Benevelli and the Japanese sculptor Kengiro Azuma.442 Of the seven members of Centre Five, it is – unexpectedly – the Melbourne-born Redpath who built the most ‘international’ reputation. Far from experiencing any sort of cultural cringe, she used her position in Milan to circulate information on Australian sculpture among her colleagues in Italy and regularly appeared in the Italian press at ease with her position as an Australian sculptor abroad.

442 The photograph and correspondence with all four sculptors are housed among the Redpath papers, boxes 13-18, 36-45. See also Eckett, 2013 a, p. 17; and Richmond, 2013.
Chapter 4, Aftermath II

The post-war years are usually brushed over in accounts of King, Last, Parr and Redpath on the basis that the works produced were atypical or student works. My account reveals how crucial this period is in comprehending the Centre Five group’s philosophy. The impact of Moore and Hepworth, diverse artistic milieus that at times overlapped the most interesting and progressive circles in London and New York, and a growing sense of their alternative professionalism characterises the narratives of the four sculptors in the post-war years. By focussing on these early, unknown years, I enable a better understanding of the group’s activities during the 1950s, when it was initially the Group of Four, and, from 1961 to 1974, when they operated as Centre Five. As outlined in the introduction, those activities are relatively well known and widely appreciated. At this point, in Melbourne in the early 1950s, the group enters art history.

4.6 Conclusion

The complex geo-cultural mosaic of this thesis has demonstrated the inadequacies of national histories. It underscores the necessity for transnational accounts that trace the myriad intersecting strands of cosmopolitan modernities in the formation of any one artist, let alone groups of artists. This was particularly evident in chapter one, where I examined King’s artistic training in Berlin and Jomantas and Zikaras’ overlapping milieus in Kaunas. King’s sense of Germanic bildung and her privileged Berlin upbringing can only be understood with knowledge of her Jewish heritage, which she long suppressed. However, rather than racially segregating her (classifying her and Charlotte Salomon ‘Nichtarier’ as the Nazis did), I exercised this knowledge to draw more nuanced readings of her work: alert to references – such as the anti-clerical German-Flemish text, Legend of Ulenspiegel – beyond the purely art historical and sensitive to the complexities of German-Jewish culture of the Weimar era. Jomantas and Zikaras’ families in Kaunas were similarly conflicted. Given that their fathers were at the heart of Lithuania’s national cultural revival in the 1930s, it is insufficient to categorise their upbringing as inconsequential or ‘provincial’. Far from subscribing to a simplistic ‘cultural nationalist’ narrative, their stories drew upon Russian fin de siècle academicism, French modernism after Rodin and Lithuanian ‘nativism’. Only in the cases of Last, Parr and Redpath did I encounter less unruly narratives, with each artist confined – prior to the war – to a single country. Running throughout their accounts were the personal memories of childhood arts and crafts:
encounters with material and monuments rather than with diverse cosmopolitan modernities.

Chapter two registered the disrupting force of trauma and the cataclysm of war. While this may seem self-evident, the results were unpredictably different in each case. In Glasgow King befriended local Scottish artists, such as George Innes and Margaret Priest (née Mackenzie), yet it was her contact with Benno Schotz and the exhibition of modern Continental Jewish art he organised that prompted her Holocaust protest (*Warsaw*) and one of her most sustained cubist works (*Musicans: Homage to Zadkine*). In Kaunas, Zikaras followed his teachers Mikėnas’ and Kašuba’s stance in resolutely ignoring the changes in occupying regimes – instead retreating into an art of poetic reverie, looking to inter-war French modernism for inspiration. Jomantas’ early self-portrait reflected the *Ars*-influenced expressionist tendencies and introspective mood of Vilnius teachers such as Vizgirda. Despite living under Soviet and Nazi occupations, Jomantas and Zikaras persisted in seeking professional accreditation as artists, as did King in exile in Glasgow. This was not available to Kane, who survived successive concentration camps including Auschwitz. Last and Parr both enlisted voluntarily but experienced the war mainly from a series of training camps. Last eventually saw action in Italy and was wounded; Parr witnessed the aftermath of atrocities in Japan. The war impelled both men to consider alternative careers than those previously envisaged while also forming the bedrock of their subsequent professional personae. Only Redpath was relatively unscathed by war, yet her father’s death from tuberculosis and her own subsequent contraction of the disease marked these years as a series of traumatic personal events.

In chapter three I considered Jomantas, Kane and Zikaras in Germany’s post-war DP camps and examined the mining of the archaic past among Munich’s sculptors and the French neoclassical mode in Freiburg. The Munich sculptors’ post-war anti-classical figuration has, I believe, been underplayed (despite obvious affinities with the work of Giacometti and Marini) – eclipsed by the rapid rise of non-objective, abstract steel sculpture in the 1950s. Consequently Kane and Jomantas’ training under Hiller has been hitherto unappreciated. In Freiburg we saw Zikaras promoting a neoclassical mode in the sculpture school. This recurrence of the so-called ‘call to order’ appears to be cyclical, rather than confined to 1918-1930s, and far less attached to a
conservative proto-Fascist agenda than Benjamin Buchloh would have us believe.\textsuperscript{443} However, unlike the older teacher staff at Freiburg, Zikaras was receptive to contemporary French influences – particularly Picasso; his work changing definitively after the 1947 exhibition, \textit{Meister französischer Malerei der Gegenwart}.

In the final chapter I charted the two-way traffic between Melbourne and London, with significant digressions to Paris and New York in the pivotal years 1948-50. Old models of Australian art lagging provincially behind that of European and North American ‘centres’ collapse here. Influences do not simply diffuse radially from centre to periphery, but rather occur simultaneously in multiple locales, in different guises. Again, we register the inadequacies of nation-based art history. The complex temporalities in evidence – King meeting Riopelle in Paris, Rothko and Newman in New York, and Davie in London, years before Caro hears of Pollock; or Parr mixing with Paolozzi and the Independent Group at the time of the \textit{This is Tomorrow} exhibition – also highlight the treacheries of the linear historical narrative. Indeed, the thesis as a whole disproved the persistent teleological model of canon formation, producing instead an account that paid close attention to historical and regional specificity and to the multi-layered formation of individuals who collectively constituted a local sculptural avant-garde.

\textsuperscript{443} Buchloh, 1981, pp. 46-8.
4.1: Inge King with an unidentified South African sculptor, possibly Lippy Lipshitz, in her studio at the Abbey Art Centre, New Barnet, c. 1947-48. King is seen at work on *Untitled (Two dancing figures with arms raised)*, 1947, Scottish red sandstone, approx. 61 cm high, which was later re-carved to become two separate works: *Dancer*, 1948 (fig. 4.2, private collection, UK), and *Flower Dancer*, 1948 (fig. 4.3, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne). Photo: Dominion Press, London; King papers.

4.2: Inge King (1915-2016), *Dancer (Figure in red sandstone)*, 1948, red Scottish sandstone, 61 cm high approx., private collection, UK. Photo: Alfred Carlebach, London; King papers.

4.4: Henri Gaudier-Brzeska (1891-1915), *Red Stone Dancer*, c. 1913, red Mansfield stone, 43.2 x 22.9 x 22.9 cm, London: Tate Gallery, presented by C. Frank Stoop through the Contemporary Art Society 1930. Photo: Tate Gallery, London.


4.8: Inge King (1915-2016), *Treeform*, 1948-49, English boxwood, 60.0 x 15.0 x 15.0 cm, Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria. Photo: Adrian Featherstone for Mark Strizic Photography, King papers.
4.9: Inge King (1915-2016), *Untitled (ideas for sculpture)*, 1948, pen and black ink with wash over pencil on paper, 27.5 x 37.5 cm, estate of the artist. Photo: the author.

4.11: Inge King (1915-2016), *Untitled (studies for sculpture)*, Paris, 30 May 1950, pen and black ink on paper, 21.8 x 26.5 cm, estate of the artist. Photo: the author.

4.12: Inge King (1915-2016), *Untitled (idea for Animal Forms)*, New York, 3 January 1950, pastel and charcoal on brown paper, 31.5 x 46.9 cm, estate of the artist. Photo: the author.
4.13: Inge King (1915-2016), *Frederick (Rooster)*, 1948, partridge wood, 91.4 cm high, private collection, USA.  Photo: Alfred Carlebach, London; King papers.

4.15: Inge King (1915-2016), *Untitled (drawing for metal sculptures)*, 9 December 1949, New York, pen and black ink with wash on paper, 54.6 x 36.5 cm, estate of the artist. Photo: the author.

4.16: Inge King (1915-2016), *Mobile*, 1950, sheet metal and wire, 100 x 120 x 50 cm approx., formerly Abbey Arts Centre, New Barnet, England; present whereabouts unknown. Photo: unknown photographer, King papers.

4.18: Inge King (1915-2016), *Untitled*, 1950, monotype in black ink on De Havilland Aircraft Company drafting paper, 25.5 x 34.6 cm, estate of the artist. Photo: the author.
4.19: Inge King (1915-2016), *Impression from Autun Cathedral*, c. 1951, plaster relief, approx. 30.5 cm high, private collection. Photo: possibly Grahame King, King papers.

4.20: Inge King (1915-2016), *Relief*, 1950, plaster relief, 25.3 x 38.0 cm, private collection. Photo: possibly Grahame King; King papers.
4.21: Installation view of *Exhibition of Paintings, Jewellery, Constructions in Steel by Grahame and Inge King*, Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne. The sculpture pictured is Inge King’s *Centaur*, 1952, steel and wood, 150 cm high approx., whereabouts unknown. Photo: Grahame King; King papers.

4.22: Inge King (1915-2016), *Merry-go-round*, 1952, steel, 60 cm high approx., purchased by Lady Maie Casey; thence to Frances Burke; present whereabouts unknown. Photo: Grahame King; King papers.

4.25: Clifford Last (1918-91), *St Christopher*, 1947, limed chestnut with wax finish, 122 cm high approximately, private collection, Melbourne. Photo: unknown photographer (possibly Ritter Jeppesen Pty Ltd), collection Jerry Last, UK.
4.26: Clifford Last (1918-91), *Fish Form*, 1947, pearwood with wax finish on a searock base, 28 cm long, collection of Don James as of 1989. Photo: unknown photographer (possibly Ritter Jeppesen Pty Ltd), collection Jerry Last, UK.

4.27: Clifford Last (1918-91), *Figure*, 1947, freestone, 50.8 x 91.4 x 50.8 cm approximately, whereabouts unknown. Photo: unknown photographer (possibly Ritter Jeppesen Pty Ltd), collection Jerry Last, UK.
4.28: Clifford Last (1918-91), *Composition*, c. 1948, alabaster, dimensions unknown, whereabouts unknown; formerly collection of Captain N. Runbalk, Sweden. Photo: unknown photographer (possibly Ritter Jeppesen Pty Ltd), collection Jerry Last, UK.

4.29: Clifford Last (1918-91), *South Wind*, 1948, polished cement, 122 cm high approximately, whereabouts unknown. Photo: unknown photographer (possibly Ritter Jeppesen Pty Ltd), collection Jerry Last, UK.
4.30: View of *Sculpture by Clifford Last*, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 5-14 October 1948. Photo: Ritter-Jeppesen Studios, collection Jerry Last, UK.


4.33: Clifford Last (1918-91), *Two Standing Figures* (or *Standing Figure I and II, or Standing Abstract I and II*), 1952, silver poplar, later joined together on a slate base, 48.0 x 18.0 x 18.0 cm each approx., Queensland: Gold Coast Arts Centre. Photo: unknown photographer, Last papers, box 2, folder 6.

4.35: Clifford Last (1918-91), *Untitled*, c. 1952, pencil on wove paper, 51.0 x 38.5 cm, Melbourne: State Library Victoria, accession no. H92.282/309. Photo: SLV.

4.37: Lenton Parr (1924-2003), *Flying Man*, 1956, steel including found objects, 81.0 cm wide, whereabouts unknown. Pictured at the exhibition *Retrospect, Five Years: Victorian Sculptors' Society*, Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, East Melbourne, July 1958. In the background are (L): Norma Redpath, *Mask* (or *Masks*), c. 1955 (NR0026), and (R): Inge King, *Abstraction in Oakwood* (later known as *Figure in Oak*), 1949 (IK0078). Photo: Anita Aarons (?); Aarons papers, courtesy AGNSW.


4.41: Lenton Parr (1924-2003), *Danae*, 1956, steel and bronze, 19.5 x 24.0 x 37.0 cm, Geelong Gallery, Victoria, accession no. 1959.4. Photo: unknown photographer, courtesy Sue Walker and Australian Galleries.

4.43: Danila Vassilieff (1897-1958), *The Politician (also known as Election Speaker)*, 1947, marble (polished Lilydale limestone) and lacquer, 52.5 x 19.0 x 26.0 cm, Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria. Photo: NGV.
4.44: Norma Redpath (1928-2013), *Woman with arms raised (possibly originally titled Woman)*, c. 1952, dove marble on polished granite base, original dimensions unknown, torso fragment with the Charles Nodrum Gallery, Richmond, Vic. Photo: University of Melbourne Visual Aids Department, Redpath papers.

4.45: Norma Redpath (1928-2013), *Two Figures*, 1949, polished red limestone, approx. 20 cm high, formerly collection Dr Euan Maclean, presently damaged and with the artist’s estate. Photo: University of Melbourne Visual Aids Department, Redpath papers.
4.46: Norma Redpath (1928-2013), *Sleeping Bird*, 1949, soapstone, 11.3 x 15.5 x 12.5 cm, with the Charles Nodrum Gallery, Richmond, Vic., 2013. Photo: University of Melbourne Visual Aids Department, Redpath papers.


4.49: Norma Redpath (1928-2013), *Untitled study for sculpture (Spheroid)*, c. 1950-1, ink and watercolour on card, 18.5 x 23.0 cm, Bathurst Regional Gallery, NSW, Gwen Frolich Bequest. Photo: Bathurst Regional Gallery.
4.50: Dame Barbara Hepworth (1903-75), *Oval Sculpture*, 1943, plane wood with painted concavities, 34.9 x 46.2 x 29.9 cm, Orkney, Scotland: Pier Arts Centre, gift of Margaret Gardiner, 1979. Photo: Pier Arts Centre, Orkney.

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Appendix A: Genealogy

1: Inge King

Born on the 26th November 1915, Ingeborg Viktoria Neufeld was the youngest child of Ernst and Lisbeth Neufeld. Ernst Neufeld, who was fifty when Inge was born, owned a successful wholesale business in leather goods. Lisbeth Neufeld (née Salinger) was from a comfortably wealthy and rather conservative family, which estranged them somewhat from King’s more liberal-minded parents, both of whom favoured the Social Democrats (SPD). A distant ancestor of the Salingers had fled from France and arrived circa 1745-50 in Berlin where the Francophile Frederick II welcomed French Huguenots, Jews, and all religious dissidents. Lisbeth Salinger’s father was a self-educated and widely travelled businessman, who served as a diplomatic emissary during World War One in parts of Russia and the Balkans; his correspondence in French with the Queen of Romania, known by her pen-name, Carmen Sylva, was later poured over in fascination by the Neufeld sisters. These sisters – Lily, Gerda and Margot – were ten and a half, twelve and a half, and fourteen and a half years older than King, effectively representing ‘a different generation’.

While her sisters availed of the considerable freedoms of the Weimar period, regularly attending concerts and ‘progressive’ plays, King stayed at home where she was raised by an adored nurse and later a governess. However, the influence of her sisters was important, particularly that of the second eldest, Gerda, who studied law at university and was ‘very left-winged’. King recalls her sisters discussing music and theatre at home, much of which she was too young to understand but adds, ‘you take

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1 King interview, 2009; King interview, 2010.
2 King interview, 2009; King interview, 2010.
3 King interview, 2009; King interview, 2010. Sozialdemoktatische Partei Deutschlands (SPD).
4 King interview, 2010. Berlin’s status as a refuge for Huguenots was established earlier, in 1685, when Frederick I issued the Edict of Potsdam, which gave formal refuge to over 11,000 French Huguenots, of whom 6,000 settled in Berlin. Following this act, Berlin, as a city, became known for its religious tolerance, a reputation perpetuated under Frederick II.
5 King interview, 2010. Elisabeth of Wied (1843-1916) was born in Neuwied in the Rhineland-Palatinate and married Carol I of Romania in 1869, becoming Queen Consort in 1881. Her essays, poems, plays, and novels, written variously in French, German, English, and Romanian, were published under the nom de plume, Carmen Sylva.
6 King interview, 2010.
7 Blackman and King, 1989, tape 1, side 1; King interview, 2010.
8 King interview, 2010.
in a certain amount. As she grew older, she was taken to candlelit chamber music recitals – Bach, Vivaldi and Teleman – in the Schloss Charlottenburg or some of the city’s old churches. A small pencil sketch among her papers, probably dating to the late 1930s, records the profile of renowned Swiss pianist, Albert Ferber, whom King recognised instantly upon happening across the drawing – attesting to the significance of music to her from a young age.

By late 1921, the continuing negotiations for reparations demanded of Germany by the Western Allies after World War One, combined with internal budget problems and hoarding of foreign exchange by manufacturers, had edged Germany towards financial crisis. Between May and November of 1922, the US dollar/mark exchange rate index multiplied exponentially from 70 to 7,589.27 – a rise of 1,539 per cent. One direct effect of this was that the price of basic goods, including food, rose astronomically within the space of a single day. King recalls her mother being reduced to tears when she found that the money her husband had left in the morning to pay for a hundred-weight sack of potatoes was no longer sufficient; delivery was refused and the Neufeld household (including maids and nanny) had to find provisions elsewhere. Ernst Neufeld had for years prudently saved in the belief that he would one day need to provide dowries for his four daughters. Unlike some members of the middle-classes, who converted their savings into real assets or who benefited from mortgages that effectively evaporated overnight, during the period 1921-23, Neufeld lost both his and his wife’s entire savings.

The Weimar period was a veritable crucible for the emergence of increasingly radical right-wing and national-revolutionary political parties, of which Hitler’s Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (NSDAP, National Socialist German

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9 King interview, 2009.
11 Ref. no. 2891. When we came across this sketch, while I was cataloguing her works on paper, King immediately named him as Albert Ferber and recalled: ‘the man was a gifted pianist and organist; he had a musical memory, and would play Bach by memory, but he was quite inept for any way of life’. King conversation, 10 April 2012. Ferber studied in Germany before settling permanently in London in 1939. It is possible that the drawing dates from London, although King was adamant that it was done in Berlin.
12 Feuchtwanger, 1993, pp. 87-102, 135-43.
13 Feuchtwanger, 1993, p. 101; see also table p. 120.
14 King interview, 2009.
15 King interview, 2009.
16 Feuchtwanger, 1993, p. 139.
Workers’ Party) distinguished itself only by conflating the ‘radical nationalism of the extreme right with some of the anti-capitalism of the left’, and using an anti-Semitic platform to unite these two apparently opposing ideologies.\(^{17}\) As King approached school-leaving age, Germany’s political situation deteriorated: while convicted right-wing *putschists* served leniently short prison sentences, agitation from left-wing dissidents met with summarily brief trials and swift executions.\(^{18}\) Traditional conservative elites from the church, judiciary, and military – their power unchecked by the SPD – were repelled by ‘lower-class’ elements within the myriad of smaller, right-wing parties that arose throughout the twenties, and threw the weight of their combined influence behind Hitler and the Nazis.\(^{19}\) Escalating anti-Semitism took the form of ‘Jew-baiting’ in many sectors of the press, public forums from which Jews were barred, and both open and secret boycotts of Jewish doctors and lawyers.\(^{20}\) When Hitler became Reichs Chancellor, on 30 January 1933, the NSDAP implemented an immediate series of boycotts, dismissals, and arrests of Jews and others deemed ‘undesirable’ under National Socialist policy.\(^{21}\) However, further purges of Jews from public life were temporarily abated by confusion as to who exactly might be defined as Jewish. For the next two years, until the passing of the Nuremberg Laws in 1935, this confusion among the party meant that many Jews were able to persist in following their profession or business.\(^{22}\)

King’s eldest sister Margot married a dentist by the name of Dann and with him had a son, Uriel Dann (1922-91), who was only six years younger than King and with whom she regularly played during childhood. Margot and her family, along with Lisbeth Neufeld, left in 1936 for Israel, where the young Uri went on to have an illustrious academic career. King often referred to her nephew during our

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\(^{18}\) Gay, 1968.

\(^{19}\) Weitz, 2007, p. 359.

\(^{20}\) The issue of anti-Semitic publications and boycotts during the early 1930s were raised and taken to task in a flyer issued in April 1932 by the Hamburg Chapter of the Central Association of German Citizens of the Jewish Faith, reprinted in Kaes, Jay, and Dimendberg, 1994, pp. 272-5.

\(^{21}\) Within the spheres of art and literature, the forced resignations of Käthe Kollwitz and Heinrich Mann from the Prussian Academy of Art in February 1933, the books burnings that took place in thirty-four university towns across Germany on 10 May 1933 accompanied by speeches and incantations broadcast live over the radio, the removal of modernist works of art from museum displays, and the dismissal of Jewish staff from art schools in 1933-34 all illustrate the immediate repercussions of the advent of the Third Reich.

\(^{22}\) The Nürnberg Laws defined Jewishness according to the number of a person’s grandparents who were Jews, and introduced a raft of repressive measures including the cancellation of German citizenship, rendering German Jews stateless.
conversations though without naming him; but an inscription on a photograph, taken in 1940, among King’s papers revealed his identity. Uri Dann served in the British forces during WWII and graduated from the University of London in 1959. He went on to obtain two doctorates: the first from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1968) and the second from Oxford (1980). He was professor of modern Middle East history at Tel Aviv University, 1966-90, where students hailed him as ‘our doyen and an intellectual pillar’. A series of photographs in King’s personal papers record his visits to her in London after the war and in Melbourne in the 1960s.

2: Teisutis Zikaras

Teisutis Juozas Zikaras was born 5 July 1922 in Panevėžys. He was the fourth son of sculptor Juozas Zikaras (1881-1944) and Anelė Zikarienė (née Tūbelytė, 1888-1963). Little is known of his mother, other than that she was a trained midwife and, later in life, lent her support to a number of women’s interest lobbies, maintaining a regular correspondence on their behalf. It has also been suggested that she was Jewish, although Teisutis Zikaras was unaware of this until adulthood.

Juozas Zikaras was raised in the tiny hamlet of Paliūkai, thirteen kilometres from Panevėžys, in a thatch-roofed wooden cottage surrounded by fields of grain. Typical of most ethnic Lithuanians at the time, his parents were landless peasants who leased a small farm of one and a half hectares. His father, Viktoras, was a woodcarver of local repute and passed on his interest to the young Juozas, who began whittling wood at the age of eight. This was a well-established tradition within Lithuanian rural communities, with each village having at least one acknowledged master carver, or

23 Shamir, 2005, p. x.
25 Zikaras birth extract, 1942.
26 The first two sons did not survive past infancy (Martinkienė, 2010). The eldest surviving son, Vaidutis, was born 18 May 1920. After Teisutis came twins, a boy and a girl, Vainutis and Alytė, born 20 February 1925 (their names are given in the Kaunas Art School records, file 61.5.59, Juozas Zikaras personal file, 1929-44, p. 4). The surnames of Lithuanian married women take the suffix ‘ienė’; hence Zikaras’ wife is Zikarienė. Alytė Zikaras never married but instead opened the family home in Kaunas as a private studio museum, later gifting the house and its contents to the state.
27 Martinkienė, 2010.
28 Borthwick, 2012, p. 56. The claim is unsubstantiated.
29 Kezys, 2004, p. 54. By ‘ethnic Lithuanians’ I refer to those whose first language was Lithuanian. Information on the size of the Zikaras family farm comes from Teisutis Zikaras’ answers to a Soviet questionnaire regarding his family’s financial circumstances: Zikaras art school form, 1940.
dievdirbys (god carver), who produced works of religious or symbolic significance such as the stogastulpis (small, roofed, pole-top shrines, originating from the pagan period of pantheistic belief and adapted to Christian worship), the carved figures of saints and dievukai (literally meaning ‘little gods’), and the elaborately ornamented wayside crosses for which the country is still renowned. Lithuanian wood carvings were a folk expression of Catholicism, which – despite having been introduced relatively late in the country’s history, in the fourteenth century, and despite the officially imposed Russian Orthodoxy – was adhered to by the majority of Lithuanians since taking firm root during the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Common to many of his generation, Juozas Zikaras received but a rudimentary education, via his mother, who taught him to read from the Bible. This was largely owing to a chronic lack of schools in Russia’s Lithuanian provinces, coupled with the prohibition of publications printed in the Latin alphabet, in force from 1864 until 1904. However, at the age of sixteen he finally went to school, acquiring a sufficient level of education within two years that, during his early twenties, he secretly taught other local children to read and write in Lithuanian, in a form of hedge school. This early experience of subversion and the importance placed on learning and the vernacular language would later bear fruit in a small statue, Iš Tilžės (From Tilžė), 1906, depicting a man carrying a sack of banned Lithuanian books printed in the Prussian border town of Tilsit, which was later reworked under the title Knygnešys (Book Smuggler), 1928. Juozas Zikaras was therefore essentially self-educated – a factor that would have a bearing on his own training of Teisutis in his studio in Kaunas (see chapter 1, section 1.2.2).

32 The Russian census of 1897 revealed the lack of education among ethnic Lithuanians, with a mere 2,800 (out of a population of 2,676,000) having achieved anything more than an elementary education. Eidintas, Žalys and Senn, 1998, p. 16.
33 The ban on Lithuanian publications was the direct result of an attempted uprising against Tsarist Russia in 1863, after which printed material and all state elementary schools had to use the Cyrillic rather than the Latin alphabet. Gustainis, 1939, pp. 606, 609.
34 Iš Tilžės, 1906, since lost. Cited in Vizgirda, 1978 a, p. 324, but not listed in the Zikaras catalogue raisonné. Known as Tilžė in Lithuanian and Tilsit in German, the former Prussian imperial town is now part of the Russian territory of Kaliningrad Oblast and called Sovetsk. Knygnešys, 1928, bronze, 40 x 15 x 17 cm, collection of the Panevėžys kraštotyros muziejų / Panevėžys Local History Museum. An enlarged version, 2 m high, was cast in 1939 and now stands on permanent display in the Karo muziejaus sodelis / Military Museum Garden, Kaunas.
3: Vincas Jomantas

Vincas Jomantas was born in Kaunas on 22 September 1922 (the same year as Teisutis Zikaras), the elder of two sons of Vilius Jomantas (1891-1960) and Eleonora Jomantienė (?)-c.1941).35 His mother had earlier been involved with the theatre,36 but after contracting tuberculosis was confined to home duties punctuated with occasional spells in a sanatorium.37 During these periods, when their mother was ill, Vincas and his brother would stay with their paternal grandparents, who also lived in Kaunas.38 Their grandfather, Vincas’ namesake, was manager of the telegraphic department in the post-office and, after retirement, immersed himself in a study of the Lithuanian language.39 He and his wife lived with one of their unmarried sons, Feliksas, a taxidermist with an interest in art, who was influential in the shaping of the young Vincas’ visual education (see chapter 1, section 1.2.3).40

4: Clifford Last

Clifford Frank Last was born 13th December 1918 on Pooks Green, a small road skirting the edge of the New Forest just outside Southampton, Hampshire.41 His father, William Last, served in the navy in World War I and was garrisoned at Southampton during the war.42 William Last (1887-1969), like his father before him, Edward Last, was a self-employed cabinetmaker from Barrow-in-Furness in Lancashire.43 He married Nellie (known as Nella) Lord in Barrow in 1911 and with her had three sons: Ronald (who lived only a week), Arthur (born 1913) and

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35 Jomantas mentioned his mother’s name in interview (Blackman and Jomantas, 1984) but the spelling is unconfirmed.
36 Blackman and Jomantas, 1984, tape 1, side 1.
37 Jomantas interview, 2010 b.
38 Jomantas interview, 2010 b.
39 Jomantas interview, 2010 b. The name of Vincas’ paternal grandfather is known from Lithuanian Artists’ Union papers, questionnaire for members, p. 1.
40 Jomantas interview, 2010 b.
41 Last seems to have been under the misapprehension that Pooks Green (which he consistently misspelt as Pookes Green) was a village near Southampton. This misspelling and misuse appears in all known versions of his curriculum vitae and biography.
42 William Last was classified a ‘C3’ man, meaning not fit for fighting at the front and ‘only suitable for sedentary work’; see Greveson, 2011, URL: http://www.circlecity.co.uk/wartime/board/index.php?page=118.
Clifford. Nella would later expound regularly on the great differences between her two surviving sons, usually to Clifford’s detriment. Nella Last (1889-1969) was born a few kilometres south of Barrow, in the Cumbrian village of Rampside, one of three children to John Charles Lord and Margaret Lord (née Rawlinson). Her maternal Rawlinson forebears were stern Quakers from the then isolated Lakeland village of Hawkshead, to whom she sometimes attributed Clifford’s trait of ‘ice cold resolve’. Her father was an audit clerk for the Furness Railway (she would later describe him as an accountant), while his father before him, Thomas Lord, had been a locomotive superintendent on the same line. For further details of the Last and Lord families see chapter 1, section 1.4.1.

5: Lenton Parr
Thomas Lenton Parr was born 11 September 1924, the eldest of three sons born to John Thomas Parr and Ivy Evelyn Parr (née Rogers). His father, born 1908, came from Liverpool as a child, fought with the Light Horse Brigade in WWI, and afterwards worked for some years as a blacksmith; thus metalworking was, to some small extent, a family trade. Parr recalled him as intelligent though ill educated and ‘a difficult man’ whose presence resulted in Parr having, what he described as, ‘a blighted childhood’. It has been suggested he was physically violent. Parr’s mother was born 1901 in Castlemaine on the Victorian goldfields. Her people hailed from Lancashire, then New Zealand, from where her father came to Melbourne as a young man, establishing a painter-decorator business in Flemington. Parr himself grew up in Melbourne’s north in the ‘solidly working class’ suburb of East

44 Details of the infant son who died shortly after birth are not to be found in any published account; instead they come from Last papers, PA 92/2, box 6, packet of letters marked ‘Nella Last’s War: letter from Fred Lord (uncle of Clifford Last), Watford, to Clifford Last, 17 November 1983.
45 Nella Last diaries, entry for 19 March 1951: ‘I know Cliff so well ... Under his flippancy he has a streak of ice cold ‘resolve’ that made my mother’s ancestors decide to be Quakers, and in the isolated village-town of Hawkshead dominated by the church for centuries. That would be resolve indeed!’
46 John Charles Lord is described as an audit clerk in Hinton, 2004. Nella Last described him as an accountant in Malcolmson and Malcolmson, 2010, p. 32, entry for 19 February 1950. Details of Clifford Last’s great grandfather, Thomas Lord, are from Last papers, PA 92/2, box 6, packet of letters marked ‘Nella Last’s War: letter from Fred Lord, Watford, to Clifford Last, 12 March 1984, p. [2].
47 The date is mistakenly given as 9 November 1924 in McCulloch, 2004, p. 759. His brothers were Walter and Ernest. Legge, 1971, p. 740; Gleeson and Parr, 1979, p. 1; Edwards, 2003, p. 9; Walker interview, 2015.
48 Blackman and Parr, 1989, tape 1, side 1; Dennis, 1969, p. 303.
49 Blackman and Parr, 1989, tape 1, side 1.
50 Klose interview, 2012.
51 Blackman and Parr, 1989, tape 1, side 1.
52 Blackman and Parr, 1989, tape 1, side 1.
Coburg that was largely settled by ex-WWI servicemen. His family had no connection with artistic circles beyond an interest in music – his mother played ‘popular melodies and ballads’ on the piano and violin while his father was drum major in a local regimental band. Parr’s artistic education was therefore initially stimulated in the city streets, where he had the opportunity to study monumental statuary, as detailed in chapter 1, section 1.5.1.

6: Norma Redpath

Norma Joan Redpath was born in Melbourne’s east at Surrey Hills, 20 November 1928, the younger of two daughters born to Harold Curtis Redpath (1888-1940) and Dorothy Douglas Redpath (née Broadbent, 1895-1962). Her elder sister, Dorothy Jean, was eight years older than her and, like Inge King’s siblings, represented almost a different generation. Redpath later recalled that her sister ‘hardly entered my world except to dominate, a situation totally rejected by me’, while acknowledging that ‘her excellence in drawing … extended my endeavours, somewhat prematurely, for I can remember drawing simple houses in perspective while still in kindergarten’. Their father was born at Sandhurst (as Bendigo was then known), the second of three sons to Thomas Veitch Redpath (1860-1930) and Louisa Redpath (née Payne, 1865-1936). The Redpaths came from Berwick-on-Tweed, near the Scottish border, and came to Australia during the gold rush with Norma’s great-grandfather. Norma was only two years old when her paternal grandfather died but she learnt in her teens that ‘his pastime was to make small pieces of carved furniture’. She vividly recalled ‘two columns’, or pedestals, that he made, ‘of extreme simplicity of form’ with turned profiles. Her memories of her paternal grandmother, Louisa Redpath, were of a

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54 Parr, 1999, p. 16; Pascoe, 2000, p. 59.
56 Letter from John Buchanan, Point Lonsdale, to Norma Redpath, 11 December 2002, in Redpath papers, box 2, family history file. See also Tonkin, 2011: URL: http://www.familytreecircles.com/5-redpath-39999.html
57 Her great-grandfather, George Johnson Redpath (1819-1881), worked his passage to Australia as a ship’s carpenter, c. 1854, and found employment in Bendigo as a mine engine driver. With Isabella Wilkinson Veitch he had eleven children of whom Norma’s grandfather, Thomas Veitch Redpath, was the fourth. Information from Buchanan letter, in Redpath papers, box 2, family history file, and annotated copy of 1954 VSS catalogue among Redpath papers, box 24.
‘rather formal figure’ of whom the family spoke as an eccentric.\textsuperscript{60} Louisa Redpath was apparently an untrained artist who, in her ‘pantry studio’, later in life, practiced china painting and decorative pokerwork as well as modelling sealing wax to ornament wooden boxes – a process that fascinated her young granddaughter.\textsuperscript{61} Perhaps Norma’s almost exclusive use of wax later on to model her work, prior to it being cast in bronze, was stimulated in some small way by this early experience of watching her grandmother melt, soften and manipulate sticks of sealing wax. Certainly she recalled that at the age of seven she experimented in secret with her grandmother’s ‘painting and craft materials’ – presumably including her wax sticks – and that she later ‘appropriated’ them for her own use.\textsuperscript{62} Louisa was encouraged in her artistic pursuits by her son, Harry (Norma’s father), who would ‘draft the initial study for her’.\textsuperscript{63} Like his father, Harry also designed and made some pieces of furniture and jewellery, although, in Norma’s words, ‘none of these works have survived the various family trauma’.\textsuperscript{64}

Harry Curtis Redpath worked as a designer for a Melbourne firm of ceramic mosaic tiles.\textsuperscript{65} Among his library, which Norma inherited, were ‘a complete set of a bounded Applied Art correspondence course and Artistic Anatomy by a Mathius [sic] Duval 1892, all of which I used’.\textsuperscript{66} The application of design to industry was a central precept of late-Victorian and Edwardian art schools across the former British colonies and Harry Curtis was evidently a product of his time. Norma suspected that her father aspired to finer things, noting that he regularly took her to the National Gallery of Victoria in Swanston Street ‘to look at the paintings, Pharlap [sic] and aboriginal

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{60} Redpath, 1991, p. 7. \\
\textsuperscript{61} Redpath, 1991, p. 7; Redpath, c. 2002, p. 11. Two ‘large paintings’ (subjects unknown) by Louisa Redpath were in the possession of Norma’s sister, Jean Forbes, in 1994; see correspondence in Redpath papers, box 2, ‘Forbes Dowdle – Carruthers’ file. Two examples of Lousia’s china painting were in the collection of her niece’s son, John Buchanan, Point Lonsdale, as of 2002. Norma Redpath donated an example of Louisa Redpath’s work to the Ian Potter Museum of Art in 1999: an enamel brooch in a metal surround, dated 1924, accession no. 1999.0006.000.000. \\
\textsuperscript{62} Redpath, 1991, p. 8. \\
\textsuperscript{63} Redpath, 1991, p. 7. The family trauma are never clearly elucidated in Norma’s memoirs but most likely refer to the early death of her father, in 1935, and subsequent peripatetic lifestyle that she and her mother and sister had perforce to follow. \\
\textsuperscript{64} Redpath, 1991, p. 8. \\
\textsuperscript{65} Redpath, 1991, p. 9. The book referred to is Mathias Duval, Duval’s Artistic Anatomy, Cassell, 6\textsuperscript{th} edition, 1892.
\end{flushleft}
The work of practicing artists such as Ola Cohn, whose *Fairies Tree* artefacts’,67 The work of practicing artists such as Ola Cohn, whose *Fairies Tree* Norma was dutifully taken along to see on several occasions (as had Parr), and muralist Mervyn Napier Waller, with whom Harry Curtis reportedly collaborated, were sometimes discussed in the Redpath home.68 Yet any thwarted ambitions Harry Curtis may have harboured were referred to only obliquely: shortly before his death, in 1940, he counselled Norma to ‘never become an artist’, by which she deduced ‘his own frustration and perhaps suffering’, while also heeding the warning that the difficulties of living as an artist ‘are overwhelming’.69 Nevertheless, Norma was introduced from the outset to a world of art and design as well as the idea of art and architectural collaboration both through her father’s work and that of his associates such as Napier Waller.

Creativity and ingenuity also ran in Norma’s mother’s family. Her mother, Dorothy Douglas Broadbent, was the fourth of ten children born to George Robert Broadbent (1863-1947) and Louisa Broadbent (née Santy). George Robert Broadbent was raised in Geelong but with his family moved to Hotham – later renamed North Melbourne – and became a draper.70 He left school at age nine and was to all intents a ‘self-made’ man.71 However, a passion for cycling saw him rise to become Victorian and Australasian five-mile cycling champion.72 He was one of the first in Victoria both to own a bike and then a car, was a founder member of the Automobile Club of Victoria, and an active member of the Trust that established the Great Ocean Road along Victoria’s southern coast.73 Aside from his cycling achievements, he was also renowned as the founder of Broadbent's Official Road Guides Company – publishers of road maps that drew upon George Broadbent’s intimate knowledge of Victorian roads. His father, George Adam Broadbent, is said to have been a Lancashire-born draper yet in June 1887, on the occasion of Queen Victoria’s Golden Jubilee

67 Redpath, 1991, p. 8. The gallery was then still housed with the museum and library; later, in 1968, the collections of indigenous art and the taxidermied form of the race horse, Phar Lap, were separated from the art collections and now feature among Melbourne Museum’s collections. Daniel Thomas takes pains to note that Phar Lap was not in the painting galleries, but was visible from there (Thomas, 2011, p. 2).
68 Redpath, 1991, p. 9. It has not been possible to substantiate H.C. Redpath’s collaboration with Napier Waller, nor indeed to discover anything about the Melbourne firm for whom he worked.
70 James, 1979, URL: http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/broadbent-george-robert-5362/text9069
73 Argus, 1946 Aug 24, p. 15.
Celebrations and under the dome of Melbourne’s Exhibition Building, he conducted a choir of 25,000 children along with an orchestra comprising twelve brass bands and approximately a dozen pianos.  By way of formal thanks he received a gold baton and an illustrated Bible, which left a strong impression on the young Norma, as did his copy of the lavishly illustrated *Picturesque Atlas of Australasia*. The Broadbents were evidently entrepreneurs and achievers.

Dorothy Douglas Broadbent’s maternal great grandfather, a Spaniard (or at least of Spanish descent), emigrated firstly to New Zealand and then to New South Wales where he was committed to mental institution, there occupying himself ‘carving miniature facsimile objects from bleached bones, no doubt the only material available’. Norma only learnt this ‘quite late in development’ and was struck by the discovery of an ancestor who both carved and whose ‘natural temperament’ did not fit with the ‘existing climate of those times’, just as she felt she herself ‘did not fit or could not accept the mores of the society I was growing up in’. Norma’s maternal grandmother, Louisa Broadbent (née Santy), the daughter of this Spanish scrimshander, was ‘rather an unapproachable and formidable person with strong religious tendencies, marked pride and puritanism’. Nevertheless, Norma enjoyed visiting her home in Richmond with its ‘sense of preordained order’; there she could play on either the pianola or – in the front sitting room – the organ, on which she was allowed to improvise and dream of being a composer.

Norma’s mother also maintained a sense of genteel order in their home. Visitors to her home were entertained with ‘an afternoon tea party, silver teapot, cakes and scones’, for which the young Norma ‘was made presentable and put on good behaviour’. During the First World War, while her then fiancé was at the Front, Dorothy Douglas Broadbent had persuaded her family to allow her be apprenticed to a

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74 Details of G.A. Broadbent’s employment as a draper are from James, 1979, URL: http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/broadbent-george-robert-5362/text9069. A description of the Jubilee celebrations is to be found in Redpath, 1991, p. 11, while more detailed accounts of the same event are among newspaper clippings in the Redpath papers, box 2, family history file.
77 Redpath, 1991, p. 12. While this description may superficially recall Clifford Last’s proud Quaker forebears, it is known that George and Louisa Broadbent were married in 1887 with Baptist forms; see James, 1979, URL: http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/broadbent-george-robert-5362/text9069.
dressmaker. Her fiancé was killed and she instead married Harry Curtis Redpath in 1919. She opened a dressmaking alterations business in a low-rental shop in Surrey Hills and supplemented her husband’s income in this way. From a young age Norma was called upon to pick up stray pins and scraps of cloth from the floor of her mother’s shop. Other smaller economies of Dorothy’s, such as the insertion of cardboard into her boots that were holed, impressed Norma not so much for their thriftiness – which, as a child, she did not understand – as for their ingenuity. Norma recalled her fascination in watching her mother ‘touch and evaluate the substance of a material, to cut and drape without a pattern with a very sure touch’. She recognised that her mother ‘was basically a very creative person’, which was ‘manifest in many ways, a style of being and doing’. Nevertheless, despite her mother’s ‘instinctive feel and understanding of materials’, Norma firmly rejected Margaret Engelman’s suggestion that her mother’s creativity may have in some way inspired her own. Artistic creativity, for Redpath, was entirely self-generated. Elsewhere, however, she recorded that her mother ‘was the only person who initially supported and sustained my inclinations and then chosen direction’.

83 Redpath, 1991, p. 13. Redpath would inherit many of her mother’s dressmaking props and presumably some of her skill. Upon helping to clear her Carlton home and studio, after her death in 2012, I came across chests of drawers filled with bolts of material, several large sewing baskets and a full-size dressmaker’s dummy.
86 Duplicate letter to Pat and Heather Stone, 30 December 1986, in Redpath papers, box 2.
Appendix B: A history of the Abbey Art Centre

William Ohly (1883-1955), a German-educated sculptor of British-Italian extraction and owner of the Berkeley Galleries in Mayfair, established the Abbey Arts Centre in early 1947. Ohly studied at the Städelschule Akademie in Frankfurt and, together with his brother Ernest, worked in Frankfurt and the Rhineland-Westphalia executing commissions for architectural ornament. Even before the First World War Ohly’s work bore traces of his growing interest in Oriental and medieval art, which he began buying in London in the 1920s and selling at auction in Frankfurt and with which he later surrounded himself with at the Abbey. After the rise of National Socialism Ohly moved permanently to London and, in 1941, established the Berkeley Galleries specialising in Near Eastern, Oriental, Egyptian, classical and medieval art and artefacts.

Through these dealings Ohly met Father John Ward, head of the Confraternity of the Kingdom of Christ, who established in 1934 at 89 Park Road, New Barnet, what is thought to be the first open-air folk park in England. The folk park consisted of such oddities as an African kraal, Chinese temple, carriage house, a reconstructed Neolithic lake dwelling, a wattle and daub hut and a relocated fourteenth-century tithe barn that Ward had consecrated as the Abbey Church of Christ the King. Each was preserved as exemplars of human achievement that would serve as templates upon which to build a new civilisation after a forecast Armageddon – an ‘ark for England’ as the Confraternity’s own literature proclaimed. These were scattered among a picturesque assortment of buildings including Hadley Hall (purportedly one of the earliest concrete houses in England), a half-timbered cottage, clock tower, schoolhouse, pottery kiln and outbuildings, set amidst three acres of lightly wooded grounds. In 1945 Ward sold the Abbey to Ohly and moved his congregation

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2 Examples of the Ohly brother’s work are reproduced in Moderne Bauformen, 1913, pp. 296-300.
3 The literature on William Ohly mostly overlooks his early sculpting career, thus the connection between his collecting and his sculpture has been missed.
5 For a detailed history of Ward and the Abbey Folk Park see Ginn, 2010.
6 Photographs of these appear in Ward, 1935, a copy of which is housed among the Gleeson papers, series 2, box 5, folder 34.
overseas to Cyprus.⁹ A few remnants of the order stayed on, serving meals in Hadley Hall’s communal dining room and continuing to worship in the tithe barn until 1950. Their presence was a daily reminder of the occult Christianity and Eastern mysticism that characterised Father Ward’s Abbey and added to an air of eccentricity that prevailed during William Ohly’s custodianship.

Ohly’s contacts with contemporary artists arose from his dealings at the Berkeley Galleries where, alongside Benin bronzes and Chinese paintings and pottery, he regularly showed contemporary art. In May 1942, when assembling his first exhibition of ‘representative contemporary British art’, he wrote to Henry Moore (whom he did not yet know personally): ‘it would be of great interest if a strong unfettered group of artists were formed, embodying what seems to be the most important work being done at the present day’.¹⁰ He went on to outline his plan to incorporate a second group of younger unknown artists recommended by the first group of established artists, such as Moore; in this way he intended to stay abreast of contemporary developments. Moore agreed to participate, becoming a regular exhibitor and visitor to the gallery. He featured in numerous group exhibitions – showing there in August 1942, March and October 1943 and May 1944 – while in March-April 1945 he showed sculptures and drawings alongside Matthew Smith’s paintings.¹¹ Ohly also owned a number of Moore’s drawings, including the surrealist Stones in a Landscape, 1936, which was freely available to the resident Abbey artists to study.¹² A memory of this drawing may have underlain a series of bronze reliefs that King later cast in Australia, particularly Magician, 1960, where the sawn jagged edges and upright standing-stone effect strongly echo Moore’s stones.¹³ King’s future husband, Grahame King, whom she met at the Abbey, also produced a sheet of

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⁹ The Order of Christ the King remained in Cyprus until 1956, when guerrilla fighting prompted them to move to Australia. They settled initially in Sydney before moving in 1967 to Caboolture, Queensland, where the Abbey Museum of Art and Archaeology remains to this day.

¹⁰ Moore archive, C/42/13a, letter from William Ohly, Berkeley Galleries, to Henry Moore, 7 May 1942.

¹¹ While catalogues do not survive, a search for ‘Berkeley Galleries’ in the Henry Moore Foundation’s online bibliography (http://www.henry-moore.org/pg/research/bibliography) reveals newspaper reviews for these exhibitions. In addition Gleeson records that Klippel saw an exhibition of Moore’s bronzes and drawings at the Berkeley Galleries in the first week of May 1947, although neither catalogue nor review has been located. Gleeson, 1983, p. 33.

¹² Stones in a Landscape, 1936, wash and charcoal (now collection of the Henry Moore Foundation) was one of two drawings Ohly loaned to the Arts Council exhibition of Moore’s work that toured Australia in 1947-48. Sydney, Hobart, Melbourne, Adelaide, Perth, 1947-48, catalogue nos. 20, 34.

¹³ Inge King, Magician, 1960, bronze, edition of two, 70.7 x 25.9 x 3.9 cm, NGV, ref. no. 0363.
drawings, retrospectively dated c. 1948, clearly referencing Moore’s draped figures –
pointing to the pervasiveness of Moore’s influence at the Abbey even among the non-
sculptors (Grahame King was a painter and printmaker).\textsuperscript{14}

Other artists who exhibited at the Berkeley Galleries included Frances Hodgkins, 
Oscar Kokoschka, Fred Uhlman and Katerina Wikzynski as well as potters Bernard 
Leach, Michael Cardew, Lucie Rie and Hans Coper, reflecting an evident bias 
towards artists from central Europe (Austria, Germany, Poland) along with 
Anglophones with experience of other cultures (Maori, Japanese and West African in 
the cases of Hodgkins, Leach and Cardew respectively).\textsuperscript{15} Both Inge and Grahame 
King exhibited at the Berkeley Galleries alongside Moore, Uhlman, Gerard Dillon, 
Karin Jonzen, Uli Nimptsch and others in a mixed show in July 1950.\textsuperscript{16} Hermann 
Nonnenmacher also exhibited with the Berkeley Galleries, in 1954, further attesting to 
Ohly’s contacts within London’s émigré community.\textsuperscript{17} The artists who showed at the 
Berkeley Galleries thus represented an avant-garde mix of European Expressionism 
and British modernism, invariably inflected with an interest in ‘primitive’ art. They 
also reflected the mix of nationalities and artistic directions represented among the 
residents at the Abbey.

Exhibitions of contemporary art later extended to the Abbey where, in March 1950, 
the Art Director of the British Arts Council, Philip James, officially opened the Abbey 
Art Centre Museum in the converted tithe barn.\textsuperscript{18} The works of resident Abbey artists 
were exhibited there alongside Ohly’s ethnographic collections – a strategy that, 
according to a publicity flyer, enabled ‘the work of well-known sculptors, painters 
and jewellers of our own age … [to] be seen in a setting where it compares with the

\textsuperscript{14} Grahame King, \textit{Studies of seated draped women}, c. 1948, crayon and wash on paper, estate of the 
artist, ref. GK00043. 
\textsuperscript{15} Waterfield and King, 2009, p. 106. Rie and Coper would also later live at the Abbey, although this 
was after King’s time there. 
\textsuperscript{16} Exhibition invitation found among a scrapbook (King, Grahame, studio papers) where the date is 
given as July, but Grahame King has annotated it ‘1950 London’. Uhlman is listed as showing 
paintings of North Wales and Morocco; given that his \textit{Moroccan Diary} was published in 1949, the date 
of 1950 is plausible. However, Inge King is listed as ‘I. Winter’, despite marrying Grahame in June 
1950. No catalogue for the show has been discovered. 
\textsuperscript{17} King does not recall ever introducing Nonnenmacher to Ohly. King conversation, 1 February 2014. 
\textsuperscript{18} Smith papers, letter from Ernest Ohly to Bernard Smith, 7 March 2001.
masterpieces of past generations’. This was not far removed from Father Ward’s desire to preserve past artistic treasures as a storehouse for the future, except that here the emphasis was on mingling the distant past with the present. The emphasis reflects the general mood of historicism blended with modernist regeneration that characterised most of the Abbey residents’ artwork.

At the outset a disproportionately large number of Australian expatriates arrived at the Abbey, 1947-51, as news of its existence spread by word of mouth. In the first year alone they included – in approximate order of arrival – Mary Webb, Robert Klippel, James Gleeson, Wendy Solling, Max Newton, Grahame King and Peter Graham. Douglas Green and Oliffe Richmond arrived in 1948. Grahame King was absent from the Abbey for much of 1948 while travelling through England, Wales and Europe, in the company of the so-called ‘bush boys’ (Green, Newton and Graham). James Wigley occupied King’s studio in the spring of 1949, Bernard Smith and Kate Challis arrived in September 1949, and Leonard French and Noel Counihan arrived in late 1949 and 1950 respectively. Smith heard of the Abbey from Mary Webb, whom he met at the Institute of Contemporary Art (ICA) in March 1949 during a series of discussions between Herbert Read and anthropologist William Fagg ‘on the relationship between primitive and modern art’. James Cant and Dora Chapman visited the Abbey and possibly briefly resided there in early 1950. Cant exhibited his paintings based on Charles Mountford’s photographs of Oenpelli rock art at the Berkeley Galleries in the summer of 1950 and gave a lecture on the subject of ‘Aboriginal art’ on the BBC in August that year; both events potentially generated interest in indigenous Australian art among the Abbey residents.
The Irish painter Gerard Dillon visited and befriended Grahame King, French, Green and Smith, cultivating their interest in Celtic mythology. Another Irish-born painter, Helen Marshall, who had emigrated to Australia in 1935, arrived at the Abbey in 1950 and there met the Englishman Phillip Martin, who had just begun painting strange and luminous abstract compositions, which King recalls with respect. Other international residents included the German pioneer of silhouette animations, Lotte Reiniger, and her husband, art historian and film-maker, Carl Koch, although both arrived in 1951 after King left, as did the soon-to-be internationally renowned Indian expressionist painter F.N. Souza, who visited the Abbey in the early fifties.

Alan Davie and his artist wife Bili arrived at the Abbey in April 1949, fresh from a year’s travel through Europe where – like Grahame King – they had immersed themselves in Romanesque and early Christian art. In June 1948 they visited the first post-war Venice Biennale and there saw not only Henry Moore’s pivotal show at the British Pavilion (which won Moore the International Sculpture prize) but also the works of Klee and early surrealist-vein Pollock in Peggy Guggenheim’s pavilion. Thenceforth Davie’s work was non-objective although often connected with music, cosmology, mysticism and atomic theory. Both Pierse and Haese attribute Bernard Smith’s antipathy to abstract expressionism partly to Davie, who had ‘vociferously argued the counter case for the superiority of non-figurative art’. Davie’s arguments were given visual reinforcement at his first solo exhibition, in September 1950, with Gimpel Fils.

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26 Among Grahame King’s studio contents was a gouache I identified as a portrait of Dillon. Dillon’s nephew (Gerard Dillon), Dr Riann Coulter and Karen Reihill each confirmed the identification and the portrait was recently reproduced in Dublin, 2013, p. 49.
27 King conversation, 19 June 2012.
29 Davie and Roberts, 2000, tape 2 (F8711), side A.
Appendix C: Centre Five catalogue raisonné to 1960

General notes:

- The catalogue listing is arranged alphabetically by artist surname and chronologically up to – and including – the year 1960. Each artist’s initials precede the catalogue number (e.g. JK0001 for Julius Kane no. 1).

- Commissions and works of decorative art are included among the sculpture catalogue.

- Works on paper are listed separately at the end of each artist’s catalogue of sculptures. The letter ‘W’ follows the artist’s initials to indicate a work on paper (e.g. JKW0001 for Julius Kane work on paper no. 1).

- Titles are given in title-case when they are designated by the artist, or in lowercase when they are merely descriptive and the exact title is unknown (for example: Suffering Woman as opposed to Woman crying).

- Dimensions, where known, are stated in cm: height by width by breadth.

- Information collated variously from monographs, exhibition catalogues, unpublished lists of works among the seven artists’ papers, inscriptions on the reverse of archival photographs, newspaper clippings, auction sale records and personally inspected works.

- Literature citations are listed chronologically for each catalogue entry and given in truncated label form only; for full citation see bibliography.

- In the case of cast works, I have numbered these x.1, x.2, x.3 and so on, to indicate a series of works that are essentially the same but made in different materials. However, if there is no documentary evidence or verbal testimony regarding the first modelled work (be it in clay or plaster or wax), I have not catalogued this initial stage. In such instances the earliest number in the sequence, x.1, may be for a bronze cast.

- Similarly, in the case of works where only the scale has changed, I have numbered these x.1, x.2, x.3 and so on. Again, I have only done so when there is documentary evidence of the small maquette or large-scale finished work.

- Over the course I research I have amassed records on the majority of all the seven sculptors’ careers, well beyond the cut-off date of 1960 applied here. Further details available on request.
**VINCAS JOMANTAS (1922-2001)**

VJ0001

**Cigarette case, c. 1944-48**
Wood with pokerwork decoration and inlaid coloured beads.
7.3 x 10.3 x 1.5 cm
Private collection, Vilnius.
Provenance: Laima Jomantas, Melbourne; thence by descent.
While living in a DP camp in Munich, Jomantas produced objects for sale including wooden cigarette cases. This is one such that he kept and has since passed to his wife’s nephew in Lithuania. The design is identical on both sides. Not listed in Langwarrin, 2003.
Photo: the author.

VJ0002

**Altar with large cross, 1946**
Wooden cross with woven altar cloth.
Dimensions unknown.
Formerly Freimann Kaserne, Munich.
Present whereabouts unknown.
Literature: Langwarrin, 2003, pp. 14, 34, catalogue raisonné no. 4, b&w illustration p. 34; Borthwick, 2012, pp. 210, 231-2, fig. 46.

VJ0003

**Low relief cross, 15 September 1947**
Wood mounted on linen.
Dimensions unknown.
Present whereabouts unknown.
Formerly Freimann Kaserne, Munich.
Literature: Langwarrin, 2003, pp. 14, 34, catalogue raisonné no. 4, b&w illustration p. 34; Borthwick, 2012, pp. 210, 231-2, fig. 46.

VJ0004

**Low relief cross, 25 December 1947**
Wood mounted on linen.
Dimensions unknown.
Estate of Irena Paronis née Kairys, Chicago, USA.
Provenance: gift from the artist to Irena and Branga Kairys.
Literature: Langwarrin, 2003, pp. 14, 34, catalogue raisonné no. 2, b&w illustration p. 34.
Carved while living at Munich Freimann Kaserne DP camp in 1947.

VJ0005
Uncle Vincas Kairys, 25 December 1947
Wooden relief mounted on linen-covered board.
24 x 16 x 7 cm
Estate of Irena Paronis née Kairys, Chicago, USA.
Provenance: Gift from the artist to his aunt Lucija Kairys; thence by descent.
Literature: Langwarrin, 2003, p. 34, catalogue raisonné no. 3, b&w illustration p. 34.
Carved while living at Munich Freimann Kaserne DP camp in 1947.

VJ0006
Study - clay (standing male nude), c. 1946-48
Clay.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Literature: Langwarrin, 2003, p. 34, catalogue raisonné no. 5, b&w illustration p. 34.
Photo: Vincas Jomantas, reproduced in Langwarrin, 2003, p. 34.

VJ0007
Venus, c. 1946-48
Clay for bronze.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
VJ0008

**Torso (later known as Kneeling figure), c. 1948**

Clay.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Literature: Langwarrin, 2003, p. 34, catalogue raisonné no. 6, b&w illustration p. 34.
Photos: (a) Vincas Jomantas, reproduced in Langwarrin, 2003, p. 34; original among the Jomantas picture collection, SLV H2007.33/406; (b) Vincas Jomantas, original among the Jomantas picture collection, SLV H2007.33/405.

VJ0009

**Sitter (also known as Pozuotoja, or Poser), c. 1955-57**

Plaster of Paris.
76 cm high.
Private collection, Melbourne.
Exhibited: *Six Sculptors*, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 21 July - 30 August 1959, catalogue no. 6 (as *Sitter*, plaster).
Literature: Melbourne, 1959 July, no. 6; McCulloch, 1959 July, b&w illustration; Shore, 1959, p. 2; Warren, 1959; Six Melbourne Sculptors slides, slide no. 7 and p. 1 of accompanying teachers’ notes; Farrago, 1959, b&w illustration; Australijos Lietuvių Metrastis, 1961, b&w illustration p. 223 (where captioned as *Pozuotoja, or Poser*); Kazokas, 1992, vol. 1, p. 185, b&w illustration, vol. 2, fig. 194 (where described as *Sitter*, c. 1955, bronze [sic], 120 x 70 x 45, collection Australian National Gallery [sic]); Kazokas, 2003 a, p. 132; Langwarrin, 2003, pp. 16, 38, catalogue raisonné no. 22, b&w illustration p. 38.
Photo: Victorian Visual Education Centre, University of Melbourne Visual Cultures Resources Centre, slide 11.052.19.

Jomantas wrote of this work: ‘To display the nobility and grace of a woman I have used large and calm surfaces, a restful poise, and general simplification of the forms. To achieve a compactness of exuberant forms in the composition I have eliminated insignificant detail’ (Six Melbourne Sculptors slides, p. 1).
Kazokas dates this work to 1955 and at times confuses it with the later plaster *Sitter*, 1964 (Art Gallery of Ballarat), which was cast in bronze in an edition of 2 (one cast in the NGA). The present version reveals Jomantas’ respect for Henri Laurens.

VJ0010

**Blue Bird, or Bird Ascending, c. 1955-57**

Carved wood - Oregon pine in three separate pieces - and metal wire.

118.5 x 63.5 x 33.0 cm

Signed on right side of base, lower centre: ‘V. JOMANTAS’. Inscribed in black fibre-tipped pen under base, centre: ‘TITLE / “BLUE / BIRD”’.  

NGV, Melbourne.

Provenance: Brummell’s Gallery, South Yarra; Whence purchased, 1 October 1957, £105.0.0.  NGV accession no. 1732B-D4.


Photo: Vincas Jomantas, reproduced in Langwarrin, 2003, p. 36; original among the Jomantas picture collection, SLV H2007.33/268-270. Colour slides also to be found at SLV 2007.33/1206 and 1207.

Dated 1955 by Kazokas. Dated 1957 in Langwarrin (1990 and 2003). Dated 1958 on the reverse of a b&w photo in the Lithuanian Art Museum Library (file B-8 b409 – Vincas Jomantas) yet this must be incorrect as the work is known to have been exhibited and purchased in 1957. When it was exhibited at Brummell’s in 1957, Alan McCulloch wrote: ‘In *Blue Bird*, by V. Jomantis [sic], the whole concept of sculpture becomes much broader. The work develops style, and although it plainly derives sustenance from another here, T. Zikaras, also personality. The soaring spirit of this piece, the management of the planes and the thoughtful simplification, create a powerful feeling of projection into space and make this the focal point of the show’ (McCulloch, 1957 Sept 25, p. 18).
The Birth of Venus, c. 1955-59
Copper, brass and lead.
120 x 30 x 30 cm
Not signed or inscribed.
Collection of Lynne Frolich, Sydney.
Provenance: Collection of the artist as of 1965; Gwen Frolich, NSW, by 2003; Estate of Gwen Frolich, NSW.
Exhibited: Six Sculptors, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 21 July - 30 August 1959, catalogue no. 3 (as The Birth of Venus, copper, brass, lead); Rudy Komon Gallery, Paddington, NSW, August 1965; Centre Five: Contemporary Sculpture, Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney, 6-24 October 1965, catalogue no. 7 (as The Birth of Venus, copper, 48 x 12 x 12 inches); Vincas Jomantas: Sculpture, McClelland Gallery, Langwarrin, Vic., 1 July - 27 August 1990, and Shepparton Art Gallery, Shepparton, Vic., 12 September - 15 October 1990, catalogue no. 6 (as Birth of Venus, copper, 120 x 30 x 30, private collection).
Dated 1955 by Kazokas, dated 1958 in Langwarrin (1990 and 2003), and dated 1959 on the reverse of a b&w photo in the Lithuanian Art Museum Library (file B-8 b409 – Vincas Jomantas). Jomantas wrote of this work: ‘This is a mythological subject that has been symbolized through abstraction, so that the organic forms transcend the original elements to express the significance of the Goddess of Spring, the idea of bloom and beauty’ (Six Melbourne Sculptors slides, p. 2). Repaired by the artist in February 1983 (Komon Gallery records, series 1, box 7, folder 34, letter from Jomantas to Gwen Frolich, 11 February 1983).
**Torso, c. 1956**
Plaster of Paris painted white.
38 x 117 x 40.5 cm
Not signed or inscribed.
Collection of Barbara Brand, Melbourne.

**Exhibited: (?) Contemporary Art Society of Australia General State Exhibition, Gallery of Contemporary Art, Tavistock Place, Melbourne, 9-? July 1956, catalogue no. 42 (as Reclining Torso, Sculpture’, no price stated); Six Sculptors, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 21 July - 30 August 1959, catalogue no. 5 (as Torso, plaster); Nine Melbourne Sculptors, Argus Gallery, Melbourne, 26 June - 7 July 1961, catalogue no. 8 (as Torso, plaster, 55 gns).**

**Literature: (?) Age, 1956 July 11, p. 2; Melbourne, 1959 July, no. 5; Shore, 1959, p. 2; Melbourne, 1961 June, no. 8; Shore, 1961 June 27, p. 2; Langwarrin, 2003, p. 37, catalogue raisonné no. 16, b&w illustrations pp. 20, 37.**

**Photo: Vincas Jomantas, reproduced in Langwarrin, 2003, pp. 20, 37; original among the Jomantas picture collection, SLV H2007.33/37.**

Also visible in a slide of the Six Sculptors installation among the Anita Aarons papers, AGNSW research library. Reviewing Nine Melbourne Sculptors, Arnold Shore wrote: ‘The same sculptor’s [Jomantas’] plaster Torso, with its controlled simplicity, is well contrasted by the balance of rhythm of Timeless in metal-coated wood’ (Shore, 1961 June 27, p. 2).

**VJ0014**
**Unidentified abstract (possibly Earthly or Head of Christ or Sketch in plaster), c. 1956**
Plaster of Paris.
Dimensions unknown.
Present whereabouts unknown.

**Exhibited: (?) Contemporary Art Society of Australia General State Exhibition, Gallery of Contemporary Art, Tavistock Place, Melbourne, 9-? July 1956, catalogue no. 43 (as Earthly, Sculpture’, no price stated); (?) Herald Outdoor Art Show, Treasury Gardens, Melbourne, 1-9 March 1957, catalogue no. 781 (as Sketch in Plaster, sculpture, NFS, section X); (?) Blake Prize 1958, Mark Foys Gallery, Sydney, February 1958, catalogue no. 50 (in the ‘Special Blake Christus Prize’ section for a Head of Christ set subject, 70 gns); (?) Retrospect, Five Years: Victorian Sculptors' Society, Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 21 July - ? 1958, catalogue no. 38 (as Sketch in Plaster).**

**Literature: (?) Melbourne, 1956 July, no. 43; (?) Age, 1956 July 11, p. 2; (?) Melbourne, 1957 Mar 1, no. 781; (?) Sydney, 1958 Feb, no. 50; (?) East Melbourne, 1958 July, no. 38; Langwarrin, 2003, p. 35, catalogue raisonné no. 9, b&w illustration p. 35.**
Appendix C: Vincas Jomantas

Photo: Vincas Jomantas, reproduced in Langwarrin, 2003, p. 35; original among the Jomantas picture collection, SLV H2007.33/166.

Dated c. 1957 in Langwarrin, 2003. This is possibly the same work as Sketch in Plaster, exhibited at the Treasury Gardens in 1957 and at the VSS Retrospect exhibition in 1959, but not listed in Langwarrin, 2003. The star-shaped form on top reappears in the Study for Sculpture in Copper (cat. no. 0176).

VJ0015.1

**Sculpture in Copper I, 1957**

Copper.
146 x 95 x 14 cm.
Not signed or inscribed.
Collection of Lynne Frolich, Sydney.

Provenance: Estate of Gwen Frolich, NSW.

Exhibited: Herald Outdoor Art Show, Treasury Gardens, Melbourne, 1-9 March 1957, catalogue no. 780 (as Sculpture in Copper, sculpture, NFS, section X); Lithuanian Artists in Australia, Victorian Artists’ Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 22-31 December 1958 (catalogue untraced but mentioned in review).


Photo: unknown photographer, courtesy Algimantas Lekevičius, Vilnius.

When this was shown at the Lithuanian Art Exhibition in Melbourne, in 1958, Arnold Shore commented: ‘Vincas Jomantas is generally more abstract [than Zikaras], but his composition in copper speaks strongly of the sea and seafaring…’ (Shore, 1958 Dec 23, p. 2). Alan McCulloch felt the show ‘should enhance the already excellent reputations’ of both Jomantas and Zikaras (McCulloch, 1958 Dec 24).

VJ0015.2

**Sculpture in Copper II, 1957**

Polyester resin with talc filler over wood (‘coated wood’) and a graphite patina.
146 x 99 x 14 cm.
Not signed or inscribed.
Collection of Laima Jomantas, Melbourne.

Exhibited: Vincas Jomantas Retrospective, McClelland Gallery and Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 6 July to 1 September 2003, catalogue no. 2.

Literature: Langwarrin, 2003, pp. 8, 13, 16, 35, 54, catalogue raisonné no. 11.2; Borthwick, 2012, pp. 188, 217-8, fig. 17.
**VJ0015.3**

_Sculpture in Copper III, 1957_

Bronze with blue-green patina; edition of 2.
146 x 95 x 14 cm
Not signed or inscribed.
Collection of Lyn Williams, Melbourne, and a private collection in Sydney.


**Literature:** (?) Shore, 1958, p. 2; Burstall, 1969; Langwarrin and Shepparton, 1990, p. 8, no. 2; Langwarrin, 2003, pp. 8, 13, 16, 35, catalogue raisonné no. 1.3, b&w illustration p. 35.

**Photo:** Vincas Jomantas, reproduced in Langwarrin, 2003, p. 35; original among the Jomantas picture collection, SLV H2007.33/1.

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**VJ0016**

_Study for Sculpture in Copper (possibly once known as Sculpture in plastic metal), c. 1957_

Probably plaster mounted on a linen-covered board; possibly plastic metal. Dimensions unknown.
Present whereabouts unknown.

**Exhibited:** (?) _Contemporary Arts Society of Australia Annual Interstate Exhibition_, Museum of Modern Art, Tavistock Place, Melbourne, 12-24 October 1958, catalogue no. 111 (as _Sculpture in plastic metal_, 70 gns).

**Literature:** (?) Melbourne, 1958 Oct, no. 111; Langwarrin, 2003, p. 35, catalogue raisonné no. 10, b&w illustration p. 35.

**Photo:** Vincas Jomantas, reproduced in Langwarrin, 2003, p. 35; original among the Jomantas picture collection, SLV H2007.33/1.

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**VJ0017**

_Title unknown (reclining figure), c. 1957_

Carved wood.
Dimensions unknown.
Present whereabouts unknown.

**Exhibited:** _Survey 1_, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 20 January -

Photo: Jomantas picture collection, SLV H2007.33/151.

In his review of Survey 1, McCulloch felt that “in one work, a reclining figure in wood, Jomantas sails perilously close to the mulga souvenir, but the consistency of the attitude behind his forceful simplifications sustains the total performance”. Not listed in Langwarrin, 2003.

VJ0018

Two Heads, 1957
Plaster of Paris with synthetic enamel and beeswax.
71 x 31 x 31 cm
Signed or inscribed.
Collection of Laima Jomantas, Melbourne.

Exhibited: Exhibition of Sculpture (also known as Nine Sculptors), Peter Bray Gallery, 435 Bourke St, Melbourne, 4-14 March 1957, catalogue no. 28 (as Two Heads, plaster, 45 gns); Vincas Jomantas: Sculpture, McClelland Gallery, Langwarrin, Vic., 1 July - 27 August 1990, and Shepparton Art Gallery, Shepparton, Vic., 12 September - 15 October 1990, catalogue no. 3; Vincas Jomantas Retrospective, McClelland Gallery and Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 6 July to 1 September 2003, catalogue no. 1.


Photo: Possibly Mark Strizic, courtesy Algimantas Lekevičius, Vilnius.

VJ0019

Gardener, c. 1957-58
Milled and carved wood (Jarrah).
80 x 49 x 26 cm
Signed on base: V. Jomantas.
Collection of the late Katharine (Kate) and Harold (Hal) Hattam, Melbourne.

This was the Future... Australian sculpture of the 1950s, 60s, 70s and today, Heide Museum of Modern Art, Bulleen, Vic., 4 October - 7 December 2003 (as Gardener, 1958, milled and carved wood, 80 x 49 x 25 cm, Hattam collection, Melbourne).


McCaughey dates this to 1957. Dated 1958 on reverse of a b&w photo in the Lithuanian Art Museum Library (file B-8 b409 – Vincas Jomantas) and in Langwarrin, 1990 and 2003. When this was shown at the Lithuanian Art Exhibition in Melbourne, in 1958, Arnold Shore commented: ‘Vincas Jomantas is generally more abstract [than Zikaras], but … there is much of man, the earth and its fruits in his carved wood Gardener’ (Shore, 1958 Dec 23, p. 2).

![VJ0020.1 Girl with Birds, c. 1957-58](image)

VJ0020.1

**Girl with Birds, c. 1957-58**
Plaster of Paris.
135.4 x 68.5 x 41.0 cm
Not signed or inscribed.
Formerly collection of Leonard French, Heathcote, Vic., but destroyed during the bronze casting process, 1975.

Exhibited: *Sixth Herald Outdoor Art Show*, Treasury Gardens, Melbourne, 7-15 March 1958, catalogue no. 468 (as Girl with Birds, sculpture, NFS, gallery X).


Photo: Mark Strizic, original among the Jomantas picture collection, SLV H2007.33/175.

Dated 1956 on reverse of a b&w photo in the Lithuanian Art Museum Library (file B-8 b409 – Vincas Jomantas). Dated 1957 in Langwarrin, 2003, and 1958 in Parr, 1963 a. I have dated it to c. 1957-58 on the basis that it was shown at the Herald Outdoor Art Show in 1958. In a letter to the author, 21 October 2010, Leonard French confirmed that this was destroyed during the bronze casting process in 1976 (one cast now in the NGA; another in a private collection, Sydney) but that Jomantas replaced it with a fiberglass version, which French retains.

VJ0020.2

**Girl with Birds II, c. 1957-75**
Polyester resin and fibreglass with white pigment, cast in 1975. 135.4 x 68.5 x 41.0 cm
Not signed or inscribed.
Collection of Leonard French, Heathcote, Vic.

Provenance: Gift of the artist in 1976 to replace the plaster version (VJ0020.1), which was destroyed during the bronze casting process.

Exhibited: *Vincas Jomantas Retrospective*, McClelland Gallery and Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 6 July to 1 September 2003, catalogue no. 5; *Awakening Forms: Vincas Jomantas and Clifford Last*, McClelland Gallery & Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 29

**VJ0020.3**

**Girl with Birds III, c. 1957-75**
Cast bronze shell with brown oil patina (edition of two), cast in 1975.
135.4 x 68.5 x 41.0 cm
Not signed or inscribed.
NGA, Canberra.


Photo: unknown photographer, original held in the NGA research library, Gleeson files.

**VJ0021**

**Tower of Grief, c. 1957-58**
Carved wood – jarrah, rubbed with beeswax – with hessian and enamel.
123.2 x 28.5 x 24.9 cm
Not signed or inscribed.
NGA, Canberra.


Dated c. 1957 on the NGA website but dated 1958 in Langwarrin (1990 and 2003) and on the reverse of a photo in the Lithuanian Art Museum Library (file B-8 b409). In interview with James Gleeson, Jomantas confirmed that Tower of Grief was carved from a single piece of jarrah that had originally been cut as a machine block, to prop up a machine, but had never been used. It was ‘excellent condition wise’ and did not require any oiling or staining. Jomantas said he preferred jarrah above all other woods, including oak, because it was very hard and has a consistent colour and grain. ‘Its grain is very even, and therefore doesn’t interfere with the form... Jarrah is beautiful to carve’ (p. 5). The work was then finished with beeswax ‘in rather a liquidy paste’, sometimes mixed with turpentine and / or stand oil, and then applied by hand. Jomantas agreed with Gleeson that the title had ‘a realistic meaning’, which was ‘maybe... a very personal thing’ although he could not recall exactly why he named it thus, except that he thought the form suggested the title to him: “…Grief, well it can be interpreted various ways and [there is] no need to feel that I [have] got memories... I didn’t [want to] imply that grief is my personal grief... It’s more [of an] abstract concept... grief of the tribe or something like that... It is like a monument for it [grief]’ (pp. 7-8). He also acknowledged the work’s totem-like appearance, which arose from the shape of the material (pp. 7-8).

**Wanderer I, c. 1957-59**
Polyester resin with talc filler over wood (‘coated wood’). 140 cm high approx. Destroyed, 1983.
Provenance: Collection of Kym Bonython, Mount Lofty, South Australia, but destroyed in the Ash Wednesday fires, February 1983.
Exhibited: (?) Outset (group exhibition), 43 Dalgety Street, St Kilda, Vic., 20 March - 12 April 1959, catalogue no. 31 (as The Wanderer, coated wood, 100 gns); Six Sculptors, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 21 July - 30 August 1959, catalogue no. 1 (as Wanderer, coated wood, owned by Kym Bonython); Selections from the Kym Bonython Collection: Arts Festival exhibition, Bonython Art Gallery, Adelaide, 18 March - 6 April 1962, catalogue no. 56 (as Wanderer).


This is almost certainly the same work as The Wanderer that was exhibited at the first
Dalgety Street Gallery exhibition in March/April 1959. Kim Bonython is known to have bought work from Dalgety Street (cf. Parr’s *Seated Figure*, 1956, LP00…), so it is likely that he purchased the Jomantas work here, likewise, before loaning it to the NGV for *Six Sculptors* in July 1959.

**VJ0023**

*Wanderer II*, c. 1957-59

Polyester resin with talc filler over wood (‘coated wood’).

120 cm high approx.

Destroyed, September 2003.

**Exhibited**: *Six Sculptors*, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 21 July - 30 August 1959, catalogue no. 2 (as *Wanderer II*, coated wood); *An exhibition of paintings and sculpture from Melbourne and Adelaide*, Hungry Horse Gallery, 18-? December 1962, catalogue no. 7 (as *Wanderer II*).


**VJ0024**

*Title unknown (horizontal form)*, c. 1957-59

Polyester resin with talc filler over wood (‘coated wood’).

40 x 120 x 20 cm approx.

Whereabouts unknown.

**Exhibited**: *Six Sculptors*, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 21 July - 30 August 1959, not listed in catalogue but visible in slide of exhibition installation, next to *Wanderer I* and *Wanderer II*.

**Photo**: Vincas Jomantas picture collection, SLV H2007.33/1340 (visible in foreground).

While this was not listed in the catalogue to *Six Sculptors*, the work visible above in the photograph is clearly finished in the same manner as the ‘coated wood’ *Wanderer II*. On this basis I have attributed it to Jomantas. Not listed in Langwarrin, 2003.

**VJ0025**

*Bearer*, 1959

Patinated plaster; later catalogued as iron cement (probably iron filings or powder in Portland cement).

Dimensions unknown.

Destroyed, c. 2003.
Exhibited: *Victorian Sculptors' Society Annual Exhibition*, Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, East Melbourne, August - 4 September 1959, catalogue no. 20 (as Bearer, plaster, 50 gns).


Wooden inner frame was destroyed by white ants and when the work was moved it collapsed, c. 2003.

**VJ0026**

*Standing figure, possibly Actress, c. 1959-60*

Plaster of Paris.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.


Actress is not listed in Langwarrin, 2003, but is most likely the work described therein as Standing figure, c. 1959. It is also visible in a portrait photograph of the artist, seen alongside Bearer, 1959. Alan Warren singled out Actress as a highlight of the 1960 VSS exhibition (Warren, 1960 Oct 25). Alan McCulloch, in a lukewarm review, found it merely ‘acceptable’ (McCulloch, 1960 Oct 26).

**VJ0027**

*Maquette for Chadstone Shopping Centre Competition, 1960*

Polyester resin with talc filler over wood (‘coated wood’) with graphite patina.

64 x 28 x 15 cm

Collection of George and Joan Zalk (Jurgis Žalkauskas), Melbourne.

Exhibited: *Chadstone Shopping Centre Competition*, NGV, Melbourne, February to March 1960 (catalogue untraced).


Photos: (a) Vincas Jomantas, reproduced in Langwarrin, 2003, p. 38; original among the Jomantas picture collection, SLV H2007.33/412; (b) unknown photographer, courtesy Algimantas Lekevičius, Vilnius.

This was originally submitted to the Chadstone Shopping Centre competition although it is uncertain which thematic category Jomantas hoped to fulfill: ‘the family’, ‘world merchandise’ or ‘Australian flora’. Alan McCulloch commented that Zikaras and Jomantas’ entries were the only two that created ‘a powerful upward movement, a vertical accent here and there to counteract and compliment the squat character of the buildings. ... The Jomantis [sic], with its broad and decorative symbolism, has the great virtue of simplicity but has the fault of having been conceived in only two dimensions’ (McCulloch, 1960 Feb 17, p. 22).

VJ0028

Crucifix, 1960
Steel and plaster of Paris.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Provenance: Donated by the artist to the NGV and Cultural Centre Fund Raising Appeal.
Exhibited: Exhibition of Australian Art by Victorian, Interstate and Expatriate Artists for World Refugee Year, Australian Galleries, Collingwood, 7-17 June 1960, catalogue no. 93 (as Crucifix, 65 guineas).


PAINTINGS & WORKS ON PAPER

VJW0001
*White Bird*, c. 1946–48
Ink and watercolour on paper
22.5 x 19.3 cm
Collection of Leonard French, Heathcote, Vic.
*Literature*: Borthwick, 2012, pp. 32, 221, fig. 35.

VJW0002
*Self Portrait*, c. 1948–50
Oil on board.
38 x 29 cm
Not signed or inscribed.
Collection of Laima Jomantas, Melbourne.
*Photo*: the author.

VJW0003
*Male figure*, c. 1950s
Charcoal on paper.
64 x 43 cm
Not signed or inscribed.
Collection of Laima Jomantas, Melbourne.
*Exhibited*: *Vincas Jomantas Retrospective*, McClelland Gallery and Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 6 July to 1 September 2003, catalogue no. 40 (as *Male figure*, charcoal on paper, 64 x 43 cm, not signed, not dated, collection of Laima Jomantas, Melbourne).

VJW0004
*Study for wooden sculpture 'Tower of Grief*', c. 1957
Pen and black ink with pencil on paper.
35.4 x 33.6 cm
Signed lower left in fibre-tipped pen: ‘V. Jomantas’. Inscribed lower left with size calculations.
NGA, Canberra.
*Photo*: the author.
*In interview with James Gleeson, Jomantas described this as a ‘working drawing’, or early preliminary sketch.*

VJW0005
*Study for The Birth of Venus*, c. 1958
Pencil on cream machine-made paper.
35.5 x 25.4 cm
NGV, Melbourne

Date estimated based on position in chronological catalogue of exhibits in the 2003 exhibition.

VJW0006
*Figure (standing male figure with head bowed), c. 1958*
Pen and black ink over pencil on cream wove paper.
22.4 x 8.0 cm; sheet: 35.5 x 25.4 cm
NGV, Melbourne
Photo: the author.
Arnold Shore noted of one of Jomantas’ drawings, exhibited at *Survey 1*, that Jomantas ‘reveals strength, intelligence and feeling of a high order, in a variety of forms and media. ... A drawing of an abstract human figure combined subtle, supple movement with plastic sureness’ (p. 2) – a description aptly fitting the present work.

VJW0007
*Study for Sitter, 9 June 1958*
Black crayon or pencil on paper.
49 x 40.5 cm.
Signed and indistinctly dated upper right: ‘V Jomantas 58 VI 9’.
Art Gallery of Ballarat, Vic.
Photo: Algimantas Lekevičius, Vilnius.

VJW0008
*Female with folded arms, 9 December 1958*
Charcoal on paper.
64 x 43 cm.
Collection of Laima Jomantas, Melbourne.
Exhibited: Vincas Jomantas Retrospective, McClelland Gallery and Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 6 July to 1 September 2003, catalogue no. 41.
This is most likely a duplicate entry for the previous work, *Study for Sitter*, with discrepancies allowed for interpreting the indistinctly inscribed date and the sheet dimensions.
VJW0009

Male figure, c. 1958-60
Charcoal on paper.
64 x 43 cm
Not signed or inscribed.
Collection of Laima Jomantas, Melbourne.

Exhibited: Vincas Jomantas Retrospective, McClelland Gallery and Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 6 July to 1 September 2003, catalogue no. 42 (as Male figure, charcoal on paper, 64 x 43 cm, not signed, not dated, collection of Laima Jomantas, Melbourne).

Date estimated based on position in chronological catalogue of exhibits in the 2003 exhibition.
JULIUS KANE (1921-62)

JK0001
Fish, 1948
Bronze.
15.3 cm high approx.
Collection of the late Thelma Wynn (1919-2014), Kew, Vic.

JK0002
Reclining Figure, c. 1948-49
Bronze.
30.5 cm high approx.
Collection of Dame Margaret Scott and Professor Derek Denton, Toorak, Vic.
Provenance: Gift from the artist to dancer Margaret Scott during her hospitalization, c. 1950.
Exhibited: Victorian Artists' Society Spring Exhibition, Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 2-15 October 1950, catalogue no. 173 (in the sculpture section, as Reclining Figure, NFS); Julius Kane, Ian Sime, Dawn Sime (group exhibition), Mirka's Gallery, 9 Collins Street, Melbourne, 26 January - ? February 1954, catalogue no. 2 (loaned by Miss M. Scott); (?) Junior Australian American Association (JAAA) group exhibition, Georges Ltd, Little Collins Street, Melbourne, May 1958, catalogue no. 5 (as Reclining Figure); (?) Sculpture: Brighton High School Exhibition, Brighton High School, Brighton, Vic., 1959, catalogue no. 5 (as Julius Kane, Reclining Figure, bronze, N.F.S.); Julius Kane 1921-1962: A Retrospective Exhibition, George Paton Gallery, University of Melbourne, Parkville, Vic., 6-30 May 1975, catalogue no. 1 (as Reclining Figure, 1948, bronze, 30.05 cm high, loaned by M. Denton). Literature: East Melbourne, 1950 Oct, catalogue no. 173; Melbourne, 1954 Jan, no. 2; (?) Melbourne, 1958 May, no. 5; (?) McCulloch, 1958 May 7; (?) Brighton, 1959, no. 5; Last, 1963, 'Sculpture exhibited 1952-1962' and 'Sculpture available for memorial exhibitions'; McCulloch, 1963 a; McCulloch, 1968, b&w illustration p. 663; Parkville, 1975, p. 5, b&w illustration, p. 11; Potter, 2014, pp. 289-90; Borthwick, 2012, p. 262, fig. 61. Photo: unknown photographer, scanned from a slide in the Inge King papers, NGA Research Library, Canberra. Dated 1949 in the 1954 catalogue. Dated 1948 in the 1975 retrospective catalogue. It is not certain whether it was this early bronze or a later work of the same title that Kane exhibited at the Junior Australian American Association (JAAA) group exhibition, at Georges Gallery in 1958, and again the following year at the Brighton High School Exhibition.
Appendix C: Julius Kane

JK0003
The Wanderer, 1948
Bronze.
40.7 x 10.2 x 7.6 cm
Collection of the late Thelma Wynn (1919-2014), Kew, Vic.
Provenance: Mr David Wynn as of 1954; Thence to his first wife, Thelma Wynn.
Exhibited: Victorian Sculptors' Society Annual Exhibition of Sculpture, Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 14-25 November 1950, catalogue no. 18 (as The Wanderer, bronze, no price listed); Julius Kane, Ian Sime, Dawn Sime (group exhibition), Mirka's Gallery, 9 Collins Street, Melbourne, 26 January - ? February 1954, catalogue no. 1 (as Wanderer, 1948, bronze, loaned by D. Wynn, Esq); Julius Kane 1921-1962: A Retrospective Exhibition, George Paton Gallery, University of Melbourne, Parkville, Vic., 6-30 May 1975, catalogue no. 2 (as Wanderer, 1948, bronze, 40.7 cm high, loaned by T. Wynn).
Photo: unknown photographer, scanned from a slide in the Inge King papers, NGA Research Library, Canberra.

JK0004
The Shepherd, c. 1950
Plaster.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Victorian Sculptors' Society Annual Exhibition of Sculpture, Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 14-25 November 1950, catalogue no. 17 (as The Shepherd, plaster, no price listed);

JK0005
Girl with Horse (relief), c. 1950
Plaster relief.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Victorian Sculptors' Society Annual Exhibition of Sculpture, Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 14-25 November 1950, catalogue no. 19 (as Girl with Horse, plaster relief, no price listed).

JK0006
Team, c. 1950
Plaster with wax.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Victorian Sculptors' Society Annual Exhibition of Sculpture, Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 14-25 November 1950, catalogue no. 20 (as Team, plaster with wax, no price listed).
JK0007

*Symphony*, c. 1950
Plaster.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
*Exhibited*: Victorian Sculptors' Society Annual Exhibition of Sculpture, Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 14-25 November 1950, catalogue no. 21 (as *Symphony*, plaster, no price listed).

JK0008

*Woman with Hat*, c. 1951
Plaster.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

JK0009

*Man and Horse*, c. 1951
(?) Terracotta or patinated plaster.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Known only from three reviews of the 1951 VSS and probably in either terracotta or patinated plaster. The Age art critic noted 'an almost archaic composition, *Man and Horse*’ by Julius Cahn [sic] (Age, 1951 Oct 30, p. 7) while Alan Warren described it as 'Julius Kuhn's stark, arresting *Man and Horse*’ (Warren, 1951 Oct). Gordon Thomson commented that 'Julius Kuhn's *Man and Horse* is an interesting piece of work, deliberately gauche, from its stiff silence to its ochre-red color’ (Thomson, 1951, p. 6).

JK0010

*Male Form 1 (also known as Male Torso and Torso)*, 1951
Carved wood.
64.4 x 10.0 x 10.0 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Private collection, Parkville, Vic.
*Provenance*: Andor Meszaros, Kew, Vic.; His widow, Elizabeth Meszaros; Thence by descent to present owner.
*Exhibited*: (?) The Group of Four: Inge King, Norma Redpath, Julius Kuhn, Clifford Last, Melbourne University School of Architecture, Parkville, Vic., 1-12 June 1953, catalogue no. 16 (as *Male Torso*, 20 gns); Julius Kane, Ian Sime, Dawn Sime (group exhibition), Mirka's Gallery, 9 Collins Street, Melbourne, 26 January - ? February 1954, catalogue no. 3 (as *Male Form 1*, wood, 1951, loaned by A. Meszaros, Esq); Julius Kane 1921-1962: A Retrospective Exhibition, George Paton Gallery, University of Melbourne, Parkville, Vic., 6-30 May 1975, catalogue no. 5 (as *Torso*, 1953, wood, 64.4 cm high, loaned by E. Meszaros).
Photos: the author.
Clifford Last noted in the list ‘Sculpture exhibited 1952-1962’ that Male Torso was exhibited at the Group of Four, priced at 25 gns (actually it was 20 gns) and that it was then (in 1963) in the collection of Andor Meszaros. This matches it with Male Form 1 that Meszaros loaned to Kane’s exhibition with Ian and Dawn Sime in 1954, where it was dated 1951 in the catalogue.

JK0011
Male Form 2, 1952
Plaster.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Victorian Artists' Society Autumn Exhibition, Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 28 April - 11 May 1952, catalogue no. 146 (in the sculpture section, as Male Form, no price listed); The Group of Four: Inge King, Norma Redpath, Julius Kuhn, Clifford Last, Melbourne University School of Architecture, Parkville, Vic., 1-12 June 1953, catalogue no. 12 (as Male Form, 20 gns); Julius Kane, Ian Sime, Dawn Sime (group exhibition), Mirka’s Gallery, 9 Collins Street, Melbourne, 26 January - ? February 1954, catalogue no. 4 (as Male Form 2, plaster, 1952).

Literature: East Melbourne, 1952 Nov, no. 146; Parkville, 1953, no. 12; Age, 1953 June 2; McCulloch, 1953 June; Wynn, 1953, p. 40; Melbourne, 1954 Jan, no. 4; Last, 1963, 'Sculpture exhibited 1952-1962'.
Clifford Last records that this was included in the CAS exhibition at Tye’s Gallery in April 1954, but it is not listed in the catalogue to that exhibition.

JK0012
Standing Girl, 1952
Medium unknown.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Victorian Sculptors' Society Annual Exhibition of Sculpture, Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 5-16 November 1952, catalogue no. 21 (as Standing Girl, price on request).


Reviewing the 1952 VSS annual exhibition, McCulloch wrote: ‘Karl Duldig and Julius Kuhn provide a solid core to the exhibition, the former with his evocative Fragment, the latter with two impressive works, Standing Girl and Equestrienne’.

JK0013.1
Equestrienne, 1952
Carved stone or possibly plaster. 92.3 x 75.7 x 32.0 cm
Collection of the late Thelma Wynn (1919-2014), Kew, Vic.

Exhibited: Victorian Sculptors' Society Annual Exhibition of Sculpture, Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 5-16 November 1952, catalogue no. 22 (as Equestrienne, price on request); Retrospect, Five Years: Victorian Sculptors' Society, Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 21 July - ? 1958, catalogue no. 39 (as Equestrienne, loaned by Mrs Thelma Wynn).

Literature: East Melbourne, 1952 Nov, no. 22; McCulloch, 1952 Nov; Bulletin, 1952 Nov 12; McCulloch, 1953 Dec 30, b&w photograph p. 6, captioned ‘Equestrienne, sculpture by Julius Kuhn, one of many New Australians who have exerted an influence here’; McCulloch, 1955 Dec, b&w illustration opposite p. 512, taken in
Julius Kane: 1921-1962: A Retrospective Exhibition, George Paton Gallery, University of Melbourne, Parkville, Vic., 6-30 May 1975, catalogue no. 3 (as Equestrienne, 1952, bronze, 40.7 cm high, loaned by NGA, Canberra).


The NGA have their cast catalogued as Equestrian Group, 1952, with no mention of another cast in the edition. The above literature pertains only to the bronze cast. For further literature on Equestrienne see JK0013.1.

JK0014

Girl (also known as Girl Kneeling), 1952

Plaster (patinated green?).
76.2 cm high approx.
Collection of the late Thelma Wynn (1919-2014), Kew, Vic.

Exhibited: Victorian Sculptors' Society Annual Exhibition of Sculpture, Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 5-16 November 1952, catalogue no. 23 (as Girl, price on request).


There is some confusion over whether Thelma Wynn owned the plaster version of Equestrienne or a stone carving. Clifford Last recorded in 1963 that Wynn had the plaster version (Last, 1963, 'Sculpture available for memorial exhibition'). However, the existence of a stone version of Equestrienne is supported by Alan McCulloch's description, in 1963, of Kane's 'beautiful little Equestrienne with its polished, voluptuous forms, its expansive rhythms and shallow modelling (to avoid interference with the grain and texture of the stone). Later, in 1984, McCulloch wrote: 'Shown first in a Vic. Sculptors Society exhibition at the VAS, Melbourne, in November 1952, Kuhn's warmly sensuous, stone Equestrienne was one of a group of works by new artists who were jointly to revitalise Australian sculpture, the common motivating principle being Brancusi-like awareness of the organic nature of materials' (McCulloch, 1984, p. 646).
memorial exhibitions'. The acerbic Bulletin critic noted in 1952: ‘Julius Kuhn has a loosely-squatting green nude with a face that one hopes is caricatured. It looks fleshy’ (Bulletin, 1952 Nov 12).

**JK0015**

*Vertical Form, Female I, 1953*

Plaster.

Dimensions unknown.

Whereabouts unknown.

Exhibited: *The Group of Four: Inge King, Norma Redpath, Julius Kuhn, Clifford Last*, Melbourne University School of Architecture, Parkville, Vic., 1-12 June 1953, catalogue no. 13 (as *Vertical Form, Female I*, 40 gns).

Literature: Parkville, 1953, no. 13; Age, 1953, June 2; McCulloch, 1953 June; Wynn, 1953, p. 40 and possibly illustrated p. 41 (where captioned ‘Julius Kuhn, *Organic Forms*, plaster’); Bulletin, 1953 June 17; Last, 1963, ’Sculpture exhibited 1952-1962’. Photo: unknown photographer, reproduced in Wynn, 1953, p. 41. The small photograph captioned ‘Julius Kuhn, *Organic Forms*, plaster’, illustrated in Wynn’s review of the 1953 Group of Four exhibition (Wynn, 1953, p. 41) and reproduced above, depicts two vertical plaster forms in the foreground that are most likely *Vertical Form, Female I* (to the left) and *Vertical Form, Female II* (to the right). The Group of Four exhibition did not include any works titled for *Organic Forms* and no works of that title from this period have been documented. It is likely that the journal editors assigned the rather imprecise caption.

**JK0016**

*Vertical Form, Female II, 1953*

Plaster.

Dimensions unknown.

Whereabouts unknown.


**JK0017**

*Free Form, 1953*

(?) Plaster.

Dimensions unknown.

Whereabouts unknown.


**JK0018**

*Constructive Emotion, 1953*

Medium unknown.

Dimensions unknown.

Whereabouts unknown, possibly formerly part of the John and Sunday Reed collection.

Exhibited: *The Group of Four: Inge King, Norma Redpath, Julius Kuhn, Clifford Last*, Melbourne University School of Architecture, Parkville, Vic., 1-12 June 1953, catalogue no. 17 (as
Appendix C: Julius Kane

Constructive Emotion, 25 gns); Inaugural Gift Exhibition, Gallery of Contemporary Art, Tavistock Place, Melbourne, 1-16 June 1956, catalogue no. 77 (as Constructive Emotion, 15 gns).

Literature: Parkville, 1953, no. 17; Age, 1953 June 2; McCulloch, 1953 June; Wynn, 1953, p. 40; Bulletin, 1953 June 17; Melbourne, 1956 June, no. 77; Last, 1963, 'Sculpture exhibited 1952-1962'.

The inclusion of Constructive Emotion in the Inaugural Gift Exhibition at the GCA, in 1956, suggests that the work may have then been in the collection of John and Sunday Reed. The Reeds gifted over 100 works from their collection to the GCA in 1958, at which point the gallery was renamed the Museum of Modern Art of Australia (see Reid and Underhill, 2001, p. 30, fn 3), while substantial portions of the collection were later gifted and purchased to form the Heide Museum of Modern Art collection.

JK0019

Female Form, 1953

Medium unknown.

Dimensions unknown.

Whereabouts unknown.

Exhibited: Victorian Sculptors' Society annual exhibition, VAS Galleries, Melbourne, 5-16 November 1953 (catalogue untraced).


In his review of the 1953 VSS exhibition, Arnold Shore wrote: 'Female Form, by Julius Kuhn, hadn’t been taught proper posture when young. She’s an interesting lump all the same' (Shore, 1953 Dec, p. 28). Based on this description, it is possible that Female Form was actually the female half of Group (JK0020).

JK0020

Group, 1953

Plaster; two separate pieces.

70 cm high approx.

Whereabouts unknown; presumed destroyed during the casting process (see JK0021).

Provenance: David and Thelma Wynn, South Yarra, Vic.

Exhibited: Herald Outdoor Art Show, inaugural exhibition, Treasury Gardens, Melbourne, 8-19 December 1953, catalogue no. 1154 (as Group, sculpture, 25 gns, section K).


This pair of works were apparently designed for the Wynn’s home at South Yarra in order ‘to give interest to an otherwise dreary view’ (Australian Home Beautiful, Oct 1958, p. 50). However, when exhibited at the inaugural...
Herald Outdoor Art exhibition they attracted a certain amount of public derision. This is captured in Harry Mitchell’s cartoon, *Scared to Crow* (part of the Mr. Melbourne Day By Day cartoon strip, listed above among relevant literature), which depicted a man whose scarecrow was insufficiently frightening to deter birds from his vegetable plot but after a visit to the Herald Outdoor Art Show, where he sees Kane’s *Seated Abstract*, makes a ‘modern scarecrow’ comprising a hollow-headed figure holding a broken umbrella that successfully frightens away the birds. The cartoonist Harry Reuben Mitchell (1906-68) worked for the Melbourne *Sun Pictorial* and the *Herald and Weekly Times*, taking over in 1939 Jim Bancks’ comic strip, *Mr. Melbourne Day By Day*.

**JK0021**

**Seated Abstract, 1953**

Bronze; believed to be a unique cast.
70 x 32 x 33 cm
Not signed or inscribed.
McClelland Gallery & Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic.


Exhibited: *Julius Kane 1921-1962: A Retrospective Exhibition*, George Paton Gallery, University of Melbourne, Parkville, Vic., 6-30 May 1975, catalogue no. 4 (as *Seated Abstract*, 1953, bronze, 66.1 cm high, originally one of a pair, loaned by D. Wynn); *1956: Melbourne, Modernity and the XVI Olympiad*, Museum of Modern Art at Heide, Bulleen, Vic., 17 December 1996 - 2 March 1997, no catalogue number (as *Seated Abstract*, 1953, bronze, 70 x 32 x 33 cm, loaned by the McClelland Gallery); *This was the Future... Australian sculpture of the 1950s, 60s, 70s and today*, Heide Museum of Modern Art, Bulleen, Vic., 4 October - 7 December 2003 (as *Seated Abstract*, 1953, bronze, 70 x 32 x 33 cm, loaned by the McClelland Gallery & Sculpture Park, bequest of David Wynn, 1996).


While *Seated Abstract* was originally one of a pair of works, collectively titled *Group*, 1953 (see JK0020), no bronze cast of the male figure has been located. I have therefore assigned it a separate catalogue number.

**JK0022**

**Form, 1953**

Plaster.
91.4 cm high approx.
Disintegrated and destroyed by 1974.

Provenance: Collection of A. J. Hook, Lower Plenty, Vic., up until time of disintegration.

Exhibited: *Herald Outdoor Art Show, inaugural exhibition*, Treasury Gardens, Melbourne, 8-19 December 1953, catalogue no. 1155 (as *Form*, sculpture, 50 gns, section K).


According to notes in the file on Kane among the Paton Gallery archives (1990.0144.0014), this work disintegrated prior to 1974 although A. J. Hook retained a slide of it, which the George Paton Gallery apparently borrowed to have copied. However, no such slide or print was located in the file.
Appendix C: Julius Kane

Shell Form, 1953
Plaster and paper, originally painted blue, over a steel armature, on a cement base.
42 x 81 x 29 cm
Not signed or inscribed.
Collection of Mirka Mora, Richmond, Vic.

Exhibited: Julius Kane 1921-1962: A Retrospective Exhibition, George Paton Gallery, University of Melbourne, Parkville, Vic., 6-30 May 1975, catalogue no. 6 (as Shell Forms [sic], painted plaster, length 79 cm, loaned by M. Mora).


Photo: the author.

In interview, in 2011, Mirka Mora recalled possessing photographs of this work in the Treasury Gardens, yet this is no record of it having been included in the Herald Outdoor Art Shows and Mora was unable to locate the photographs. Conversely Inge King (on seeing my photographs) thought it might have been a Group of Four exhibition, although again there is no likely match in the catalogue to either exhibition. Clifford Last, in his list of ‘Sculpture available for memorial exhibitions’, described this as ‘Vertical Shell Form, collection Mirka Mora’, yet Mora’s work is clearly intended to be horizontal not vertical. Last seems to have confused this work with the following entry (JK0024). The condition, when inspected in 2011, was very poor; much of the surface layer of plaster has been worn away and the paint flaked off. The base – to which the work is attached by a single large nail – measures 4.5 x 52 x 20 cm and had recently cracked in half. According to Mirka Mora the work was originally bright blue all over. Her note to Kiffy Rubbo and drawing of this sculpture are held in the Kane file in the Paton Gallery archive (1990.0144.0014) and are reproduced below. From this it appears that the work was originally horned.

Vertical Shell Form, 1953
Plaster.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

Exhibited: Julius Kane, Ian Sime, Dawn Sime (group exhibition), Mirka’s Gallery, 9 Collins Street, Melbourne, 26 January - ? February 1954, catalogue no. 6 (as Vertical Shell Form, plaster, 1953).

Literature: Melbourne, 1954 Jan, no. 6; Last, 1963 ‘Sculpture available for memorial exhibitions’.

Nereid (originally known as Fish Form), 1954
Lead aluminium compound with a hammered finish.
91.4 cm high approx.
Collection of Peter Cullen, Warrandyte, Vic., by 1960 and as of 1975.

**Exhibited:** *Julius Kane, Ian Sime, Dawn Sime (group exhibition),* Mirka's Gallery, 9 Collins Street, Melbourne, 26 January - 2 February 1954, catalogue no. 5 (as *Fish Form*, aluminium, 1953); *Six Sculptors,* National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 21 July - 30 August 1959, catalogue no. 8 (as *Nereid*); *Julius Kane 1921-1962: A Retrospective Exhibition,* George Paton Gallery, University of Melbourne, Parkville, Vic., 6-30 May 1975, catalogue no. 7 (as *Nereid*, 1954, lead aluminium compound, 91.4 cm high, lent by P. Cullen).

**Literature:** Melbourne, 1954 Jan, no. 5; Melbourne, 1959 July, no. 8; Gooday and Mora, 1959, p. 13; *Six Sculptors* slides, slide no. 4; *Farrago,* 1959; Bonython, 1960, b&w illustration p. 74; Adelman, 1960, b&w illustration, p. 9; *Last,* 1963, 'Sculpture exhibited 1952-1962'; *Parkville,* 1975, pp. 5, 9, b&w illustration p. 17; McGillick, 1979, b&w illustration p. 34; Eckett, 2010, p. 131; Borthwick, 2012, pp. 18, 180, 272, 289, 297, 319, fig. 7.

**Photo:** Mark Strizic, scanned from a slide in the Inge King papers, NGA Research Library, Canberra.

Clifford Last, 1963, asserts that *Nereid* is the same work as *Fish Form*. Likewise, Margaret Plant wrote of the 1954 show with the Simes, when the work was first exhibited under the title of *Fish Form*, describing it as 'a streamlined vertical wrapping around itself, sleek with the implication of marine life, and with the bulging eye form that imparts a non-human life to an abstracted form' (Plant in *Parkville,* 1975, p. 9).

**JK0026**

**Torso (later known as Oscar), 1954**

Painted plaster.

44.1 cm high

Collection of the late Thelma Wynn (1919-2014), Kew, Vic.

**Exhibited:** *Contemporary Art Society of Australia, Royal Tour*
Last records Narcid as being in the collection of Mirka Mora, yet elsewhere describes her work as being Shell Form (JK0023). There is no evidence to suggest they are the same work. Indeed the title likely derives from ‘narcissism’ and possibly has no marine-life connotations.

**JK0028**

*Growing Movement, 1954*

Medium unknown.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

**Exhibited:** *Contemporary Art Society Exhibition*, Tye's Gallery, 100 Bourke Street, Melbourne, 6-23 April 1954, catalogue no. 123 (as *Growing Movement*, price on enquiry).

**Literature:** Melbourne, 1954 April, no. 123; McCulloch, 1954 April 7; Shore, 1954 April, p. 9; Last, 1963, 'Sculpture exhibited 1952-1962'.

'... Sculpture by Julius Kuhn, particularly *Growing Movement* (123), holds special attention' (Shore, 1954 April, p. 9). This is quite likely the work later titled *Vertical Form*, 1954 (JK0031).

**JK0029**

*Crouching Form, 1954*

Medium unknown.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

**Exhibited:** *Contemporary Art Society Exhibition*, Tye's Gallery, 100 Bourke Street, Melbourne, 6-23 April 1954, catalogue no. 124 (as *Crouching Form*, price on enquiry).

**Literature:** Melbourne, 1954 April, no. 124; McCulloch, 1954 April 7; Last, 1963, 'Sculpture exhibited 1952-1962'.

Photo: unknown photographer, detail of an original print held in Last, 1963. The above blurred and cropped photographic detail depicts one of Kane's four exhibits at the *Contemporary Art Society Exhibition* at Tye's Gallery, April 1954. I have tentatively matched it with the work *Crouching Form*.

**JK0030**

*Lamentation, 1954*

Medium unknown.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

**Exhibited:** *Contemporary Art Society Exhibition*, Tye's Gallery, 100 Bourke Street, Melbourne, 6-23 April 1954, catalogue no. 125 (as *Lamentation*, price on enquiry).

**Literature:** Melbourne, 1954 April, no. 125; McCulloch, 1954 April 7; Last, 1963, 'Sculpture exhibited 1952-1962'.

Photo: unknown photographer, detail of an original print held in Last, 1963. The above blurred and cropped photographic detail depicts one of Kane’s four exhibits at the *Contemporary Art Society Exhibition* at Tye's Gallery, April 1954. I have tentatively matched it with the work *Lamentation*.
Appendix C: Julius Kane

**Vertical Form, 1954**
Wood with a painted and possibly waxed surface on a stone base.  
139.5 x 63.5 x 24 cm (not including stone base)  
Not signed or inscribed.  
Private collection, Caulfield North, Vic.  
Provenance: Purchased directly from the artist by the present owner.  
Exhibited: Julius Kane 1921-1962: A Retrospective Exhibition, George Paton Gallery, University of Melbourne, Parkville, Vic., 6-30 May 1975, catalogue no. 8 (as Vertical Form, 1954, wood, 142 cm high); Centre Five at Heide, Heide Park and Art Gallery, Bulleen, Vic., 27 October - 9 December 1984, catalogue no. 7 (as Vertical Form, 1954, wood, 142 x 68 x 29 cm, private collection).  
Photo: Suzanne Davies, reproduced in Parkville, 1975, p. 18.  
This is quite likely the work originally titled Growing Movement, 1954 (JK0028) that was first shown at the CAS 1954 exhibition at Tye’s Gallery. As Margaret Plant notes, ‘Vertical Forms shows the beginnings of the carved work as it leans up from splaying triangular legs, raising bound arms and being open, vulnerable, suggestive of bones, marine growth and the narrow ribbed form of the human frame’ (Plant in Parkville, 1974, p. 9). It is one of largest intact woodcarvings of Kane’s. The owner had another artist (likely Clifford Last, who was a personal friend) to apply a sealant to the wood to prevent cracking.

**Erik, 1954**
Plaster or aluminium.  
Dimensions unknown.  
Whereabouts unknown; possibly with the Council of Adult Education, Melbourne.  
Provenance: Gift of Julius Kane.  
Exhibited: Contemporary Arts Society (South Australia) Annual Exhibition, Institute Gallery, North Terrace, Adelaide, July 1954, catalogue no. 19 (as Arik [sic], N.F.S., projected Oscar for best actor or actress of the year provided during 1955 for first time).  
Photo: unidentified newspaper clipping in the Kane memorial album (Last, 1963), captioned: ‘This modern figure, shown here by its sculptor, Julius Kuhn, will be the Melbourne equivalent of an “Oscar”… The original statuette is the gift of Mr Kuhn and miniatures, to be retained by the winners, have been promised by Mr Max Bruch. The first award, for 1954, will be made soon’.  
Plaster model for an award honouring the memory of German émigré actor and teacher Erik Kuttner, who died in January 1954, presented annually to an Australian actor or actress judged to have made an outstanding contribution to local theatre. Kane sent his
Appendix C: Julius Kane

model to the South Australian branch of the CAS for their annual exhibition in July 1954. Elizabeth Young, reviewing the show, commented on the work, misnaming it the Arik but complimenting its ‘undulating grace’. After returning to Kane’s studio it seems to have thereafter remained in secrecy for the rest of the year. In January 1955, on the first anniversary of Kuttner’s death, journalist Frank Doherty announced ‘the completion of a statuette to be awarded annually to a Melbourne theatre personality as a memorial to Kuttner. Sculptor-artist Julius Kuhn has done the statuette in, I understand, aluminium. It will not be shown publicly until a meeting has been held to discuss its first winner’ (Doherty, 1955 Jan, p. 47).

JK0032.2

Erik, 1955
Casting alloy – some casts possibly made in aluminium, others in copper. 41.0 x 13.5 x approx. 5.0 cm
Performing Arts Collection, Arts Centre Melbourne; and various private collections.
Exhibited: Contemporary Art Society of Australia Annual Exhibition, Preston Motors Showroom, Melbourne, 10-21 May 1955, catalogue no. 191 (as Erik [sic], an award for the best actor or actress for year, NFS); Julius Kane 1921-1962: A Retrospective Exhibition, George Paton Gallery, University of Melbourne, Parkville, Vic., 6-30 May 1975, catalogue no. 12.
Photo: Suzanne Davies, reproduced in Parkville, 1975, p. 22.

For details on the origin of this award see the previous entry (JK0032.1). According to The Age, ‘the trophy, sculpted by Julius Kuhn, is being held by the Council of Adult Education in its offices in Russell Street. Replicas will be presented each year to the successful actors and actresses in perpetuity’ (Age, 1955 May 13, p. 2). Past winners of the ‘Erik’ include Zoe Caldwell OBE (1955), June Newton (then acting under the name June Brunell) in 1956, Sheila Florance (1960), Frank Thring (1965), Monica Maughan (1968 and 1971) and Leo McKern (1971). Sheila Florance’s trophy was donated in 1991 to the Arts Centre Melbourne.

JK0033

Christ, 1954
Plaster.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

JK0034.1

Adam and Eve, c. 1954
Metal-coated plaster.
(presumed) 55 x 51.5 x 13.5 cm
Whereabouts unknown, possibly destroyed during bronze casting process (see JK0034.2).
Exhibited: Victorian Sculptors' Society annual exhibition, Victorian Artists'

**Literature:** *Age*, 1955 Oct 18, p. 2; McCulloch, 1955 Oct 19; *Australian Home Beautiful*, 1958 Oct, b&w photograph of the work in a domestic setting, set within a glass lunette over an internal hall door while in a separate photograph it is placed on a glass coffee table, p. 50; Brighton, 1959, no. 4; Last, 1963, 'Sculpture exhibited 1952-1962'.

Both Alan McCulloch and *The Age* Art Critic singled out Kane's *Adam and Eve* for praise in their reviews of the 1955 VSS exhibition, the latter noting the work's 'appealing archaic quality', although the work is not listed in the catalogue to that show. It is unclear whether it was plaster version or the bronze cast (JK0034.2) that was exhibited. According to Clifford Last, it was also shown at the Herald Outdoor Art Show, Treasury Gardens, Melbourne, 8-17 March 1956, but again it is not listed in the catalogue. I have worked on the assumption that these early exhibition records are for the plaster version, rather than the bronze (JK0034.2), on the basis that it usually took some time for the artist to gather sufficient funds to have work cast at a foundry.

**JK0034.2**

*Adam and Eve*, c. 1954
Bronze, edition of 3.
55 x 51.5 x 13.5 cm
Not signed or inscribed.
Collection of NGA, Canberra (1/3); McClelland Gallery & Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic. (2/3); and Ron Opie (3/3).

**Provenance:** Cast 1/3 purchased by the NGA, 17 May 1971, accession no. 71.47.A-B. Cast 2/3 collection of Mr and Mrs David Wynn, South Yarra; Bequest of Mr David Wynn, 1996 to McClelland Gallery & Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic.

**Exhibited:** (?) Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 1955; *Julius Kane 1921-1962: A Retrospective Exhibition*, George Paton Gallery, University of Melbourne, Parkville, Vic., 6-30 May 1975, catalogue no. 9 (as *Adam and Eve*, 1954, bronze, height 54 and 54.2 cm, loaned by R. Opie); *This was the Future... Australian sculpture of the 1950s, 60s, 70s and today*, Heide Museum of Modern Art, Bulleen, Vic., 4 October - 7 December 2003 (as *Adam and Eve*, 1954, bronze, 55 x 36 x 115 cm, loaned by the McClelland Gallery & Sculpture Park, bequest of David Wynn, 1996)


**Photo:** unknown photographer, scanned from a slide in the Inge King papers, NGA Research Library, Canberra.

Clifford Last records this was first shown at the Peter Bray Gallery in 1955, although no record has been located (Last, 1963, 'Sculpture exhibited 1952-1962').

**JK0035**

*Bar for Mirka’s Café, 1954*
Wood.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown, presumed destroyed.

**Provenance:** Gift of the artist to Mirka and Georges Mora for Mirka’s Café, 183 Exhibition St, Melbourne, December 1954; since lost.

**Literature:** Heathcote, 1995, p. 65;
Mora, 2002, p. 45; Adams, 2010, p. 10. According to Mirka Mora, when she and Georges Mora decided to open a café, ‘The sculptor Julius Kane offered to build a bar, and Dawn and Ian Sime offered to paint the walls and ceiling, perched on a scaffold. Clifford Last created a beautiful exotic lamp to be hung from the ceiling’ (Mora, 2002, p. 45).

JK0036
*Tryst*, c. 1955
Medium unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Medium unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

JK0037
*Hero*, c. 1955
Medium unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

JK0038
*Sitting Girl*, c. 1955
Medium unknown.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

JK0039
*Progeny*, c. 1955
 (?) Wood in three separate parts, painted.
200 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: *The Group of Four: An Exhibition of Contemporary Sculpture*, School of Architecture, Melbourne University, Parkville, Vic., 30 May - 11 June 1955, catalogue no. 7 (as *Progeny*, 50 gns).
Literature: Parkville, 1955, no. 7; Age, 1955 May 31, p. 2; Bow, 1955 a, p. 54, b&w illustration p. 54; McCulloch, 1955 June 3; Last, 1963, 'Sculpture exhibited 1952-1962'.
Photo: unknown photographer, reproduced in Bow, 1955 a, p. 54. This was the most widely commented upon of Kane’s exhibits at the 1955 Group of Four exhibitions and the dearest at 50 guineas. *The Age Art Critic* noted that the work was ‘made of three separate sinuous shapes, [which] forms a rhythmic unity’, while Alan McCulloch advised: ‘You can read whatever symbolism you like into Julius Kuhn’s *Progeny* … or you can let the title convey its own obvious organic meaning, but to appreciate the work fully, it should be envisaged as a decorative relief note to the severe right angle or the long straight wall of exterior architecture’ (Age, 1955 May
31; McCulloch, 1955 June 3). Ian Bow, reviewing the show for Architecture and Arts, wrote: ‘In Progeny the abstract beauty of the forms and the power they evoke as symbols affect us like alternate blasts of hot and cold air. Sculptures not in permanent material suffer greatly against the bulk of the exhibits which are, so that the assessment of Kuhn’s stature seems to rest, unless the incentive is provided by an architectural commission for sculpture as an organic feature of a wall’ (Bow, 1955 a, p. 54).

JK0040
The Transformation, c. 1955
Plaster.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: The Group of Four: An Exhibition of Contemporary Sculpture, School of Architecture, Melbourne University, Parkville, Vic., 30 May - 11 June 1955, catalogue no. 9 (as The Transformation, 35 gns).
Literature: Parkville, 1955, no. 9; Shore, 1955 May, p. 12; Bow, 1955 a, p. 54; Last, 1963, 'Sculpture exhibited 1952-1962'.

Arnold Shore noted that ‘Transformation has a certain intensity’, while Ian Bow felt that Kane’s ‘Transformation … cries out for a form within that great barred hood; that is, if you can ignore the unfortunate horns which reduce its majesty to quaint, insect-like proportions. This sculptor is always surprising and frequently uneven in his statement because his work has “surrealist” tendencies towards the enigmatic and the metamorphic’ (Shore, 1955 May, p. 12; Bow, 1955 a, p. 54).

JK0041
Contrapoint, c. 1955
Plaster.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: The Group of Four: An Exhibition of Contemporary Sculpture, School of Architecture, Melbourne University, Parkville, Vic., 30 May - 11 June 1955, catalogue no. 8 (as Contrapoint, 40 gns).

Reviewing the Group of Four exhibition in 1955, The Age Art Critic wrote: ‘Julius Kane is probably the most unpredictable and original member of the group. Progeny, made of three separate sinuous shapes, forms a rhythmic unity. Similar in form is his equally intriguing Counterpoint [sic]’ (Age, 1955 May 31, p. 2). This suggests a formal relation with Progeny.

In addition, Arnold Shore noted that ‘Supple rhythm of form is evident in Contrapoint, by Julius Kuhn’ (Shore, 1955 May, p. 12).

JK0042
Mother Earth, c. 1955
Medium unknown.
Dimensions unknown.
Collection of W. G. Stevens (formerly Guenter Stein)
Exhibited: The Group of Four: An Exhibition of Contemporary Sculpture, School of Architecture, Melbourne University, Parkville, Vic., 30 May - 11 June 1955, catalogue no. 10 (as Mother Earth, 30 gns).

JK0043
Metamorphosis, c. 1955
Medium unknown.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: The Group of Four: An Exhibition of Contemporary Sculpture, School of Architecture, Melbourne University, Parkville, Vic., 30 May - 11 June 1955, catalogue no. 11 (as Metamorphosis, 15 gns).
Appendix C: Julius Kane

JK0044

**Female, 1955**
Painted plaster. 24.7 cm length
Collection of W. G. Stevens (formerly Guenter Stein).

**Exhibited:** *Julius Kane 1921-1962: A Retrospective Exhibition*, George Paton Gallery, University of Melbourne, Parkville, Vic., 6-30 May 1975, catalogue no. 10 (as *Female*, 1955, painted plaster, 24.7 cm length, loaned by W. G. Stephens).

**Photo:** Suzanne Davies, reproduced in Parkville, 1975, p. 20.

JK0045

**Halcyon, c. 1956**
Medium unknown. Dimensions unknown. Whereabouts unknown.

**Exhibited:** *Herald Outdoor Art Show*, Treasury Gardens, Melbourne, 8-17 March 1956, catalogue no. 624 (as *Halcyon*, sculpture, NFS, section K).

**Literature:** Melbourne, 1956 Mar, no. 624.

JK0046

**Sojourn, c. 1956**

**Exhibited:** *Arts Festival of the Olympic Games*, Wilson Hall, University of Melbourne, 21 November - 15 December 1956, catalogue no. 22 (as *Sojourn*, plaster).

**Literature:** Parkville, 1956, no. 22; (?) Age, 1956 Nov 20, p. 2; McCulloch, 1956 Nov 28, p. 16; Last, 1963, 'Sculpture exhibited 1952-1962'.

*The Age* art critic noted ‘a large figure composition by Julius Kane’ as providing ‘a leavening of European influences’ to the Olympics sculpture and architecture exhibition (Age, 1956 Nov 20, p. 2). Whether he was referring to this work, or the following entry, is unknown. In his review of the same show, Alan McCulloch elaborated: ‘... in his two pieces Julius Kane, despite an obvious indebtedness [see also *Olympiad, c. 1956*, JK0047] to the Italian, Marini, achieves a massive effect without clumsiness’ (McCulloch, 1956 Nov 28, p. 16).

JK0047

**Olympiad, c. 1956**

**Exhibited:** *Arts Festival of the Olympic Games*, Wilson Hall, University of Melbourne, 21 November - 15 December 1956, catalogue no. 23 (as *Olympiad*, plaster).

**Literature:** Parkville, 1956, no. 23; (?) Age, 1956 Nov 20, p. 2; McCulloch, 1956 Nov 28, p. 16; Last, 1963, 'Sculpture exhibited 1952-1962'.

JK0048

**Encounter, c. 1957**
Plaster painted yellow. 214 x 214 x 100 cm approx.
Whereabouts unknown, presumed destroyed.

**Exhibited:** Herald Outdoor Art Show, Treasury Gardens, Melbourne, 1-9 March 1957, catalogue no. 797 (as *Encounter*, sculpture, 150 gns, section A).

**Literature:** Melbourne, 1957 Mar 1, no. 797; Herald, 1957 Mar 11, b&w photograph, p. 5; Herald, 1957 Mar, b&w photograph; Last, 1963, 'Sculpture exhibited 1952-1962'.

**Photo:** unknown photographer, original print among a packet of photographs enclosed at the rear of the SLV Kane album compiled by Clifford Last (Last, 1963).

Its large size and bright yellow colouring ensured *Encounter* received considerable notice when shown at the Herald Outdoor Art Show in March 1957, as did King’s towering *Bird Fountain*, 1957 (JK00..) – visible in the background of the above image. An undated clipping, probably from *The Herald* and published during the show, depicted a young boy beside the sculpture captioned: ‘*Encounter*, a bright yellow sculpture entry in The Herald Outdoor Art Show; apparently was something of a challenge to young Matthew Downing, of Ferny Creek. The art show will be open night and day until Saturday’.

In a second newspaper clipping (Herald, 1957 Mar 11, p. 5), Kane and Last were photographed loading part of the work into a van at the close of the show. In the accompanying brief article Kane admitted he had nowhere to store such a large work, adding that he would happily give it away to a willing recipient. The journalist noted the work is 7 foot high, 7 foot wide and painted yellow.

**JK0049**

*Escapade*, c. 1957
Wooden mobile.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

**Exhibited:** Twelve Melbourne Sculptors, Brummel’s Gallery, Melbourne, 22 September - 3 October 1957 (catalogue untraced).

**Literature:** Shore, 1957 Sept 24, p. 2; McCulloch, 1957 Sept 25, p. 18; Last, 1963, 'Sculpture exhibited 1952-1962'.


**JK0050**

*Abstract Carving*, c. 1957
Painted wood on a steel base. 45 x 95 x 28 cm.
McClelland Gallery & Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic.

**Provenance:** Collection of artist Frank Hodgkinson; Donated by Kate Hodgkinson through the Australian Governments Cultural Gifts Program in memory of her mother Mrs Van Hodgkinson, 2009.

**Literature:** Last, 1963, 'Sculpture available for memorial exhibitions'.

**Photo:** unknown photographer, courtesy McClelland Gallery & Sculpture Park.

When inspected in 2011 this was in very poor condition, with the wood cracked and the paint largely rubbed away leaving a bleached appearance like driftwood. Although based in Sydney from 1953 to 1958, and abroad for the years 1958-63, Hodgkinson continued to visit and exhibit in Melbourne. During Kane’s years in Melbourne (1949-62), Hodgkinson held a solo exhibition at the Peter Bray Gallery in 1955. It was possibly around this time that the pair met. Afterwards, c. 1957, Kane presented him with this work. The dating of c. 1957 is from Last, 1963, ‘Sculpture available for memorial exhibitions’. This may actually be a duplicate entry for *Escapade* (JK0049).
Metis and Zeus, c. 1958-59
Polychromed wood (oil-based patina) on a wooden base.
242.0 x 143.0 x 62.0 cm
Not signed or inscribed.
NGA, Canberra
Provenance: Purchased by Mrs D. P. Daly, Frankston, Vic., in 1960; Purchased 1971, NGA accession no. 71.49.A-B.
Exhibited: Herald Outdoor Art Show, Treasury Gardens, Melbourne, 7-15 March 1958, catalogue no. 477 (as Metis the Titaness, sculpture, 200 gns, section X); Herald Outdoor Art Show, Treasury Gardens, Melbourne, 6-14 March 1959, catalogue no. 543 (as Zeus, sculpture, 100 gns, section X); Six Sculptors, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 21 July - 30 August 1959, catalogue no. 7 (as Metis and Zeus); Julius Kane 1921-1962: A Retrospective Exhibition, George Paton Gallery, University of Melbourne, Parkville, Vic., 6-30 May 1975, catalogue no. 13 (as Metis and Zeus, 1958-59, wood, 228.5 cm and 160 cm high, loaned by NGA, Canberra).
Photo: (a) unknown photographer, scanned from a slide in the Inge King papers, NGA Research Library, Canberra; (b) Ian McKenzie, reproduced in Parkville, 1975, p. 23.
This work was originally exhibited in 1958 as simply one unit: Metis the Titaness, which, according to The Sun critic (probably Alan Warren), Kane spent seven months carving from a solid tree trunk (Sun, 1958 March 5). In mid-1959 Kane joined the tall willowy Metis the Titaness with a squat Zeus – the title nominally recalling the moment when Zeus devours the pregnant Metis to prevent her giving birth to the goddess Athene. However, as Kane makes clear in his little-known notes for teachers that accompany the Six Melbourne Sculptors Slides, ‘There are two different approaches in naming a work of art [:] 1. To describe a certain person, persons or actions [and] 2. To apply a name or title to a finished piece of work. The first is academic where the literary character has predominance. In the

Appendix C: Julius Kane
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literary character has predominance. In the second, the ideal importance outweighs the literary, it is therefore the archaic or modern. In *Metis and Zeus* I apply the second. In Greek mythology a certain story described a change or modification in the belief in gods or heroes. A description for an existing but changing article or belief was devised. As the Greeks used an allegory to picture certain changes of action or status, they used the story as a means to make a subconscious realization of an accomplished action. The name *Metis* and *Zeus* for me is only the means which I applied to this existing group of sculpture’ (Six Melbourne Sculptors Slides, p. 2). According to Clifford Last, the work was originally brightly painted but that the paint weathered away during eleven years in the open air in a private collection at Frankston (Last, 1971). Annual applications of linseed oil during these years prevented the work from disintegrating entirely. However, Last later told Christopher Heathcote that Kane removed the paint himself in reaction to the negative public response to his polychromed works (Heathcote, 1997, p. 151, fn 27). A colour slide from Inge King’s papers, taken during the Six Sculptors exhibition in 1959, does not reveal any particularly bright colouring, suggesting Kane may have removed much of the polychroming himself when he joined the two units.

**Thetis, 1959**
Wood.
182.9 cm long
Destroyed prior to 1974.
Provenance: Collection of Kym Bonython, Mount Lofty, South Australia, but disintegrated prior to 1974.
Exhibited: Six Sculptors, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 21 July - 30 August 1959, catalogue no. 9 (as Thetis); Julius Kane 1921-1962: A Retrospective Exhibition, George Paton Gallery, University of Melbourne, Parkville, Vic., 6-30 May 1975, catalogue no. 26 (photographic documentation only).
A letter from Kym Bonython, 9 August 1974, to Kiffy Carter (George Paton Gallery Archive, 1990.0144.0014), records that *Thetis* ‘completely rotted away and is no more. I had it mounted in a certain partially exposed position and it developed dry rot and virtually disintegrated. So I am sorry to disappoint you’.

**Narcissus, 1959**
Medium unknown.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Six Sculptors, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 21 July - 30 August 1959, catalogue no. 10 (as Narcissus).

**Orpheus, 1959**
Medium unknown.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Six Sculptors, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 21 July - 30 August 1959, catalogue no. 11 (as Orpheus).
Literature: Melbourne, 1959 July, no. 11; Shore, 1959 July 21, p. 2;
Arnold Shore noted that: “Julius Kane gives a curiously marine significance to Orpheus”.

**JK0055**

**Head of Medusa, c. 1959**

Medium unknown.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

*Exhibited: Six Sculptors*, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 21 July - 30 August 1959, catalogue no. 12 (as *Head of Medusa*).


**JK0056**

**Family Group - design for Chadstone, c. 1959-60**

Plaster.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

*Exhibited: Chadstone Shopping Centre Sculpture Competition*, Buvelot gallery bays of the NGV, February - March 1960 (no catalogue traced).


This was Kane’s entry for the Chadstone Shopping Centre competition. Stanley Hammond won the ‘family group’ category while Lenton Parr won the category inspired by Australian flora. Alan McCulloch thought Kane’s entry ‘too heavy and too earth-bound’ for a shopping centre sculpture (McCulloch, 1960 Feb 17, p. 22).

**JK0057**

**Co-ordinated Organism, 1960**

Plaster.
58.5 cm high
Whereabouts unknown.

*Exhibited: Mildara Prize for Sculpture*, Mildura Art Gallery, Mildura, Vic., 22 April - 21 May 1961, catalogue no. 51 (as *Co-ordinated Organism, 1960, plaster, 23”, £53*).


**JK0058**

**Group Organism, 1960**

Wood originally painted green; later painted white by collector in the US. 254 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.

*Provenance: Sold to Mrs I. Sargent, 2044 Broadway in Oakland, California, USA, in 1962; since lost.*


In 1963, shortly after Kane’s death, Alan McCulloch recalled this work thus: ‘Comprising six vertical abstract pieces mounted on a low wooden platform and painted a rich shade of sappy green this unorthodox, but impressive, work seemed to spring directly from the soil, especially placed (as it was at the time) against a background of bamboos and freshly cut grass. Soon after Kane’s return from America, the piece was sold to an American collector who took it to the U.S.A.’ (McCulloch, 1963 a, n.p.). By 1975, the colour had changed from ‘sappy green’ to white, as Margaret Plant noted: ‘One of the most important large scale pieces, Group Organism, which was shown in the first Mildura Triennial exhibition of 1961, is somewhere in California, painted white’ (Plant in Parkville, 1975, p. 8). In Plant and many other commentator’s opinion, Group Organism is among Kane’s ‘most accomplished’ work, heralding ‘a triumphant return to the monumental wooden manner’ (Plant in Parkville, 1975, p. 9). Plant likened the row of vertical forms to Aboriginal grave markers: ‘The totemic form is also strongly reminiscent of the Aboriginal grave post’, an observation many others have repeated. In recent years, Ken Scarlett’s efforts on behalf of the McClelland Gallery and Sculpture Park failed to locate this work.

Photo: unknown photographer, scanned from a slide in the Inge King papers, NGA Research Library, Canberra.
WORKS ON PAPER

JKW0001

*Untitled Christmas card (sculptural form)*, c. 1953-54

Woodblock printed from one block in varying colours: (a) olive green on cream wove paper and (b) black ink on paper tinted pink on reverse; edition unknown.

(a) 34.6 x 13.3 cm; (b) 25.4 x 13.0 cm; overall dimensions of card: 32.7 x 21.0 cm.

(a) Signed and inscribed lower right: ‘Greetings from Julius Kuhn’; (b) signed and inscribed in lower margin of mount: ‘Greeting [sic] from Julius Kane / 30 Kooyong Koot Rd. Hawthorn / to Inge & Grahame’.

Estate of Inge King, Warrandyte, Vic. (both prints).

Provenance: Christmas cards from the artist to Inge and Grahame King, c. 1953-54 (a) and c. 1960 (b).

Photos: (a and b) the author.

I have dated the first card, in green ink (a), to c. 1953-54 on the basis that Kane first exhibited with Inge King in 1953 and by 1955 had changed his name from Kuhn. However, I have dated the second print, in black ink (b), to c. 1960 on the basis of Kane’s address being given as 30 Kooyong Koot Road, Hawthorn. Kane is known to have been living at this address in August 1960, when he wrote from there to Prof. Brian Lewis to thank him for his reference for the Canadian fellowship. It is likely that Kane simply re-used an old block to print more cards.

JKW0002

*Untitled Christmas card (two figures)*, c. 1954

Linocut, printed from one block in various coloured inks (ranging from red to brown) on cream wove paper; edition unknown.

51.5 x 31.8 cm

NGA copy signed ‘Julius’ on reverse upper centre edge, in pen and ink, and inscribed in diagonal: ‘Mer[ry]/ from/ Julius’ (part of the inscription has been cut from the support).

NGV, Melbourne, and NGA, Canberra.


NGA copy was a Christmas card from Julius Kane to Clifford Last; gift of Clifford Last to the Acquisition Committee of the future Australian National Gallery, July 1974. Accession no. NGA 74.274.

Exhibited: (?) *Julius Kane 1921-1962: A Retrospective Exhibition*, George Paton Gallery, University of Melbourne, Parkville, Vic., 6-30 May 1975, catalogue no. 16 (as *Untitled*, undated, wood block print, 32.2 x 52 cm, loaned by C. Last).

Literature: (?) *Parkville, 1975*, no. 16.

Photo: the author.

The NGA date their copy to c. 1958 based on the date of similar cards held by Inge King. However, the NGV copy was acquired (stated to have been purchased) in 1954. The figure on the right seems to hold a bouquet of flowers and is possibly an image of a bride and groom. Stylistically the work is similar to Guenter Stein’s *Trees*, 1955.
Appendix C: Julius Kane

**JKW0003**
**Untitled Christmas card (male nude, kneeling), c. 1954**
Linocut, printed in brown ink, from one block; edition unknown. 40.2 x 24.2 cm; sheet: 40.4 x 28.0 cm
Signed on mount lower right below image in pen and ink: 'Julius Kuhn'. Inscribed lower centre below image in pen and ink: 'Seasons Greetings...'.
NGA, Canberra.
Accession no. NGA 2010.641.
Photo: courtesy NGA.

The NGA date this to c. 1958, but Kane changed his name from Kuhn in July 1955 (not 1956 as stated in Parkville, 1975, p.3 and McCulloch, 1984, vol. 1, p. 646; correct details come from Kane naturalisation certificate, 1955). The card is therefore more likely to date to c. 1954 as it is signed 'Julius Kuhn'.

**JKW0004**
**Untitled (Christmas card with self-portrait and sculpture), c. 1955**
Linocut printed in red ink on paper laid on card. 31.0 x 40.5 cm
Inscribed along right-hand edge: ‘Christmas Greetings from Julius Kane’; and on reverse: ‘To Allan’;

**JKW0005**
**Peace be on Earth (Christmas card), c. 1955-60**
Woodblock print in black ink on paper; edition unknown. 24.2 x 43.9 cm
Signed ‘Julius Kane’ on reverse.
Estate of Inge King, Warrandyte, Vic.; another copy among the Norma Redpath papers, SLV.
Exhibited: Julius Kane 1921-1962: A Retrospective Exhibition, George Paton Gallery, University of Melbourne, Parkville, Vic., 6-30 May 1975, catalogue no. 20 (as Untitled Christmas card, woodblock print, 43.9 x 25.2 cm, inscribed verso ‘Christmas Greetings from Julius Kane’, coll. Inge and Grahame King).
Literature: Parkville, 1975, p. 5; Borthwick, 2012, pp. 55, 316, fig. 82 (where titled Horseman Christmas card).
Photo: the author.
Appendix C: Julius Kane

**Greeting card: Dove and column (Peace), c. 1956**
Woodblock print mounted onto red craft paper.
16.7 x 11.5 cm
Inscribed ‘Greetings’ below image on red card.
AGNSW, Sydney, and NGA, Canberra.
Photo: the author.
Both the NGA and I date this work to circa 1956 (cf. the AGNSW, which dates is as ‘early 1950s) owing to the Grecian theme of the work – a peace dove flying above a Greek capital – and its apparent reference to the 1956 Melbourne Olympic Games.

**Greeting card: Man and woman (Olympic couple), c. 1956**
Woodblock print mounted onto red craft paper.
23.6 x 12.6 cm
Inscribed ‘from Julius Kane’ to left of image on red card.
AGNSW, Sydney, and NGA, Canberra.
Literature: Borthwick, 2012, pp. 52, 288, fig. 75, where referred to as Olympic man and woman, early 1950s.
Photo: the author.
Both the NGA and I date this work to circa 1956 (cf. the AGNSW, which dates is as ‘early 1950s) as the image of male athlete wearing a laurel wreath, holding aloft a small flaming torch before his female companion, connects it to the 1956 Melbourne Olympic Games. In addition, the ‘a’ in ‘Kane’ is hesitant - the pen does not flow from the capital ‘K’ with any fluidity, suggesting that this was done shortly after Kane took Australian citizenship and changed his name, in July 1955.

**Untitled Christmas card, c. 1956**
Linocuts, printed in black ink, each from one block.
25.4 x 13.9 cm; sheet: 25.4 x 28.0 cm
Signed inside card centre left in black ink: ‘from / Julius Kane’. Inscribed on
front of card lower centre below image in black ink, 'Greetings...'.
NGA, Canberra.

JKW0009
Organic Form 1, c. 1956
Monotype.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Olympic Exhibition, Gallery of Contemporary Art, Tavistock Place, Melbourne, 16 November - ? December 1956, catalogue no. 38 (as Organic Form 1, monotype, 10 gns).
Literature: Melbourne, 1956 Nov, no. 38.

JKW0010
Organic Form 2, c. 1956
Monotype.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Olympic Exhibition, Gallery of Contemporary Art, Tavistock Place, Melbourne, 16 November - ? December 1956, catalogue no. 39 (as Organic Form 2, monotype, 10 gns).

JKW0011
Figure and Horse (also known as Horse and woman), c. 1956-62
Monotype in black ink on paper. 57 x 72 cm
Not signed or inscribed.
Private collection, Caulfield North, Vic.
Provenance: Gift from the artist to the present owner.

Exhibited: Julius Kane 1921-1962: A Retrospective Exhibition, George Paton Gallery, University of Melbourne, Parkville, Vic., 6-30 May 1975, catalogue no. 24 (as Untitled, undated, drawing, 72 x 57.2 cm).
Literature: Parkville, 1975, p. 5; Borthwick, 2012, pp. 315-6, fig. 81 (where titled Horse and Woman, early 1950s).
Photo: the author.
Only two works in the 1975 retrospective appeared without any named collector: this drawing and Vertical Forms, 1954 (JK0031). Both come from the same collection and on this basis I have matched the present work on paper to the unnamed drawing (catalogue no. 24) in the retrospective. The dimensions for both works also match.

JKW0012
Feline, c. 1957
Oil (possibly a monotype).
Whereabouts unknown.
Literature: Melbourne, 1957 Mar 1, no. 798.

JKW0013
Eurynome, c. 1958
Monotype.
Whereabouts unknown.
Literature: Collingwood, 1958 Mar, no. 30.

Eurynomê refers to multiple characters in Greek mythology, with most represented as mermaid-like figures.
Appendix C: Julius Kane

JKW0014

_Ophion, c. 1958_

Monotype.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

**Exhibited:** _A Critic's Choice, selected by Alan McCulloch, The Herald Art Critic_, Australian Galleries, Collingwood, 4-14 March 1958, catalogue no. 31 (monotype, 15 gns).

_Literature:_ Collingwood, 1958 Mar, no. 31.

In Greek mythology Ophion ruled the world with Eurynomê.

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JKW0015

_Sculpture group (Christmas card), c. 1958_

Linocut, printed from one block in olive green ink; edition unknown. 20.1 x 25.4 cm; sheet (a) 20.7 x 26.0 cm, sheet (b) 24.1 h x 29.8 w cm

Signed lower right below image in blue ink: 'Julius Kane'. Inscribed lower centre below image in blue ink: 'Compliments of the Season'.

One copy (possibly in black ink) collection of W. G. Stevens (formerly Guenter Stein); another copy (in olive green ink) laid in loosely at the rear of the Kane album (Last, 1963); a third copy NGA, Canberra.

_Provenance:_ NGA copy purchased by the NGA from Reeder Fine Art, Melbourne, August 2010. Accession no. NGA 2010.640.

**Exhibited:** _Julius Kane 1921-1962: A Retrospective Exhibition_, George Paton Gallery, University of Melbourne, Parkville, Vic., 6-30 May 1975, catalogue no. 18 (as _Christmas Card_, undated, wood block print, 44.4 x 25.1 cm, inscribed on back: ‘Christmas Greetings from Julius Kane’, loaned by W.G. Stevens).

**Literature:** Parkville, 1975, no. 18, b&w illustration p. 25.

**Photo:** the author.

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JKW0016

_Untitled, n.d._

Woodblock print (probably linocut). 44.4 x 25.1 cm

Collection of W. G. Stevens (formerly Guenter Stein)

**Exhibited:** _Julius Kane 1921-1962: A Retrospective Exhibition_, George Paton Gallery, University of Melbourne, Parkville, Vic., 6-30 May 1975, catalogue no. 19 (as _Christmas Card_, undated, wood block print, 44.4 x 25.1 cm, inscribed on back: ‘Christmas Greetings from Julius Kane’, loaned by W.G. Stevens).

**Literature:** Parkville, 1975, no. 19.
INGE KING (1915-2016)

Berlin, 1936-38

IK0001

Drapery study, 1935
Plaster.
Dimensions unknown
Whereabouts unknown.

Photo: unknown photographer; original held among the King papers.

Two drawings of the same subject, one dated 18 August 1935, can be found at IKW0001 and IKW0002, suggesting that the terracotta likewise dates to 1935. Yet multiple copies of photographs among King’s papers are variously dated 1935 and 1936, with the height variously given as 35 cm and 40 cm. According to an inscription on the reverse of one photo among the King papers, it was the first piece of sculpture she made ‘before any formal training”; this same assertion is made in Trimble, 1996, p. 2. However, in conversation King said this was the first work she made while working with Hermann Nonnenmacher and that the photographs were taken by Nonnenmacher, who impressed upon her from the beginning the need to keep photographs of her work (King conversation, 29 March 2014). The original owner was the daughter-in-law of King’s grandfather’s business partner.

IK0002

Boys Wrestling, 1935-36
Terracotta.
35 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.

IK0003

Head of a Woman, 1936
Modelled in clay and afterwards cast in terracotta.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

Provenance: Formerly Douleur collection.

Photo: Hermann Nonnenmacher; original held among the King papers.

Provenance: Mrs Liesbeth Levy, Berlin, by 1939.


Photo: Hermann Nonnenmacher; original held among the King papers.

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Provenance: Mrs Liesbeth Levy, Berlin, by 1939.


Photo: Hermann Nonnenmacher; original held among the King papers.

Two drawings of the same subject, one dated 18 August 1935, can be found at IKW0001 and IKW0002, suggesting that the terracotta likewise dates to 1935. Yet multiple copies of photographs among King’s papers are variously dated 1935 and 1936, with the height variously given as 35 cm and 40 cm. According to an inscription on the reverse of one photo among the King papers, it was the first piece of sculpture she made ‘before any formal training”; this same assertion is made in Trimble, 1996, p. 2. However, in conversation King said this was the first work she made while working with Hermann Nonnenmacher and that the photographs were taken by Nonnenmacher, who impressed upon her from the beginning the need to keep photographs of her work (King conversation, 29 March 2014). The original owner was the daughter-in-law of King’s grandfather’s business partner.
Trimble records that this was made shortly after King’s memorable visit to Käthe Kollwitz and ‘celebrates the occasion and respect for her mentor’ (Trimble, 1996, p. 3). Certainly there is an echo of Kollwitz’s lined yet aristocratic face, with the sitter apparently withdrawn in reverie – or inner emigration – behind closed eyes. However, King later clarified that, while largely inspired by Kollwitz, the work was never intended as a portrait of her as such (King conversation, 1 November 2011). She also corrected the medium (previously described as ceramic), to clay cast in terracotta under Nonnenmacher’s instruction.

**IK0004**

*Untitled (couple embracing), 1936*

Unfired terracotta.

Dimensions unknown.

Whereabouts unknown.

**Literature:** Zimmer, 2014, pp. 296, 364, two b&w illustrations p. 296.

**Photos:** unknown photographer; originals held among the King papers.

King recalled that one of Nonnenmacher’s major works, *Abschied (Farewell)*, 1928, remained in his studio during her years there (King interview, 2010). In the present work she attempted her own interpretation of a Farewell subject, showing a man and woman locked in sorrowful embrace. Despite the somewhat clumsy modelling and cautious composition (the two figures leaning inwards towards each other presenting less of a challenge than Nonnenmacher’s more antagonistically arrayed couple), the work serves as illustration of both Nonnenmacher’s and Barlach’s influence on the young student. The work was hollow, modelled in terracotta but never fired. King recalled carrying the fifty-pound bag of clay home on a Berlin train (King conversation, 1 November 2011).

**IK0005**

*Idea for fountain, 1936*

Modelling clay.

Dimensions unknown.

Whereabouts unknown.


**Photos:** Hermann Nonnenmacher; originals held among the King papers.

Modelled in clay in the studio of Hermann Nonnenmacher, at his suggestion (King conversation, 1 November 2011). Some photographs were retrospectively dated 1938, but King asserted it was made in 1936 and this date fits with the time she spent in Nonnenmacher’s studio. The stylised simplification of the figures suggests the impact of such sculptors as Wilhelm Lehmbruck, Georg Kolbe and Gerhard Marcks – in addition to King’s averred favourites Ernst Barlach and Käthe Kollwitz – while the repetition of almost identical figures circling and gazing into the pool recalls George Minne’s *Kneeling Youth* series, produced between 1896 and 1930, particularly his *Narcissus Fountain* of 1898. The sombre mood also recalls representations of mourning women on ancient sarcophagi.
IK0006
*Relief, study from a flower, 1936*
Wood.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
**Photo:** unknown photographer; original held among the King papers.

IK0007
*Kacheltisch (Tile table), 1937*
Hand-painted ceramic tiles set into a carved wooden table.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

IK0008
*Platter, c. 1937-38*
Carved wood.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
**Photo:** unknown photographer; original held among the King papers.

Provenance: Commissioned by the aunt of the photographer, Lore Fischbein, Berlin.
**Literature:** Zimmer, 2014, pp. 296, 364, b&w illustration p. 297.
**Photo:** Lore Fischbein, Berlin Grunewald; original held among the King papers, where inscribed ‘*Kacheltisch 1937*’.
The simple pictograms of ancient Egyptians worshipping a captured giraffe, depicted here in the hand-painted tiles, reflect King’s dual interests in antiquity and the exotic animals she regularly visited as a child at the Berlin Zoo. King recalled visiting the Pergamon with her father, when the museum first opened in 1930, and retained vivid memories of the Egyptian artworks, particularly the celebrated bust of Nefertiti that first went on display in the foyer of the *Ägyptisches Museum* in 1923 (King interview, 2009). The photographer Lore Fischbein, a friend of King’s, is most likely the same Lore Fischbein who perished at Auschwitz in 1942.

The simple pictograms of ancient Egyptians worshipping a captured giraffe, depicted here in the hand-painted tiles, reflect King’s dual interests in antiquity and the exotic animals she regularly visited as a child at the Berlin Zoo. King recalled visiting the Pergamon with her father, when the museum first opened in 1930, and retained vivid memories of the Egyptian artworks, particularly the celebrated bust of Nefertiti that first went on display in the foyer of the *Ägyptisches Museum* in 1923 (King interview, 2009). The photographer Lore Fischbein, a friend of King’s, is most likely the same Lore Fischbein who perished at Auschwitz in 1942.
Passover Seder Plate, 1938
Carved wood; probably oak.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Photo: Lore Fischbein (?); original held among the King papers.
Carved with a motif of frolicking goats, the Seder plate has small bowls to hold the symbolic bitter herbs consumed during Jewish Passover. Here the tradition of Germanic woodcarving was brought to bear upon a work of Jewish decorative art. The production of such commercial commissions enabled King to supplement her income while a student.

Decorative relief panel for a staircase, 1938
Carved wood.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Provenance: Executed for Otto Hitzberger, as part of a larger commission Hitzberger received for a decorated staircase, Berlin.

Photo: unknown photographer; original held among the King papers, where inscribed ‘Holzeelief für einen Treppenstosen [Wood relief for a staircase?] 1938’.
Carved with motifs of shells and plants, this was typical of the sort of commissions King completed for her teacher of woodcarving at the Academy: the Bavarian Otto Hitzberger.

Untitled (head of a young girl, looking downwards), 1938
Clay.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Photo: unknown photographer; original held among the King papers.
Executed at the Berlin Academy. The sitter was a young dancer of approximately eleven years of age. King also executed a small clay figure of her in a dance pose – see IK0012 (King conversation, 1 November 2011).

Untitled (small figure of a dancer), 1938
Clay.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Executed at the Berlin Academy. The sitter was a young dancer of approximately eleven years of age, depicted in the above head study, Untitled (head of a young girl, looking downwards), 1938, IK0011 (King conversation, 1 November 2011).
IK0013
*Untitled (seated man), 1938*
Clay.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
*Literature:* Grishin, 2014, b&w illustration p. 36; Zimmer, 2014, p. 364. Photo: unknown photographer; original held among the King papers. Executed at the Berlin Academy. While the photograph of this work is not inscribed or dated, it is printed on Agfa paper, as were most of the other Berlin works.

IK0014
*Untitled (seated young boy), 1938*
Clay.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

IK0015
*Portrait from life (head of a young man), 1938*
Clay.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

IK0016
*Portrait head, 15 March 1938*
Clay.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
*Literature:* Grishin, 2014, b&w illustration p. 36; Zimmer, 2014, p. 364. Photos: unknown photographer; originals held among the King papers; one inscribed ‘Neufeld / head life size / 1938’ and the other inscribed ‘Mrs Fuge [or Frige?] für Mutter 15.3.38 Akademie Kunst Berlin’.
The sitter was a colleague at the Berlin Academy. While King could not recall her name, she did recall that she came from one of the North Sea islands, that she was very intelligent and talented, and that her nickname was Löwenjunges meaning ‘baby lion’ (King conversation 1 November 2011).
IK0017.1

_Draped Figure (Mercury?), half life-size, 1938_

Clay.
80 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.
_Photos:_ unknown photographer; originals held among the King papers, where variously inscribed: ‘Draped Figure (Mercury [?]) / 1938 exec. in wood’ and ‘Draped Figure (Mercury [?]) / half life size 1938’.

Executed at the Berlin Academy. It is difficult to conceive how this rather straight-forward piece of academic modelling could have been construed as an allegorical figure of Mercury for she holds none of the typical accoutrements such as merchant’s scales or winged cap. Nevertheless, an inscription on various photographic prints of this work appears to read ‘Mercury’.

IK0017.2

_Draped Figure (Mercury?), half life-size, 1938_

Wood.
80 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.
According to an inscription on the reverse of one photograph of IK0017.1, another version was carved in wood.

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London, 1940

IK0018

_Head of a man (life-size), 1940_

Clay.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
_Photos:_ unknown photographer; originals held among the King papers, where inscribed: ‘head (life size), 1940’, and in later hand: ‘Royal Academy London’.
Executed at the Royal Academy, London, March – June 1940.

IK0019

_Untitled (head of a woman), 1940_

Clay.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
_Photos:_ unknown photographer; originals held among the King papers.
Executed at the Royal Academy, London, March – June 1940.
IK0020

*Head of a Girl (life-size, unfinished), 1940*

Clay.

Dimensions unknown.

Whereabouts unknown.


Photos: unknown photographer; originals held among the King papers, where variously inscribed: ‘head (unfinished) 1940’ and ‘head of a girl (unfinished) life sz. 1940’.

Executed at the Royal Academy, London, March – June 1940.

IK0021

*Nude, half life size, 1940*

Clay.

80 cm high approx.

Whereabouts unknown.


Photos: unknown photographer; original held among the King papers, where inscribed: ‘nude (half life sz.) / 1940’.

Executed at the Royal Academy, London, March – June 1940. The model was the same sitter seen in the previous entry, *Untitled (head of a girl)*, 1940 (IK0020; King conversation, 1 November 2011).

IK0022

*Untitled (standing man with clenched hands), 1940*

Clay.

Dimensions unknown.

Whereabouts unknown.


Photos: unknown photographer; originals held among the King papers.

Executed at the Royal Academy, London, March – June 1940.
Nottingham, 1941

IK0023

Head, life size, 1941
Clay.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Photo: unknown photographer; original held among the King papers.
Modelled at Northampton Technical College in the pottery studio as there was no sculpture studio at the Northampton school. The sitter was a Welsh girl who also worked in the pottery studio and who agreed to sit for King as an act of friendship (King conversation, 1 November 2011).

Glasgow, 1941-47

IK0024

Untitled (old man, seated), 1941
Clay relief.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
This and the following two relief panels were done as rapid exercises (approximately three hours apiece) at the Glasgow School of Art (King conversation, 1 November 2011).

IK0025

Untitled (old man, seated, hand raised), 1941
Clay relief.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Photo: unknown photographer; original held among the King papers.

IK0026

Untitled (old man, standing, hand raised), 1941
Clay relief.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Photo: unknown photographer; original held among the King papers.
IK0027

*Christ on the cross with mourners, 1941*

Clay relief.
Dimensions unknown.
Destroyed.

**Literature:** Zimmer, 2014, p. 364.
A pencil study for this exists at the start of King’s first Glasgow sketchbook (IKW0022). On seeing the drawing, King mentioned she made a clay relief of the same subject but that she had destroyed it (King conversation, 10 April 2012).

IK0028

*Standing draped nude relief, c. 1941*

Clay relief.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

**Photo:** unknown photographer; original held among the King papers.
Photo not inscribed but printed on a Kodak postcard at Border Snaps, 21 Muslin St Glasgow SE.

IK0029

*Untitled (standing draped nude), c. 1941–43*

Clay.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

**Photos:** unknown photographer; originals held among the King papers.
The above two photographs are not inscribed, but the model is evidently the same model used in the previous entry (IK0028) and the linen hung in the background is the same as seen in other photographs of GSA works (such as IK0030, IK0032, IK0033 and IK0034.1).

IK0030

*Untitled (seated nude), c. 1941–43*

Stone.
30 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.

**Literature:** Zimmer, 2014, p. 364 (where described as clay).
Photo: unknown photographer; original held among the King papers.
While the above photograph is not inscribed, the marks of a chisel are visible at close magnification – suggesting it was carved in stone. However, King said that this was not the same *Crouching Woman*, 1941, that was exhibited at the Royal Glasgow Institute in 1941 (King conversation, 1 November 2011).

IK0031
*Crouching Woman*, 1941
Stone.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: *Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts Annual Exhibition*, Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow, October 1941, catalogue no. 683 (as *Crouching Woman*, stone, £15).
This was King’s first publicly exhibited work yet – surprisingly – no photograph of it exists among the artist’s papers. It may have borne some relation to Benno Schotz’s *Cowering Woman*, which was exhibited at the Royal Scottish Academy the year previously. Alternatively, it may have been an interpretation of the Louvre’s second century CE marble *Crouching Venus* (also known as *Crouching Aphrodite*), a plaster cast of which had been in the GSA teaching collection since the late nineteenth century.

IK0032
*Portrait of Margaret Small (née Richards)*, 1941
Clay.
Dimensions unknown.
Private collection, Scotland.

IK0033
*Portrait of Margaret Priest (née Mackenzie)*, c. 1941
Clay.
Dimensions unknown.
Presumed collection of the sitter, Perth, Western Australia.

Photos: unknown photographer; originals held among the King papers; one inscribed: ‘Margaret Priest, c. 1941’.
Margaret Mackenzie (b. 1922) was a good friend of King’s and fellow sculpture student at the GSA. She moved to Perth, Western Australia, in 1950 and under her married name, Margaret Priest, played a vital role in introducing modern sculpture to that city (see O’Brien, 2009). Photo printed on a Kodak postcard at Border Snaps, 21 Muslin St Glasgow SE.
IK0034.1

**Lady Jane Grey (later known as Drapery Study), 1942**

Clay.

121.9 cm high approx.

Whereabouts unknown.

**Literature:** Trimble, 1996, p. 6, b&w illustration p. 5; Zimmer, 2014, pp. 299, 364, two b&w illustrations p. 299.

**Photos:** unknown photographer; originals held among the King papers.

Margaret Mackenzie suggested the title *Lady Jane Grey* for this work (King interview, 2010). As Judith Trimble observes, 'In general pose, gesture, attitude, and drapery, this study recalls Jacob Epstein’s more mature and vigorous work, *The Visitation* of 1926; and in King’s work, as in Epstein’s, smoother treatment of skin is played off against the raised texture of heavy drapery' (Trimble, 1996, p. 6).

IK0034.2

**Lady Jane Grey (later known as Drapery Study), 1942**

Plaster.

121.9 cm high approx.

Collection of Bienchin Ohly, the Abbey Arts Centre, New Barnet, Hertfordshire, UK.

Provenance: William Ohly, the Abbey; thence to his stepdaughter Bienchin Ohly.

**Exhibited:** *Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts Annual Exhibition*, Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow, October 1942, catalogue no. 280 (as *Lady Jane Gray*, plaster, £30 or bronze, £200).


Cast in plaster for an intended bronze, which never eventuated. When King sailed for Australia in 1951 she left this work behind her at the Abbey Art Centre, where it remains in a covered porch. It is now extensively chipped and weathered.

IK0035.1

**Pastoral Panel, c. 1941-42**

Clay.

30 cm length approx.

Whereabouts unknown.

**Literature:** Blackman and King, 1989, tape 1, side 2; Grishin, 2014, b&w illustration p. 44; Zimmer, 2014, p. 364, b&w illustration p. 298.

**Photo:** unknown photographer; original held among the King papers.

Maquette for the following work.
Appendix C: Inge King

IK0035.2

Pastoral Panel, c. 1941-42
Elm wood carving in low relief.
76.2 x 213.4 x 7.6 cm
Whereabouts unknown.
Provenance: Left with Anna and Rudolf Gellner, Highgate, London, January 1951; since lost.
Exhibited: Diploma exhibition, Glasgow School of Art, Glasgow, c. June 1942 (no catalogue issued); Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts Annual Exhibition, Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow, October 1942, catalogue no. 739 (as Pastoral Panel, wood carving, elm, £50); One-Hundred-and-Seventeenth Annual Exhibition of the Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh, 23 April – 14 August 1943, catalogue no. 43 (as Pastoral Panel, elm wood).
Photo: unknown photographer; original held among the King papers.
Initially submitted for King’s diploma, which was awarded in June 1942, the large elm-wood Pastoral Panel evolved from a number of studies of domestic animals that, as King recalled, were motivated by ‘the sheer sensuousness of the animal in the landscape’ (Blackman and King, 1989, tape 1, side 2). Pastoral Panel evolved from a drawing (IKW0024) followed by a small clay maquette (IK0035.1). The final large elm version was displayed over the fireplace in her Glasgow studio, as seen in the photograph taken of her in the studio in 1944 (reproduced in Grishin, 2014, p. 34). Among several photographic prints of this work among the King papers, some are inscribed on reverse: ‘E.E.F. Colam, Publicity Officer, Milk Marketing Board, Thames Ditton Surrey’. King could not recall whether the work was used in the Milk Marketing Board’s publicity. When the Kings sailed from London for Australia, in January 1951, they left three works with friends in London, Anna and Rudolf Gellner, whom King had originally met through her first husband Karel Winter: Pastoral Panel, Appletree (IK0048) and Three Drunkards (IK0049). These were deemed too large or fragile to ship. My recent enquiries with the Gellners’ daughter-in-law, Susan Gellner (widow of the Cambridge philosopher Ernest Gellner), and granddaughter, Sarah Gellner, have failed to uncover the works’ whereabouts.

IK0036

Patricia Mackie-Campbell, c. 1941-43
Plaster.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Photos: unknown photographer; originals held among the King papers.
King identified the sitter in this work as Patricia ‘Pat’ Mackie-Campbell (1926-2007) and recalled she was from a wealthy family connected with the White Horse Whiskey distillery (King interview, 2010). According to King, Mackie-Campbell’s family was unhappy with the portrait, which they felt was too serious (King conversation, 1 November 2011). In 1946 the sitter married Niall Campbell Macdiarmid (1919-78), a successful businessman in the steel industry, and with him left Scotland first for Repton then Stibbington Hall at Wansford in 1959.
Appendix C: Inge King

IK0037
*Janet Mackintosh*, c. 1942-43
Plaster.
Dimensions unknown.
Private collection, Scotland.
Provenance: Gift to the artist’s landlord, Professor James Macalister Mackintosh, Glasgow; thence by descent.
Exhibited: *Exhibition by Staff and Diploma Students in aid of Students’ War Comforts Fund*, Glasgow School of Art, circa January 1943, catalogue no. 44 (as Janet); *Post Diploma Exhibition*, Glasgow School of Art, circa June 1943 (visible in photograph).
Photos: unknown photographer; originals held among the King papers.
Janet Mackintosh was the daughter of the Henry Mechan Professor of Public Health at Glasgow University from 1940 to 1944, Professor James Macalister Mackintosh (1891-1966). King rented a bedsitter room from the Mackintosh family in their home at 2 Kirklee Road, Glasgow W2. By coincidence, her teacher Benno Schotz would later move into this same house and King visited him there in 1982 on a return visit to Glasgow (King conversation, 1 November 2011).

IK0038
*Life Study (figure of a boy)*, 1942
Clay.
122 cm high approx.
Private collection, Scotland.
Provenance: Gift to the artist’s landlord, Professor James Macalister Mackintosh, Glasgow; thence by descent.
Photos: unknown photographer; originals held among the King papers.
The young boy who modelled for this work at the Glasgow School of Art is almost certainly the same depicted in the following work, *David and Jonathan* (IK0039). King recalled gifting the present work to her landlord, Professor Mackintosh (King conversation, 1 November 2011).
IK0039
David and Jonathan (later known as Three-Legged Race), c. 1942-43
Clay, later cast in plaster.
152 cm height approx.
Both clay and plaster versions destroyed.
Exhibited: Exhibition by Staff and Diploma Students in aid of Students' War Comforts Fund, Glasgow School of Art, circa January 1943, catalogue no. 43 (as David and Jonathan); One-Hundred-and-Seventeenth Annual Exhibition of the Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh, 23 April – 14 August 1943, catalogue no. 18 (as David and Jonathan).

Photos: unknown photographer; originals held among the King papers.
The story of David and Jonathan derives from the Book of Samuel in the Old Testament. Jonathan, the son of Saul, King of Israel, and David, the son of Jesse of Bethlehem, were rivals for the crown yet formed a covenant of brotherly love that transcended the political ambitions of their families. The subject demonstrated King’s continued interest in Jewish subject matter while the story of friendship between warring parties was also a fitting allegory of her own position in Scotland as ‘friendly alien’. It was exhibited under this title at the Royal Scottish Academy in 1943 but later assigned the ahistorical title of Three Legged Race. Two photographs among the King papers date the work to 1942. Dated c. 1941-43 in Trimble, 1996, and Zimmer, 2014. In addition three preparatory drawings are among the works on paper section (see IKW0039 - IKW0041 inclusive).

IK0040
Life study (standing male nude with hand on hip), c. 1942-43
Clay.
Half life-size approx.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Post Diploma Exhibition, Glasgow School of Art, circa June 1943 (visible in photograph).
Photo: detail of King’s post diploma exhibition; unknown photographer; original held among the King papers.
This work has never been recorded in any lists of King’s work, yet is partially visible in the photograph of her post-diploma show.
IK0041
*Lisel (infant lying on its back), 1943*
Clay.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Photo: unknown photographer; original held among the King papers.
Modelled on the infant daughter of a friend of King’s in Glasgow, also called Inge, whose partner, Yussel Honig, was a Czech medical student in his final year of medicine at Glasgow University (King conversations, 22 March 2011, 1 November 2011, 24 April 2012).

IK0042.1
*Lisel (seated infant), 1943*
Clay.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Photo: unknown photographer; original held among the King papers.

IK0042.2
*Lisel (seated infant), 1943*
Plaster.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: *Post Diploma Exhibition*, Glasgow School of Art, circa June 1943 (visible in photograph); *Royal Glasgow Institute of Art of Fine Arts Annual Exhibition*, Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow, October, 1943, catalogue no. 318 (as *Lisel*, plaster, £10).

IK0043.1
*Lisel (infant lying on its stomach), 1943*
Clay.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

IK0043.2
*Lisel (infant lying on its stomach), 1943*
Plaster.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Post Diploma Exhibition, Glasgow School of Art, circa June 1943 (visible in photograph); Royal Glasgow Institute of Art of Fine Arts Annual Exhibition, Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow, October, 1943, catalogue no. 318 (as Lisel, plaster, £10).
Peggy M’Neil (later known as Horse, Peggy), 1943
Bronze; edition of 2.
25.5 x 34.5 x 12 cm
Private collections, Kew, Vic., and Scotland.
Exhibited: Royal Glasgow Institute of Art of Fine Arts Annual Exhibition, Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow, October 1944, catalogue no. 130 (as Peggy M’Neil, statuette, bronze, £50).
Photo: unknown photographer; original held among the King papers.
Cast in Edinburgh, this was the first bronze that King had made (King conversation, 1 November 2011). ‘Peggy’ the horse belonged to a friend and fellow sculpture student from the Glasgow School of Art, Kathleen Evelyn Crosbie McNeil (née Kennedy, 1894-1968), of Barnaigh House at Kennishead – a ‘lively, well educated, [and] artistic’ woman with an interest in history, period furniture and vernacular architecture (see O’Brien, 2009, p. 37).

Eve, 1943
Clay.
Dimensions unknown
Whereabouts unknown.
Photos: unknown photographer; originals held among the King papers.
Here an insouciant Eve unabashedly displays herself, hand on breast while the serpent insinuates itself into the composition, rising up her inner thigh.
Architecture, Edinburgh, 21 April – 12 August 1944, catalogue no. 49 (as Eve, no price stated).

IK0046
Self Portrait, 1943
Fired terracotta, hollow.
Life size.
Destroyed.
Exhibited: The One-Hundred-and-Eighteenth Exhibition of the Royal Scottish Academy of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture, Edinburgh, 21 April – 12 August 1944, catalogue no. 56 (as Self Portrait).
Photos: unknown photographer; originals held among the King papers. Dated 1944 in Trimble, 1996, and Grishin and Zimmer, 2014. The date most likely originates from it having first been exhibited in April 1944 at the RSA. However, I have dated it to 1943 on the basis of its similarity with the Portrait of Margaret Watson (IK0047). Both works are roughly and expressively modelled and have an impassive forward-staring gaze. The self-portrait and the small clay Eve (IK0045.1) are both visible on a shelf in the studio behind the head of Margaret Watson, suggesting they preceded it.

IK0047
Portrait of Margaret Watson, 1943
Terracotta.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Provenance: Gift of the artist to the sitter.
Photo: unknown photographer; original held among the King papers, where inscribed in a late hand: ‘Portrait / Margaret Watson / 1943’.
The sitter was a secondary school teacher and a friend of King’s, approximately twenty years older than her, who introduced the young artist to many of the people who would become closet to her during her years in Glasgow. The pair met through the auspices of a Church of England minister, Rev. Hutchison, whom Hermann Nommenmacher knew in London. Rev. Hutchison wrote to his friend and counterpart in the Church of Scotland, Rev. George McLowan, who in turn asked Margaret Watson to give assistance to the young refugee artist (King conversation. 1 November 2011).
IK0048

**Appletree, Design for Fountain (also known as Three Sisters, or Three Girls Under a Tree), 1943**

Plaster painted a terracotta colour.

63.5 cm high.

Provenance: Left with Anna and Rudolf Gellner, Highgate, London, January 1951; since lost.

Exhibited: *Post Diploma exhibition*, Glasgow School of Art, circa June 1943 (visible in photograph).


Photo: unknown photographer; original held among the King papers; where inscribed on reverse: ‘Inge Winter (crossed out and replaced with King) / APPLETREE / (3 girls standing under a tree) / (Design for Fountain) / 25” high 1943 / Plaster of Paris’.

According to Judith Trimble this was a sketch design for a fountain, the concept for which was inspired by a favourite poem of King’s, *Le Pommier*, written by the fifteenth century poet François Villon (Trimble, 1996, p. 6).

Presumably Trimble refers to Villon’s *Ballade* with its well-know line: ‘I know the apple by the apple tree’. Sasha Grishin and Jenny Zimmer point out the debt to Barlach evident in this work. Provenance details supplied by the artist (King conversation, 1 November 2011).

IK0049

**Three Drunkards, 1943**

Terracotta.

20 cm high approx.

Provenance: Left with Anna and Rudolf Gellner, Highgate, London, January 1951; since lost.

Exhibited: *Royal Glasgow Institute of Fine Arts Annual Exhibition Annual Exhibition*, Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow, October 1943, catalogue no. 262 (as *Three Drunkards*, terracotta, £15).


Photos: unknown photographer; originals held among the King papers; one inscribed ‘3 Glasgow Drunks, 1942’.

According to King this was ‘done in my postgraduate year’ and would therefore date to c. June 1942 – June 1943 (King interview, 2010). I have dated it to 1943 based on the increasing expressiveness of style and independence from academic subject matter. Provenance details supplied by the artist (King conversation, 1 November 2011). Two sketch studies exist for this work in the *Sketchbook: Kilmarnog [and] Callender (Scottish Highlands)*, 1942-43 (IKW0043).
IK0050

**Untitled (figure in grief), 1943**

Oak.

100 cm high approx.
Re-carved to become IK0056 (estate of the artist) and IK0057 (whereabouts unknown).

**Exhibited:** Post Diploma Exhibition, Glasgow School of Art, circa June 1943 (visible in photograph).

**Literature:** Zimmer, 2014, pp. 300, 364, b&w illustration p. 300; Eckett, 2015.

**Photos:** unknown photographer; originals held among the King papers.

King recognised that this work was too close to that of her teacher Benno Schotz’s *The Lament*, 1943 (lignum vitae, Gallery of Modern Art, Edinburgh). Dissatisfied, she re-carved it resulting in two separate Cubist-style works: *Head*, 1943-45, and *Torso*, 1943-45 (see IK0056 and IK0057; King conversation, 1 November 2011). Pencil sketches for this work exist at IKW0044, IKW0048 and IKW0050.

IK0051

**Mother and Child, 1943**

Plaster.

18.0 x 23.0 x 17.0 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.

**Exhibited:** Post Diploma Exhibition, Glasgow School of Art, circa June 1943 (visible in photograph, prior to patination); Inge King: Form, Space, Experience - Sculpture 1942-1990, Works on Paper 1979-1990, Deakin University Gallery, Geelong, 12 October - 16 November 1990, catalogue no. 1 (as *Mother and Child*, 1942, plaster of Paris, 18 x 23 x 17 cm, not for sale); Inge King: Small Sculptures 1943-1994, Bendigo Art Gallery, Bendigo, Vic., September - October 1995, catalogue no. 1 (as *Mother and Child*, 1943, painted plaster, 18 x 23 x 17 cm, made while a student at the Glasgow School of Art); Inge King at Warrandyte, private exhibition held at Drysdale Road, Warrandyte, Vic., in conjunction with Australian Galleries, Collingwood, and the Robin Boyd Foundation, 14-15 November 2015, catalogue no. 6 (as *Mother and child*, 1942, plasterboard [sic] maquette, to be cast in bronze, no price stated as expression of interest received before exhibition).

pp. 300, 364, colour illustration p. 364; Warrandyte, 2015, no. 6.


Dated 1942 in Trimble, 1996, and dated 1943 in Trimble and McGregor, 2009. The latter date is more likely given the expressionist tendencies evidenced, akin in subject and feeling to Kathe Kollwitz’s *Pieta*, 1938 (Neue Wache, Berlin). It is also very similar to Benno Schotz’s *Mother and Child*, bronze, n.d., 7 inches (17.8 cm) high, sold through Christies, London, 22 August 2007, lot 614. The slender, over-long fingers in the present work seem to relate it to a series of pencil drawings of ashawled model, done at the GSA (see IKW0028-IKW0031).

IK0052

*Mother and Child, 1943*

Limestone.

61 cm high approx.

Whereabouts unknown.

Provenance: Re-carved to become IK0055; gift of the artist to Dr Karl Abenheimer, Glasgow.

Exhibited: *Post Diploma Exhibition*, Glasgow School of Art, circa June 1943 (visible in photograph).


Photo: unknown photographer; original held among the King papers.

Developed from the small plaster maquette (IK0051), the first limestone version was more stylised, with the fingers blocked off in a semi-cubist manner. It was soon afterwards re-carved in a far more Cubist manner, becoming IK0055 – they are from the same block of stone (King conversation, 22 March 2011).

IK0053

*Warsaw, 1943-45*

Bronze, edition of two cast 1945.

36.2 x 19 x 18 cm


First cast, private collection, UK; second cast, collection NGA, Canberra.

Provenance: Casting commissioned by the late Moray Glasser, Glasgow, who purchased one cast (1/2); Moray Glasser Estate; thence to his nephew. The second cast retained by the artist (2/2); purchased from the artist 28 June 1988, accession no. NGA 88.653.


Literature: McCulloch, 1952 Nov; Age, 1952 Nov 4, p. 2; Parkville, 1982, p. 9, b&w illustration p. 61; Holloway,

Photos: Grahame King; originals held among the King papers.

This atypical small bronze, *Warsaw*, has an expressive and emotive impact similar to that of the destroyed *Untitled (figure in grief)*, 1943 (IK0050), though with a greater resolution of formal aesthetic problems. It was modelled in an outpouring of emotion over two days in 1943 (King conversation, 1 November 2011). Two years later, in 1945, it was cast in Glasgow in an edition of two (only the second of King’s works to be cast, the first being the small horse, *Peggy*, IK0044). Glaswegian furrier and prominent member of the Glasgow Jewish Institute, the late Moray Glasser, commissioned the casting. King acknowledged on at least two occasions – once in interview with Barbara Blackman and once with myself – that *Warsaw* was her response to the Holocaust and to the general suffering in the years leading up to 1943 (Blackman and King, 1989; King interview, 2009). The title connects it to the liquidation of the Warsaw ghetto between July 1942 and January 1943. King had long heard talk about the camps and the gassings but not in any detail until December 1942, when it was finally raised in the British House of Commons (Blackman and King, 1989, tape 1, side 2). The Polish Government-in-Exile broadcast news of the Nazi persecution of Jews but only on 17 December 1942 did Sir Anthony Eden, as Secretary of State, issue a United Nations Declaration, announced in the House of Commons, acknowledging that Poland’s ghettos were being emptied (see Behr and Gilman, 2009, p. 92, fn. 17). The work is therefore a form of visual protest: registering the plight of Poland’s Jewry and inciting us to imagine exactly that which the Nazis believed would remain unimaginable. When *Warsaw* was first exhibited in Melbourne, at the 1952 VSS, both Alan McCulloch and the anonymous *Age* art critic praised it for its expressionistic handling and noted its monumental presence, despite its relatively diminutive size (McCulloch, 1952 Nov; Age, 1952 Nov 4, p. 2). Yet when next exhibited, in 1982, at King’s survey show at Melbourne University, Memory Holloway found it ‘shrill’ – registering its note of political protest and apparently uncomfortable with the work’s direct emotional appeal (Holloway, 1982 Sept, p. 14). Subsequent historians and curators – notably Jenny Zimmer, Daniel Thomas, Judith Trimble and Sasha Grishin – have correctly linked it German Expressionism, particularly the work of Barlach and Kollwitz, both of whom of course evinced a strong social consciousness and empathy for the poor and dispossessed (Zimmer in Parkville, 1982, p. 9; Thomas in Bendigo, 1995, p. 6; Trimble, 1996, p. 9; Grishin, 2014, pp. 41-2). King always openly acknowledged her debt to both artists and their influence, particularly Barlach’s, is evident in this work. Trimble also astutely identifies several other art historical references, ranging from Quattrocento works, such as Masaccio’s expelled Eve – with her agonised gaping mouth – or Donatello’s emaciated *Penitent Magdalen*, to the early modern, particularly Rodin’s *Head of Sorrow* and *Burghers of Calais* (Trimble, 1996, p. 9). However, other source material was evidently literary. Two of King’s sketchbooks, *Sketchbook: Kilmarnog [and] Callender (Scottish Highlands)*, 1942-43 (IKW0043), and *Sketchbook: Glasgow (mainly sketches for Ulenspiegel)*, 1942-43 (IKW0047), contain works revealing a marked similarity between Ulenspiegel’s tattered garment and that worn in *Warsaw*, while the young weeping Nele is transformed into a more universal figure of grief in subsequent pages, where we also find sketches for the sculpture *Warsaw*. Thus *Warsaw* draws – perhaps unconsciously – at least partial inspiration from an anti-clerical, German-Flemish narrative, while directly responding to the situation in Poland and across Europe at the time.
IK0054.1
 Sheep Relief, c. 1942-44
 Terracotta.
 40 cm high approx.
 Whereabouts unknown.
 Photo: unknown photographer; original held among the King papers, where inscribed in a later hand: ‘1942 Sheep Relief terra cotta’.
 Despite the date of 1942 assigned retrospectively on the photograph, I have dated this to slightly later (possibly as late as 1945), which is when the wooden carving of the same subject was exhibited (see IK0054.2). Studies for this work also exist in the Glasgow Sketchbook, c. 1943-44 (IKW0056).

IK0054.2
 Sheep in Pastures Green Abiding (Highland Sheep), c. 1943-44
 Wood carving in low relief on lime wood panel.
 58.4 x 104.1 x 5.1 cm
 Estate of the artist.
 Exhibited: The One-Hundred-and-Nineteenth Exhibition of The Royal Scottish Academy of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture, Edinburgh, 27 April – 1 September 1945, catalogue no. 47 (as Sheep in Pastures Green Abiding).
 Photo: Annan Photographers, Glasgow; original held among the King papers, where inscribed in a later hand: ‘Highland Sheep 1944’.
 The title presumably relates to Bach’s cantata no. 208, Flocks in Pastures Green Abiding. The innocence and safety of the creatures in Bach’s cantata and King’s relief are clearly at odds with contemporary events on mainland Europe, perhaps reflecting King’s paradoxical sense of freedom and peace experienced in Scotland during the war. Trimble dates this to c. 1943-44, while King later dated it 1944. I have opted to follow the earlier dating, based on the great changes that occur in King’s work c. 1944.

IK0055
 Mother and Child, 1943-44
 Limestone with pencil markings.
 61 cm high approx.
 Whereabouts unknown.
 Provenance: Gift of the artist to Dr Karl Abenheimer, Glasgow, c. 1947-50.
 Photo: unknown photographer; original held among the King papers.
 Carved from the same block of stone as IK0052, this is a development of the original idea, replacing the earlier work with a more severe, simplified Cubist composition (King conversations, 22 March 2011, 1 November 2011). The dramatic change in styles reflects the influence of George Bradley Innes and King’s own search, after her post-diploma, for a way past the binds of her academic training.
**IK0056**

**Head, 1943-45**

Oak.

16.7 x 19.2 x 19.1 cm

Not signed, inscribed or dated.

Estate of the artist.

**Exhibited:** *Inge King: Small Sculptures 1943-1994*, Bendigo Art Gallery, Bendigo, Vic., September - October 1995, catalogue no. 2 (as *Head*, 1944, oak, 17 x 20 x 15 cm, made while a student at the Glasgow School of Art);


**Photo:** unknown photographer (printed at Photo-Records, 5 Helena Hill [London]); original held among the King papers.

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**IK0057**

**Torso, 1943-45**

Oak.

106.7 cm high approx.

Whereabouts unknown.

**Exhibited:** *The One-Hundred-and-Twentieth Exhibition of The Royal Scottish Academy of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture*, Edinburgh, 26 April – 31 August 1946, catalogue no. 80 (as *Torso*, oak wood).


**Photo:** Annan Photographers, Glasgow; original held among the King papers, where inscribed in a later hand: ‘Wood carving 1945 / Engl. oak / H 3’6” app’.

This was originally part of *Untitled (figure in grief)*, 1943 (IK0050). King cut the figure in two to create the present work and *Head* (IK0056), both in her new cubist manner (King conversation, 22 March 2011). While *Torso* and *Head* were most likely carved in 1944-45, they have been dated 1943-45 here to indicate their origins in the *Untitled (figure in grief)*, 1943.
Manchester, 1945-47

IK0058
*Tray, 1946*
Etched Perspex in wooden frame.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Photo: unknown photographer; original held among the King papers.
Made in Manchester, in 1946, for sale through furniture showrooms such as Heal’s in London (King conversation, 13 March 2012). Three pencil preparatory sketches exist – see IKW0095 - IKW0097.

IK0059
*Lamp stand, 1946*
Oak.
144.0 x 6.5 x 5.5 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Private collection, Fitzroy North, Vic.
Photo: (a) unknown photographer; original held among the King papers; (b) Doug Green, Grahame King and Inge King at the Abbey, c. 1950, with King’s lamp stand in the foreground, unknown photographer, original held among the King papers.
Carved in Manchester in 1946 with a design of fish and birds and abstract geometric patterns (King conversation, 6 March 2012). For a series of preparatory sketches see IKW0091 – IKW0093 inclusive.

IK0060
*Ceiling lamp, c. 1946-51*
Carved wood, rope and glass light shades.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Photo: unknown photographer; original held among the King papers.
This is an example of the sort of commercial carving King made in Manchester and London and sold through Heal’s to supplement her income.

IK0061
*Two-pronged candelabra, c. 1946-51*
Carved elm wood.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown; presumably various private collections, UK.
Photo: unknown photographer; original held among the King papers.
King produced multiple copies of this work and sold them through Heals in London (King conversation, 25 October 2011).

IK0062

Three-pronged candelabra, c. 1946-51
Carved elm wood.
21.4 x 27.2 x 4.0 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist, with copies in various private collections, UK.
Photo: unknown photographer; original held among the King papers.
As with the two-pronged candelabra, King produced multiple copies of this work and sold them through Heals in London (King conversation, 25 October 2011).

London, 1947-50

IK0063

Adebar (Stork; also known simply as Bird), 1947
Walnut and copper.
50 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.
Provenance: Collection of Dr Karl Abenheimer, Glasgow.
Photo: unknown photographer; original held among the King papers, where inscribed: ‘Adebar / the Bird 1947 / H. 50 cm app. / Walnut wood / + copper / Priv. coll. / Glasgow’.
Adebar is German for stork. Sketches for this work exist in the London sketchbook (IKW0150).
Musicians: Homage to Zadkine (also known as Trio), 1947

Clay cast in plaster and painted black.
42.0 x 38.6 x 30.2 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
NGA, Canberra.


Photos: (a) Grahame King; (b) unknown photographer (printed at Photo Records, 5 Helena Road, Dollis Hill [London] NW10); both originals held in the King papers.

King first encountered Zadkine’s small bronze, The Musicians, 1927, when it was included in the Jewish Art Exhibition that Benno Schotz organised for the Glasgow Jewish Institute (20 December 1942 to 10 January 1943). There it attracted considerable controversy when it was purchased for the Kelvingrove Art Gallery. King had ample time to study the work as she and Margaret Priest both volunteered as invigilators at the exhibition. A sketch appears in one of her Glasgow sketchbooks from 1942-43: IKW0047. A further series of studies, dated July 1946, exist among her sketches (see IKW0102 to IKW0107 inclusive). The sketches relate more closely to her own homage than to Zadkine’s bronze. When King’s Musicians was first exhibited, at the 1952 VSS in Melbourne, Alan McCulloch referred to it having been made in 1946, which would fit with the date of the sketches. However, King recalled that this was the first work she made at the Abbey, where she moved in 1947, and that she also cast it there in plaster (King conversation, 22 March 2011). Trimble and subsequent authors have likewise dated it to 1947.
Appendix C: Inge King

IK0065
*Untitled (Two dancing figures with arms raised)*, 1947
Scottish red sandstone
61 cm high approx.
Separated into two separate figures and re-carved to become catalogue nos. IK0070 and IK0071.
Photo: Dominion Press, London; original held among the King papers.
This appears to have been one of King’s final cubist carvings. It was probably started earlier – in Manchester or even Glasgow – from a block of Scottish red sandstone. However, at the Abbey, King decided to split the carving into two separate figures, which became *Dancer* and *Flower Dancer* (IK0070 and IK0071 respectively) – both in her new, organic abstract style. The Dominion Press photograph is the only surviving document of the work, beyond a pencil sketch and a pen and ink sketch (IKW0147 and IKW0148). King could not recall the identity of the man in the photograph. At one point she thought he was a resident of the Abbey whose surname was King (no relation of Grahame King; King conversation, 1 November 2011). However, it is unlikely to be Peter King, the young British sculptor, who did not settle at the Abbey until c. 1951; comparison with archival photographs show no resemblance. On another occasion, when we again discussed the photograph, she thought it was a South African sculptor who visited her studio, giving rise to the possibility of it being Lippy Lipshitz (King conversation, 19 March 2012).

IK0066.1
*Mother and Child*, 1947
Terracotta.
60 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.
Photos: unknown photographer (printed at Photo-Records, 5 Helena Road, Dollis Hill, London NW10); originals held among the King papers, where one is inscribed in a later hand: ‘Mother + Child / Terracotta / The Abbey 1947’.

IK0066.2
*Mother and Child*, 1947
Boxwood.
25 cm high approx.
Probably signed in monogram: ‘IW’. Whereabouts unknown.
Provenance: Purchased directly from the artist by a psychiatrist who visited the Abbey Art Centre, New Barnet, UK, c. 1947.
King recalled carving a boxwood version of a mother and child, similar to the previous entry, and selling it to a psychiatrist who visited the Abbey (King interview, 2010). She later came across a sketch for the work and described the carving as approximately 10 inches high and sold to an English doctor (King conversation, 19 March 2012; see IKW0066.1).
Reclining Torso (also known as Torso, and Little Green Torso), 1947-48

Sicilian marble, green.
13.4 x 23.1 x 10.7 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
NGV, Melbourne.


Exhibited: Inge Winter, sculpture and drawings, London Gallery, 23 Brook St, London, 1-26 March 1949, catalogue no. 4, as Reclining Torso (green marble); (?) Group exhibition, Laurel Gallery, New York, c. 1950 (catalogue un traced); Exhibition of Paintings, Sculpture, Jewellery by Grahame and Inge King, Stanley Coe Gallery, Melbourne, 27 November - 6 December 1951, catalogue no. 18 (as Reclining Torso, Italian marble, 35 gns); The Group of Four: Inge King, Norma Redpath, Julius Kuhn, Clifford Last, Melbourne University School of Architecture, 1-12 June 1953, catalogue no. 6 (as Reclining Torso, Italian marble, 30 gns); Inge King: Small Sculptures, McClelland Gallery & Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 8 August - 26 September 2004 (no catalogue nos. assigned); Inge King: Works from the Studio, 1940s-2013, Australian Galleries, Collingwood, Vic., 4 August – 1 September 2013, catalogue no. 1 (as Reclining torso / Little green torso, 1947, Sicilian marble, green, 25 x 13 x 13 cm, AG207240, $ 65,000); Inge King: Constellation, NGV, Melbourne, 1 May – 31 August 2014, no catalogue nos. assigned.


Photos: (a) Alfred Carlebach, FRPS (The White House, Randolph Crescent, London W9); (b) J. W. Russell (6-5th Avenue, New York); both originals held among the King papers.

Dated 1947 in Trimble 1996; dated 1948 in Trimble and McGregor, 2009. Regardless of the date, this was one of King’s earliest marble carvings. She recalled investing many hours of labour to create the smoothly polished surface by grinding it with carborundum stone followed by fine sandpaper (King conversation, 21 February 2012). Judith Trimble considers it King’s ‘first non-representational work’, influenced by ‘Arp’s biomorphic shapes – the concretions – and to Brancusi’s smooth tactile surfaces’ (Trimble, 1996, p. 12).
IK0068

Animal Shapes in Space, 1948
Grey marble.
24.0 x 37.0 x 18.0 cm
NGA, Canberra


Exhibited: Inge Winter, sculpture and drawings, London Gallery, 23 Brook St, London, 1-26 March 1949, catalogue no. 3 (as Animal Shapes in Space, grey marble); (?) Group exhibition, Laurel Gallery, New York, c. 1950 (catalogue untraced); Exhibition of Paintings, Sculpture, Jewellery by Grahame and Inge King, Stanley Coe Gallery, Melbourne, 27 November - 6 December 1951, catalogue no. 16 (as Animal Shapes in Space, marble, 35 gns); The Group of Four: Inge King, Norma Redpath, Julius Kuhn, Clifford Last, Melbourne University School of Architecture, 1-12 June 1953, catalogue no. 3 (as Animal Shapes in Space, marble, 40 gns); Inge King: Form, Space, Experience - Sculpture 1942-1990, Works on Paper 1979-1990, Deakin University Gallery, Geelong, 12 October - 16 November 1990, catalogue no. 4 (Animal Shapes in Space, 1948, marble, 24 x 37 x 18 cm); Happy birthday Inge King, NGA, Canberra, November 2015 - February 2016, no catalogue nos assigned.


Photos: (a) J. W. Russell (6-5th Avenue, New York); (b) unknown, possibly Alfred Carlebach, FRPS (The White House, Randolph Crescent, London W9); both originals held among the King papers.

Judith Trimble notes that this is King’s first ‘two part’ sculpture; together the two units are ‘arranged on complementary diagonal axes [and] describe a three-dimensional space that both separates them and draws them together’ (Trimble, 1996, p. 14). To date, however, no one has commented on the ‘animals’ themselves, which draw upon a range of references particularly Celtic designs of animal forms that fold in upon themselves. A series of drawings from around this period (IKW0185, IKW0189 and IKW0190) make this link explicit.
Crouching Birds (formerly known as Bird Form), 1948

English alabaster on a wooden base. 27.4 x 32.4 x 22.4 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
NGA, Canberra
Exhibited: The London Group, Academy Hall, 167 Oxford St, London, 21 May to 6 June 1948, catalogue no. 300 (as Bird Form, alabaster, £45); Inge Winter, sculpture and drawings, London Gallery, 23 Brook St, London, 1-26 March 1949, catalogue no. 5 (as Crouching Birds, alabaster); Exhibition of Paintings, Sculpture, Jewellery by Grahame and Inge King, Stanley Coe Gallery, Melbourne, 27 November - 6 December 1951, catalogue no. 15 (as Crouching Birds, 1949, alabaster, 40 gns); Victorian Sculptors' Society Annual Exhibition of Sculpture, Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 5-16 November 1952, catalogue no. 20 (as Crouching Birds, 1949, alabaster, 40 gns); The Group of

A deceptively complex work, this depicts two birds crouched together with three eyes visible. It is one of the earliest carvings to fully reflect the impact that Moore had upon King during the Abbey years in London.
IK0070

Dancer (Figure in Red Sandstone),
1948

Scottish red sandstone.
91.5 cm high approx.
Private collection, UK.

Provenance: Sold through the auspices of Karl Abenheimer, c. 1950, for 30 guineas to Moray Glasser, furrier, 293 Sauciehall Street, Glasgow; Moray Glasser Estate; thence to his nephew.

Exhibited: Inge Winter, sculpture and drawings, London Gallery, 23 Brook St, London, 1-26 March 1949, catalogue no. 1, as (Dancer; red sandstone).


Photos: Alfred Carlebach, London; originals held among the King papers. This was originally the right-hand figure in Untitled (Two dancing figures with arms raised), 1947 (IK0065), which King separated in 1948 and re-carved. Judith Trimble notes that 'the monumental bulk of arms and thighs recalls Moore’s Reclining Figure of 1929, and painted figures such as Picasso’s Two Nudes, 1907' (Trimble, 1996, p. 13). Yet its frontal flattening, syncopated rhythm and red colouring most clearly echo Gaudier-Brzeska’s celebrated Red Stone Dancer, c. 1913. King certainly admired Gaudier-Brzeska and shared his interest in so-called ‘primitive’ African carving. She later recalled in interview with Barbara Blackman: ‘In some ways it [Dancer] was influenced more by primitive sculpture, which I was very interested in, but it had very suave but, at the same time, quite strong forms. I think it was one of the best pieces of sculpture I ever carved and I’m sorry I didn’t bring it to Australia’ (Blackman and King, 1989, tape 1, side 2). Instead, she sold it to Moray Glasser, a successful Glasgow furrier, prominent member of the Jewish Institute and supporter of such artists as Josef Herman and Jankel Adler (King conversation, 1 November 2011).
Appendix C: Inge King

Flower Dancer (also known as Floral Composition), 1948
Scottish red sandstone.
40.5 x 23.4 x 15.8 cm
NGV, Melbourne.
Photos: (a & b) unknown photographer; originals held among the King papers; (c) Adrian Featherstone for Mark Strizic; original held among the King papers, (d) courtesy NGV, Melbourne.

Flower Dancer was carved at the Abbey from the same block as Untitled (Two dancing figures with arms raised), 1947 (IK0065), which King separated in 1948 and re-carved. While both Dancer (IK0070) and Flower Dancer abandoned the severe planes of the earlier cubist figures, Flower Dancer
progressed the furthest towards a non-objective art; torso and limbs now lost among a ripe profusion of curling fronds and spiralling nebulae. King was in part inspired by Robert Klippel’s *Opus 40 Red Sandstone Carving (also known as Anatomy of Sculptural Energy)*, 1948, which she saw in his studio at the Abbey. In particular she was taken with the motif of the oval concentric circles (around the ‘hip bone’ of Klippel’s abstract figure) and decided to try something similar in her own carving. She later reflected: ‘I know what he wanted to do, because that’s why I tried it out. He felt he wanted to discover the underneath and the tension and how it worked. And I thought that’s interesting, I’ll try it out’ (King interview, 2010). However, the work was broken during transit from London to Melbourne in 1951. When King repaired it she decided to abolish the lower portion so that all resemblance to a figure was lost. Instead she mounted it on a simple stand, in which condition it remains. Judith Trimble commented that the ‘work makes an interesting comparison’ with Klippel’s *Opus 40*, but refrained from further comment. This comparison was recently made in the exhibition, *Lurid Beauty: Australian Surrealism and Its Echoes* (NGV, 2015-16), when the two works were brought together and exhibited side by side for the first time.

**Jonathan (Fish), 1948**
Alabaster inlaid with glass and metal. 48 cm long approx.
Estate of Peter Oyston (1938-2011).
Exhibited: *Exhibition of Paintings, Sculpture, Jewellery by Grahame and Inge King*, Stanley Coe Gallery, Melbourne, 27 November - 6 December 1951, catalogue no. 17 (as Jonathan, alabaster, 30 gns);
*Sculpture: Brighton High School Exhibition*, Brighton High School, Brighton, Vic., 1959, catalogue no. 6 (as Inge King, *Fish*, alabaster, 50 gns).

**Frederick (Rooster), 1948**
Partridge wood.
91.4 cm high approx.
Private collection, Rhode Island, USA.
Provenance: Gift of the artist to her sister, Gerda Silverstein, Massachusetts, USA; thence by descent to the present owner.

**Photo:** Alfred Carlebach, London; original held among the King papers.

King confirmed that *Jonathan* and *Fish*, both in alabaster, were in fact the same work and that they belonged to the late Peter Oyston, founding Dean of Drama at the VCA, 1975-82, and director of the Melbourne Theatre Company (King conversation, 1 November 2011).
inscribed in another hand: ‘Inge Winter / Frederick / Partridge Wood’, to which King has added ‘1948’ and ‘36” high’. Carved at the Abbey from a piece of partridge tree timber with natural colour variations to it, this is visible on the window ledge of King’s room at the Abbey in the photograph reproduced in Grishin, 2014, p. 47. It was one of the six carvings she took with her to America, where she exhibited it at the Clay Club Sculpture Centre in December 1949 and afterwards gifted it to her sister in Massachusetts.

IK0074

*Portrait of a Bird* (formerly known as *Portrait of a Cock, or Portrait of a Pheasant, and also known as Bird Form*), 1948

Partridge wood.

70.0 x 9.0 x 6.5 cm on a metal base:

15.0 x 21.5 x 9.8 cm

Not signed, inscribed or dated.

University of Melbourne Art Collection.

Provenance: Gift of the artist, 1983.

Accession no. 1983.0011.000.000.

Exhibited: Inge Winter, sculpture and drawings, London Gallery, 23 Brook St, London, 1-26 March 1949, catalogue no. 9 (as *Portrait of a Cock, partridge wood*); (?) Group exhibition, Laurel Gallery, New York, c. 1950 (catalogue untraced); Exhibition of Paintings, Sculpture, Jewellery by Graham and Inge King, Stanley Coe Gallery, Melbourne, 27 November - 6 December 1951, catalogue no. 20 (as *Portrait of a Pheasant, partridge wood*, 25 gns); Inge King Sculpture, NGV, Melbourne, 8 October - 16 November 1992, catalogue no. 2 (as *Bird Form*, 1948, wood, 70 x 9 x 6 cm, collection: University of Melbourne Art Collection, gift of the artist, 1983); Inge King: Constellation, NGV, Melbourne, 1 May – 31 August 2014, no catalogue nos. assigned.


Photos: (a) unknown photographer, taken at the London Gallery, 1949; (b) J. W. Russell (6-5th Avenue, New York); both originals held among the King papers.

This has been exhibited under various titles, although the title assigned to it at the Stanley Coe Gallery was apparently mistaken and not the artist’s choice (King conversation, 1 November 2011).

IK0075

*Viola da Gamba* (later known as *Rosewood Figure or Figure in Rosewood*), 1948

Rosewood.

100 cm high approx.

Destroyed by the artist.

Photos: (a) J. W. Russell (6-5th Avenue, New York), (b) unknown photographer; both originals held among the King papers, where inscribed ‘1948 Figure in Rosewood / wood carving / H 100 app / destroyed’, and ‘Rosewood Figure / destroyed / included in the 1949 exhibition’.
The viola da gamba is the name given to a group of bowed and stringed instruments developed in the fifteenth century. A number of sketches and developed drawings of stringed instruments, particularly cellos, also exist from this period: see IKW0180 to IKW0184.

IK0076
*Wrench* (also known as *Figure in Black Marble*), 1948
Belgian black marble.
41.0 x 19.0 x 13.0 cm; base: 1.0 x 9.0 x 2.5 cm
Signed in monogram near base: ‘I / W’.
NGA, Canberra.
Exhibited: *Inge Winter, sculpture and drawings*, London Gallery, 23 Brook St, London, 1-26 March 1949, catalogue no. 6 (as *Wrench*, black marble); (?) Group exhibition, Laurel Gallery, New York, c. 1950 (catalogue untraced); *Exhibition of Paintings, Sculpture, Jewellery by Grahame and Inge King*, Stanley Coe Gallery, Melbourne, 27 November - 6 December 1951, catalogue no. 19 (as *Figure in Black Marble*, 30 gns); *The Group of Four: Inge King, Norma Redpath, Julius Kuhn, Clifford Last*, Melbourne University School of Architecture, 1-12 June 1953, catalogue no. 5 (as *Figure in Black Marble*, 30 gns); *Twelve Melbourne Sculptors*, Brummel’s Gallery, Melbourne, 22 September - 3 October 1957 (catalogue untraced); *Inge King Sculpture 1945-1982: A Survey*, University Gallery, University of Melbourne, 14 September - 22 October 1982, catalogue no. 29 (as *Wrench*, 1948, black Belgium [sic] marble, 41 x 13 x 13 cm); *Happy birthday Inge King*, NGA, Canberra, November 2015- February 2016, no catalogue nos assigned.
Photos: (a) Mark Strizic; original held among the King papers; (b) the author.
This tightly coiled, compact work, heavier at the top than at the base and surprisingly detailed, is reminiscent of some of Epstein’s early vitalist carvings. *Wrench* was one of the half dozen works King brought with her to America, where it was photographed by J.W. Russell in New York (original photo among the King papers). Its inclusion in the Brummel’s Gallery show, *Twelve Melbourne Sculptors*, of 1957, is known from Arnold Shore’s review of the same, in which he singles out King’s *Figure in Black Marble* for particular attention (Shore, 1957 Sept 24, p. 2).
IK0077

**Treeform, 1948-49**

English boxwood; also catalogued as tropical boxwood.

60.0 x 15.0 x 15.0

Signed in monogram near base: ‘I / W’.

NGV, Melbourne.

**Provenance:** Gift of the artist through the Australian Government's Cultural Gifts program, 2015.

**Exhibited:** *Inge Winter, sculpture and drawings*, London Gallery, 23 Brook St, London, 1-26 March 1949, catalogue no. 8 (as Treeform, boxwood); *Exhibition of Paintings, Sculpture, Jewellery by Grahame and Inge King*, Stanley Coe Gallery, Melbourne, 27 November - 6 December 1951, catalogue no. 14 (as Treeform, boxwood, 40 gns); *The Group of Four: Inge King, Norma Redpath, Julius Kuhn, Clifford Last*, Melbourne University School of Architecture, 1-12 June 1953, catalogue no. 2 (Treeform, boxwood, 40 gns); *Sculpture Today*, Council for Adult Education (CAE) and the Victorian Sculptors' Society travelling exhibition, 1959, catalogue no. 5 (as Tree Form, tropical boxwood); *Inge King Sculpture 1945-1982: A Survey*, University Gallery, University of Melbourne, 14 September - 22 October 1982, catalogue no. 4 (as Treeform, 1948, English boxwood, 60 x 15 x 15 cm); *Inge King: Form, Space, Experience - Sculpture 1942-1990, Works on Paper 1979-1990*, Deakin University Gallery, Geelong, 12 October - 16 November 1990, catalogue no. 3 (as Treeform, 1948, English Box, 60 x 15 x 15 cm); *Inge King: Small Sculptures 1943-1994*, Bendigo Art Gallery, Bendigo, Vic., September - October 1995, catalogue no. 4 (as Tree Form, 1948, English box, 60 x 15 x 15 cm); *Inge King: Small Sculptures*, McClelland Gallery & Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 8 August - 26 September 2004, no catalogue nos. assigned; *Inge King: Works from the Studio, 1940s-2013*, Australian Galleries, Collingwood, Vic., 4 August – 1 September 2013, catalogue no. 2 (as Treeform, 1948-49, English Box, 60 x 15 x 15 cm, AG207241, $85,000); *Inge King: Constellation*, NGV, Melbourne, 1 May – 31 August 2014, no catalogue nos. assigned.

Among several photographic prints of Treeform in the artist’s papers, most were dated 1948 other than two, which were dated in an earlier hand as 1949.

IK0078
Abstraction in Oakwood (later known as Figure in Oak), 1949
English oak.
88.0 x 33.5 x 21.5 cm; base (not pictured above): 7.0 cm high
Signed in monogram near base: ‘I / W’.
NGA, Canberra
Exhibited: Inge Winter, sculpture and drawings, London Gallery, 23 Brook St, London, 1-26 March 1949, catalogue no. 7 (as Abstraction in Oakwood); Exhibition of Paintings, Sculpture, Jewellery by Grahame and Inge King, Stanley Coe Gallery, Melbourne, 27 November - 6 December 1951, catalogue no. 13 (as Figure in Oak, 80 gns); The Group of Four: Inge King, Norma Redpath, Julius Kuhn, Clifford Last, Melbourne University School of Architecture, 1-12 June 1953, catalogue no. 1 (as Figure in Oak, 100 gns); (?) Retrospect, Five Years: Victorian Sculptors’ Society, Victorian Artists’ Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 21 July - ? 1958, catalogue no. 40 (as Figure, oak); Inge King Sculpture 1945-1982: A Survey, University Gallery, University of Melbourne, 14 September - 22 October 1982, catalogue no. 6 (as Figure in Oak, 1949, English oak, 91 x 36 x 28 cm); Happy birthday Inge King, NGA, Canberra, November 2015- February 2016, no catalogue nos assigned.
Photos: (a and b) Adrian Featherstone for Mark Strizic Photography; originals among the King papers.
IK0079

**Mobile, 1950**

Sheet metal and wire.

100 x 120 x 50 cm approx.

Whereabouts unknown.

*Provenance: Formerly Abbey Arts Centre, New Barnet, Hampshire; Left there when the artist moved to Australia, January 1951, and still there at least in the 1960s.*


*Photo: unknown photographer; original held among the King papers.*

According to Sasha Grishin this was one of a number of mobiles King made at the Abbey and left there rather than risk transportation to Australia (Grishin, 2014, p. 65).

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**Melbourne, 1950-60**

IK0080

**Relief, 1950**

Plaster.

30.5 cm long

Private collection.


It is not clear which of the five records of plaster reliefs in Trimble, 1996, relates to which of the nine plaster reliefs recorded here (IK0080 - IK0089 inclusive).

*Photo: unknown photographer, possibly Grahame King; original held among the King papers.*

IK0081

**Relief, 1950**

Plaster.

25.3 x 38.0 cm

Private collection.


*Photo: unknown photographer, possibly Grahame King; original held among the King papers.*
IK0082

**Relief, 1950**
Plaster.
38.0 cm high
Private collection.
Photo: unknown photographer, possibly Grahame King; original held among the King papers.

IK0083

**Relief, c. 1950**
Plaster relief with blue paint.
16.0 x 30.0 cm
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
King recalled that this work had formerly belonged to a collector, possibly the architect John Murphy, and had later been returned to her. She experimented with the finish, adding a blue-grey paint finish, which she then regretted and felt it should be re-painted white (King conversation, 19 March 2012).

IK0084

**Impression from Autun Cathedral, c. 1951**
Plaster relief.
30.5 cm high approx.
Private collection.
Exhibited: Inge and Grahame King: Painting, Sculpture, Jewellery, Stanley Coe Gallery, Melbourne, 27 November 1951, catalogue no. 22 (as Impression from Autun Cathedral, relief, 10 gns).
Photo: unknown photographer, possibly Grahame King; original held among the King papers.
King most likely visited Autun Cathedral, in the Burgundy region of France, in 1949 while living in Paris.
Plaster relief.
45.7 cm high approx.
Private collection.
Exhibited: Inge and Grahame King: 
Painting, Sculpture, Jewellery, Stanley 
Coe Gallery, Melbourne, 27 November 
1951, catalogue no. 23 (as Impression 
from Autun Cathedral, relief, 10 gns). 
Literature: Melbourne, 1951 Nov, no. 
23; Parkville, 1982, p. 9; Trimble, 
1996, pp. 29, 195; Grishin, 2014, p. 65, 
b&w illustration p. 64; Zimmer, 2014, 
p. 365, b&w illustration p. 308. 
Photo: unknown photographer, 
possibly Grahame King; original held 
among the King papers, where 
inscribed: ‘Plaster relief, 15 inch, priv 
coll’.
In another photograph of this work, also 
among the King papers, the number 23 is just 
visible – enabling it to be matched with 
catalogue no. 23 from the King’s first show 
exhibition.

IK0086
Impression from Autun Cathedral, c. 
1951
Plaster relief.
38.1 cm high approx.
Private collection.
Exhibited: Inge and Grahame King: 
Painting, Sculpture, Jewellery, Stanley 
Coe Gallery, Melbourne, 27 November 
1951, catalogue no. 24 (as Impression 
from Autun Cathedral, relief, 8 gns). 
Literature: Melbourne, 1951 Nov, no. 
24; Parkville, 1982, p. 9; Trimble, 
1996, pp. 29, 195; Grishin, 2014, p. 65, 
b&w illustration p. 64; Zimmer, 2014, 
p. 365.
Photo: unknown photographer, 
possibly Grahame King; original held 
among the King papers, where 
inscribed: ‘Plaster relief, 18 inch, priv 
coll’.
In another photograph of this work, also 
among the King papers, the number 24 is just 
visible – enabling it to be matched with 
catalogue no. 24 from the King’s first show 
exhibition.

IK0087
Chinese Motif, c. 1951
Plaster relief.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Inge and Grahame King: 
Painting, Sculpture, Jewellery, Stanley 
Coe Gallery, Melbourne, 27 November 
1951, catalogue no. 25 (as Chinese 
Motif, relief, 6 gns). 
Literature: Melbourne, 1951 Nov, no. 
This is likely to have been one of the four 
plaster reliefs, catalogued simply as Relief, 
1950, or Relief, c. 1950 (see IK0080-IK0083).

IK0088
Bird Machine, c. 1951
Plaster relief.
29.5 x 26.0 cm
Signed with initials lower right: ‘IK’.
Private collection, South Yarra.
Provenance: Purchased by the present 
owner and her late husband from the 
Stanley Coe Gallery, Melbourne, 1951.
Exhibited: Inge and Grahame King: 
Painting, Sculpture, Jewellery, Stanley
Coe Gallery, Melbourne, 27 November 1951, catalogue no. 26 (as *Bird Machine*, relief, 10 gns).


Photo: the author.

I have deduced that this is *Bird Machine* on the basis that the owners bought it from the King’s first joint show and that Hal Missingh accompanied them to the exhibition (confirming that it was indeed the 1951 exhibition). It is definitely not catalogue nos. 22-24, and of the remaining three plaster reliefs it is far more likely to be *Bird Machine* rather than *Chinese Motif* (IK0087) or *Seaplant* (IK0089). The relief is in the original timber frame with mustard-coloured hessian-patterned mount. There are a few tiny remains of a paper label on the reverse of the frame, from which the typed letters ‘Flast...’ can just be deciphered.

IK0089

*Seaplant*, c. 1951
Plaster relief.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

Exhibited: *Inge and Grahame King: Painting, Sculpture, Jewellery*, Stanley Coe Gallery, Melbourne, 27 November 1951, catalogue no. 27 (as *Seaplant*, relief, 8 gns).


This is likely to have been one of the four plaster reliefs, catalogued simply as *Relief*, c. 1950, or *Relief*, c. 1950 (see IK0080-IK0083).

Keith Finlay’s article on contemporary jewellery design for *Woman’s Day and Home* (Finlay, 1952, pp. 30-1), illustrates a number of rings, chokers, pendants and even a decorative spoon alongside a feature article on King and two other jewellers. However, no mediums or sizes are stated in the captions and it is not always clear whether the work is that of King’s or another artist. I have therefore only catalogued those items illustrated that I am certain were made by King. Other, less certain cases have been omitted.

IK0090

*Pendant choker, 1952*
Sterling silver and coral.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

Literature: Finlay, 1952, b&w illustration p. 30; Grishin, 2014, b&w illustration p. 68.

Photo: Athol Shmith; original held among the King papers.

Bambi Shmith (later Lady Patricia Tuckwell) modelled this pendant choker for a feature article on King’s jewellery (Finlay, 1952). A matching pair of earrings are now in the collection of the NGV (see IK0091).

IK0091

*Pair of earrings, 1952*
Sterling silver and coral.  
(a) $7.2 \times 2.8 \times 1.4 \text{ cm}$  
(b) $7.3 \times 2.8 \times 0.5 \text{ cm}$

Earring (b) stamped on reverse: ‘ik / STG SIL’.

NGV, Melbourne


Photo: courtesy NGV.
Evidently designed to match the pendant in the previous entry. NGV curator Margaret Legge described the earrings as following: ‘Earrings, pendant from clips (one missing) attached to spiral discs, of symmetrical designs cut from oxidized sheet silver, enriched with bosses and applied grains and complemented by pendant coral beads’ (NGV accession file for Inge King, *Pair of earrings*, D24.a-b-1989).

**IK0092**
*Forearm band, c. 1952*
Sterling silver.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
**Literature:** Finlay, 1952, colour illustration on front cover of journal, modelled by Bambi Shmith; Grishin, 2014, colour illustration, p. 71.
**Photo:** Woman’s Day and Home; reproduced in Grishin, 2014, p. 71.

**IK0093**
*Pair of earrings, c. 1952*
Sterling silver and copper.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
**Literature:** Finlay, 1952, colour illustration on front cover of journal, modelled by Bambi Shmith; Grishin, 2014, colour illustration, p. 71.
**Photo:** (see IK0092) Woman’s Day and Home; reproduced in Grishin, 2014, p. 71.

**IK0094**
*Bracelet, c. 1952*
Sterling silver.
6.7 x 7.9 x 4.2 cm
Remains of stamp inside band, centre: ‘ik /STG SIL’.
NGV, Melbourne.
**Provenance:** Made for the late Marietta Lyon (née Perrott), c. 1952; By whom sold to Diana Morgan, 1999; Presented through the NGV Foundation by Diana Morgan, Member, 2001. Accession no. 2001.300.
**Exhibited:** Inge King: Constellation, NGV, Melbourne, 1 May – 31 August 2014, no catalogue nos. assigned.
**Photo:** courtesy NGV.
The original owner of this bracelet, Marietta Lyon, was the daughter of Melbourne architect Leslie M. Perrott Senior (renowned, among other projects, for designing the Hotel Australia, 1939). Marietta worked for her father’s firm as an architectural renderer and illustrator and there met her future husband, Ronald Lyon. Grahame King introduced Inge to Ron Lyon in London and the Kings and Lyons renewed contact in Melbourne (King conversation, 28 March 2012). When the NGV acquired the bracelet, in 2001, curators Jennifer Phipps and Frances Lindsay noted in their acquisition report that: ‘This strong curved bracelet with its simple volume and clarity of design relates most strongly to the sculptures of Inge King. The relatively large bosses suggest Viking jewellery or a barbaric source. Inge King’s 1950s jewellery is usually flatter and with more intricate detail. This is a stronger, more overtly modernist form.’ They
Appendix C: Inge King

Described it as consisting of a ‘curved cuff of beaten silver with applied silver wire edges and cast or forged bosses applied at regular intervals to the outer centre surface. The outer surface is partly oxidized around the base of the bosses and along the edges below the wire’ (NGV accession file for Inge King, Bracelet, 2001.300).

IK0095

Brooch, c. 1952-59
Sterling silver and copper.
6.6 x 6.6 x 1.4 cm
Stamped on reverse: ‘STG SLV / ik’.
NGV, Melbourne
Exhibited: Inge King: Constellation, NGV, Melbourne, 1 May – 31 August 2014, no catalogue nos. assigned.
Photo: the author.

IK0096

Bracelet with three pendants, c. 1952-59
Sterling silver with precious stones.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Literature: Grishin, 2014, b&w illustration, p. 69.

IK0097

Filigree necklace, c. 1952-59
Sterling silver.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Literature: Grishin, 2014, b&w illustration, p. 70.
Photo: unknown photographer, reproduced in Grishin, 2014, p. 70.

IK0098

Filigree earrings, c. 1952-59
Sterling silver.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Literature: Grishin, 2014, b&w illustration, p. 70.
Photo: (see IK0097) unknown photographer, reproduced in Grishin, 2014, p. 70.

IK0099

Pendant, c. 1952-59
Sterling silver and precious stones.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Literature: Grishin, 2014, b&w illustration, p. 70.
Photo: (see IK0097) unknown photographer, reproduced in Grishin, 2014, p. 70.
IK0100

Shapes for Sculpture, c. 1952
Plaster relief.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Painting, Jewellery, Constructions in Steel by Grahame and Inge King, Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 21-30 October 1952, catalogue no. 25 (as Shapes for Sculpture, relief, 10 gns).

IK0101

Floral Form, c. 1952
Plaster relief.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Painting, Jewellery, Constructions in Steel by Grahame and Inge King, Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 21-30 October 1952, catalogue no. 26 (as Floral Form, relief, 8 gns).

IK0102

Insect Flight, c. 1952
Plaster relief.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Painting, Jewellery, Constructions in Steel by Grahame and Inge King, Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 21-30 October 1952, catalogue no. 27 (as Insect Flight, relief, 10 gns); Paintings, Reliefs, Jewellery by Grahame and Inge King, Johnston Gallery, Brisbane, 20 October - 1 November 1954, catalogue no. 16 (as Insect Flight, relief, 10 gns).
When King exhibited this plaster relief at the Johnston Gallery, Brisbane, in 1954, Gertrude Langer wrote: ‘Her reliefs, although quite personal, remind one of Klee as well as of such things as Sumerian seals and Merovingian coins’ (Langer, 1954, p. 2), while Melville Haysom found them simply ‘delightful wall decorations’ (Haysom, 1954).

IK0103

Little Insect, c. 1952
Plaster relief.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Painting, Jewellery, Constructions in Steel by Grahame and Inge King, Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 21-30 October 1952, catalogue no. 28 (as Little Insect, relief, 6 gns).

IK0104

Composition, c. 1952
Plaster relief.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Painting, Jewellery, Constructions in Steel by Grahame and Inge King, Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 21-30 October 1952, catalogue no. 29 (as Composition, relief, 10 gns).

There is considerable confusion over the following fourteen constructions in steel. Twelve of these were exhibited in 1952, after which they were dispersed and are now untraced. King later inscribed the only extant photographs (of ten of the works) with the titles Construction I-V, Construction with Shadows, Mobile I-IV and Three Figures. These were the titles used by Judith Trimble in her 1996 monograph and by Jenny Zimmer in the captions to the photographs accompanying Sasha Grishin’s essay on King (Grishin, 2014, p. 72). I have attempted to match the photographs to their original titles based on the fragments of information recorded on
the reverse of each photograph, their original price in 1952 (as an indicator of size and complexity) and on the general form of each work, which, at times, recalls to mind an idea evocative of the title.

"Constructions in Steel... suggest the wire and metal gadgets which surmount airport terminals and the weather bureau. Not having scientific reason for their creation these will be taken as gimcracks or art according to one's taste. They are well made and ingenious" (Shore, 1952 Oct, p. 5). The Bulletin critic was typically acerbic: 'At the Peter Bray Gallery in Melbourne Inge King is showing constructions, in steel — funny, twiddly contraptions of wire with balls hanging from them. They belong to a fashion that was all the rage 30 years ago in Paris. Some of them appear to get their inspiration from the automobile and aeroplane designers who were concerned with function and weren’t pretending to be artistic’ (Bulletin, 1952 Nov 5).

IK0106

**Centaur, 1952**

Steel and wood.
90 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: *Painting, Jewellery, Constructions in Steel by Grahame and Inge King*, Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 21-30 October 1952, catalogue no. 14 (as Centaur, construction in steel, 12 gns).


IK0107

**Merry-go-round, 1952**

Steel.
40 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.
Provenance: Purchased from the Peter Bray Gallery by Lady Maie Casey; By whom gifted to textile designer Frances Burke (1907-94); Since lost. 
Exhibited: Painting, Jewellery, Constructions in Steel by Grahame and Inge King, Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 21-30 October 1952, catalogue no. 15 (as Merry-go-round, construction in steel, 10 gns).
Photo: unknown photographer, possibly Grahame King; original held among the King papers.

IK0108
Three Shadows, 1952
Steel.
50 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Painting, Jewellery, Constructions in Steel by Grahame and Inge King, Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 21-30 October 1952, catalogue no. 16 (as Three Shadows, construction in steel, 8 gns).

IK0110
Tatie Bogle, 1952
Steel.
90 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Painting, Jewellery, Constructions in Steel by Grahame and Inge King, Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 21-30 October 1952, catalogue no. 18 as Tatie Bogle, construction in steel, 15 gns).
Literature: Melbourne, 1952 Oct, no. 18; McCulloch, 1952; Shore, 1952 Oct 21, p. 5; Bulletin, 1952 Nov 5; Trimble, 1996, pp. 20, 196; Grishin, 2014, p. 73, b&w illustration p. 72 (where captioned Mobile I); Zimmer,
2014, p. 366.  
*Tatie Bogle* is Scots for scarecrow.

IK0111

**Bird Alighting, 1952**

Steel, wood and copper.

70 cm high approx.

Whereabouts unknown.

**Exhibited:** *Painting, Jewellery, Constructions in Steel by Grahame and Inge King*, Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 21-30 October 1952, catalogue no. 19 as *Bird Alighting*, construction in steel, 18 gns).


**Photo:** unknown photographer, possibly Grahame King; original held among the King papers.

IK0112

**White Shape Fishing, 1952**

Steel and wood.

100 cm high approx.

Whereabouts unknown.

**Exhibited:** *Painting, Jewellery, Constructions in Steel by Grahame and Inge King*, Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 21-30 October 1952, catalogue no. 20 (as *White Shape Fishing*, construction in steel, 18 gns).


**Photo:** unknown photographer, possibly Grahame King; original held among the King papers.

IK0113

**Shapes Twittering, 1952**

Steel and copper.
30 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Painting, Jewellery,
Constructions in Steel by Grahame and Inge King, Peter Bray Gallery,
Melbourne, 21-30 October 1952,
catalogue no. 21 (as Shapes Twittering,
construction in steel, 8 gns).
Literature: Melbourne, 1952 Oct, no.
21; McCulloch, 1952; Shore, 1952 Oct
21, p. 5; Bulletin, 1952 Nov 5;
Trimble, 1996, p. 196; Grishin, 2014,
p. 73, b&w illustration p. 72 (where
captioned Construction I); Zimmer,
2014, p. 365.
Photo: unknown photographer,
possibly Grahame King; original held
among the King papers.

IK0114
**Little Elk, 1952**
Steel and wood.
60 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Painting, Jewellery,
Constructions in Steel by Grahame and Inge King, Peter Bray Gallery,
Melbourne, 21-30 October 1952,
catalogue no. 22 (as Little Elk,
construction in steel, 7 gns).
Literature: Melbourne, 1952 Oct, no.
22; McCulloch, 1952; Shore, 1952 Oct
21, p. 5; Bulletin, 1952 Nov 5;
Trimble, 1996, pp. 20, 196; Grishin,

IK0115
**Brooding Forms, 1952**
Steel.
60 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Painting, Jewellery,
Constructions in Steel by Grahame and Inge King, Peter Bray Gallery,
Melbourne, 21-30 October 1952,
catalogue no. 23 (as Brooding Form,
construction in steel, 12 gns).
Literature: Melbourne, 1952 Oct, no.
19; McCulloch, 1952; Shore, 1952 Oct
21, p. 5; Bulletin, 1952 Nov 5;
Trimble, 1996, p. 196; Grishin, 2014,
p. 73, b&w illustration p. 72 (where
captioned Construction VI, Three
Photo: unknown photographer,
possibly Grahame King; original held
among the King papers.

IK0116
**Cockatoo, 1952**
Steel and copper.
30 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Painting, Jewellery,
Constructions in Steel by Grahame and Inge King, Peter Bray Gallery,
Melbourne, 21-30 October 1952,
catalogue no. 24 (as Cockatoo,
construction in steel, 10 gns).
Literature: Melbourne, 1952 Oct, no.
14; McCulloch, 1952; Shore, 1952 Oct
21, p. 5; Bulletin, 1952 Nov 5;
Trimble, 1996, p. 196; Grishin, 2014,
p. 73, b&w illustration p. 72 (where
captioned Construction II); Zimmer,
2014, p. 365.
IK0117
Title unknown (group of three figures with supporting hoops), c. 1952
Steel.
121 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.
Photo: unknown photographer, possibly Grahame King; original held among the King papers.

IK0118
Metal Sculpture, 1952
Steel and copper.
30 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.
Literature: Trimble, 1996, p. 196

IK0119
Flying Fish (later referred to as The Herald Mobile), 1953
Steel, copper and lead, with colour.
6.0 m high approx.
Destroyed after exhibition in 1953.
Provenance: Commissioned in 1953.
Exhibited: Herald Outdoor Art Show, inaugural exhibition, Treasury Gardens, Melbourne, 8-15 December 1953, catalogue no. 1117 (as Flying Fish, mobile in steel, NFS, gallery K).
Photos: (a) detail view at Treasury Gardens; (b) detail view at Warrandyte; (c) full view at Treasury Gardens; all unknown photographer,
possibly Grahame King; originals held among the King papers.
This was King’s first public commission. Inge and Grahame King worked on the construction together with help from their neighbour, engineer Herb Henke. The commission gave King free reign to develop some of the ideas that had germinated in New York in 1949 and which had found first expression in her series of small steel constructions exhibited at the Peter Bray Gallery in 1952. Judith Trimble gives an admirably evocative description of the lost mobile and its origins: ‘Alan McCulloch was instrumental in King’s receiving a commission for a large mobile work to be erected at the first Herald show [payment was for materials only]. It was a 6-metre-high construction with red and yellow painted motifs; an exuberant composition, combining many motifs from the earlier series. Made largely of steel and copper, it stood like a willowy aerial from which thinner crossbars were suspended, dangling large and small, coloured, cut-out shapes, lead balls on short and long wires, and other, smaller mobile compositions at different levels poised in apparently tenuous equilibrium around a dominant motif, the whole forming and re-forming as breezes passed through it. King’s intention was to produce the effect of physical balance and visual imbalance; “vision in motion” as explained by Lázlo Moholy-Nagy... Photographs suggest a more conscious three-dimensional kinetic dynamism in this outdoor mobile than in the earlier constructions’ (Trimble, 1996, p. 22). McCulloch singled the work out for praise in his first review of the exhibition: ‘… it is the simple form that triumphs in the section devoted to sculpture, an art to which New Australians have made a notable contribution. Attention is specially directed to the central piece in this section, a 20 ft. mobile which, apart from its elegance as sculpture, is also an engineering feat of no mean order’ (McCulloch, 1953 Dec 9, p. 23).
**Abstraction**, c. 1954
Plaster relief.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
**Exhibited:** *Paintings, Reliefs, Jewellery by Grahame and Inge King*, Johnston Gallery, Brisbane, 20 October - 1 November 1954, catalogue no. 19 (as *Abstraction*, relief, 7 gns).

**Plant Form**, c. 1954
Plaster relief.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
**Exhibited:** *Paintings, Reliefs, Jewellery by Grahame and Inge King*, Johnston Gallery, Brisbane, 20 October - 1 November 1954, catalogue no. 20 (as *Abstraction*, relief, 7 gns).

**Pendant**, c. 1954
Sterling silver, boulder opal, gold, platinum.
35.7 x 14.0 x 1.2 cm (pendant and chain)
Estate of the artist.
**Exhibited:** *Inge King: Constellation*, NGV, Melbourne, 1 May – 31 August 2014, no catalogue nos. assigned.
**Literature:** Melbourne, 2014, p. 128, colour illustration p. 36.
**Photo:** Predrag Cancar, courtesy NGV.

**Saint, maquette (St Joseph)**, 1954
Cast plaster.
35.0 x 7.5 x 6.0 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
**Exhibited:** *Inge King Sculpture*, NGV, Melbourne, 8 October - 16 November 1992, catalogue no. 33 (as *Figure of a Saint*, 1954, project for St Joseph’s School, Chelsea, destroyed, plaster, 35 x 7.5 x 6 cm, collection of the artist);
**Photo:** Stuart Soler, reproduced in Trimble and McGregor, 2009, p. 13.

**Saint, maquette (St Joseph)**, 1954-89
35.0 x 7.5 x 6.0 cm  
Estate of the artist and private collections, Melbourne and Sydney. 

**Exhibited:** *Inge King at Warrandyte,*  
private exhibition held at Drysdale Road, Warrandyte, Vic., in conjunction with Australian Galleries, Collingwood, and the Robin Boyd Foundation, 14-15 November 2015, catalogue no. 57 (as *Saint*, 1954, bronze, 35 x 7 x 5 cm, $22,500).  


**Photo:** Stuart Soler, reproduced in Trimble and McGregor, 2009, p. 13.

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IK0125.3  
**Statue of St Joseph, 1954–55**  
Cast concrete.  
2.25 – 2.44 m high approx.  
Destroyed in 1955.  

**Provenance:** Commissioned by Connarg architects for St Joseph’s School, Chelsea, Melbourne, 1954.  

**Photos:** (a) showing the work in the studio, alongside IK0125.1, and (b) in the garden at Warrandyte; unknown photographer, possibly Grahame King; originals held among the King papers.  

King’s second commissioned work in Australia came about at the invitation of the priest at St Joseph’s, Fr. P. Shelton, who wanted an external niche figure of St Joseph to complement the streamlined building designed by architect Cyril Kelly (Grishin, 2014, p. 75).  

Judith Trimble records that ‘The commission was received through the Connarg architectural firm. *St Joseph* was conceived “on Gothic lines” to stand in a 3.6-metre-high niche 6 metres above the ground. The 2.44-metre-high, abstracted figure with rounded and angular planes was modelled in clay and then cast in reinforced concrete with the help of Grahame [King] and sculptor Teisutis (Joe) Zikaras. The figure was conservative from King’s point of view, and well-liked by the priest who briefed her, but he died before its completion and was replaced by an old Irish priest who disliked both the building and the sculpture. Soon after the figure was erected in 1955, and before the scaffolding was removed, *St Joseph* was found lying on the ground, broken off at the ankles and smashed into six pieces. It lay forlornly in the schoolyard for some years before disappearing altogether’ (Trimble, 1996, p. 25).

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IK0126  
**Pair of earrings, c. 1955**  
Sterling silver.  
3.2 x 3.6 x 1.3 cm each  
Private collection, Doncaster, Vic.  

**Exhibited:** *Inge King: Constellation,*
NGV, Melbourne, 1 May – 31 August 2014, no catalogue nos. assigned.
Photo: Predrag Cancar, courtesy NGV.

IK0127
**Pair of earrings, c. 1955**
Sterling silver.
3.0 x 3.2 x 1.2 cm each
Estate of the artist.
Literature: Melbourne, 2014, p. 128, colour illustration p. 34.
Photo: Predrag Cancar, courtesy NGV.

IK0128
**Pair of earrings, c. 1955**
Sterling silver and copper.
1.7 x 1.7 x 1.5 cm each
Private collection, Melbourne.
Literature: Melbourne, 2014, p. 128, colour illustration p. 34.
Photo: Predrag Cancar, courtesy NGV.

IK0129
**Pendant, c. 1955**
Sterling silver, gold, garnet, pearl, diamond.
25.5 x 14.0 x 0.6 cm (pendant and chain)
Estate of the artist.
Photo: Predrag Cancar, courtesy NGV.

IK0130
**Ring, c. 1955**
Sterling silver, copper.
2.1 x 2.1 x 1.4 cm
Private collection, Melbourne.
Photo: Predrag Cancar, courtesy NGV.

IK0131
**The King, c. 1955**
Terracotta relief.
Dimensions unknown.
Appendix C: Inge King

Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: The Group of Four: An Exhibition of Contemporary Sculpture, School of Architecture, Melbourne University, Parkville, Vic., 30 May - 11 June 1955, catalogue no. 1 (as The King, price on application).
In his review of the 1955 Group of Four exhibition, Arnold Shore praised The King and described it as ‘richly patterned in bas-relief’ (Shore, 1955 May 31, p. 12).

IK0132
Chorus (later known as Three Heads), c. 1954-55
Terracotta relief with bronze patination.
Dimensions unknown.
Private collection, Melbourne.
Exhibited: The Group of Four: An Exhibition of Contemporary Sculpture, School of Architecture, Melbourne University, Parkville, Vic., 30 May - 11 June 1955, catalogue no. 2 (as Chorus, 25 gns).
Literature: Parkville, 1955, no. 2; Age, 1955 May 31, p. 2; Argus, 1955 May 31, p. 8; McCulloch, 1955 June 3; Bow, 1955 a, p. 54.
Photo: unknown photographer, possibly Grahame King; original held among the King papers.
Two different prints of this photograph among the artist’s papers are variously dated 1954 (and titled Three Heads) and 1955. It is almost certainly the work exhibited at the 1955 Group of Four exhibition under the title Chorus. While no medium is specified for any of her exhibits in that show’s catalogue, reviews indicate that they were ceramics in terracotta (Age, 1955 May 31, p. 2; Argus, 1955 May 31, p. 8; Bow, 1955 a, p. 54). A drawing of the same composition exists; see IKW0246. Not listed in Zimmer, 2014.

IK0133
Singer, c. 1955
Terracotta relief.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: The Group of Four: An Exhibition of Contemporary Sculpture, School of Architecture, Melbourne University, Parkville, Vic., 30 May - 11 June 1955, catalogue no. 3 (as Dancer, 15 gns).

IK0134
Dancer, c. 1955
Terracotta relief.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: The Group of Four: An Exhibition of Contemporary Sculpture, School of Architecture, Melbourne University, Parkville, Vic., 30 May - 11 June 1955, catalogue no. 4 (as Dancer, 15 gns).
This work is barely visible in a small grainy photograph (reproduced in Bow, 1955 a, p. 54), from which it is known to be a narrow vertical relief panel depicting a full-length female figure with legs bent at knees and arms raised over her head.
IK0136

Bird, c. 1955
Hand-painted ceramic relief.
38.0 x 28.5 x 3.0 cm
Signed with initials lower right: ‘IK’.
Estate of the artist.
Exhibited: The Group of Four: An Exhibition of Contemporary Sculpture, School of Architecture, Melbourne University, Parkville, Vic., 30 May - 11 June 1955, catalogue no. 6 (as Bird, 15 gns)
Photo: the author.

IK0135

Bird (bird against yellow), c. 1955
Hand-painted ceramic relief.
31.0 x 44.5 x 3.0 cm
Signed with initials lower right: ‘IK’.
Estate of the artist.
Exhibited: The Group of Four: An Exhibition of Contemporary Sculpture, School of Architecture, Melbourne University, Parkville, Vic., 30 May - 11 June 1955, catalogue no. 5 (as Bird, 18 gns)
Photo: the author.

IK0137.1

Saint, c. 1955-57
Reinforced cast concrete, later painted black.
134.0 x 33.0 x 20.0 cm
Private collection.
Provenance: John and Joan Nicholls, Swifts Creek, Vic.; Thence by descent to a private collection, Kangaroo Ground, Vic.
Photos: showing the work in the garden at Warrandyte; unknown photographer, possibly Grahame King; originals held among the King papers.
The idea for *Saint* germinated with the St Joseph’s commission of 1954-55 (IK0125). Multiple prints of the above photographs among the artist’s papers are all dated on reverse (in the artist’s later hand) to 1955, yet when exhibited in 1959 it was dated to 1957. To complicate matters, the bronze cast version (IK0137.2) appears to be dated ‘56 and has long been recorded as dating to 1956.

**IK0137.2**

*Saint (Figure in Bronze), 1956-73*


134.0 x 33.0 x 20.0 cm

Signed and indistinctly dated on one hand of the figure: ‘INGE KING ’56 [?]’.

Heide Museum of Modern Art, Bulleen, Vic. (first cast); Private collection, Kew, Vic. (second cast).


**Exhibited:** *Inge King: Form, Space, Experience - Sculpture 1942-1990, Works on Paper 1979-1990*, Deakin University Gallery, Geelong, 12 October - 16 November 1990, catalogue no. 5 (as *Figure in Bronze, 1956, bronze, 145 x 32 x 20 cm*); *Inge King: Small Sculptures 1943-1994*, Bendigo Art Gallery, Bendigo, Vic., September - October 1995, catalogue no. 6 (as *Figure in Bronze, 1956, 145 x 32 x 20 cm*); *1956: Melbourne, Modernity and the XVI Olympiad*, Museum of Modern Art at Heide, Bulleen, Vic., 17 December 1996 - 2 March 1997, no catalogue number (as *Saint, 1956, bronze, 134.0 x 33.0 x 20.0 cm, loaned by the artist*); *This was the Future... Australian sculpture of the 1950s, 60s, 70s and today*, Heide Museum of Modern Art, Bulleen, Vic., 4 October - 7 December 2003, no catalogue number (as *Saint, 1956, bronze, 134 x 33 x 20 cm*, Heide Museum of Modern Art, gift of Grahame and Inge King, 1997);

*Sculpture and Painted Relief, selection from the permanent collection*, Heide Museum of Modern Art, Bulleen, Vic., 7 May - 2 October 2011 (no catalogue issued or nos. assigned).


**Photos:** showing the 2013 cast in the garden of a private collection, Kew; the author.

**Phoenix (Victorian Employees Federation Order of Merit trophy), 1956-57**

Plaster.
70 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown (possibly lost during casting in aluminium; see IK0138.2).

Literature: Zimmer, 2014, two black and white illustrations p. 310 (where assumed to be the aluminium cast).

Photo: Grahame King; original held among the King papers.

IK0138.2

**Phoenix (Victorian Employees Federation Order of Merit trophy), 1956-57**

Cast aluminium.
70 cm high approx.

Victorian Employees Federation.


Photo: Wolfgang Sievers; original held among the King papers.

IK0138.3

**Phoenix (Victorian Employees Federation Order of Merit trophy), 1956-57**

Multiple editions have been made over the years in either aluminium or bronze.
30 cm high approx.

Presumed various collections, Victoria.


IK0138

**Bracelet, c. 1957**

Sterling silver and milk opal.
6.5 x 7.0 x 6.8 cm

Estate of the artist.

Exhibited: Inge King: Constellation, NGV, Melbourne, 1 May – 31 August 2014, no catalogue nos. assigned.


Photo: Predrag Cancar, courtesy NGV.
**Forearm band, c. 1957**
Sterling silver and copper.
6.3 x 7.0 x 12.8 cm
Estate of the artist.
**Exhibited:** *Inge King: Constellation*, NGV, Melbourne, 1 May – 31 August 2014, no catalogue nos. assigned.
**Photo:** (a) unknown photographer, possibly Grahame King; original held among the King papers; (b) Predrag Cancar, courtesy NGV.

**Maquette for Bird Fountain (later known as The Herald Fountain), 1957**
Black synthetic polymer paint on wood and steel, yellow and blue synthetic polymer paint on wire mesh, red synthetic polymer paint on paper, and thread.
69.2 x 27.8 x 24.4 cm
Inscribed on label attached to base: ‘Maquette for Herald Fountain, 1957, P.C.’.
Estate of the artist.
**Exhibited:** *Inge King: Constellation*, NGV, Melbourne, 1 May – 31 August 2014, no catalogue nos. assigned.
**Photos:** the author.

**Bird Fountain (later known as The Herald Fountain), 1957**
Steel and colour.
5.0 m high approx.
Destroyed after exhibition in 1957.
**Exhibited:** *The Herald Outdoor Art Show*, Treasury Gardens, Melbourne, 1-9 March 1957, catalogue no. 832 (as *Bird Fountain*, by Grahame and Inge King, construction in steel, gallery X, no price listed).
**Photos:** unknown photographer, possibly Grahame King; originals held among the King papers.
Dated in 1955 in Trimble, 1996, based on the date King inscribed on the reverse of photographs of this work. The correct date of 1957 has been ascertained through the *Herald Outdoor Art Show* exhibition catalogue. Julius
Kane’s *Encounter*, c. 1957 (JK0048), is also visible in the background of photograph (a).

**IK0142**

*Duo*, 1957

Bronze on a wooden base.
24.0 x 12.0 x 7.5 cm
Estate of the artist.

**Literature:** Zimmer, pp. 310, 366, colour illustration p. 310.
**Photo:** the author.

**IK0143.1**

*Sisters*, c. 1957-58

Plaster for bronze with black and gold enamel paint.
45.6 x 19.8 x 9.1 cm
Inscribed on base: ‘Sisters 57 plaster P.C.’
Estate of the artist.

**Exhibited:** *Inge King: Constellation*, NGV, Melbourne, 1 May – 31 August 2014, no catalogue nos. assigned.

**Literature:** Melbourne, 2014, p. 129, colour illustration p. 38; Trimble and McGregor, 2009, colour illustration p. 16 (where stated to be the aluminium cast, but actually of the patinated plaster version); Zimmer, pp. 310, 366, colour illustration p. 310.

**Photos:** the author.

In recent years King dated this work to 1957 yet, in a catalogue of 1959, the aluminium cast was dated 1958 (see the following entry, IK00143.2). The original plaster version may likewise date to 1958. I have therefore adjusted the date to c. 1957-58.

**IK0143.2**

*Sisters (originally known as Two Figures)*, 1958

Cast aluminium.
45.0 x 20.0 x 8.0 cm
Private collection, Adelaide.

**Exhibited:** Six Sculptors, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 21 July - 30 August 1959, catalogue no. 15 (as *Two Figures*, 1958, aluminium); Sculpture Today, Council for Adult Education (CAE) and the Victorian Sculptors' Society, Melbourne, travelling exhibition, March 1960, catalogue no. 3 (as *Two Figures*, aluminium).


This work is just visible, side-on, beside *Ritual Head*, 1958, in a colour slide of the Six Sculptors exhibition among the Aarons papers, AGNSW, image 916. It correlates with the catalogue entry for *Two Figures*, 1958, aluminium. I have therefore adjusted the date from 1957 (the date given in Trimble, 1996, and Zimmer, 2014), but have retained both titles.
IK0143.3

**Sisters, 1958-60**
Bronze, edition of two, at least one of which was cast by 1960, the other cast in 1965.
55.0 x 22.0 x 8.0 cm
Private collections, Adelaide and Melbourne.

Provenance: Powell Street Gallery, Melbourne, c. 1975 (details untraced); Private collection, Melbourne; Deutscher-Menzies, Sydney, 5 December 2007, lot 4 (as *Sisters*, 1957, cast 1965, bronze, 55 cm h, prov. Powell St Gallery c. 1975, private collection Melbourne, illustrated in catalogue), estimate $5,000 - 8,000, sold $8,400 IBP; Private collection, Melbourne.

Exhibited: *Grahame and Inge King*, Gallery A, South Yarra, 19 July - 5 August 1960, catalogue no. 15 (as *Sisters*, 1958, bronze, 30 gns).


Photo: courtesy Deutscher Menzies.
For an explanation of the dating to 1958 see IK0143.2.

IK0144.1

**Ritual Head for Blake Prize, Maquette, 1958**
Terracotta.
11.0 x 17.0 x 9.0 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.


Photo: the author.
Dated to 1954 in both Trimble and Zimmer. I have re-dated it to 1958 as explained in the note to the following entry (IK00144.2). The artist always intended to paint this maquette a terracotta colour and spoke of still doing so (King conversation, 27 February 2012).
IK0144.2

*Ritual Head for Blake Prize (also known as Head of Christ and Head of Dying Christ), 1958*

Reinforced cast concrete on wooden base.
44.0 x 69.0 x 38.0 cm
McClelland Gallery & Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic.


Exhibited: *Blake Prize* 1958, Mark Foys Gallery, Sydney, February 1958, catalogue no. 52 in the ‘Special Blake Christus Prize’ section (for a *Head of Christ* set subject), 150 gns; *Retrospect, Five Years: Victorian Sculptors' Society*, Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 21 July - 30 August 1959, ex catalogue; *Grahame and Inge King*, Gallery A, South Yarra, 19 July - 5 August 1960, catalogue no. 8 (as *Head of Christ*, 1958, reinforced concrete, 80 gns); *Religious Art in Our Time*, St Peter's Church, Eastern Hill, East Melbourne, 14-21 October 1962, catalogue no. 50 (as *Head of Christ*, reinforced concrete, collection of the artist); *Inge King: Small Sculptures 1943-1994*, Bendigo Art Gallery, Bendigo, Vic., September - October 1995, catalogue no. 5 (as *Ritual Head*, 1954, formerly titled *Head of Christ*, reinforced concrete, 44 x 69 x 38 cm);

*This was the Future... Australian sculpture of the 1950s, 60s, 70s and today*, Heide Museum of Modern Art, Bulleen, Vic., 4 October - 7 December 2003 (as *Ritual Head*, 1954, cement, 43 x 52 x 39 cm, McClelland Gallery & Sculpture Park, gift of Inge King, 1995; (?) *Inge King: Small Sculptures*, McClelland Gallery & Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 8 August - 26 September 2004 (no catalogue nos. assigned).


Photo: (a) Grahame King; original held among the King papers; (b) *Ritual Head* at the *Six Sculptors* exhibition, 1959, slide among a set issued by the Melbourne State College and held at the University of Melbourne Visual Cultures Resource Centre, slide no. 11-052-15.

The taut planes and concavities of King’s *Ritual Head* reflect her interest in abstract vital form first explored in the series of carvings made at the Abbey, including the pivotal *Abstraction in Oakwood*, 1948 (IK0078), and later in *Animal*, 1958 (IK0150), that in turn owed much to her study of Duchamp Villon’s *Cheval*, 1914, which she saw in Paris in 1949 at the Galerie Maeght. King later told Sandra Kirby that she submitted the *Ritual Head* to the 1954 Blake Prize (*Kirby, 1995 a, pp. 31-2*), and retrospectively dated a number of photographs of this work among her archive to 1954. However, the work was actually entered in the 1958 Blake Prize, in the special ‘Blake Christus Prize’ section for a *Head of Christ* set subject (*Sydney, 1958 Feb, no. 52*). 1958 marked just the second year in which the Blake Prize was open to sculptors. Despite Lyndon Dadswell delivering a lecture in Sydney, 19 March 1954, on ‘The Church and Sculpture’ in association with the 1954 Sydney exhibition of Blake Prize entries, sculptors were not permitted to enter until 1957, when the committee announced in the catalogue that ‘The field has been widened – very happily – to include sculpture, which gives more scope to the artist, more interest to the Exhibition, and advances still further the aims of the Blake Prize’ (*Sydney, 1957 Mar, foreword, n.p.*). Clifford Last entered the Blake Prize that year (1957), while King, Jomantas, Parr and Zikaras all entered in 1958. Shortly after the Blake Prize exhibition, King showed the *Ritual Head* at the 1958 VSS Retrospect and, again, the following year at *Six Sculptors* (not recorded in the catalogue but visible in a slide of the exhibition among the Aarons papers, AGNSW, image no. 916). There is no record of her showing it earlier than 1958. It is
therefore probable that the *Ritual Head* actually dates to 1958, not 1954 as usually recorded. Indeed the later date makes better sense when the work is compared to *Sisters*, 1958 (IK0143), *Animal*, 1958 (IK0150), *Bird (Bird in Flight)*, 1958 (IK0146), and a number of other open-form organic abstractions of the late 1950s. On this basis I have dated it to 1958. Likewise, I have adjusted the date for the terracotta maquette (IK0144.1) and the bronze cast (IK0144.3).

**IK0144.3**

*Ritual Head for Blake Prize (also known as Head of Christ), 1958-73*

Bronze, cast in 1973, on a slate base.

44.0 x 69.0 x 38.0 cm

Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, Hobart.

**Provenance:** Purchased, 1994.


*Photos:* (a) Grahame King; original held among the King papers; (b) courtesy Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, Hobart.

IK0145

*Madonna and Child (later known as Mother and Child), 1958*

Plaster.

107 cm high approx.

Private collection, Coffs Harbour, NSW.


Photo: possibly Grahame King; original held among the King papers.

IK0146.1
*Bird (later known as Birdform), 1958*
Clay.
100 x 70 x 30 approx.
Destroyed.


*Photo:* Grahame King; original held among the King papers.

Considerable confusion exists in the literature between this and the following five works. The confusion seems to have arisen from King’s archive of photographs, which she inscribed at a much later date (circa 1990s), and which formed the basis for Judith Trimble’s catalogue listing in Trimble, 1996, and all subsequent publications. Trimble lists three works, Zimmer lists five, and I calculate that there are six works (three in plaster and three aluminium casts; Trimble, 1996, p. 196; Zimmer, 2014, p. 366). A series of four photographs of the present work exist, three of which were later inscribed: ‘Birdform, clay, H 60 cm app., destroyed’, and the fourth one inscribed ‘Bird, aluminium, H. 24”, private coll.’. However, the size seems rather smaller than suggested in a photograph of the aluminium version, which was exhibited at the *Six Sculptors* exhibition in 1959 (see IK0146.2). I have estimated the size from that photograph to be approximately 1.0 metre high. Judith Trimble writes of the present work: ‘Birdform [sic], 1958, made in clay and unfortunately broken before it was cast [sic], stood on a thin “leg”, like a crane or flamingo, stretching forward with “head” held out on a slender rod, as if about to take flight. Here, a composition of abstracted shapes suggested the freedom and swiftness of flight, embodying accumulated lessons from earlier birdform sculptures and the influence of mobiles with their thin metal armatures’ (Trimble, 1996, p. 25). Contrary to this account, the work was cast in aluminium and exhibited in this form at the *Six Sculptors* exhibition (see IK0146.2).

IK0146.2
*Bird (also known as Bird in Flight), 1958*
Cast aluminium.
100 x 70 x 30 cm approx.
(?) Private collection, Sydney.

*Exhibited:* *Six Sculptors*, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 21 July - 30 August 1959, catalogue no. 16 (as Bird, 1958, aluminium); *Four Arts in Australia*, organised by the Commonwealth Art Advisory Board to tour South East Asia: Malaya, Bangkok, the Philippines, Djakarta, Singapore, Cambodia, Saigon, 1962, catalogue no. 79 (as Bird in Flight, aluminium).


*Photo:* unknown photographer; original slide among the Aarons papers, AGNSW, image no. 099.

The editors of *Modern Art News*, John Gooday and Georges Mora, noted in their review of *Six Sculptors*, in 1959, that: ‘Inge King has created a series of off-beat animals from which she has removed all but the beautifully shaped bones and shells which in some cases still retain so much power that I am rather grateful’ (Gooday and Mora, 1959, p. 13). King could not recollect whether it was this work or *Bird of Prey (later known as Birdform)*, 1958 (IK0147.2), in aluminium, that went into a
private collection in Sydney (King conversation, 8 November 2011).

IK0147.1

*Bird of Prey*, 1958

Clay.

60 cm wide approx.

Destroyed.


**Photo:** George Tugen; original held among the King papers.

Three photographs by George Tugen of the above work exist in King’s papers, each inscribed (in later handwriting) ‘2 Birds 1958’ and two stating it to be in aluminium. However, close examination of the photographs suggest they are of the clay version rather than the aluminium version.

IK0147.2

*Bird of Prey (later known as Birdform)*, 1958

Cast aluminium.

60 cm wide approx.

(?!) Private collection, Sydney.

**Exhibited:** Grahame and Inge King, Gallery A, South Yarra, 19 July - 5 August 1960, catalogue no. 7 (as *Bird of Prey*, 1958, aluminium, 50 gns).

**Literature:** South Yarra, 1960 July, b&w illustration on front cover;


**Photo:** either George Tugen or Grahame King; original held among the King papers.

Visible in several of Grahame King’s photographs of the Gallery A exhibition installation and also illustrated on the front cover of the exhibition catalogue. Judith Trimble writes of this work: ‘A further study, *Birdform*, 1959, concentrates energy in a compact head form of beak-like shapes composed around a dark void. Linear definition occurs where contrasting areas of light and shade meet, describing three-dimensional form and sweeping contours. More closely related to *Ritual Head*, *Birdform*, 1959, has a severity and monumentality not present (or conceptually appropriate) in the more lyrical 1958 version’ (Trimble, 1996, p. 25). King could not recollect whether it was this work or *Bird (also known as Bird in Flight)*, 1958 (IK0146.2), in aluminium, that went into a private collection in Sydney (King conversation, 8 November 2011).

IK0148.1

*Bird Forms*, 1958

Clay.

40 x 50 x 18 cm

Destroyed

**Photo:** possibly Grahame King; original held among the King papers.

Among King’s papers are four photographs of this work, which King later inscribed on reverse. Three photographs are dated on reverse 1958 and one dated 1959. Titles vary between *Birds, 2 Birds* and *Birdforms*. I have opted to use *Bird Forms*, as the aluminium version was first exhibited under this title (see IK0148.2). Only one photograph states the medium (aluminium), although it is likely that
the photographs are of the clay version that preceded the aluminium. One photograph gives the breadth of the work as approximately 1 foot 6 inches (45.7 cm).

Bird Forms (also known as Birdform and Bird Form), c. 1959-60
Cast aluminium.
40 x 50 x 18 cm
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: *Victorian Sculptors’ Society Annual Exhibition*, Victorian Artists’ Society Galleries, East Melbourne, August - 4 September 1959, catalogue no. 22 (as Bird Forms, aluminium, 60 gns); *Grahame and Inge King*, Gallery A, South Yarra, 19 July - 5 August 1960, catalogue no. 5 (as Bird Forms, 1960, aluminium, 50 gns); *Mildura Sculpture Prize*, Mildura Arts Centre, Mildura, Vic., 22 April - 21 May 1961, catalogue no. 53 (as Birdform, 1959, aluminium, 17”, £53); *Exhibition of Sculpture and Fountain Design*, travelling exhibition organised by the Council for Adult Education (CAE), the NGV and the VSS, opened at the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 12 June 1963, catalogue no. 4 (as Bird Form, aluminium).
Literature: East Melbourne, 1959 Aug, no. 22; South Yarra, 1960 July, no. 5; Mildura, 1961, no. 53; Melbourne, 1963 June, no. 4; Trimble, 1996, pp. 25, 196 (where stated to be artist’s collection and dimensions given as 40 x 50 x 18 cm); Zimmer, 2014, p. 366.
Photo: possibly Grahame King; original held among the King papers.
The above photograph is possibly of the clay version, not the aluminium.

Sculptural Form, 1958
Cast plaster on a wooden base.
51.8 x 28.7 x 25.0 cm
Whereabouts unknown; possibly destroyed during casting process (see IK00149. 2).
Literature: Zimmer, 2014, b&w illustration p. 311 (where stated to be the aluminium cast).
Photo: possibly Grahame King; original held among the King papers.
**Sculptural Form (later known as Sculpture: idea for door furniture for plate glass door), 1958**

Cast aluminium on a wooden base. 51.8 x 28.7 x 25.0 cm  
Label on base inscribed: ‘Sculptural Form, 1958, P.C.’  
Queensland Art Gallery, Brisbane.  
Provenance: Gifted by the artist under the Cultural Gifts Program, 2015.  
**Exhibited:** (?) Group exhibition of door furniture, Gallery A, South Yarra, October 1959, (catalogue untraced); Grahame and Inge King, Gallery A, South Yarra, 19 July - 5 August 1960, catalogue no. 4 (as Sculptural Form, 1960, aluminium, 60 gns); Group show by members of the Victorian Sculptors’ Society, Eastside Gallery, Jolimont, Vic., February 1961 (catalogue untraced); Inge King: Works from the Studio, 1940s-2013, Australian Galleries, Collingwood, Vic., 4 August – 1 September 2013, catalogue no. 3 (as Sculptural form, 1958, cast aluminium on wooden base, 46 x 27 x 27 cm, AG207242, $25,000); Inge King: Constellation, National Gallery of Victoria, NGVA, Melbourne, 1 May - 31 August 2014 (no catalogue numbers assigned).  
**Photo:** Predrag Cancar, courtesy NGV.  
This may have been included in one of the first exhibitions that Clement Meadmore organised for Gallery A, South Yarra, of ‘door furniture’ or door handles (see Architecture and Arts, 1959 July, p. 23), although no catalogue for the show has been located in either the Gallery A records in the NGA research library or the Gallery A file at the SLV. Arnold Shore’s review of the VSS exhibition at Eastside Gallery, in 1961, reveals that it was among King’s exhibits: ‘Variety in shape and enclosed space, as featured by Inge King in the abstract Sculptural Form, contrast with the solidity of her Floral Figure and the light relief of her intriguing Magician….’ (Shore, 1961 Feb 21, p. 4).  

**IK0150.1 Animal (Animal Form), 1958-59**

Bronze on wooden base (base not pictured).  
27.0 x 32.0 x 38.0 cm  
Inscribed near base: ‘IK’.  
Estate of the artist.  
**Exhibited:** Inge King: Form, Space, Experience - Sculpture 1942-1990, Works on Paper 1979-1990, Deakin University Gallery, Geelong, 12 October - 16 November 1990, catalogue no. 6 (as Animal, 1959, bronze, 27 x 32 x 38 cm); Two Way Traffic: Émigré Artists represented in the La Trobe University Art Collection, La Trobe University Art Museum, Bundooora, Vic., 29 April - 13 June 2008, no catalogue numbers (lent by artist); Inge King at Warrandyte, private exhibition held at Drysdale Road, Warrandyte, Vic., in conjunction with Australian Galleries, Collingwood, and the Robin Boyd Foundation, 14-15 November 2015, catalogue no. 1 (as Animal, Animal Form, 1958-59, bronze on wooden base, 27 x 32 x 38 cm, $35,000).  
Judith Trimble records that, in this instance, the bronze cast preceded the aluminium version (Trimble, 1996, p. 25), although there is no early exhibition record or archival photograph of the bronze.

Photo: Stuart Soler, reproduced in Trimble and McGregor, 2009, p. 70.

IK0150.2

**Animal (Animal Form), 1958-59**

Cast aluminium on a wooden base.

25.8 x 31.2 x 25 cm; base: 4.2 cm high

Not signed, inscribed or dated.

NGA, Canberra.


**Exhibited:** *Six Sculptors*, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 21 July - 30 August 1959, catalogue no. 17 (as Animal, 1958, aluminium);

Grahame and Inge King, Gallery A, South Yarra, 19 July - 5 August 1960, catalogue no. 6 (as Animal, 1959, aluminium, 60 gns);

Inge King Sculpture 1945-1982: A Survey, University Gallery, University of Melbourne, 14 September - 22 October 1982, catalogue no. 7 (as Animal Form, 1959, aluminium, h. 27 x 32 x 38 cm); Happy birthday Inge King, NGA, Canberra, November 2015-February 2016, no catalogue nos assigned.

**Literature:** Melbourne, 1959 July, no. 17; Shore, 1959 July, p. 2; Warren, 1959; Gooday and Mora, 1959, p. 13; Six Sculptors slides, slide no. 6 (where mis-labelled Two Figures); Bendigo, 1995, pp. 21, 33; Trimble, 1996, pp. 25-6, 196, b&w illustration p. 27; Grishin, 2014, p. 76, b&w illustration p. 79; Zimmer, 2014, pp. 311, 366, b&w illustration p. 312.

Photo: George Tugen; original held among the King papers.

IK0151

**Mother and Child, 1958-59**

Bronze.

32 x 7.5 x 6.0 cm

Estate of a private collector, Bribie Island, Queensland (formerly from Warrandyte, Vic.), as of 2013.

**Exhibited:** Grahame and Inge King, Gallery A, South Yarra, 19 July - 5 August 1960, catalogue no. 14 (as Mother and Child, 1958, bronze, 30 gns).


IK0152

**Figure Group, 1959**

Welded steel, plastic metal, brass and found objects.

100 x 70 x 90 cm approx.

Destroyed by outdoor exposure.

Provenance: Collection of artist Guelda Pyke (1905-94), Templestowe, Vic.

**Exhibited:** Six Sculptors, NGV, Melbourne, 21 July - 30 August 1959, catalogue no. 18 (as Figure Group, 1959, welded steel, plastic metal and brass); Grahame and Inge King, Gallery A, South Yarra, 19 July - 5 August 1960, catalogue no. 3 (as Figure Group, 1959, steel, brass,
plastic-metal, 75 gns); Opening exhibition, Eastside Gallery, Jolimont, Vic., December 1960 (catalogue untraced).

**Literature:** Melbourne, 1959 July, no. 18; Sun, 1959 July 22, b&w illustration, p. 15; Six Melbourne Sculptors slides, slide no. 4 and p. 3 of accompanying teachers’ notes; Farrago, 1959, b&w illustration; Herald (?), c. 1960 Dec, visible on plinth in a photograph of the new Eastside Gallery at Jolimont; Parr, 1961, b&w illustration p. 13; Trimble, 1996, pp. 26, 196; Zimmer, 2014, pp. 311, 366, b&w illustration, p. 311.

**Photo:** George Tugen; original held among the King papers.

This work is clearly visible in slides of the *Six Sculptors* exhibition among the Aarons papers, AGNSW (slide image 916a) and photographs of the Kings’ joint exhibition at Gallery A, 1960, among King’s papers. In an artist’s statement published in the teachers’ notes accompanying the *Six Sculptors* slide set, in 1959, Inge King wrote: ‘In *Figure Group, 1959,* I have tried to combine volume and space; using steel construction as the basis and achieving the solid forms through the use of plastic metal. This method makes the work almost indestructible and impervious to weather. The brass heads are a contrast to the severity of the whole composition’ (*Six Sculptors* slides, 1959, p. 3). Plastic metal was then a new and relatively untested material. Lenton Parr reproduced a photograph of this work in his survey of Australian sculpture and noted that ‘The sculpture shown here makes extensive use of plastic metal, a putty-like material which sets hard and resembles aluminium’ (*Parr*, 1961, p. 13). Unfortunately King’s confidence in the durability of plastic metal proved to be misplaced; the work later deteriorated and disintegrated in the garden of artist Guelda Pyke (King conversation, 8 November 2011).

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**IK0153.1**

**Figure in the Wind, 1959**

Gold enamel paint on plaster; black enamel paint on wooden base. 31.3 x 10.1 x 10.9 cm

Inscribed on base: ‘Figure in the Wind 59 P.C.’

Estate of the artist.

**Exhibited:** *Inge King: Constellation,* NGV, Melbourne, 1 May – 31 August 2014, no catalogue nos. assigned


**Photos:** The author.

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**IK0153.2**

**Figure in the Wind, 1959**

Aluminium.

31.3 x 10.1 x 10.9 cm

Private collection.

**Exhibited:** Grahame and Inge King, Gallery A, South Yarra, 19 July – 5 August 1960, catalogue no. 13 (as *Figure, 1959, aluminium, 20 gns*).
Appendix C: Inge King


Photo: depicting the work exhibited at Gallery A, in 1960, by Grahame King; original held among the King papers.

IK0153.3

*Figure in the Wind, 1959*

Bronze.
31.3 x 10.1 x 10.9 cm
Private collection, Warrandyte, Vic.


IK0154.1

*Dewdrop Fountain, maquette, 1959-60*

(?) Black-painted steel.
1.4 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.

Literature: Grishin, 2005, above photograph reproduced p. 29.
Photo: Australian Consolidated Press, Sydney; original held among the King papers.

IK0154.2

*Dewdrop Fountain, 1959-60*

Galvanised steel, copper-sprayed, anodised black.
6.95 m high.
Dismantled in 1991 and whereabouts unknown.

Provenance: Commissioned by Grounds Romberg and Boyd architects and Melbourne City Council, 1959, for Fitzroy Gardens, Melbourne; Officially put into commission on 1 October 1960.

Literature: Age, 1960 June 8, p. 3, includes b&w photograph of King at work on the fountain at Warrandyte; Australian Women's Weekly, 1960 July 27, p. 18, b&w photograph p. 18; Herald, 1960 Oct 1, p. 3, includes b&w photograph of finished work; Architecture & Arts, 1960 Nov, p. 48, and b&w photograph by Mark Strizic, p. 48; Christmas card for Reade Duplicating Service, [1960],
reproduced on front cover in black and white printed against green card;
Germaine, 1990, p. 244; Bendigo, 1995, pp. 7, 12, 32; Trimble, 1996, pp. 29, 32, 34, 181 (footnote 8), 197, b&w illustration p. 28; Scarlett, 2004, p. 62;
Photos: (a) Australian Consolidated Press, Sydney (showing the work under construction at Warrandyte); (b) Herald Sun, Melbourne (showing the work installed at the Fitzroy Gardens); origins held among the King papers.
In 1959 Melbourne’s City Development Association invited architects to submit ‘modernistic designs’ for a fountain for Fitzroy Gardens (Herald, 1960 c Nov-Dec). The winning design from the firm of Grounds, Romberg and Boyd was essentially a slender upright galvanised pipe, or stalk, with large discs, or leaves, from which water would spill over, like dew dripping from leaves, into a shallow pool at the base. Architect Robin Boyd, who had earlier designed the King’s house at Warrandyte (1951), asked Inge King if she could ‘add something to the fountain’, which they envisaged as a large-scale birdbath (Gleeson and King, 1979, p. 4). King agreed, designing and making the abstract bird motif that sits atop the fountain. Boyd then asked if she and Grahame could construct the entire work, to which they agreed (Gleeson and King, 1979, p. 4). In one press interview King described the entire piece as ‘like a giant bird bath, but totally different from anything I have seen around the world’ (Age, 1960 June 8, p. 3). The Kings worked together on the construction of the fountain during the first six months of 1960 with help from their neighbour, Herb Henke, an engineer who gave them an arc welder in exchange for one of Grahame King’s paintings and who taught Inge how to weld. The fountain was unveiled on 1 October 1960. It received considerable publicity, though apparently not all of it was favourable. Three years later Lenton Parr recorded: ‘Two or three years ago the City Development Association began a campaign to erect fountains at various places in the city and architects were engaged to design one for a site near the Yarra and another in the Fitzroy Gardens. When they were erected even the most indulgent critics found little to praise and plans for other projected fountains seem to have been quietly dropped’ (Parr, 1963, a p. 24). King later told James Gleeson that she felt the work was never suitable for the location, for its upright format competed with the surrounding trees; a horizontal format would have been more suitable (Gleeson and King, 1979, p. 4; also Trimble, 1996, p. 32, and Grishin, 2014, p. 76). The work later corroded and was dismantled in 1991.

IK0155
Model for Screen, c. 1959-61
Anodised aluminium, cardboard, foil and wood.
41.5 x 58.0 cm; base: 2.5 x 86.3 x 17.5 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Ballarat Art Gallery, Vic.
Provenance: Model submitted to Bernard Evans architects for Comalco House, 89-101 Collins Street (known as 95 Collins Street), Melbourne, c. 1959-61, but never realised and retained by artist; gift of the artist under the Cultural Gifts Program, 2005.
Photo: the author.
This was a submitted design for a screen – never commissioned – for Comalco House in Collins Street. Dean Bunney, publicity manager for Comalco and a good friend of the King’s from the George Bell circle, was King’s contact on the project. At 26 storeys height, Comalco House (also known as CRA House, the CRA Building or the Consolidated Zinc Building), was Melbourne’s second
skyscraper and throughout the 1960s the city’s tallest building. In 1988 it became the first of Melbourne’s skyscrapers to be demolished (replaced by the 50-storey 101 Collins Street building). Two photographs by George Tugen of this model exist among King’s papers, inscribed ‘Model for Screen, size of model 2.8 ft x 1.1 ft, size of actual screen 16 ft x 6.6 ft with 1.6 ft clearance at floor level and 1 ft at ceiling. Colours natural, straw gold satin, gold polished black satin, anodised aluminium. Textured shapes (superimposed) cast aluminium. Depth of finished screen app. 5”. Screen constructed in 5 sections and screwed and bolted together on site’. These were reproduced in Architect, 1962, alongside the comment that: ‘For her [King], sculpture is drawing from endless angles. Her reliefs in metal are in fact direct expression of an urge to draw, for she regards them very much as ‘raised drawings’ (Architect, 1962, p. 46).

There is some confusion over the following four entries, which were exhibited at Gallery A in 1960 as seen below in a detail of an archival photograph. The fourth work in the series below can be matched with Relief, Magician (IK0157), now in the NGV collection. Archival photographs of the other three are not inscribed with titles other than ‘Relief’ and their dimensions, so that the photographs of IK0156 and IK0158-IK00159 may not be matched to the correct titles.

Photo: showing the following four works on exhibit at Gallery A, July – August 1960, by Grahame King; detail of an original held among the King papers. I have estimated that these are, L-R: Dialogue, Dancer, Strange Spirit, and Magician.

IK0156

Relief, Dialogue, 1960
Aluminium.
70 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Grahame and Inge King, Gallery A, South Yarra, 19 July - 5 August 1960, catalogue no. 16, (as Dialogue, 1960, aluminium, 35 gns); Sculpture Today, Council for Adult Education (CAE) and the Victorian Sculptors' Society, travelling exhibition, opened Melbourne, 8-22 May 1961, catalogue no. 5 (as Dialogue, aluminium).
Photo: Grahame King; original held among the King papers, where inscribed: ‘Sculpture late 50s whereabouts unknown’.

IK0157

Relief, Magician, 1960
Bronze, edition of two.
70.7 x 25.9 x 3.9 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
NGV, Melbourne, and private collection, Warrandyte, Vic.

Exhibited: *Grahame and Inge King*, Gallery A, South Yarra, 19 July - 5 August 1960, catalogue no. 17 (as *Relief, Magician*, 1960, bronze, 30 gns); *Group show by members of the Victorian Sculptors’ Society*, Eastside Gallery, Jolimont, Vic., February 1961 (catalogue untraced); *Inge King: Constellation*, NGV, Melbourne, 1 May - 31 August 2014, no catalogue numbers assigned.


Photo: courtesy NGV.

In a review of the *Group show by members of the Victorian Sculptors’ Society* at the Eastside Gallery, 1961, Arnold Shore commended ‘the light relief of her [King’s] intriguing *Magician*…’ (Shore, 1961 Feb 21, p. 4).

Dated 1959 in Trimble, 1996, but dated 1960 in the 1960 Gallery A catalogue, which date I have used.

IK0159

**Relief, Strange Spirit, 1960**
Bronze.
45.7 x 19.0 x 2.0 cm
Private collection.

Exhibited: *Grahame and Inge King*, Gallery A, South Yarra, 19 July - 5 August 1960, catalogue no. 19 (as *Relief, Strange Spirit*, [n.d.], bronze 35 gns);


Literature: South Yarra, 1960, no. 19;


Photo: Grahame King; original held among the King papers, where inscribed: ‘*Relief 1960 / plaster [crossed out] bronze / 18” / Priv. Coll.*’

Dated 1959 in Trimble, 1996, but dated 1960 in the 1960 Gallery A catalogue, which date I have used.

IK0158

**Relief, Dancer, 1960**
Bronze.
76.2 cm high approx.
Private collection

Exhibited: *Grahame and Inge King*, Gallery A, South Yarra, 19 July - 5 August 1960, catalogue no. 18 (as *Relief, Dancer*, 1960, bronze, 35 gns)


Photo: Grahame King; original held among the King papers.
IK0160.1

*Ballet of the Strangers, maquette, 1959*

Plaster.
29 x 21.5 x 15.2 cm

Whereabouts unknown, possibly destroyed during casting in 1989.

*Exhibited:* The Kings, Mildura Arts Centre, Mildura, Victoria, 14 September - 19 October 1975, and touring to the McClelland Gallery, Geelong Art Gallery and Benalla Art Gallery, 1975-76, catalogue no. 1 (as *Ballet of the Strangers, maquette, 1960 [sic]*, plaster, 29 x 21.5 x 15.2 cm, scale 1:6).

*Literature:* Mildura, 1975 Sept, n.p., b&w illustration, n. p. (where said to be the maquette but appears to be the finished work).

I have dated this to 1959, rather than 1960 as recorded in the Mildura catalogue of 1975, as the bronze cast of this work was first exhibited in 1960 and dated in that catalogue to 1959 (see following entry).

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IK0160.2

*Ballet of the Strangers, maquette (formerly known as Figure Group), 1959*


28.7 x 23.5 x 12.3 cm

The artist (4/6) and various private collections, Melbourne.

*Provenance:* An early edition sold through Deutscher Menzies, Melbourne, 21 September 2005, lot 151 (as *Ballet of the Strangers, 1993 [sic]*, bronze, 29 x 24 x 11.5 cm, illustrated in catalogue), estimate $6,000-$8,000, sold for $10,200 IBP.

Appendix C: Inge King

Drysdales Road, Warrandyte, Vic., in conjunction with Australian Galleries, Collingwood, and the Robin Boyd Foundation, 14-15 November 2015, catalogue no. 44 (as Ballet of the Strangers, maquette, 1959, bronze with green and gold patina, edition of 6 cast in 1989, 28.7 x 23.5 x 12.3 cm).


Photos: (a) Deutscher Menzies; (b) Predrag Cancar, courtesy NGV.

A photograph of this work at the Kings’ joint exhibition at Gallery A, 1960, exists among King’s papers. The work’s catalogue number, 12, is clearly visible in the photograph, from which we know that it was originally exhibited under the title Figure Group. Peter de Garis cast the second edition in 1989. Most records state that this was in edition of six, but a note among the King papers, from King to Julie Fleming (researcher to Marc and Eva Besen), suggests that only four may have been made.

IK0160.3

Ballet of the Strangers, 1960
Plastic metal on steel frame.
168.5 x 183 x ? cm
Whereabouts unknown; possibly disintegrated.
Exhibited: Grahame and Inge King, Gallery A, South Yarra, 19 July - 5 August 1960, catalogue no. 2 (as Ballet of the Strangers, 1960, steel and plastic metal, 250 gns); Victorian Sculptors’ Society Annual Exhibition, Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 24 October - 5 November 1960, catalogue no. 34 (as Ballet of the Strangers, plastic metal, 250 gns); Mildura Sculpture Prize, Mildura Arts Centre, Mildura, Vic., 22 April - 21 May 1961, catalogue no. 55 (as Ballet of the Strangers, 1960, plastic metal on steel, 64”, £263); Skinner Galleries, Perth, February 1962 (details untraced).
Literature: McCulloch, 1960 Oct 26; Mildura, 1961, b&w illustration p. 44;

Photos: (a) George Tugen; (b) Clement Meadmore; originals held among the King papers.

This was a seminal if transitional work for King. Like the smaller Figure Group, 1959 (IK0152), it was constructed out of plastic metal over a steel armature, yet Ballet of the Strangers and its sister-work, the large-scale Bush Family, 1960 (IK0161), were deliberately designed to contrast with the unruly Australian bush landscape without the need for intervening pedestals. Fellow sculptor Clement Meadmore photographed Ballet of the Strangers outside the King’s home at Warrandyte alongside Grahame King’s modernist abstract mural (see photo b, above); the sculpture and mural both contrasting with and complementing the modernist Boyd house, together illustrating the potential of art and architectural synthesis. Ballet of the Strangers featured at the opening of the first Mildura sculpture competition, 22 March 1961, when Laurel Martyn’s Ballet Guild staged the premier of Genesis, commissioned for the occasion by the Mildura Art Gallery Society and featuring King’s sculpture as part of the stage-set (see McCulloch, 1961 Apr 26; also Brissenden and Glennon, 2010, p. 148). The following year King consigned it with Rose and Joe Skinner of the Skinner Galleries, in Perth. However, when she requested the work be returned she was informed the transportation costs were too high; neither she nor her family were ever able to trace what became of the work (King conversation, 22 March 2014). Judith Trimble gives a detailed account of the construction of the Ballet of the Strangers and Bush Family: ‘Bush Family and Ballet of the Strangers are composite works using several techniques and materials. They are both assembled and “modelled”: welded armatures are wound about with fly wire to which plastic metal is applied to form a solid textured surface. To enable this 6mm-thin “skin” to flow smoothly and continuously over the forms, the armatures had to be constructed with precision, making exacting demands of a novice welder. Inspiration for these sculptures came firstly from the rising and falling shapes of hills seen from the Kings’ property; then from such natural textures as the stone used to face a wall of their house; and from mottled effects of strong sunlight on native vegetation at Warrandyte’ (Trimble, 1996, p. 34). Trimble goes on to compare both works with Lynn Chadwick’s Winged Figures of 1955 and Moore’s draped figures, as well as Matisse’s The Dance and Pollock’s continuous rhythmic lines.

Family Group (Bush Family, maquette), 1960
Aluminium, edition of two. 33.9 x 27.7 x 10.8 cm
Private collection, Melbourne.
Exhibited: Grahame and Inge King, Gallery A, South Yarra, 19 July - 5 August 1960, catalogue no. 9 (as Family Group, 1960, aluminium, 30 gns).
Great text from the digital transcription is as follows:


Photos: Grahame King, (a) on a sculpture block in the garden at Warrandyte, (b) at the Gallery A exhibition in 1960; originals held among the King papers.

King later inscribed the photograph above (a) on reverse: “Bush family 1960 / maquette / bronze / H 13” x 10” x 4”. However, the fact that this is a b&w photograph suggests that this is actually the aluminium cast, as by 1989 (when the bronze edition was cast) Grahame King mainly used colour film to document his wife’s sculptures. In addition, the surface mottling visible in photograph (a) is quite different to the patination of the bronze casts. The dimensions of the aluminium maquette are given as 13 x 10 x 4 cm in Trimbale, 1996, p. 197, and Zimmer, 2014, p. 366. However, they are almost certainly the same as for the bronze maquette (that is, 33.9 x 27.7 x 10.8 cm); the confusion likely arose as the dimensions were stated in inches on the reverse of King’s photograph and not converted into metric measurements. Certainly the photograph of the aluminium version at Gallery A, South Yarra, in 1960 (photograph b, above), shows the work to be at least 30 cm high, not 13 cm high.

IK0161.2
Family Group (Bush Family), 1960
Steel and aluminium.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

Exhibited: Grahame and Inge King, Gallery A, South Yarra, 19 July - 5 August 1960, catalogue no. 1 (as Family Group, 1960, steel and aluminium, 250 gns).


King’s two highest-priced exhibits at the 1960 Gallery A exhibition were this work, Family Group, 1960, in steel and aluminium (catalogue no. 1) and Ballet of the Strangers, 1960 (IK0160.3), in steel and plastic metal (catalogue no. 2); both were priced at 250 gns. Strangely, no photograph exists of catalogue no. 1. It is unlikely to be the same work as Bush Family, 1960-61 (Mildura Arts Centre collection), which is usually recorded as having been completed in 1961 and made of steel and plastic metal. However, compositionally it was likely to be same as Bush Family, as it and Ballet of the Strangers were King’s two major pieces of 1960 and because the small aluminium maquette of Bush Family was included in the same show under the title Family Group, 1960 (IK0161.1).

IK0161.3
Bush Family, 1960-61
Plastic metal on steel frame.
200 x 113 x 53 cm
Mildura Arts Centre, Vic.

Provenance: Gift of Mildara Winery Ltd, 1961, from the Mildara Prize.

Exhibited: Mildara Prize for Sculpture, Mildura Art Gallery, Mildura, Vic., 22 April - 21 May 1961, catalogue no. 54 (as Bush Family, 1960, plastic metal on steel, 78”, £420); 9 Melbourne Sculptors, Argus Gallery, Melbourne, 26 June - 7 July 1961, catalogue no. 16 (as Bush Family, welded steel and plastic, in the possession of the Mildura Gallery); The Kings, Mildura Arts Centre, Mildura, Victoria, 14

Appendix C: Inge King 653
September - 19 October 1975, and touring to the McClelland Gallery, Geelong Art Gallery and Benalla Art Gallery, 1975-76, catalogue no. 3 (as Bush Family, 1960, steel and plastic metal, 200 x 113 x 53 cm, Mildura Arts Centre collection); This was the Future... Australian sculpture of the 1950s, 60s, 70s and today, Heide Museum of Modern Art, Bulleen, Vic., 4 October - 7 December 2003 (as Bush Family, 1960-61, plastic metal on welded steel, 200 x 113 x 53 cm, loaned by the Mildura Arts Centre, gift of Mildara Winery Ltd, 1961 from the Mildara Prize); Mildura Revisited: sculptures exhibited 1961-1978, Mildura Arts Centre, Mildura, Vic., 5 September 2014 to 26 January 2015 (no catalogue nos. assigned).


Photos: George Tugen; originals held among the King papers.

This was the first major sculpture of King’s to enter the Mildura Arts Centre collection (Bendigo, 1995, pp. 6-7, 12). As noted above in connection to Ballet of the Strangers (IK0160.3), Bush Family was a transitional work. However, where virtually all critics and historians regard these two works as marking King’s transition from figuration to abstraction (see for instance Sturgeon, 1978 a, pp. 145, 166; Zimmer in Parkville, 1982, p. 7; Trimble, 1996, p. 34; Nelson, 2003 Nov 12, p. 8; Healy and Scarlett, 2014, p. 6), I suggest that the transition was one of relating her work to the environment. King had long before produced fully abstract work – many of the carvings from 1948, such as Flower Dancer (IK0071) and Wrench (IK0076), were abstract – while her steel constructions of 1952 and the works of the late-1950s had little to no discernible figuration. Instead, the real change was in the manner in which King deliberately attempted to contrast her work with the bush environment while also referencing natural forms. This then precipitated the move to the series of black-painted welded steel sculptures of the 1960s, which were designed to contrast with the landscape and by which she properly established her reputation in Australia.

IK0161.4

Bush Family, maquette, 1960-89


33.9 x 27.7 x 10.8 cm

Signed with initials at rear: ‘IK’.

Label on base inscribed: ‘Bushfamily, maquette, 1960, P.C.’

Estate of the artist and private collections, Melbourne.

Exhibited: The Kings, Mildura Arts Centre, Mildura, Victoria, 14
September - 19 October 1975, and touring to the McClelland Gallery, Geelong Art Gallery and Benalla Art Gallery, 1975-76, catalogue no. 2 (as Bush Family maquette, 1960, bronze, 33 x 25.4 x 10.2 cm, scale 1:6); Inge King Sculpture, NGV, Melbourne, 8 October - 16 November 1992, catalogue no. 35 (as Bush Family, 1960, bronze, cast 1989, project for the first Mildura Sculpture Triennial, 13 x 10 x 4 cm [sic], collection of the artist.); Inge King: Small Sculptures 1943-1994, Bendigo Art Gallery, Bendigo, Vic., September - October 1995, catalogue no. 8 (as Bush Family, 1960-89, bronze, 13 x 10 x 4 cm [sic], cast in bronze in 1989, edition of 6, from maquette for sculpture in Mildura Arts Centre); Inge King: Constellation, NGV, Melbourne, 1 May – 31 August 2014, no catalogue nos. assigned (as Bush Family, maquette, 1960, cast 1989, patinated bronze, wooden base, edition of 6, 33.9 x 27.7 x 10.8 cm).


Photo: Predrag Cancar, courtesy NGV.

IK0162

Family Group, 1960
Bronze.
25.0 x 16.0 x 10.0 cm
Private collection, Melbourne.
Exhibited: Grahame and Inge King, Gallery A, South Yarra, 19 July - 5 August 1960, catalogue no. 10 (as Family Group, 1960, bronze, 35 gns).


Photo: Grahame King; original held among the King papers.

IK0163

Shell Madonna, 1960
Bronze, edition of six.
16.0 x 9.0 x 9.0 cm; base: 12 cm high approx.
Private collections, Victoria.
Provenance: One cast sold through Joseph Brown, Melbourne; Private collection, Melbourne; Deutscher Menzies, 21-22 September 2005, lot 153, as Untitled, bronze, 16 cm high,
provenance Joseph Brown, illustrated in catalogue, estimate $3,000-$5,000, sold for $5,040 IBP; presumed now private collection. 

**Exhibited:** *Grahame and Inge King*, Gallery A, South Yarra, 19 July - 5 August 1960, catalogue no. 11 (as *Shell Madonna*, 1960, bronze, 45 gns). 

**Literature:** South Yarra, 1960, no. 11; Trimble, 1996, p. 197; Zimmer, 2014, pp. 312, 367, b&w illustration p. 312. 

**Photo:** Grahame King; original held among the King papers.

**IK0165**

*Amulet bracelet, c. 1960*

Sterling silver with semi-precious stone. 
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

**Literature:** Grishin, 2014, b&w illustration, p. 70. 

**Photo:** reproduced in Grishin, 2014, p. 70.

**IK0164**

*Amulet bracelet, c. 1960*

Sterling silver. 
8.4 x 6.9 x 7.6 cm 
Private collection, Melbourne. 

**Exhibited:** *Inge King: Constellation*, NGV, Melbourne, 1 May – 31 August 2014, no catalogue nos. assigned. 

**Literature:** Melbourne, 2014, p. 128, colour illustration p. 34; Grishin, 2014, b&w photograph of King holding this work, p. 70. 

**Photo:** Predrag Cancar, courtesy NGV.

**IK0166**

*Necklace, c. 1960*

Sterling silver. 
15.0 x 20.0 x 9.5 cm 
NGV, Melbourne. 

**Exhibited:** *Inge King: Constellation*, NGV, Melbourne, 1 May – 31 August 2014, no catalogue nos. assigned. 

**Literature:** Melbourne, 2014, p. 128, colour illustration p. 33. 

**Photo:** Predrag Cancar, courtesy NGV.
IK0167

**Ring, c. 1960**
Sterling silver.
2.8 x 3.1 x 3.6 cm
Private collection, Melbourne.
**Exhibited:** *Inge King: Constellation*, NGV, Melbourne, 1 May – 31 August 2014, no catalogue nos. assigned.
**Literature:** Melbourne, 2014, p. 128, colour illustration p. 34.
**Photo:** Predrag Cancar, courtesy NGV.

IK0168

**Clockman, wall sculpture, 1960**
Steel.
107 cm high
Whereabouts unknown; stolen from an exhibition at the Skinner Galleries, Perth.
**Photo:** George Tugen; original held among the King papers.

Clockman marks the start of a new direction in King’s work, wherein multiple welded steel pieces – some deliberately cut, others offcuts – are clustered together, collage-like, in a vertical alignment. It presages the series of welded steel sculptures made in the 1960s by which she firmly established her reputation in Australia.
WORKS ON PAPER

Berlin 1935-39

IKW0001
*Untitled (study for Boys Wrestling)*, 18 August 1935
Pencil on paper.
22.1 x 15.0 cm
Signed with initials and dated lower left: ‘IV [Ingeborg Viktoria] 18.8.35’.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
Both this and the following work were preparatory sketches for King’s earliest sculptural composition, *Boys Wrestling*, IK0002.

IKW0003
*Untitled (study of a woman sleeping on a Berlin tram)*, 1935
Sanguine conté crayon on paper.
21.8 x 15.0 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
The artist recently identified the subject and date (King conversation, 10 April 2012).

IKW0002
*Untitled (study for Boys Wrestling)*, c. August 1935
Pencil on paper.
22.1 x 15.0 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0004
*Untitled life study (female nude)*, 22 September 1935
Pencil on paper.
33.6 x 25.1 cm
Signed and dated lower left: ‘22.IX.35. / I. Neufeld’.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
IKW0005

*Jenny (head of a girl)*, c. 1935-36
Pencil on paper.  
30 x 30 cm approx.  
Signed lower left: ‘Neufeld’.  
Estate of the artist.  
*Photo:* the author.  
The sitter was approximately 14 years of age and studying pottery with Herman Nonnenmacher at the time. King recalls that Nonnenmacher corrected the drawing extensively.

IKW0006

*Untitled life study (female nude in profile and from reverse)*, 20 November 1937  
Pencil on paper.  
23.1 x 19.5 cm  
Estate of the artist.  
*Photo:* the author.  
Drawn during King’s first month at the Berlin Academy.

IKW0007

*Untitled life study (three full-length studies of a standing female nude)*, 20 November 1937  
Pencil on paper.  
23.0 x 26.0 cm  
Estate of the artist.  
*Photo:* the author.

IKW0008

*Untitled (three studies of a young Asian model and dancer in Japanese clothes; one seated and two standing poses)*, 16 December 1937  
Pencil on paper.  
23.0 x 30.9 cm  
Estate of the artist.  
*Photo:* the author.  
The sitter was a young dancer, aged 8 or 9, possibly from Taiwan, who posed at the Berlin Academy (King conversation, 10 April 2012).
IKW0009
*Untitled (three studies of a young Asian model and dancer in Japanese clothes; three standing poses), 16 December 1937*

Pencil on paper.
23.0 x 31.0 cm

Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0010
*Five Minutes Sketch (standing male nude seen from rear), March 1938*

Pencil on paper in a handmade mount.
23.0 x 11.7 cm

Not signed. Inscribed on mount in lower margin: ‘5 Minutes sketch’, and dated on drawing lower left: ‘III 38’.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
A Berlin Academy study.

IKW0011
*Untitled (Prophet at Bamberg Cathedral), 30 July 1938*

Pencil on paper.
32.5 x 19.8 cm

Not signed. Inscribed and dated lower left: ‘Bamberg / 30.VII.38’.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

Depicts one of the twelve prophets of the Old Testament with one of the twelve apostles standing on his shoulders – after a Gothic statue from Bamberg Cathedral’s Fuerstenportal (Portal of Princes), which is widely regarded as representing the harmony between the Old and New Testaments.

IKW0012
*Ten Minutes Sketch (young peasant boy from Lermoos, Austria, seated on stool), August 1938*

Pencil on paper in a handmade mount.
32.5 x 19.0 cm

Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
King visited Lermoos, a small alpine ski village just over the Austrian border, near Innsbruck, in the summer of 1938. There she made this rapid sketch of a young boy wearing lederhosen.

IKW0013
Ten Minutes Sketch (standing female nude in side profile), October 1938
Pencil on paper in a handmade mount. 31.0 x 15.4 cm
Not signed. Inscribed on mount on lower board: ‘10 Minutes sketch’, and dated on drawing lower left: ‘Okt. 38’.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0014
Nude Sketch, 20 October 1938
Pencil on paper in a handmade mount. 44.0 x 28.1 cm
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0015
Untitled (study of a man in a hat, Albert Ferber), c. 1938-39
Pencil on paper, drawn on the reverse of a section of an envelope. 12.5 x 16.0 cm
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
In 2012, when she saw this drawing for the first time in many years, King instantly recalled the name of the sitter: Albert Ferber, from Berlin, whom she described as a gifted pianist and organist who would play Bach by memory but was ‘quite inept for any way of life’ (King conversation, 10 April 2012). This was almost certainly the Swiss concert pianist Albert Ferber (1911-87), who studied in Switzerland, Germany and France before settling in London in 1939, thenceforth establishing himself through regular performances at Wigmore Hall and live recordings for the BBC.

England, 1940

IKW0016
Untitled (three studies of a sleeping baby), 1940
Pencil on paper. 13.5 x 11.5 cm (three sheets same dimensions)
One sheet signed with initials and dated lower left: ‘IN 40’.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
These three almost identical sketches, of the same sleeping infant, most probably depict one of the children King was engaged to mind and with whom she was evacuated from London to the village of Great Gaddesden, Hertfordshire, from the autumn of 1939 until early 1940, when she returned to London to study at the Royal Academy. No drawings dating to her time at the RA appear to have survived.

IKW0017
*Untitled (standing female nude with one arm crossed over body)*, 8 November 1940
Pencil on paper in a handmade mount.
43.9 x 24.1 cm
Not signed. Dated lower left: ‘8.11.40’.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
The date inscribed on this drawing indicates it would have been done at the Central School of Arts and Crafts, London, before they were evacuated to Northampton in December 1940.

IKW0018
*Untitled (study of a group of three people)*, c. 1940-41
Pencil on paper.
11.5 x 13.5 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
It is not clear whether this was done in London, Northampton or Glasgow. The sheet of paper is the same used in Great Gaddesden, in early 1940, for the studies of the sleeping infant (IKW0016), and also for two self-portraits dated 1941 (IKW0019 and IKW0020).

IKW0019
*Self-portrait, 1941*
Pencil on paper.
13.5 x 11.5 cm
Signed with initials and dated lower left: ‘IV [Inge Viktoria] 41’.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
Torn from the same sketchbook as IKW0018 IKW0020 and IKW0021.

IKW0020
*Self-portrait, 1941*
Pencil on paper.
13.5 x 11.5 cm
Signed with initials and dated lower left: ‘IV [Inge Viktoria] 41’.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
IKW0021

*Untitled (study for Christ on the cross), c. 1941*

Pencil on paper.
13.5 x 11.5 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.

Photo: the author.

The first sketch in King’s Glasgow Sketchbook, 1941 (IKW0022) is of Christ on the cross with mourners and King made a clay relief of this same subject in Glasgow (IK0027), so it is probable that this sketch was done around the same time, in Glasgow.

IKW0022

*Sketchbook, Glasgow, 1941*

George Rowney & Co. Spirax Sketchbook with pale blue card covers and metal spiral binding at top.
22.5 x 14.0 cm
First page signed with initials and dated lower right: ‘IN 41’.
Contains sketches (mostly in pencil, but some in pen and ink) of subjects including: women grieving the death of Christ at the base of the cross (this was a study for a clay relief that King later destroyed, IK0027), a hilly Scottish landscape, cows and geese, poultry, several studies for *Pastoral Panel* (IK0035), a study for the linocut Christmas card of a calf (IKW0025) as well as four studies of tiles with ducks and fish painted on them.

IKW0023

*Illustrations to Hans Christian Andersen’s The Swineherd, 1941*

Pen and ink with watercolour on paper; nine sheets sewn at spine.
19.3 x 27.9 cm
Signed and dated in later hand on reverse: ‘Inge King / Glasgow 1941’.
Estate of the artist.

Photos: the author.

IKW0024

*Untitled (study for Pastoral Panel), c. 1941*

Charcoal on paper.
16.3 x 51.1 cm
Not signed. Inscribed with dimensions and notes in lower margin.
Estate of the artist.

Photo: the author.

Preliminary study for *Pastoral Panel*, c. 1941-42 (IK0035).
IKW0025
*Christmas card (calf), 1941*
Linocut in black ink on tissue paper, laid onto cream wove card; edition not stated.
12.5 x 15.0 cm
Signed and dated lower right: ‘I Neufeld / 1941’.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
King retains four copies of these, of which three are signed and dated: two dated 1941 and one dated 1942. There is also a fourth unsigned and undated copy, printed in reverse. King confirmed these were done as Christmas cards and referred to the subject as a calf (King conversation, 28 March 2012).

IKW0026
*Untitled (three standing female nudes), c. 1941*
Drypoint etching on laid paper; edition not stated.
21.7 x 15.0 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.

IKW0027
*Untitled (woman standing holding a book), c. 1941–42*
Pencil on paper.
42.8 x 18.4 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
Evidently the same model as seen in the previous entry (IKW0028).

IKW0028
*Untitled (woman seated with hand on chin), c. 1941–42*
Pencil on paper.
35.0 x 21.0 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
Appendix C: Inge King

IKW0030  
*Untitled (woman in shawl bending over)*, c. 1941-42  
Pencil on paper.  
40.4 x 30.8 cm  
Not signed, inscribed or dated.  
Estate of the artist.  
Photo: the author.  
Evidently the same model as seen in the previous two entries (IKW0028 and IKW0029).

IKW0031  
*Untitled (young woman seated with legs to one side)*, c. 1941-42  
Pencil on paper.  
26.8 x 22.7 cm  
Not signed, inscribed or dated.  
Estate of the artist.  
Photo: the author.

IKW0032  
*Untitled (standing female nude holding drapery)*, c. 1941-42  
Pencil on paper.  
38.3 x 28.0 cm  
Not signed, inscribed or dated.  
Estate of the artist.  
Photos: the author.  
With a second pencil sketch of a seated female nude on reverse.

IKW0033  
*Untitled (standing female nude with hand on hip)*, c. 1941-42  
Pencil on paper.  
38.2 x 28.2 cm  
Not signed, inscribed or dated.  
Estate of the artist.  
Photo: the author.  
This would seem to be the same model depicted in the previous entry (IKW0032).
IKW0034
*Untitled (young man seated), c. 1941*
Pencil on paper.
40.6 x 26.7 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo:* the author.
According to King, this depicts the same model who posed for *David and Jonathan* (IK0039) and was drawn c. 1941 (King conversation, 17 April 2012).

IKW0035
*Untitled (standing woman in robes; drapery study), c. 1941-42*
Pen and black ink over pencil on paper, in a handmade blue cardboard mount.
47.4 x 21.5 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo:* the author.
According to King, the model here was an Austrian refugee living in Glasgow called Mrs Spieler (King conversation, 10 April 2012).

IKW0036
*Untitled (woman seated with arms and legs crossed), c. 1941-42*
Pencil on paper.
37.2 x 26.5 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo:* the author.
The sitter is the same model, Mrs Spieler, seen in the previous entry (King conversation, 10 April 2012).

IKW0037
*Untitled (study of a pair of girls holding hands and dancing), c. 1941-42*
Pencil on paper.
9.5 x 11.0 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Appendix C: Inge King

Previously dated c. 1940-41 (see Zimmer, 2014, p. 297), but more likely to date to c. 1941-42, when King began developing some less academic and more original subjects for sculpture, utilising twinned or multiplied figures, such as David and Jonathan, 1942 (IK0039), and Three Drunkards, 1942 (IK0049).

IKW0038
*Untitled (reclining male nude), c. 1941-42*
Pencil on paper.
33.5 x 27.6 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
With a second pencil sketch of the same subject on reverse.

IKW0039
*Untitled (study for David and Jonathan), c. 1942*
Pencil on paper tipped onto card.
18.5 x 10 cm
Not signed or inscribed. Indistinctly dated lower right.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0040
*Untitled (study for David and Jonathan), c. 1942*
Pencil on paper tipped onto card.
18.1 x 11 cm
Not signed or inscribed. Indistinctly dated lower right.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0041
*Untitled (study for David and Jonathan), c. 1942*
Pencil on paper tipped onto card.
18.5 x 10.2 cm
Not signed or inscribed. Indistinctly dated lower right.
Estate of the artist.
Literature: Zimmer, colour illustration p. 298.
Photo: the author.

This and the following two works are studies for the sculpture David and Jonathan, c. 1942-43 (IK0039).
IKW0042

Sketchbook, Glasgow, c. 1942-43
Sketchbook in plain heavy-duty card covers bound with half brown linen at spine, inscribed with price ‘1/6’ on inside cover.
17.0 x 14.0 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.

Photos: the author.
Contains sketches (mostly in pencil, but some in pen and ink and some with watercolour wash) of subjects including: dogs, study for the frieze of sheep (Sheep in Pastures Green Abiding, IK0054), young children, Scottie dogs, two horses under a tree, ruins of a church and graveyard outside Glasgow, and pairs of horses grazing.

IKW0043

Sketchbook: Kilmarnog [and] Callender (Scottish Highlands), 1942-43
Sketchbook with brown paper covers, bound with linen at top spine.
25.7 x 20.0 cm
Not signed. Inscribed on front cover: ‘Kilmarnog Callender’; several pages inscribed and dated.
Estate of the artist.

Photos: the author.
Begins with studies of a baby (the child of a young friend of King’s, also called Inge, whose partner, Yussel Honig, was a Czech medical student in his final year of medicine at Glasgow University). This was the same infant Lisel that King modelled in clay at art school (see IK0041-IK0043). One of these sketches is indistinctly dated ‘11.7.[illeg.]’. Also includes two studies for the sculpture, Three Drunkards (IK0049; one drawing inscribed ‘Drunkards’); multiple sketches from Ulenspiegel including the eponymous hero dressed in rags and holding a begging bowl; and several sketches of a nude with her arm raised, one dated ‘ii.4.43’. King dated the
entire sketchbook to 1942-43 (King conversation, 24 April 2012).

IKW0044
*Sketchbook, Glasgow, 1942-43*
C. Roberson & Co. Ltd ‘Bushey’ sketchbook, stitched at spine, bound in black buckram boards with half blue linen at spine.
22.5 x 17.4 cm
Not signed. Some pages dated and inscribed.
Estate of the artist.
**Literature:** Zimmer, 2014, one colour illustration, p. 300; Eckett, 2015.
**Photos:** the author.
Contains sketches (mostly in pencil, but some in pen and ink) of subjects including: head of a horse (two sheets dated Sept 42), a mountainous landscape that King identified as the Trossachs near Glasgow, also studies for a carving included in King’s post-diploma show (*Figure in Grief*, IK0050), a design of a group of horses; studies of a figure falling through trees and clinging to the reins of a horse, inscribed ‘Absolom’, which King recalls was inspired by a German Expressionist painting that used to hang in the Hamburg Art Gallery (Albert Weisgerber, *Absalom*, 1912, Hamburger Kunsthalle); studies for *Mother and Child* stone carving (IK0052); an adolescent male nude; crouching nude in robes from 1942; studies for *Warsaw*, 1943 (IK0053); skeleton face; group of male nudes; female nudes dated ‘8.5’, ‘17.5’, ‘19.5’; and studies of leaping horses dated ‘30.VIII.43’.

IKW0045
*Title unknown (group of horses), c. 1942-43*
Medium unknown (probably pencil on paper).
Dimensions unknown.
Private collection, USA.
**Provenance:** Gift from the artist to the mother of the present owner, New York, 1950; thence by descent.
A finished drawing of a group of horses, this developed from some of the sketches in the previous sketchbook (IKW0044). King gave it to the former owner, a female child psychologist, with whom she stayed in New York in 1950 (King conversation, 10 April 2012). It may also relate to *Untitled (horses in a landscape)*, c. 1943-44 (IKW0052), which appears to be a study for a large composition with clear echoes of Franz Marc.

IKW0046
*Untitled (Absolom caught in a tree), c. 1942-43*
Pencil on paper.
16.6 x 12.5 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
**Literature:** Eckett, 2015.
**Photo:** the author.
Absolom, one of King David’s sons, was knocked from his mule when his long hair caught in an oak tree while fleeing his persecutors. The composition was inspired by...
King’s memories of Albert Weisgerber’s painting of the same title (Albert Weisgerber, *Absalom II*, 1914, oil on canvas, 154 x 127 cm, Hamburg: Hamburger Kunsthalle), which she recalled seeing in Hamburg, c. 1933-35 (King conversation, 19 April 2012).

Photos: the author.
Subjects include a naked dancing genie-type figure inscribed ‘Illustration for poetry’ and dated ‘15 XII’, ‘16 Dec.’ and ‘20 XII’; studies for *Three Sisters / The Appletree* (IK0048), one dated ‘17 Dec.’; a design for a Christmas card showing IK’s head in profile with two horses (this was a design for a linocut she made as a Christmas card); a group of figures inscribed ‘Thoughts while reading / a poem by Edith Sitwell’ dated ‘31 XII’; many illustrations for Charles de Coster’s *Ulenspiegel* dated ‘30 XII 42’, including ‘Nele weeping’, figures with candles, a skeleton, some hanged men, and one dated ‘1.1.43’; and several more sketches at rear of an infant (Lisel, the same child as seen IKW0043) some of which are dated ‘4.1.43’. Also includes a pen and ink sketch of Zadkine’s *The Musicians*, 1927, which was exhibited at the Jewish Art Exhibition at the Glasgow Jewish Institute from 20 December 1942 to 10 January 1943, and later reworked as King’s *Trio: Homage to Zadkine* (IK0064).

IKW0047.1
*Sketchbook: Glasgow (mainly sketches for Ulenspiegel)*, 1942-43
Sketchbook with brown paper covers, bound with linen at top spine 25.7 x 20.0 cm.
Not signed. Several pages inscribed and dated.
Estate of the artist.

IKW0047.2
*Untitled (Thoughts while reading a poem by Edith Sitwell)*, c. 1942-43
Charcoal and conté crayon on brown wove paper.
45.7 x 34.5 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
A second version of this same composition is found in the Sketchbook, 1942-43 (IKW0047), where it is inscribed: ‘Thoughts while reading a poem by Edith Sitwell’. However, when King saw the present version she thought it related to Charles de Coster’s *The Legend of Ulenspiegel and Lamme Goedzak* and said she recalled drawing it one evening at 2 Kirklee Road, where she rented a bedsitter from the
family of James Macalister Mackintosh, Professor of Public Health at Glasgow University (King conversations, 17 June 2010, 28 Mar 2012).

IKW0048
*Untitled (female nude torso with hand on face)*, c. 1943
Pen and blue ink over pencil on paper, mounted on brown paper.
35.0 x 19.3 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
The lightness of touch and the elongated fingers relate this and the following sketch to a series of drawings of a model wearing a shawl. They were most probably done around the same time. However, the present work also relates to a carving: *Untitled (Figure in grief)*, 1943 (IK0050).

IKW0049
*Untitled (standing female nude, seen from behind, with hands on her head)*, c. 1943
Pen and blue ink over pencil on paper.
45.0 x 20.6 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0050
*Untitled (female torso, study for a carving)*, c. 1943
Pen and black ink on paper mounted on grey card.
17.4 x 8.1 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
Relates to the untitled carving, *Figure in grief*, 1943, IK0050.

IKW0051
*Untitled (crouching figure)*, c. 1943-44
Pen and blue ink on paper mounted on grey card.
12.5 x 12.0 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
Appendix C: Inge King

IKW0052
*Untitled (horses in a landscape), c. 1943-44*
Pen and blue ink over pencil on paper mounted on grey card.
15.6 x 16.5 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo:* the author.
Possibly a preparatory sketch for the finished drawing, *Title unknown (group of horses), c. 1942-43, IKW0045,* now in a private US collection.

IKW0053
*Self Portrait, c. 1943-44*
Pencil on paper mounted onto card.
17.7 x 7.5 cm
Not signed. Inscribed upper left (vertically): ‘TONA’. Remains of an inscription in German on reverse.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo:* the author.
The main inscription refers to Karel Antonin Winter, known as Tona, whom King married in August 1944. King thought this may have been a design for a birthday card for him (King conversation, 28 March 2012).

IKW0054
*Untitled (study of a horse's hindquarters), c. 1943-44*
Brush and black ink on paper.
19.5 x 20.0 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo:* the author.

Sketching in Scotland, c. 1943-44.
*Photo:* unknown photographer; King papers.
Appendix C: Inge King

**Sketchbook: Glasgow, c. 1943-44**

George Rowney & Co. Spirax Sketchbook, series B 70, with pale brown card covers and metal spiral binding at top.
17.6 x 12.5 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

Subjects include pen and ink studies of hens and cockerels, a man sleeping with a book in his lap (possibly Tona Winter), donkeys, a horse under a tree, a scene of trees through windows (King recalled it was in a guest house in the Trossachs), a sketch of a young girl, life studies, a cottage with haystacks, and a trumpeting figure (King conversation, 24 April 2012). An archival photograph from around this same period (reproduced above this entry) shows King sketching a donkey alongside a quiet rural road, capturing both King’s interest in the animal and her sense of freedom in being outdoors in the Scottish countryside.

**IKW0056**

*Untitled (two horses in the sun)*, c. 1944
Pen and blue ink on paper mounted on cream card.
12.7 x 17.5 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
With remains of a drawing of a torso on reverse of card.

**Sketchbook: Glasgow, 1943-44**

C. Roberson & Co. Ltd ‘Bushey’ Sketchbook, stitched at spine, bound in black buckram boards with half black linen at spine.
18.3 x 11.2 cm
Not signed. Various sheets inscribed and dated.
Estate of the artist.

Subjects include studies of sheep, which led to the carving *Sheep in Pastures Green Abiding (Highland Sheep)* (IK0054), two horses under a tree, cats, thatched cottages, a man with an umbrella, a woman half-draped in robes, horse studies (one dated 26.9.43), a man with a child on his shoulders, study of a candelabra (relating to those that King later carved in Manchester or London, IK0061 and IK0062), life studies, an elderly person (one such is dated 5.III.44), child studies done at the nursery school where King taught, profiles of a woman (dated 8.4.44), and studies of ducks. King could not recall the identity of the people depicted (King conversation, 24 April 2012). Most drawings are in pen and ink and are much looser in style than the sketchbooks of 1942-43.

**IKW0057**

*Untitled (two horses in the sun)*, c. 1944
Pen and blue ink on paper mounted on cream card.
12.7 x 17.5 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
With remains of a drawing of a torso on reverse of card.
IKW0058
*Untitled (cattle under a tree), 4 April 1944*
Pen and blue ink on paper mounted on cream card.
14.2 x 13.5 cm
Signed with initials and dated lower right: ‘IV [Inge Viktoria] 4.4.44’.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo:* the author.
With the remains on reverse of a pen and black ink sketch of a grieving woman.

IKW0059
*Untitled (mother and child beneath trees), c. 1944*
Pen and blue ink on paper mounted on cream card.
10.9 x 12.7 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo:* the author.

IKW0060
*Sketchbook, Glasgow, 1944*
C. Roberson & Co. Ltd sketchbook with perforated leaves, bound in black buckram boards with half linen at spine.
17.9 x 11.5 cm
Not signed. One page dated lower right: ‘14.9.44’.
Contains sketches (mostly in pencil, but some in pen and ink) of subjects including: cattle in the Highlands, studies of infants from the nursery where King worked during and after the war, horses (Peggy McNeil, IK0044), a sleeping Glasgow ‘character’, dogs, gazelles, birds, geese, studies for a relief of ducks, and a page of mother and child studies.

IKW0061
*Untitled (four studies of a cellist), c. 1944*
Pen and black ink on paper.
22.9 x 18.1 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
I have dated this sketch to c. 1944 based on the somewhat scratchy use of the pen that King utilised in her sketchbook of this period. Nevertheless, the contrast with the following entry – also of musicians at a concert – could not be greater.

IKW0063
*Untitled (seated female nude), c. 1944*
Pencil on paper.
6.0 x 7.5 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0064
*Untitled (voluptuous seated female nude), c. 1944*
Pencil on paper.
8.5 x 10.5 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0065
*Untitled (voluptuous seated nude, legs extended, seen frontally), c. 1944*
Pencil on paper.
11.0 x 14.4 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.  
Estate of the artist.  
Photo: the author.

IKW0066
*Untitled (voluptuous seated nude, legs extended, seen from rear), c. 1944*
Pencil on paper.  
10.0 x 14.1 cm  
Not signed, inscribed or dated.  
Estate of the artist.  
Photo: the author.

This is a more cubistic treatment of the subject than the previous entry (IKW0066).

IKW0067
*Untitled (seated nude, legs extended, seen from rear), c. 1947*
Pencil on paper.  
12.0 x 15.8 cm  
Not signed, inscribed or dated.  
Estate of the artist.  
Photo: the author.

The voluptuous curves of the figures in these small sketches reveal the influence of Maillol (King conversation, 13 March 2012). They also clearly relate to the following entry.

IKW0069
*Untitled (study of a couple embracing, idea for stone carving I), c. 1944*
Pencil on paper, in a handmade cream cardboard window mount.  
5.0 x 5.7 cm (image)  
Not signed, inscribed or dated.  
Estate of the artist.  
Photo: the author.

King recalls that this was an idea for a stone carving (King conversation, 13 March 2012).

IKW0070
*Untitled (study of a couple embracing, idea for stone carving II), c. 1944*
Pencil on paper, in a handmade cream cardboard window mount.  
5.0 x 5.7 cm (image)  
Not signed, inscribed or dated.  
Estate of the artist.  
Photo: the author.
IKW0071
*Untitled (two studies: couple embracing and reclining female nude), c. 1944*
Pencil on paper.
12.2 x 11.4 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0072
*Untitled (two reclining female nude studies), c. 1944*
Pencil on paper.
12.9 x 19.0 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0073
*Untitled (female nude torso with head bowed I), c. 1944*

IKW0074
*Untitled (female nude torso with head bowed II), c. 1944*
Pencil on paper.
19.0 x 12.8 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
IKW0076
*Untitled (Standing female nude torso with head bowed II), c. 1944*
Pencil on paper.
19.2 x 13.0 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0078
*Untitled (seated female nude), c. 1944-45*
Pencil on paper, in a handmade cream cardboard window mount.
10.7 x 6.4 cm (image)
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0077
*Untitled (figure of a seated woman with her legs crossed and head in her hands), c. 1944-45*
Pencil on paper.
12.8 x 9.0 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0079
*Untitled (study of a monumental female nude), c. 1944-45*
Pencil on paper, in a handmade cream cardboard window mount.
8.5 x 8.3 cm (image)
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
IKW0080

*Untitled (design for a linocut with birds and sunburst), c. 1944-45*

Pencil on paper.
14.1 x 19.0 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo:* the author.

This was a design for a linocut print. King dated it to c. 1941-44 (King conversation, 28 March 2012) but I have dated it c. 1944-45 based on the angularity of the composition. With further studies for the same composition on reverse.

IKW0081

*Untitled (portrait head of Karel ‘Tona’ Winter), c. 1944-47*

Pencil on paper.
10.3 x 7.5 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo:* the author.

King recalled that these were two little boys in the nursery school where she worked in Glasgow and reflected that the subject echoed her *Boys Wrestling*, 1935-36 (IK0002), the very first finished sculpture she made in Berlin (King conversation, 28 March 2012).

IKW0082

*Untitled (two infants embracing), 1945*

Pencil on paper mounted in a line-wash mount made by Grahame King.
10.5 x 7.5 cm
Estate of the artist.
*Photo:* the author.

With remains of a pen and black ink sketch on reverse.

IKW0083

*Untitled (two infants embracing), 1945*

Pencil on paper
10.9 x 6.9 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo:* the author.

With remains of a pen and black ink sketch on reverse.
Appendix C: Inge King

IKW0084
*Untitled (Nativity scene: infant Christ with the animals)*, 28 December 1945
Pencil on paper mounted in cream window mount.
8.1 x 10.6 cm (image)
Not signed. Indistinct remains of date lower left (below mount): ‘Dec 28[?] 45[?]’.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0085
*Untitled (Nativity scene: infant Christ with the animals)*, 30 December 1945
Pencil on paper mounted in a line-wash mount made by Grahame King.
5.2 x 7.6 cm (image); sheet: 6.6 x 10.6 cm
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0086
*Untitled (three cubist horses)*, 10 February 1946
Pencil on paper.
7.0 x 7.0 cm
Photo: the author.

IKW0087
*Untitled (cubist study of three horses, with partial design of wings on reverse)*, c. February 1946.
Pencil on paper.
8.0 x 10.0 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated. Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
With an abstracted design of birds’ wings on reverse. Dated on the basis of similarity to the previous entry.
IKW0088
*Untitled (study for a frieze of birds), c. 1946*
Pen and blue ink over pencil on paper.
7.1 x 15.8 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo: the author.*
With another study of the same subject, in pencil, on reverse.

IKW0089
*Untitled (study for a frieze of birds), c. 1946*
Pencil on paper.
5.3 x 15.9 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo: the author.*

IKW0090
*Untitled (studies for a decoration of birds and a snail), c. 1946*
Pencil on paper.
28.2 x 19.1 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo: the author.*

IKW0091
*Untitled (design for lamp stand), c. 1946*
Pencil on paper.
19.4 x 12.7 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo: the author.*
Preliminary sketch for an oak lampstand, which King made in Manchester, 1946 (see IK0059). In this sketch the lampstand was to have been carved with a design of fish and birds (ducks or geese), very similar to that found in the border of the *Design for Tile Table (St Francis and animals)*, c. 1946 (IKW0110).

IKW0092
*Untitled (design for lamp stand), c. 1946*
Pencil on paper.
18.9 x 12.7 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo: the author.*
Long-necked water birds dive for fish – a motif that would change to short-necked birds and fish in the final carving (IK0059).
IKW0093
*Untitled (designs for a carved lamp stand), c. 1946*
Pencil on paper.
19.3 x 28.2 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo: the author.*
This design is closest to the final finished carving (see IK0059).

IKW0094
*Untitled (ears of wheat), c. 1946*
Pencil on paper.
40.8 x 38.0 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo: the author.*

IKW0095
*Design for a tray engraved in Perspex, c. 1946*
Pencil on paper in a cream cardboard window mount made by Grahame King.
17.8 x 12.7 cm (image)
Not signed or dated. Inscribed with title in lower margin of mount: ‘Design for a tray / engraved in Perspex’.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo: the author.*
King recalled making etched trays such as these in 1946 (King conversation, 28 March 2012). The design is in mirror reverse image in the finished tray see IK0058.

IKW0096
*Untitled (design for tray with birds), c. 1946*
Pencil on paper in a cream cardboard window mount made by Grahame King.
5.7 x 7.2 cm (image)
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo: the author.*
Appendix C: Inge King

IKW0097
*Untitled (design for a tray with birds, with a second design for the same work on reverse), c. 1946*
Pencil on card.
18.5 x 25.1 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0098
*Design for an Engraving in Perspex for a Tray (three studies on the one sheet), c. 1946*
Pencil on paper.
18.4 x 10.0 cm
Not signed or dated. Inscribed in lower margin of sheet: ‘Design for an Engraving in Perspex / for a Tray’.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0099
*Untitled (study for a tray design plus two female torsos), c. 1946*
Pencil on paper.
12.8 x 9.5 cm
Not signed or dated. Inscribed in lower margin of sheet: ‘Design for an Engraving in Perspex / for a Tray’.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

Three designs incorporating the sun, wheat, grasses and stars.

IKW0100
*Untitled (designs for a tray, and a reclining nude, plus two studies on reverse: mother and child and reclining nude), c. 1946*
Pencil on paper.
19.7 x 12.7 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
IKW0101
*Untitled (cubist mother and child)*, 1946
Pencil on paper in a cream cardboard window mount made by Grahame King.
9.0 x 8.2 cm
Signed in monogram and dated lower left: ‘I / W [Inge Winter] / 46’.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0102
*Study for Homage to Zadkine (I), 22 July 1946*
Pen and blue ink over pencil on paper in a handmade cream cardboard window mount.
8.8 x 13.0 cm (image)
Signed with initials ‘IW’ lower right.
Dated lower left: ‘22.7.46’.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

This and the following five entries are all studies for the sculpture, *Musicians: Homage to Zadkine*, 1947 (IK0064).

IKW0103
*Study for Homage to Zadkine (II), c. July 1946*
Pen and blue ink over pencil on paper.
9.0 x 11.0 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0104
*Study for Homage to Zadkine (III), c. July 1946*
Pen and blue ink and wash over pencil on paper.
11.7 x 13.6 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0105
*Study for Homage to Zadkine (IV), 26 July 1946*
Pencil on paper in a handmade cream cardboard window mount.
8.3 x 8.1 cm (image)
Signed with initials ‘IW’ lower left.
Dated lower right: ‘26.7.46’.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0106
Study for Homage to Zadkine (V), c. July 1946
Pencil on paper in a handmade cream cardboard window mount.
9.0 x 9.5 cm (image)
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0107
Pairs of studies for Homage to Zadkine, c. July 1946
Pencil on paper in a handmade cream cardboard double-window mount.
(a) 9.5 x 6.0 cm; (b) 9.0 x 6.7 cm (images)
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0108
Design for tile table (St Francis with animals I), c. 1946
Pencil on paper.
16.4 x 15.5 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
This was an unrealised design for a tile table (King conversation, 19 March 2012). It relates to her earlier tiled table from Berlin (see IK0007). With a second study of the same design on reverse.
IKW0109
*Design for tile table (St Francis with animals II), c. 1946*
Pen and blue ink over pencil on paper.
13.8 x 13.0 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
With studies of dancing figures on reverse.

IKW0110
*Design for Tile Table (St Francis and the animals III), c. 1946*
Pencil on paper in a handmade cream cardboard window mount.
18.0 x 11.0 cm (image)
Not signed or dated. Inscribed at base of mount: ‘Design for Tile Table’.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
The lower portions of the design, with the table sketched in profile, are mounted out.

IKW0111
*Design for Tile Table (shepherd and flock), c. 1946*
Pencil on paper.
8.3 x 10.0 cm
Not signed or dated. Inscribed lower centre: ‘Tile Table’.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
King dated this to c. 1946 but said the table never eventuated (King conversation, 19 March 2012).

IKW0112
*Design for tiled tray (drinking figures with border of ducks and fish), December 1946*
Pencil on paper.
11.7 x 19.9 cm
Not signed. Inscribed in the centre of the two smaller designs to the right: ‘Xmas 1946’.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
King recalled that the two central figures in the main design relate to her earlier terracotta,
Appendix C: Inge King

*Three Drunkards*, 1942-43 (IK0049), based on scenes she witnessed in Glasgow (King conversation, 10 April 2012). With two further sketches on reverse.

IKW0113

*Untitled (standing angel), 1946*

Pencil on paper in a cream line-wash window mount made by Grahame King.

12.5 x 8.6 cm (image)

Signed in monogram and indistinctly dated lower left: ‘IW / 46 [or maybe 47 or 48]’.

Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0114

*Untitled (standing angel seen from rear), 1946*

Pencil on paper.

17.5 x 11.0 cm

Signed in monogram and indistinctly dated lower left: ‘IW / 46 [or maybe 47 or 48]’.

Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0115

*Untitled (standing angel), c. 1946*

Pencil on paper.

17.8 x 12.7 cm

Not signed, inscribed or dated.

Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
IKW0116
*Untitled (four cubist reclining figures), 1947*
Pencil on paper in a cream cardboard window mount made by Grahame King. 18.0 x 12.5 cm (image)
Signed with monogram and dated lower right: ‘I / W / 1947’.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0117
*Pair of untitled studies: reclining female figure, c. 1947*
Pencil on paper, in a handmade cream cardboard window mount.
9.0 x 7.5 cm (image)
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0118
*Three untitled studies: two of a reclining robed male nude, and one of a couple kneeling and embracing, all on one sheet, c. 1947*
Pencil on paper.
16.5 x 12.6 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0119
*Untitled (cubist study of a couple reclining together, idea for stone carving), c. 1947*
Pencil on paper, in a handmade cream cardboard window mount.
8.4 x 12.7 cm (image)
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
Appendix C: Inge King

IKW0120

Untitled (two cubist studies of reclining figures, mounted as one), c. 1947
Pencil on paper, in a handmade cream cardboard window mount.
8.4 x 8.5 cm (image)
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0121

Untitled (cubist study of a dancing couple), c. 1947
Pencil on paper.
28.2 x 19.1 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0122

Mother and Child (with a study of dancing pair on reverse), c. 1945-47
Pencil on card.
7.9 x 5.5. cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
King dated this simply to ‘c. 1940s’ (King conversation, 19 March 2012). However, the work clearly reveals the influence of George Innes, who King came to know c. 1945, while the subject of a cubist mother and child appears in similar drawings that are dated 1947.

IKW0123

Mother and Child (with a study of crucified Christ on reverse), c. 1947
Pen and black ink with wash over pencil on paper.
10.9 x 7.4 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
Appendix C: Inge King

IKW0124
*Untitled (cubist mother and child), 1947*
Pen and black ink with wash over pencil on paper, in a handmade cream cardboard window mount.
8.4 x 5.5 cm (image)
Signed in monogram and dated lower right: ‘I / W / 47’.
Estate of the artist.
*Literature:* Grishin, 2014, b&w illustration p. 49.
*Photo:* the author.

IKW0125
*Untitled (cubist study for a mother and child), c. 1947*
Pen and black ink with wash over pencil on paper, in a handmade cream cardboard window mount.
10.5 x 6.9 cm (image)
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo:* the author.

IKW0126
*Untitled (cubist study for a family group), c. 1947*
Pen and black ink with wash over pencil on paper, in a handmade cream cardboard window mount.
8.8 x 6.4 cm (image)
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
*Literature:* Grishin, 2014, b&w illustration p. 49.
*Photo:* the author.

IKW0127
*Untitled (cubist study for a female head and torso), c. 1947*
Pen and black ink with wash over pencil on paper, in a handmade cream cardboard window mount.
8.7 x 6.7 cm (image)
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo:* the author.
IKW0128
*Untitled (cubist study of a head and torso, viewed from side)*, c. 1947
Pen and black ink with wash over pencil on paper, in a handmade cream cardboard window mount.
8.7 x 6.7 cm (image)
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo:* the author.

IKW0129
*Untitled (cubist study, female nude with arm raised)*, c. 1947
Pen and black ink with wash over pencil on paper, in a handmade cream cardboard window mount.
7.7 x 3.3 cm (image)
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo:* the author.

IKW0130
*Seagulls, 1947*
Pen and black ink with wash over pencil on paper, mounted onto card.
6.1 x 7.1 cm
Estate of the artist.
*Photo:* the author.

IKW0131
*Untitled (birds in flight)*, c. 1947
Pen and black ink with wash over pencil on paper, mounted onto card.
5.0 x 9.6 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo:* the author.
King’s enduring fascination with bird flight is evident here in this abstracted design, where the birds’ wings take on the appearance of aeroplane propellers (King conversation, 28 March 2012).
IKW0132
*Sheep, 1947*
Pen and black ink with wash over pencil on paper, mounted onto card. 7.3 x 11.6 cm
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0133
*Untitled (two standing female nudes with hands clasped), c. 1947*
Pen and black ink over pencil on card. 15.1 x 8.0 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0134
*Untitled (two standing nudes with hands clasped), c. 1947*
Pen and black and blue ink over pencil on paper. 22.4 x 14.5 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0135
*Untitled (pair of standing female nudes with hands clasped together, with a similar study on reverse), c. 1947*
Pen and black ink with wash over pencil on paper. 9.5 x 3.1 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
IKW0136
*Untitled (cubist study of seated nude with knees raised to chest), c. 1947*
Pencil on paper, in a handmade cream cardboard window mount.
5.7 x 5.5 cm (image)
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0137
*Untitled (three ideas for cubist carvings: crouching female nude, seated female nude, and mother and child embracing), c. 1947*
Pencil on paper.
13.0 x 18.5 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0138
*Untitled (three studies of a crouching female nude, and a study of a fawn lower right), c. 1947*

Pencil on paper.
13.3 x 19.3 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0139
*Untitled (two cubist self-portrait studies), c. 1947*
Pencil on paper.
20.0 x 15.0 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0140
*Untitled (study for a head carved out of a block I), c. 1947*
Pen and black ink with wash over pencil on paper.
20.1 x 15.0 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
King dated this c. 1947 and confirmed the place of creation as the Abbey (King conversation, 19 March 2012).
IKW0141
**Untitled (study for a head carved out of a block II), c. 1947**
Pencil with some pen and blue ink on paper.
16.9 x 14.6 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
**Photo:** the author.

IKW0142
**Untitled (two studies of a figure with arms clasped around its front), c. 1947**
Pen and black ink with wash over pencil on paper.
19.2 x 20.4 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
**Literature:** Zimmer, 2014, colour illustration p. 302.
**Photo:** the author.

IKW0143
**Untitled: three studies of figures lifting and kneeling, c. 1945-47**
Pencil on paper.
12.7 x 16.5 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
**Photo:** the author.

IKW0144
**Untitled (cubist study of a figure holding a platter over its head), c. 1947**
Pen and black ink with wash over pencil on paper.
18.3 x 11.0 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
**Photo:** the author.
At the Abbey Art Centre King had the chance to closely study William Ohly’s collection of African art. She recalled this influence in connection to the present work (King conversation, 19 March 2012).
IKW0145
*Untitled (cubist study of a female nude with hands clasped together, with a seated nude on reverse), c. 1947*
Pencil on paper.
28.2 x 19.1 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo:* the author.
Dated on basis of similarity with following entry.

IKW0146
*Untitled (cubist seated figure with hands in lap), 1947*
Pen and black ink with wash over pencil on paper, in a line-wash mount made by Grahame King.
12.0 x 6.2 cm
Signed with monogram and dated lower right: ‘I / W / 1947’.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo:* the author.

IKW0147
*Untitled (cubist study of two dancers with arms raised over heads), c. 1947*
Pencil on paper.
17.0 x 11.9 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo:* the author.
With another study of a similar subject on reverse. Both sketches are preliminary studies for *Untitled (Two dancing figures with arms raised), 1947* (IK0065), which King carved in sandstone at the Abbey.

IKW0148
*Untitled (figure with arms raised over head, possibly a study for Dancer in red sandstone), c. 1947*
Pen and black ink with wash over pencil on paper in a handmade cream cardboard window mount.
18.4 x 8.7 cm (image)
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

**IKW0149**

*Untitled (two studies of a woman and child), c. 1947*

Pen and black and brown ink over pencil on paper.
19.0 x 17.5 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

Dated on basis of similarity with London sketchbook (IKW0150).

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**IKW0150**

*Sketchbook, London, c. 1947*

McDougall’s Educational Co. Ltd (Edinburgh and London) blue sketchbook - ‘The College Series No. 4’ - with soft card covers and black spine.
22.6 x 17.5 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.

**Literature:** Zimmer, 2014, colour illustration p. 304 (detail of *Adebar* sketch).

**Photos:** the author.

Contains sketches (mostly in pencil, but some in pen and ink) of subjects including: a sleeping baby, studies of a monkey, deer, decorative friezes, hens, stylised birds, studies for the terracotta *Mother and Child*, 1947 (IK0066.1), fish, trout, geometric angel, stringed sculptures, studies for *Adebar* (IK0063), *Frederick (Rooster)*, 1948 (IK0073), and reclining nudes.

Also contains two pages of notes in German at rear, which King dates to 1947, and a draft of a letter. The earliest pages of the book (depicting a sleeping infant) are from c. 1942 (some later pages too, of horses, are dated Sept 1942) but the majority was done at the Abbey in c. 1947 (King conversation, 10 April 2012).
IKW0151
*Untitled (studies of a carving of a bird, related to Adebar, with studies of cubist figures and studies for carvings on reverse), c. 1947*
Pen and black ink over pencil on paper; pencil on paper on reverse.
28.0 x 19.2 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo: the author.*
Very similar designs are to be found in the London sketchbook (IKW0150).

IKW0152
*Untitled (pair of studies on the one sheet of a mother and child sculpture), c. 1947*
Pen and blue ink over pencil on paper.
18.0 x 7.5 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo: the author.*
This was a study for a small carving, approximately 10 inches high, that King sold to an English doctor in 1947 (King conversation, 19 March 2012; see IK0066.2). King has no record of the carving but confirmed that it was similar to the terracotta, (IK0066.1). With a slight pencil study of a bird on reverse.

IKW0153
*Design for Carving in a Little Boxwood Treetrunk, c. 1947*
Pencil on two sheets of paper mounted as one.
(a): 10.2 x 3.3 cm; (b): 10.2 x 3.0 cm
Not signed. Inscribed on mount, lower centre: ‘Design for carving in a little boxwood treetrunk’.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo: the author.*
King retrospectively dated this to c. 1945-46 (King conversation, 19 March 2012), but I have dated it to c. 1947 based on its similarity to the previous entry (IKW0152). The carving seems not to have eventuated.

IKW0154
*Untitled (study for standing nude sculpture), c. 1947*
Pencil on paper.
15.2 x 6.9 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo: the author.*
Dated on the basis of similarity to the previous entry (IKW0153).
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IKW0155
*Untitled life study in the artist’s studio at the Abbey, 27 August 1947*
Pen and blue ink over pencil on paper.
38.9 x 25.5 cm
Not signed. Dated lower right: ‘27.8.47’.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo:* the author.
The same model posed for James Gleeson a fortnight earlier at the Abbey; see James Gleeson, *Studies of the nude (Female nude, back view)*, 1947, blue ballpoint pen, yellow crayon resist, grey watercolour wash, 22.9 x 14.0 cm, dated 13.8.47 lower left, AGNSW, Sydney, Gift of Frank O'Keefe 1993, accession no. AGNSW 149.1993. In King’s sketch, her cubist *Mother and Child*, 1943-44 (IK0055), can be seen on a turntable beyond the model.

IKW0156
*Untitled (standing female nude seen from rear), c. 1947*
Pen and blue ink on paper.
44.4 x 25.6 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo:* the author.
Depicts the same model seen in IKW0155.

IKW0157
*Untitled (seated female nude), c. 1947*
Pen and blue ink on paper.
37.0 x 29.0 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo:* the author.
Depicts the same model seen in IKW0155 and IKW0156.

IKW0158
*Untitled (study of mother embracing a child), c. 1947*
Pen and black ink with wash over pencil on paper.
15.1 x 8.7 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo:* the author.
IKW0159
*Untitled (two studies for a mother embracing a child), c. 1947*
Pen and black ink with wash over pencil on paper.
19.2 x 17.9 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0160
*Untitled (two studies of a mother and child after Henry Moore, and a third study of a head and torso), 11 November 1947*
Pen and black ink with wash over pencil on paper.
19.0 x 28.2 cm
Not signed. Dated lower right: ‘11.11.47’.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0161
*Untitled (two studies of mother and child after Henry Moore), 11 November 1947*
Pen and black ink with wash over pencil on paper.
19.3 x 28.1 cm
Not signed. Dated lower right: ‘11.11.47’.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0162
*Untitled (mother and child after Henry Moore), 12 November 1947*
Pen and black ink with charcoal over pencil on paper.
15.1 x 15.3 cm
Not signed. Dated lower right: ‘12.11.47’.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
With a cubist study of a man and woman embracing on reverse.

IKW0163
_Untitled (three studies: mother and child studies), c. November 1947_
Pencil on paper.
19.2 x 17.2 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
Dated c. November 1947 on the basis of its similarity with IKW0162.

IKW0164
_Untitled life study (standing female nude seen from rear), c. 1947-48_
Pencil on paper.
38.1 x 25.4 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
Dated by the artist to c. 1947-48 (King conversation, 10 April 2012).

IKW0165
_Untitled life study (standing female nude seen from rear), c. 1947-48_
Pencil on paper.
46.2 x 29.7 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
With a second study of a seated nude on reverse.
Dated by the artist to c. 1947-48 (King conversation, 10 April 2012).

IKW0166
_Untitled life study (seated female nude with arms crossed), 17 January 1948_
Pencil on paper.
38.4 x 25.6 cm
Not signed. Dated lower left: ’17.1.48’.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
IKW0167
*Untitled life study (standing female nude seen from rear), 17 January 1948*
Pencil on paper.
38 x 25 cm approx.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
With a second study on reverse in pen and black ink over pencil.

IKW0168
*Untitled life study (standing female nude with hands on knees), 24 January 1948*
Pen and blue ink on paper.
Not signed. Dated lower left: ‘24.1.48’.

IKW0169
*Drawing for Sculpture in Metal and String, 8 April 1948*
Pencil on paper, in a handmade paper mount.
28.3 x 19.2 cm
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
With a recipe for fruit loaf on the reverse of the mount.

IKW0170
*Untitled (studies for stringed carvings), 8 April 1948*
Pencil with pen and blue ink on paper.
28.4 x 19.2 cm
Signed in monogram and dated lower left: ‘IW / 8.4.48’.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
Insect damage to paper.
IKW0171
*Untitled (studies for stringed carvings), 9 April 1948*
Pencil on paper.  
28.1 x 19.1 cm  
Not signed. Dated lower centre left: ‘9.4.48.’.  
Estate of the artist.  
**Literature:** Zimmer, 2014, colour illustration p. 306.  
**Photo:** the author.

IKW0173
*Untitled (studies for stringed carvings), 13 April 1948*
Pencil on paper.  
28.2 x 19.1 cm  
Not signed. Dated lower left: ‘13.4.48’.  
Estate of the artist.  
**Photo:** the author.

IKW0172
*Untitled (studies for stringed carvings, with a further study of a stringed carving on reverse), 12 April 1948*
Pencil with pen and blue ink on paper.  
28.3 x 19.0 cm  
Not signed. Dated lower right: ‘12.4.48’.  
Estate of the artist.  
**Literature:** Zimmer, 2014, colour illustration p. 306.  
**Photo:** the author.

IKW0174
*Untitled (studies for carvings), 22 April 1948*
Pencil on paper.  
28.0 x 19.3 cm  
Not signed. Dated lower right: ‘22.4.48’.  
Estate of the artist.  
**Photo:** the author.
IKW0175
*Untitled sketch with six ideas for sculptures, 1948*
Pen and black and brown ink on paper with brown wash over pencil on cream wove paper, mounted.
26.0 x 17.5 cm
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0176
*Untitled (two studies for Dancer), 17 May 1948*
Pencil on paper.
18.9 x 28.4 cm
Not signed. Dated lower right: ‘17.V.48’.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0177
*Untitled (two studies for Dancer, colour), 17 May [1948]*
Pen and black and blue ink with wash over pencil on paper.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
Dated 1948 based on similarity with IKW0176.

IKW0178
*Untitled sketch with four ideas for sculptures, 26 May 1948*
Pen and black ink with grey wash on paper, mounted.
28.0 x 19.0 cm
Not signed or inscribed. Dated lower right: ‘26.5.48’.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
IKW0179
*Cutouts, 1948-2003*
Pen and black ink with grey wash on paper, mounted on white cartridge with further grey wash.
39.5 x 29.0 cm
Estate of the artist.
*Photo*: the author.

IKW0180
*Untitled (two cellos), 28 May [1948]*
Pencil with pen and blue ink on paper. 28.1 x 19.0 cm
Not signed. Dated lower right: ‘28.5.’.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo*: the author.
While no year is recorded on the sketch, it has been dated to c. 1948 based on the similarity of this sketch with IKW0173 and IKW0184.

IKW0181
*Untitled (two cellos; ideas for stringed sculptures), c. 1948*
Pen and black ink and grey wash over pencil on paper, mounted.
19.0 x 17.0 cm
Signed in monogram lower right: ‘IW’.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo*: the author.
I have dated this and the following two works (IKW0182 and IKW0183) to c. 1948 on the basis of their evident relationship to IKW0180.

IKW0182
*Untitled (two cellos), c. 1948*
Pen and black ink with wash over pencil on paper, mounted.
28.0 x 19.2 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo*: the author.
IKW0183

*Untitled (cello; idea for stringed sculpture), c. 1948*

Watercolour with pen and black ink over pencil on paper, mounted.  25.5 x 15.0 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.

**Literature:** Zimmer, 2014, colour illustration p. 306.

**Photo:** the author.

King referred to this sketch as a cello (King conversation, 10 September 2010).

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IKW0184

*Untitled (cello), 1948*

Gouache with pen and ink over pencil on paper.  28.0 x 19.2 cm
Estate of the artist.

**Literature:** Zimmer, 2014, colour illustration p. 306.

**Photo:** the author.

Paper has remains of glue in four corners from previously having been mounted.

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IKW0185

*Untitled (three abstract bird-like forms), 1948*

Watercolour and gouache with pen and ink over pencil on paper.  19.0 x 28.0 cm
Signed in monogram and dated lower right: ‘IW 48’.
Estate of the artist.

**Photo:** the author.

Paper has remains of glue in four corners from previously having been mounted.

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IKW0186

*Untitled (study related to Flower Dancer), c. 1948*

Watercolour and gouache with pen and ink over pencil on paper.  19.1 x 27.9 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.

**Photo:** the author.

Dated to 1948 based on similarity to IKW0185 and IKW0190.
IKW0187
*Untitled, c. 1948*
Watercolour and gouache with pen and ink over pencil on paper.
28.0 x 19.1 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
**Literature:** Zimmer, 2014, colour illustration p. 305.
**Photo:** the author.
Dated to 1948 based on similarity to IKW0185 and IKW0190.

IKW0188
*Untitled (shell-like forms), 1 May [1948]*
Watercolour and gouache with pen and ink over pencil on paper.
28.2 x 19.0 cm
Not signed. Inscribed lower left: ‘1.5.’.
Estate of the artist.
**Photo:** the author.
Dated to 1948 based on similarity to IKW0185 and IKW0190.

IKW0189
*Untitled (three birds), 9 September 1948*
Brush and coloured inks, pen and black ink, watercolour over pencil, on paper.
22.2 x 12.0 cm (image); 24.0 x 14.0 cm (sheet)
Signed and dated lower right below image in pencil, ‘9.9.48/ IK’.
NGA, Canberra.
**Photo:** the author.

IKW0190
*Untitled (three abstract horses heads; early ideas for Animal Form), October 1948*
Watercolour with pen and ink over pencil on paper.
28.2 x 19.0 cm
Signed in monogram and dated lower right: ‘IW.10. 48’.
Estate of the artist.
**Photo:** the author.
Paper has remains of glue in four corners from previously having been mounted.
Drawing for Sculpture, November 1948
Pen and black ink with brown and grey wash on grey paper.
32.3 x 24.2 cm (image); 33.7 x 26.0 cm (sheet)
Signed in monogram and dated lower left below image in black ink, 'IW/ II/48'.
NGA, Canberra.
Exhibited: Inge Winter, sculpture and drawings, London Gallery, 23 Brook St, London, 1-26 March 1949, either catalogue no. 1 (as Drawing for Sculpture in Wood and String), or 4, 5, or 7 (as Drawing for Sculpture).
Literature: London, 1949, nos. 1, 4, 5 or 7; Grishin, 2014, visible in b&w photograph of 1949 exhibition installation, p. 53.
Photo: the author.

Drawing for Sculpture in Metal, c. 1948-49
Medium unknown.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

Treeform, c. 1948-49
Medium unknown.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Inge Winter, sculpture and drawings, London Gallery, 23 Brook St, London, 1-26 March 1949, catalogue no. 3 (as Treeform).
Literature: London, 1949, no. 3.

Drawing for Sculpture, c. 1948-49
Medium unknown.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

Drawing for Sculpture, c. 1948-49
Medium unknown.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Literature: London, 1949, no. 5.

Drawing for Sculpture in String and Metal, c. 1948-49
Medium unknown.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Inge Winter, sculpture and drawings, London Gallery, 23 Brook St, London, 1-26 March 1949, catalogue no. 6 (as Drawing for Sculpture in String and Metal).
Whereabouts unknown.

**Exhibited:** Inge Winter, sculpture and drawings, London Gallery, 23 Brook St, London, 1-26 March 1949, catalogue no. 7 (as Drawing for Sculpture).

**Literature:** London, 1949, no. 7.

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**IKW0198**

*Drawing for Sculpture, 1949*

Pen and black ink with wash over pencil on paper, laid down on mount-board. 27.5 x 37.5 cm


Estate of the artist.

**Exhibited:** Inge Winter, sculpture and drawings, London Gallery, 23 Brook St, London, 1-26 March 1949, catalogue no. 8 (as Drawing for Sculpture).


Photo: the author.

King recalled that this work was included in her exhibition at the London Gallery (King conversation, 28 March 2012) and indeed it is visible hanging in the exhibition installation photograph reproduced in Grishin, 2014, p. 53. It includes a sketch of Treeform (IK0077) alongside a double Möbius strip connected by wires or string – suggesting King was looking not only at Moore’s stringed forms but also the Swiss sculptor Max Bill, who worked with Möbius-strip-derived forms from the 1930s onwards.

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**IKW0199**

*Birdforms (Drawing for Sculpture in Wood), c. 1948-49*

Medium unknown.

Dimensions unknown.

Whereabouts unknown.

**Exhibited:** Inge Winter, sculpture and drawings, London Gallery, 23 Brook St, London, 1-26 March 1949, catalogue no. 9 (as Birdforms, Drawing for Sculpture in Wood).

**Literature:** London, 1949, no. 9.

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**IKW0200**

*Treeform, c. 1948-49*

Medium unknown.

Dimensions unknown.

Whereabouts unknown.

**Exhibited:** Inge Winter, sculpture and drawings, London Gallery, 23 Brook St, London, 1-26 March 1949, catalogue no. 10 (as Treeform).

**Literature:** London, 1949, no. 10.

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**IKW0201**

*Untitled (Wrench), c. 1948*

Watercolour and gouache with pen and black ink over pencil on paper. 28.0 x 19.2 cm

Signed in monogram in pencil lower right: ‘IW’.

Estate of the artist.

**Literature:** Zimmer, 2014, colour illustration p. 305.

Photo: the author.

Probably executed shortly after King finished carving *Wrench*, 1948 (King conversation, 28 March 2012). Paper has remains of glue in four corners from having been previously mounted.
IKW0202

*Untitled (Wrench, two studies), c. 1948*

Watercolour with pen and ink over pencil on paper.
17.5 x 17.2 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
**Photo:** the author.

Probably executed shortly after King finished carving *Wrench*, 1948 (King conversation, 28 March 2012).


IKW0204

*Untitled (ideas for sculptures), 21 May 1949*

Pen and brown and black ink on paper. 18.5 x 22.8 cm
Signed in monogram, inscribed and dated lower right: ‘Paris / 21.5.49 / I / W’.
Estate of the artist.
**Photo:** the author.

IKW0203

*Untitled (study for stringed construction), c. 1948*

Watercolour with pen and blue ink over pencil on paper.
28.2 x 19.2 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Estate of the artist.
**Literature:** Zimmer, 2014, colour illustration p. 306.
**Photo:** the author.

IKW0205

*Untitled (ideas for sculptures), 21 May 1949*

Pen and ink (brown, black and blue) on paper.
23.0 x 28.3 cm
Estate of the artist.
**Photo:** the author.
IKW0206
*Untitled (two sheets of studies for sculptures), 21 May 1949*
Pen and black ink on paper; two sheets mounted as one.
(a) 9.9 x 16.2 cm; (b) 9.0 x 12.5 cm (irregular); framed together in a line-wash mount made by Grahame King. Top sheet signed with initials and dated lower right: ‘IW / 21.5.49’.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
King recalled that Grahame mounted this at the Abbey, probably after she returned from New York in 1950 (King conversation, 24 April 2012).

IKW0207
*Untitled (study for constructed sculpture), 25 May 1949*
Pen and black ink on paper, mounted with glue onto another sheet of paper of the same size.
27.2 x 21.1 cm

Signed with initials, inscribed and dated lower right: ‘Paris / 25.5.49 / IW [overwritten with:] I King’.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
This would seem to relate to a number of sketches King made of trees, probably in the Jardin des Plantes, dated 2 June 1949 (see *Sketchbook: Paris and New York, 1949*, IKW0211), yet the predatory-looking ‘construction’ pre-dates the more naturalistic sketches by a week.

IKW0208
*Untitled (studies for sculpture), 30 May 1949*
Pen and black ink on paper.
21.8 x 26.5 cm
Signed in monogram, inscribed and dated lower right: ‘30.5.49 / IW / Paris’.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
IKW0209

*Untitled (Idea for sculpture), May 1949*

Charcoal with pen and black ink on brown paper.
49.0 x 31.2 cm
Signed in monogram, inscribed and dated upper left: ‘Paris / Mai 1949 / I / W’.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0210

*Untitled (Idea for sculpture with fanged skull), 1949*

Charcoal, pastel and pen and black ink on red paper.
47.5 x 33.3 cm
Signed in monogram and dated lower left: ‘I / W / 1949’.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0211

*Sketchbook: Paris and New York, 1949*

C. Roberson & Co. Ltd ‘Bushey’ sketchbook, stitched at spine, bound in black buckram boards with half dark navy blue linen at spine.
23.0 x 17.8 cm
Estate of the artist.
Literature: Grishin, 2014, colour illustration p. 60 (two details); Zimmer, 2014, colour illustration p. 306 (two details)
Photos: the author.
Inside covers inscribed with details of train times to such sights as St Germain de Pres, Le Petit Trianon, Cour h’donneur de Chateau de Versailles, Chantilly, Fontainbleau, and Chartres, as well as a packing list that included ‘Abbey rations, Ohly certificate’. Subjects of the sketches include: life studies, a crucified Christ, a stylised semi-abstract dancing figure, animal heads, a sleeping or grieving woman, semi-abstract tree forms (some inscribed ‘Paris / 2.6.49’, which King thinks may have been done at the Jardin des Plantes), deer antlers, some cubist studies of a saint inscribed variously ‘Moissac / 8.7.49’ and ‘St Pierre de Moissac / 8.7.49’ (these were done at the The Abbaye St-Pierre de Moissac, north of Toulousse; the statue of St Peter is by the left door, underneath the south-west portal, and is widely regarded as one of the finest extant examples of French Romanesque carving), a carved capital head, and six pages of black and coloured ink designs for abstract sculptures done in New York.

IKW0213
Untitled (idea for metal sculpture), 8 December 1949
Pen and black ink over pencil with watercolour on paper.
22.9 x 21.7 cm
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0214
Untitled (drawing for metal sculptures), 9 December 1949
Pen and black ink with wash on paper.
54 x 36 cm approx.
Signed, inscribed and dated lower left: ‘New York / Dec. 9, 1949 / I / W’; also signed lower right at a later date: ‘Inge King’.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
IKW0215

*Untitled (Idea for hanging wire sculpture)*, c. 1949-50
Pen and black ink on paper.
54.6 x 36.5 cm
Signed at a later date lower left: ‘Inge King’.
Estate of the artist.

*Photo*: the author.

IKW0216

*Untitled (idea for Animal Forms)*, 3 January 1950
Pastel and charcoal on brown paper.
31.5 x 46.9 cm
Estate of the artist.
*Photo*: the author.

The idea for the sculpture *Animal (Animal Forms)*, 1958 (IK0150), germinated in 1949 in Paris, where King saw a posthumous cast of Duchamp-Villon’s *Cheval*, 1914, at the Galerie Maeght (King conversation, 13 March 2012).

London, March 1950 – January 1951

IKW0217

*Untitled*, 1950
Monotype in black ink on De Havilland Aircraft Co drafting paper.
25.5 x 34.6 cm
Estate of the artist.
*Photo*: the author.

IKW0218

*Untitled (idea for hanging wire sculpture)*, c. 1950
Monotype in black ink with watercolour wash on De Havilland Aircraft Co drafting paper.
31.0 x 25.4 cm
Signed probably at a later date lower left: ‘IK’.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo*: the author.
IKW0219
*Untitled (idea for constructed wire sculpture), c. 1950*
Monotype in black ink with watercolour wash on paper.
33.6 x 21.5 cm
Signed probably at a later date lower right: ‘IK’.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo:* the author.

IKW0220
*Untitled (possibly Cave Animal), c. 1950*
Monotype in black ink with reverse drawing and watercolour wash on De Havilland Aircraft Co drafting paper.
18.5 x 27.5 cm
Signed (at a later date) with initials ‘IK’ lower right.
Estate of the artist.
*Exhibited:* (?) *Inge and Grahame King: Painting, Sculpture, Jewellery*, Stanley Coe Gallery, Melbourne, 27 November 1951, catalogue no. 32 (as *Cave Animal*, drawing, 8 gns); (?) *Paintings, Reliefs, Jewellery by Grahame and Inge King*, Johnston Gallery, Brisbane, 20 October - 1 November 1954, catalogue no. 25 (as *Cave Animal*, unframed mixed media drawing, 6 gns).
*Photo:* the author.

IKW0221
*Fish in Deep Sea, 1950*
Monotype in black ink on De Havilland Aircraft Co drafting paper, mounted onto backing paper.
7.3 x 19.6 cm (image)
Signed and dated lower right on backing paper: ‘Inge Winter 1950’.
Inscribed lower right on backing paper: ‘Fish in Deep Sea’.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo:* the author.

IKW0222.1
*Untitled (seated nude on chair), c. 1950*
Monotype in black ink on De Havilland Aircraft Co drafting paper.
31.0 x 21.4 cm (image); 38.0 x 25.5 cm (sheet)
Signed with initials lower right: ‘IK’.
Estate of the artist.
*Photo:* the author.
Appendix C: Inge King

IKW0222.2

*Untitled (seated nude on chair), c. 1950*

Monotype in black ink on De Havilland Aircraft Co drafting paper.
31.0 x 21.4 cm (image); 38.3 x 25.5 cm (sheet)
Signed with initials lower right: ‘IK’.
Paper stamped 24 March 1949 on reverse.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

This appears to be an attempted second print of the previous monotype (IKW0222.1). The lines are somewhat thicker, as though overdrawn.

IKW0224

*Untitled (seated nude), c. 1950*

Monotype in black ink on De Havilland Aircraft Co drafting paper.
31.0 x 21.3 cm (image); 38.3 x 25.5 cm (sheet)
Signed with initials lower right: ‘IK’.
Paper stamped 5 August 1949 on reverse.
Estate of the artist.

Photo: the author.

IKW0223

*Untitled (kneeling nude), c. 1950*

Monotype in black ink on De Havilland Aircraft Co drafting paper.
31.0 x 21.5 cm (image); 34.4 x 25.8 cm (sheet).
Signed with initials ‘IK’ lower right.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
Appendix C: Inge King

**IKW0225.2**

*Untitled (reclining nude), c. 1950*

Monotype in black ink on De Havilland Aircraft Co drafting paper.
21.4 x 31.0 cm (image); 23.5 x 32.3 cm (sheet).

Paper date stamped 26 November [1949] on reverse.

Estate of the artist.

Photo: the author.

This appears to be an attempted second print of the previous monotype. The lines are somewhat thicker, as though overdrawn.

**IKW0226**

*Untitled (nude curled on chair), c. 1950*

Monotype in black ink on laid paper.
41.5 x 25.0 cm (image); 44.0 x 25.7 cm (sheet).

Signed with initials ‘IK’ lower right.

Estate of the artist.

Photo: the author.

**IKW0227**

*Head of Christ, Ecce Homo, 1950*

Monotype in brown and black ink on paper, mounted onto backing paper.
34.3 x 23.0 cm

Signed and dated lower right on backing paper: ‘Inge Winter 1950’; also signed with initials ‘IK’ at a later date (13.3.2012) on reverse of print.

Inscribed on reverse of backing paper: ‘Head of Christ / Ecce Homo’.

Estate of the artist.

Photo: the author.

**IKW0228**

*Design, 1950*

Monotype in black and blue ink on paper, mounted.
37.0 x 25.5 cm

Signed (probably at a later date) lower left: ‘IK’. Inscribed on front of mount, lower left: ‘Design’.

Estate of the artist.

Photo: the author.
IKW0229  
*Untitled (idea for sculpture)*, c. 1950-60  
Monotype in black ink with reverse drawing on paper; also some pastel on reverse.  
38.0 x 24.5 cm (image); 38.2 x 26.0 cm (sheet)  
Signed with initials ‘IK’ lower left.  
*Estate of the artist.*  
*Photo: the author.*

IKW0230  
*Design for Sculpture*, c. 1950-60  
Monotype in blue and black ink with reverse drawing on paper, in a handmade paper mount.  
44.4 x 26.8 cm (image); 48.5 x 29.5 cm (sheet)  
Signed (probably at a later date) with initials lower right: ‘IK’. Inscribed on mount lower left: ‘Design for sculpture’.  
*Estate of the artist.*  
*Photo: the author.*

IKW0231  
*Mother and Child*, c. 1950-60  
Monotype in grey-brown ink on paper, in a handmade paper mount.  
42.8 x 21.5 cm (image); 50.8 x 25.8 cm (sheet)  
Signed with initials lower right: ‘IK’. Inscribed on mount lower left: ‘Mother & child’.  
*Estate of the artist.*  
*Photo: the author.*

IKW0232  
*Blue Orchid*, c. 1951  
Drawing on paper.  
Dimensions unknown.  
Whereabouts unknown.  
*Exhibited: Inge and Grahame King: Painting, Sculpture, Jewellery, Stanley Coe Gallery, Melbourne, 27 November 1951, catalogue no. 28 (as Blue Orchid, drawing, 10 gns).*  
*Literature: Melbourne, 1951 Nov, no. 28.*

IKW0233  
*Insect*, c. 1951  
Drawing on paper.  
Dimensions unknown.  
Whereabouts unknown.  
*Exhibited: Inge and Grahame King: Painting, Sculpture, Jewellery, Stanley Coe Gallery, Melbourne, 27 November 1951, catalogue no. 29 (as Insect, drawing, 10 gns).*  
*Literature: Melbourne, 1951 Nov, no. 29.*
IK0234

*Jacob’s Ladder*, c. 1951
Mixed media drawing on paper.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

**Exhibited:** *Inge and Grahame King: Painting, Sculpture, Jewellery,* Stanley Coe Gallery, Melbourne, 27 November 1951, catalogue no. 30 (as Jacob’s Ladder, drawing, 8 gns); *Paintings, Reliefs, Jewellery by Grahame and Inge King,* Johnston Gallery, Brisbane, 20 October - 1 November 1954, catalogue no. 30 (as Floral Fantasy, unframed mixed media drawing, 7 gns).

**Literature:** Melbourne, 1951 Nov, no. 31; Brisbane, 1954, no. 26.

IK0235

*Floral Fantasy*, c. 1951
Mixed media drawing on paper.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

**Exhibited:** *Inge and Grahame King: Painting, Sculpture, Jewellery,* Stanley Coe Gallery, Melbourne, 27 November 1951, catalogue no. 31 (as Floral Fantasy, drawing, 8 gns); *Paintings, Reliefs, Jewellery by Grahame and Inge King,* Johnston Gallery, Brisbane, 20 October - 1 November 1954, catalogue no. 26 (as Floral Fantasy, unframed mixed media drawing, 7 gns).

**Literature:** Melbourne, 1951 Nov, no. 31; Brisbane, 1954, no. 26.

IKW0236

*Sketchbook: designs for jewellery*, c. 1951
Sketchbook lacking covers, stitched at spine, and with some pages loosely laid in.
23.0 x 17.9 cm
Not signed. Inscribed with details of clients’ names, addresses and phone numbers at rear of book.

Estate of the artist.

**Literature:** Zimmer, 2014, pp. 308, 365, b&w illustrations (five details) p. 308.

**Photo:** the author.

Dated by Inge King to 1951. Includes studies for spoons, a pair of silver and coral earrings and a Celtic brooch that are now in the collection of the NGV (IK0091 and IK0094), various rings, and a wrist bangle bearing the coat of arms of an English-born wife of a grazier (King thought it may have been Winter-Irving family). Most of the designs for jewellery contained in the sketchbook were realized as actual pieces and commissions. Included in the sketchbook are lists of clients and their orders, such as a choker for Norma Redpath, an opal brooch for the wife of sculptor and doctor Clive Stephens; also Miss L.L.C. Harris of Hotel Australia, Marjorie Muff, journalist Joan Leyser (for a neckband), painter Ellen Rubbo, Betty and Geoff Coles, Mrs Priestly, Mrs Laurie Lerew of South Yarra, Joan Haldern, Andrea Thorpe of North Adelaide, Jennifer Purnell, Mrs Halpern (a copper ring), Betty Blunden (‘sister’s brooch”), Mrs Hirsch of Kew, a presentation to ‘Linda Byron Moore who gave 30 years of devoted service to this
hospital’, and an order from ‘George’s [Department store]: 1 bracelet (Bamby) [sic; presumably Bambi Shmith, later Lady Patricia Tuckwell] with earrings’. The second page inscribed with name and number of Hungarian émigré and good friend of the King’s, Lene Stephens. The sketchbook also contains some very loose pencil sketches relating to a series of mobiles King made in the early 1950s. Some of the final pages inscribed with recipes for cheese soufflé, rice and cheese loaf, and so forth.

IKW0237  
**Nude, c. 1954**  
Mixed media drawing.  
Dimensions unknown.  
Whereabouts unknown.  
**Exhibited:** *Paintings, Reliefs, Jewellery by Grahame and Inge King*, Johnston Gallery, Brisbane, 20 October - 1 November 1954, catalogue no. 21 (as *Nude*, unframed mixed media drawing, 6 gns).  
**Literature:** Brisbane, 1954, no. 29; Langer, 1954, p. 2.  
This may have been one of the c. 1950 monotype drawings (IKW0222 to IKW0226), which King produced at the Abbey or shortly afterwards. When exhibited in Brisbane, Gertrude Langer noted that ‘The nude drawings, in which a sense for volumes is conveyed by pure line drawing only, reveal the sculptor in Mrs. King’ (Langer, 1954, p. 2).

IKW0238  
**Nude, c. 1954**  
Mixed media drawing.  
Dimensions unknown.  
Whereabouts unknown.  
**Exhibited:** *Paintings, Reliefs, Jewellery by Grahame and Inge King*, Johnston Gallery, Brisbane, 20 October - 1 November 1954, catalogue no. 22 (as *Nude*, unframed mixed media drawing, 5 gns).  
**Literature:** Brisbane, 1954, no. 23; Langer, 1954, p. 2.

IKW0240  
**Nude, c. 1954**  
Mixed media drawing.  
Dimensions unknown.  
Whereabouts unknown.  
**Exhibited:** *Paintings, Reliefs, Jewellery by Grahame and Inge King*, Johnston Gallery, Brisbane, 20 October - 1 November 1954, catalogue no. 24 (as *Nude*, unframed mixed media drawing, 5 gns).  
**Literature:** Brisbane, 1954, no. 24; Langer, 1954, p. 2.

IKW0241  
**Drawing for Sculpture, c. 1954**  
Mixed media drawing.  
Dimensions unknown.  
Whereabouts unknown.  
**Exhibited:** *Paintings, Reliefs, Jewellery by Grahame and Inge King*, Johnston Gallery, Brisbane, 20 October - 1 November 1954, catalogue no. 27 (as *Drawing for Sculpture*, unframed mixed media drawing, 6 gns).  
**Literature:** Brisbane, 1954, no. 27.
IKW0242

**Composition, c. 1954**
Monotype in black ink with watercolour wash on paper, mounted.
13.3 x 34.4 cm (image); 31.7 x 50.0 cm (backing board)
Signed with initials upper right: ‘IK’.
Signed again on backing board, lower right: ‘Inge King’. Inscribed on backing board lower left:
‘Composition’; and again (by Grahame King) on reverse of board: ‘Inge King / Drysdale Rd / Warrandyte / Composition / 5 gns’.
Exhibited: *Paintings, Reliefs, Jewellery by Grahame and Inge King*, Johnston Gallery, Brisbane, 20 October - 1 November 1954, catalogue no. 28 (as *Composition*, unframed mixed media drawing, 7 gns).
Literature: Brisbane, 1954, no. 28.
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.

IKW0243

**Composition in Red, c. 1954**
Mixed media drawing.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: *Paintings, Reliefs, Jewellery by Grahame and Inge King*, Johnston Gallery, Brisbane, 20 October - 1 November 1954, catalogue no. 29 (as *Composition in Red*, unframed mixed media drawing, 6 gns).
Literature: Brisbane, 1954, no. 29.

IKW0244

**Octopus, c. 1954**
Mixed media drawing.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: *Paintings, Reliefs, Jewellery by Grahame and Inge King*, Johnston Gallery, Brisbane, 20 October - 1 November 1954, catalogue no. 31 (as *Nude*, unframed mixed media drawing, 6 gns).

IKW0245

**Romanesque Motif, c. 1954**
Mixed media drawing.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: *Paintings, Reliefs, Jewellery by Grahame and Inge King*, Johnston Gallery, Brisbane, 20 October - 1 November 1954, catalogue no. 33 (as *Romanesque Motif*, unframed mixed media drawing, 7 gns).
Literature: Brisbane, 1954, no. 32.

IKW0246

**Untitled (study for Chorus), 1955**
Monotype in black ink with pencil and yellow wash on paper.
20.2 x 33.1 cm
Estate of the artist.
Photo: the author.
King confirmed that this was a study for *Chorus* (later known as *Three Heads*), a ceramic she showed at the *Group of Four* exhibition in 1955 (King conversation, 13 March 2012).
IKW0247

*Untitled, 1955*

Monotype in black ink with yellow wash on paper.
20.0 x 16.0 cm
Signed with initials and dated lower right: ‘IK / 55’.
Private collection.
*Provenance:*
*Photo:*
courtesy Bridget McDonnell Gallery.

IKW0248

*Deep Sea Monster (also known as Sea Monster), 1958*

Monotype in black and red inks on paper.
11.5 x 16.6 cm
Estate of the artist.
*Photo:*
the author.

IKW0249

*Mother and Child, c. 1958*

Mixed media (possibly monotype on paper).
Dimensions unknown.
Sculpture: Brighton High School
*Exhibited:*
Exhibition, Brighton High School, Brighton, Vic., 1959, catalogue no. 7 (as Inge King, *Mother and Child*, mixed media, 10 gns).
*Literature:*
Brighton, 1959, no. 7.

IKW0250

*Motif Chinois, 1958*

Monotype in black ink on two separate panels of paper, mounted as one.
(a) 12.2 x 7.6 cm; (b) 7.4 x 7.4 cm
Upper panel signed with initials lower left, ‘IK’, and dated and signed again on backing paper: ‘Inge King 58’.
Inscribed on mount lower right and again on reverse: ‘Motif Chinois’.
Estate of the artist.
*Photos:*
the author.
Possibly relates to a plaster relief that King exhibited in 1951, *Chinese Motif*, c. 1951 (IK0087).
IKW0251

**Study for Animal, 1959**

Pencil, pen and brush and ink, wash and coloured chalk.
33.0 x 50.6 cm irreg. (image); 34.8 x 53.2 cm (sheet)
Signed and dated lower right: ‘Inge King 59’. Inscribed in pencil lower right: ‘20 x 11 2 [line above 2; ...illeg.]’.
NGV, Melbourne.
Exhibited: (?) Victorian Sculptors’ Society Annual Exhibition, Victorian Artists’ Society Galleries, East Melbourne, August - 4 September 1959, catalogue no. 49 (as Drawing for Sculpture, 10 gns);
The art of drawing: 100 drawings from the Print Room of the National Gallery of Victoria and some other collections, NGV, Melbourne, 3 December 1964 - February 1965, and AGNSW, Sydney, 7 June - 4 July 1965, no. 87 (as Inge King, Three Figures, Drawing for Sculpture, 1959, 18” x 13 3/4”, signed and dated lower right, purchased 1959).
Photo: the author.
This was the first work of King’s to be acquired by the NGV. It is a study for the sculpture, Figure Group, 1959 (IK0152).

IKW0252

**Three Figures: Drawing for Sculpture, 1959**

Gouache, pen and black ink, pastel and pencil on white wove paper.
53.3 x 35.0 cm

Signed and dated lower right: ‘Inge King 59’.
NGV, Melbourne.
Exhibition no. 387-5.
Exhibited: (?) Victorian Sculptors’ Society Annual Exhibition, Victorian Artists’ Society Galleries, East Melbourne, August - 4 September 1959, catalogue no. 48 (as Drawing for Sculpture, 10 gns);
The art of drawing: 100 drawings from the Print Room of the National Gallery of Victoria and some other collections, NGV, Melbourne, 3 December 1964 - February 1965, and AGNSW, Sydney, 7 June - 4 July 1965, no. 87 (as Inge King, Three Figures, Drawing for Sculpture, 1959, 18” x 13 3/4”, signed and dated lower right, purchased 1959).
Photo: the author.
This was the first work of King’s to be acquired by the NGV. It is a study for the sculpture, Figure Group, 1959 (IK0152).
CLIFFORD LAST (1918-91)

London, 1946

CL0001

Bird Form, 1946
Mahogany.
15 cm high.
Collection of Dr. A. Cymons, Toorak, Vic., as of 1989.

Exhibited: Sculpture by Clifford Last, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 5-14 October 1948, catalogue no. 8 (as Bird Form, 1946, mahogany, NFS); An Exhibition of Sculpture by Clifford Last, John Martin's Art Gallery, Adelaide, 20-? September 1949, catalogue no. 14 (as Bird Form, 1946, mahogany, NFS); Sculpture by Clifford Last, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 10-26 October 1950, catalogue no. 14 (as Bird Form, mahogany, 1946, NFS); Sculpture by Clifford Last, Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 13-22 October 1953, catalogue no. 8 (as Bird Form, mahogany, 1946, NFS); Clifford Last Sculpture: A Retrospective Exhibition, NGV, Melbourne, 23 November 1989 - 29 January 1990, catalogue no. 1 (as Birdform, 1946, mahogany, 15 cm high, coll. Dr A. Cymons, Melbourne, executed in London).


Photo: unknown photographer, reproduced in Dimmack, 1972, plate 2.
This is the earliest documented carving of Last’s, drawing on his earlier untutored experience of carving and whittling. It was made at the Hammersmith School of Building and Arts and Crafts (which Last would later refer to as the ‘Hammersmith School of Wood Sculpture’), circa October 1946. Bird Form reveals Last’s ability to extract a stylized, simplified form from the block of wood. It points to the impact of Hepworth as well as to the growing fashion for domestic sculpture as espoused by Hammersmith teacher Trevor Tennant. Last later admitted the work’s derivative nature but nevertheless valued it for representing ‘a turning point, almost. It was a realization that I had found a meaningful way of expressing all the past stirrings and longings and the feeling that I was different from others around me’ (Last cited in Dimmack, 1972, p. 22).

Melbourne, 1947

CL0002

Warrior's Head, c. 1947
Australian marble.
25 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.

Literature: Oliver, 1949, b&w photograph of the work in Last’s studio, p. 24; Gallagher, c. 1949, control symbol L3044, barcode 11657949; Gill, 1950, p. 27.

Photo: Jack Gallagher for the
Appendix C: Clifford Last

According to Betty Gill, Warrior’s Head was carved in a white Australian marble with fine red veining (Gill, 1950, p. 27). Jack Gallagher’s photograph of this work in the NAA is captioned by Gill: ‘New beauty revealed in Australian hardwoods, photograph of Clifford Last's carving in Australian marble, *Warrior's Head* … *Warrior's Head*, carved from Australian marble, which is rarely used, mainly because it comes from remote Central Australia’. The same photograph was later misdated to ‘c. 1945’. I have dated it to c. 1947 on the basis of the rather atypical subject, the unusually severe and archaized treatment, and the use of hard-to-come-by Australian marble, which was probably sourced through the MTC. Norma Redpath employed the same stone when she studied there, 1949-51 (compare with NR0004 and NR0009).

**Photo:** unknown photographer; original held by Jerry Last, UK.

This somewhat anomalous subject of a young Zulu boy wearing ankle and arm ornaments was most likely set by the teaching staff at MTC. Although titled *Negro Boy* on the plaque adorning the plinth, the photograph held by Jerry Last is inscribed on reverse: ‘Zulu Boy / Plaster for Bronze / College Exhibition / I arranged / Sept 47 / [Dearie [Nella Last] has a photograph of me working on this and I sent you [Arthur Last] a cutting of me casting it in plaster from clay]’. The cutting referred to is Change Over, 1949.

**CL0003**

*Negro Boy (also known as Zulu Boy)*, 1947

Patinated plaster.

80 cm high approx.

Whereabouts unknown.

**Exhibited:** *Melbourne Technical College Diamond Jubilee exhibition*, Melbourne Town Hall, opened 16 September 1947 (catalogue untraced and possibly not issued);

**Literature:** Change Over, 1947, photograph of artist with this work in the MTC sculpture studio, p. 3; Oliver, 1949, visible in photograph p. 24; Pix, 1949 Sept 3, visible in photograph p. 24.

**CL0004**

*The Monk (also known as St Francis)*, 1947

Lambertiana pine.

30 cm high approx.

Collection of Miss Symon, Echunga, South Australia, by 1949.

**Exhibited:** *Melbourne Technical College Diamond Jubilee exhibition*, Melbourne Town Hall, opened 16 September 1947 (catalogue untraced and possibly not issued);

**Literature:** *Age*, 1948 Oct 5, p. 2; *Bulletin*, 1948 Oct 20; Gallagher, c. 1949, control symbol L3035, barcode 11686852; Leyser, 1949, b&w
Appendix C: Clifford Last

CL0005

**St Christopher, 1947**

Limed chestnut with wax finish.
121.9 cm high.

Collection of John Tallis, Bellura, Mornington, Vic., as of 1962.

Exhibited: *Melbourne Technical College Diamond Jubilee exhibition*, Melbourne Town Hall, opened 16 September 1947 (catalogue untraced and possibly not issued); *Ballarat Artists’ Society*, Ballarat Art Gallery, November 1947, sculpture section catalogue no. 7 (as *St Christopher*); *Melbourne Catholic Diocesan Centenary Art Exhibition*, Melbourne Town Hall, 5-8 May 1948, catalogue no. 56 (as Clifford Last, *Saint Christopher*); *Sculpture by Clifford Last*, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 5-14 October 1948, catalogue no. 2 (as *St Christopher*, chestnut, 60 gns); *Religious Art in Our Time*, St Peter’s Church, Eastern Hill, East Melbourne, 14-21 October 1962, catalogue no. 54 (as *St Christopher*, wood, collection of J. Tallis Esq.); *Clifford Last Sculpture: A Retrospective Exhibition*, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 23 November 1989 - 29 January 1990, catalogue no. 2 (as *St Christopher*, 1947, limed chestnut, 121.9 cm high, private collection, Melbourne, exhibited Georges Gallery 1948).

**Literature:** *Ballarat, 1947*, no. 7; Bunning, 1947; *Age*, 1947 Nov 1, p. 8; Melbourne, 1948 May, no. 56; Melbourne, 1948, no. 2; *Age*, 1948 Oct 5, p. 2; Bulletin, 1948 Oct 20; East Melbourne, 1962 Oct, no. 54; Scarlett, 1980, p. 358; Melbourne, 1989, no. 2, p. 67.

Photo: unknown photographer, possibly Ritter-Jeppesen Studios, Melbourne; original held by Jerry Last, UK, where inscribed: ‘*St Christopher 3’ 6”, Chestnut Limed green, wax finish. Completed Sept 1947’.

Visible in a photograph taken by Lyle Fowler of the 1947 MTC Jubilee exhibition (see fig. 4.24) and in a photograph of Last’s solo exhibition of 1948, held among the Last papers, box 1, folder 4, where it is seen on a white plinth near the *Fireplace Figures* (see CL0014, photo a). When exhibited at the Ballarat Artists’ Society in 1947, Neville Bunning wrote: ‘Clifford Last’s *St Christopher*, no. 7, is a charming wood-carving, showing a love of natural form’ (Bunning, 1947), while *The Age* art critic wrote: ‘*St Christopher* is a happy example of his [Last’s] insistence on the retention of the character of his material, and was conceived directly from the original shape of a log of wood with a protruding branch. The result is vivid and interesting’ (Age, 1947 Nov 1, p. 8). The protruding branch has of course been employed for the figure of the Christ child, whom St Christopher was said to have carried across a river on his back.
CL0006

**Fish Form, 1947**

Pearwood with wax finish on a sea- rock base.
28 cm long approx.
Collection of Mr Don James, Melbourne, as of 1989.

Exhibited: *Sculpture by Clifford Last*, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 5-14 October 1948, catalogue no. 7 (as *Fish Form*, pearwood, 30 gns);
*Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme (CRTS) art students exhibition*, Myer Emporium, Melbourne, 1-12 November 1948 (catalogue untraced);
*Clifford Last Sculpture: A Retrospective Exhibition*, NGV, Melbourne, 23 November 1989 - 29 January 1990, catalogue no. 3 (as *Fish Form*, 1948 [sic], pear, length 28 cm, Mr Don James, Melbourne, exhibited Georges Gallery 1948).

Literature: Age, 1947 Nov 1, b&w photograph p. 8; Melbourne, 1948, no. 7; Age, 1948 Oct 5, p. 2; Argus, 1948 Nov 2, p. 7; Gallagher, c. 1949, control symbol L3033, barcode 11686870 (depicting the sculpture on top of a book shelf in Last’s home alongside books on sculpture); Leyser, 1949, b&w illustration p. 13; Scarlett, 1980, p. 358; Melbourne, 1989, p. 67, b&w illustration p. 33.

Photo: (?) Ritter-Jeppesen Studios, Melbourne; original held by Jerry Last, UK, where inscribed: ‘Fish, Pear wood. Mounted on sea washed rock. Wax finish. 1947’.

This work won Last the Ford Co. prize for sculpture in the Reconstruction Trainees’ Exhibition in Melbourne, November 1948 (Argus 1948 Nov 2, p. 7). Prizes of 10 guineas each were awarded in 15 different sections. The judges were James Quinn, George Bell, Francis Thompson, and Harley Griffiths with advice from Prof. Joseph Burke. The earliest reference to this work appears in *The Age*, 1 November 1947, where the carving is illustrated and an anonymous journalist noted: ‘Fish carved in pear wood has similar qualities [to *St Christopher*] and a sensuous surface appeal, tactile as well as visual. These two subjects [*Fish* and *St Christopher*] are typical of a modern desire to avoid simulation of life of which the material used is a poor imitation’ (Age, 1947 Nov 1, p. 6). It was included in Last’s first solo exhibition, at Georges Gallery in 1948, and is clearly visible in a photograph of that exhibition (see fig. 4.30).

CL0007

**Madonna and Child, 1947**

Elm wood.
121.6 cm high.
Church of the Prince of Peace, Lobethal, South Australia.

Exhibited: *Melbourne Catholic Diocesan Centenary Art Exhibition*, Melbourne Town Hall, 5-8 May 1948, catalogue no. 55 (as Clifford Last, *Madonna and Child*); *Sculpture by Clifford Last*, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 5-14 October 1948, catalogue no. 1 (as *Madonna and Child*, elm, 100 gns); *An Exhibition of Sculpture by Clifford Last*, John Martin's Art Gallery, Adelaide, 20-? September 1949, catalogue no. 3 (as
**Madonna and Child, elm, 70 gns).**

**Literature:** Melbourne, 1948, no. 1; Bulletin, 1948 Oct 20; Oliver, 1949, b&w photograph of the work in Last’s living room cum studio, p. 23; Melbourne, 1949 May, no. 55; Adelaide, 1949, no. 3; Francis, 1949 Sept 20, p. 14; Fuller, 1949; Express, 1949 Sept 23, b&w photo; Mail, 1949 Oct 29, p. 36; Mount Barker Courier, 1949, p. 1; Kohlhagen, 1949; Age, 1949 Oct 29, p. 8; Mail, 1949 Dec 3, p. 4; Young, 1949, p. 24, also b&w photograph, p. 24; Christmas card from the Bishop of Adelaide and Mrs Robin, Bishop’s Court, North Adelaide, 1949, with photo of Last’s Madonna and Child on front; Age, 1953 Dec 24, b&w photograph, p. 14; Dimmack, 1972, p. 34, b&w illustration plate 3; Melbourne, 1989, p. 25, b&w illustration p. 24.

**Photo:** Norman Dewhurst, reproduced in Melbourne, 1989, p. 24.

This was the highlight of Last’s first solo exhibition and, at 100 guineas, the highest priced exhibit. It failed to attract a buyer in Melbourne but the following year, when sent to John Martin’s in Adelaide for exhibition it received considerable publicity. The Adelaide Advertiser found it attractive and The Express described it as large and impressive (Fuller, 1949; Express, 1949 Sept 23). The Express also published a photograph of Last with Mrs Phil Brewster Jones and Nan Pinches looking at the carving (undated clipping, Last papers, box 3). At John Martin’s it attracted the attention of Victorian artist John Ashworth, who had then recently moved to Adelaide to become a novice with an Anglican order. Ashworth was then in the process of advising the Lutheran congregation of the Church of The Prince of Peace, Lobethal, in the Adelaide Hills, on the redecoration of their small historic church. On his recommendation, the Lobethal community set about fundraising to purchase Last’s carving by public subscription (Kohlhagen, 1949; Young, 1949, p. 24; Mail, 1949 Oct 29, p. 36; Mail, 1949 Dec 3, p. 4). Last reduced the price for the Adelaide exhibition to 70 guineas, yet it still required considerable fundraising to raise the funds. Towards the end of November, journalist Lisette Kohlhagen noted that: ‘Madonna and Child, Elm, 1948. 3’ 10”.

**Photo:** Norman Dewhurst, reproduced in Melbourne, 1989, p. 24.

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Great beauty of line. It is hoped that the fundraising effort will be successful and that it will lead to the inclusion of more good modern art in South Australian churches… This may be a stimulus to art as many people who never enter art galleries attend churches’ (Kohlhagen, 1949). On 3 December 1949 the parish committee held a ‘five o’clock party’ and open-air art exhibition at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Mervyn Jeanes (Mannon, Fifeshire avenue, St. Georges). South Australian commandant Brigadier Hopkins opened the exhibition and donations from the exhibition went towards the purchase of Last’s Madonna and Child (Mail, 1949 Oct 29, p. 36; Mail, 1949 Dec 3, p. 4). By the end of the year the funds were raised and the work purchased.

Journalist Yvonne Young wrote: ‘In the baptistery, in the rear end of the church, will shortly be placed a Clifford Last piece of contemporary sculpture of the Madonna and Child. The last word in modern interpretation, it stands about 4ft. high, is of elm, and so cleverly carved and polished that the wood grain provides the flowing lines of the Madonna’s robes. Unorthodox, but deeply inspiring’ (Young, 1949, p. 24). Madonna and Child was the first work of Last’s to enter a public space. Noel Hutchison dates it to 1947 (Hutchison in Melbourne, 1989, p. 25) yet Jerry Last holds a copy of the same photograph reproduced above, which is inscribed verso: ‘Madonna and Child, Elm, 1948. 3’ 10”.

**Photo:** Norman Dewhurst, reproduced in Melbourne, 1989, p. 24.
CL0008

Jeremiah, 1947
Lambertiana pine.
59.5 x 17.5 x 15.0 cm
Signed with initials and dated near base: ‘CL 47’.
Private collection, Fitzroy North, Vic.
Provenance: Mrs Ethel Barnes, Melbourne; Hanley collection; Chapman Powell Gallery, Melbourne; Whence purchased by the present owners.
Exhibited: Sculpture by Clifford Last, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 5-14 October 1948, catalogue no. 5 (as Jeremiah, Lambertiana pine, 35 gns); (?) Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme (CRTS) art students exhibition, Myer Emporium, Melbourne, 1-12 November 1948 (catalogue untraced); An Exhibition of Sculpture by Clifford Last, John Martin's Art Gallery, Adelaide, 20-? September 1949, catalogue no. 11 (as Nude, Lambertiana pine, lent by Mr Ross Searls).
Literature: Melbourne, 1948, no. 11; Gallagher, c. 1949, control symbol L3034, barcode 11686851 (where later misdated 1945); Leyser, 1949, b&w illustration p. 12; Adelaide, 1949, no. 11; Fuller, 1949; Express, 1949 Sept 23; Gill, 1950, b&w illustration p. 27; Dimmack, 1972, b&w illustration plate 4; Canberra Times, 1972 Sept 26, b&w illustration.
Photo: unknown photographer,

The inscription on the reverse of the photograph held by Jerry Last seems to suggest that this was carved at Olinda in the Dandenong Mountains, outside Melbourne, or possibly carved from a piece of wood found at Olinda.

CL0009

Nude figure, 1947
Lambertiana pine.
40.6 cm high approx.
Collection of either Ross Searle or Searls, Melbourne (as of 1949, and still in 1972), or Miss Rene Searles.
Exhibited: Sculpture by Clifford Last, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 5-14 October 1948, catalogue no. 11 (as Nude, Lambertiana pine, 18 gns); (?) Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme (CRTS) art students exhibition, Myer Emporium, Melbourne, 1-12 November 1948 (catalogue untraced); An Exhibition of Sculpture by Clifford Last, John Martin's Art Gallery, Adelaide, 20-? September 1949, catalogue no. 11 (as Nude, Lambertiana pine, lent by Mr Ross Searls).
Literature: Melbourne, 1948, no. 11; Gallagher, c. 1949, control symbol L3034, barcode 11686851 (where later misdated 1945); Leyser, 1949, b&w illustration p. 12; Adelaide, 1949, no. 11; Fuller, 1949; Express, 1949 Sept 23; Gill, 1950, b&w illustration p. 27; Dimmack, 1972, b&w illustration plate 4; Canberra Times, 1972 Sept 26, b&w illustration.
Photo: unknown photographer,
reproduced in Dimmack, 1972, plate 4 (where said to be in the collection of R. Searle).

Another photograph of this same work, held by Jerry Last, UK, is inscribed on reverse: ‘Nude, Pine, Olinda 1947. In possession of Miss Rene Searles, Melbourne’. As with Jeremiah, this would suggest that either the work was carved at Olinda, in the Dandenong mountains, or that the wood came from Olinda. When exhibited at John Martin’s in 1949, the critic for The Express noted that ‘In a nude study of a kneeling woman, carved from Lambertiana pine, the grain of the wood has been cleverly used to give the effect of long hair’ (Express, 1949 Sept 23), while the Adelaide Advertiser critic described the work as ‘a graceful figure, enveloped in drooping hair’ (Fuller, 1949). Max Dimmack later found it ‘eloquently simple ... the kneeling figure of the girl with hair cascading to her knees truly reveals the beauty of the fine-grained, warm-coloured lambertiana pine’ (Dimmack, 1972, p. 34).

**Penguin, 1947**
Jarrah driftwood.
20 cm high approx.
Collection of Miss Symon, Echunga, South Australia, by 1949.
**Exhibited:** Sculpture by Clifford Last, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 5-14 October 1948, catalogue no. 9 (as Penguin, jarrah, 15 gns); An Exhibition of Sculpture by Clifford Last, John Martin's Art Gallery, Adelaide, 20-? September 1949, catalogue no. 13 (as Penguin, jarrah, lent by Miss Symon, Echunga).
**Literature:** Melbourne, 1948, no. 9; Bulletin, 1948 Oct 20; Adelaide, 1949, no. 13; Fuller, 1949; Gallagher, c. 1949, control symbol L3032, barcode 11686850 (where later misdated 1945).

**Photo:** Jack Gallagher; original held at the NAA, Canberra, series A1200 (A1200/18), control symbol L3032, barcode 11686850.

Another photograph of this same work, held by Jerry Last, UK, is inscribed on reverse: ‘Penguin, Java wood, 1947. In possession of Miss Symon, Adelaide’. Betty Gill’s caption to the Jack Gallagher photograph, c. 1949, noted that: ‘Penguin, carved from a piece of jarrah driftwood which Clifford Last found on St. Kilda beach, Melbourne, not far from his attractive studio. Jarrah, dark red in colour, straight-grained, and fissile, is one of the finest hardwoods in Australia’.

**Bird Form, 1947**
Alabaster.
15 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.
**Provenance:** Collection of Robert Haines by 1948; Presumably his estate by 2005.
**Exhibited:** Sculpture by Clifford Last, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 5-14 October 1948, catalogue no. 15 (as Bird Form, alabaster, lent by Mr Robert Haines).
**Literature:** Melbourne, 1948, no. 15.
**Photo:** unknown photographer, original in possession of Jerry Last, UK, where inscribed on reverse: ‘Bird Form, Alabaster. Melbourne 1947. In possession of Robert Haines Esq.'
Assistant Director, National Gallery of Victoria’.
Haines was one of Last’s earliest supporters and patrons in Australia. Whether he bought the present work or Last gifted it to him is unknown. As a former student of Ola Cohn’s and – by the time Last met him – assistant director of the National Gallery of Victoria, Haines was a sympathetic friend and useful contact. Their association is discussed in chapter 4.

CL0012
Figure, c. 1947-48
Freestone.
50.8 x 91.4 x 50.8 cm
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Sculpture by Clifford Last, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 5-14 October 1948, catalogue no. 14 (as Figure, freestone, 45 gns); An Exhibition of Sculpture by Clifford Last, John Martin's Art Gallery, Adelaide, 20-? September 1949, catalogue no. 15 as Figure, freestone, 45 gns).
Literature: Melbourne, 1948, no. 14; Adelaide, 1949, no. 15.
Photos: (a) taken at Georges Gallery, 1948, probably by Ritter-Jeppesen Studios, Melbourne, and inscribed verso ‘Torso [sic] 1948 freestone’; courtesy Jerry Last, UK; (b) Norman Dewhurst, Toorak, Vic.; original among the Last papers, box 1, folder 4, where inscribed: ‘Figure, 1947, freestone, 20 x 36 inches’.
Freestone is a category of fine-grained stones soft enough to be capable of being worked with a chisel in any direction without shattering. Sandstone is but one type of freestone. From photographs it appears that Last employed sandstone for the present work.

CL0013
Pine Figure (also known as Standing Figure), c. 1948
Lambertiana pine.
110.0 x 25.0 x 15.0 cm approx.
Re-carved c. 1950 and further again c. 1955, to become CL0084; now collection McClelland Gallery & Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic.
Provenance: Collection of artist Ken Hood (1928-2002); His estate; Gift of Ron and Sally Hood under the

Exhibited: *Sculpture by Clifford Last*, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 5-14 October 1948, catalogue no. 3 (as *Pine Figure*, Lambertiana, 60 guineas); *An Exhibition of Sculpture by Clifford Last*, John Martin's Art Gallery, Adelaide, 20-27 September 1949, catalogue no. 2 (as *Pine Figure*, Lambertiana Pine, 1948, 65 gns); *Sculpture by Clifford Last*, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 10-26 October 1950, catalogue no. 4 (as *Pine Figure*, Lambertiana Pine, 1948, 65 gns).


Photos: (a) unknown photographer; original held by Jerry Last, UK; (b) detail of an installation view of the 1950 exhibition, unknown photographer; reproduced in Melbourne, 1989, p. 13.

The smooth, simplified forms – akin to *St Christopher*, 1947, and *Jeremiah*, 1947 – and relatively large size of this work indicate it is catalogue no. 3 from Last’s first solo exhibition, where it was titled *Pine Figure* and priced at 60 guineas (outranked only by *Madonna and Child*, 1948, CL0007). Last’s annotated copy of the catalogue to the 1948 show (Last papers, box 3) amended the title of this particular exhibit from *Pine Figure* to *Standing Figure*, although he retained the title of *Pine Figure* when he showed it at his next two solo exhibitions (Adelaide, 1949, and Melbourne, 1950). Another photograph exists – taken c. 1949 by the Australian News and Information Bureau, Canberra, for the Department of Information – showing Last rubbing what is most likely beeswax into the finished woodcarving. The black and white negative is now in the National Archives of Australia, Canberra (series A1200, control symbol L3031, barcode 11686849). By 1950, the work had been partially re-carved with flatter planes and more geometric forms; see photograph (b), above. Robert Haines, in his foreword to the 1950 exhibition catalogue, noted that “two of the pieces – *Pine Figure* and *Freestone Figure* – have been recarved, or, perhaps more accurately, the carving has been continued” (Haines in Melbourne, 1950, n.p.). *The Age* art critic found ‘The sinuous *Pine Figure* (4) … an example of form released from the original material’ (Age, 1950 Oct 10). Evidently, Last continued to rework the sculpture, drastically changing it by c. 1955. His annotated copy of the 1950 Georges Gallery catalogue, (Last papers, box 3), has a note alongside this entry that reads: ‘Recarved: Ken Hood’. With this fact it can be firmly matched with the re-carved version known as *Standing Figure*, now in the collection of the McClelland Gallery + Sculpture Park, donated by Ron and Sally Hood (see CL0084). For further exhibition and literature citations, relating to the later recarved version, see CL0084.

![CL0014](image)

**Fireplace Figures (pair), c. 1948**

Cedar pine.

100 cm high approx. each.

Whereabouts unknown.

Exhibited: *Sculpture by Clifford Last*, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 5-14 October 1948, catalogue no. 4 (as *Fireplace Figures*, cedar pine, 60 gns).
Literature: Melbourne, 1948, no. 4; Gallagher, c. 1949, control symbol L3036, barcode 11686871.
Photos: (a) Ritter-Jeppesen Studios, original held among the Last papers, box 1, folder 4; (b) detail of (a).

CL0015
*Wood Form, 1948*
Lambertiana pine.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: *Sculpture by Clifford Last*, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 5-14 October 1948, catalogue no. 10 (as *Wood Form*, Lambertiana pine, 9 gns);
*An Exhibition of Sculpture by Clifford Last*, John Martin’s Art Gallery, Adelaide, 20-? September 1949, catalogue no. 10 (as *Wood Form*, Lambertina pine, 7 gns);
Sculpture by Clifford Last, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 10-26 October 1950, catalogue no. 11 (as *Wood Form*, Lambertina pine, 1948, 7 gns).
Literature: Melbourne, 1948, no. 10; Adelaide, 1949, no. 10; George, 1949, p. 42; Melbourne, 1950, no. 11.
Photo: unknown photographer on behalf of the Department of Information, Central Office, Canberra; original negative held by the NAA, series A1200 (A1200/18), control symbol L3045.
This is known to have been an abstract or semi-abstract work, as the reviewer for the *Adelaide Mail*, Esmond George, found ‘the best [exhibits to be] … those nearest the abstract, such as *Wood Form* (pine), *Shell Form* (alabaster), *Plant Form* (silver birch), and *Pine Figure*’ (George, 1949, p. 42). It is possible that the slender abstract form that Last holds and contemplates in the portrait photograph of him, reproduced above, is in fact *Wood Form*, 1948.

CL0016
*Ivory Carving, c. 1948*
Ivory.
10 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: *Sculpture by Clifford Last*, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 5-14 October 1948, catalogue no. 12 (as Ivory Carving, 12 guineas).
Literature: Melbourne, 1948, no. 12.
This is likely to have been the small white carving that is just visible on the mantle piece in the Ritter-Jeppesen Studios photograph of Last’s 1948 exhibition (see CL0014, photo b). From the photograph it appears that the carving was of a woman bent over as if carrying a heavy bundle on her back.
**CL0017**

*Torso (later known as Figure, or Freestone Figure), 1948-50*

Freestone.

91.4 x 50.8 x 50.8 cm approx.

Whereabouts unknown.


Exhibited: *Sculpture by Clifford Last*, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 5-14 October 1948, catalogue no. 13 (as *Torso*, freestone, 55 guineas); *An Exhibition of Sculpture by Clifford Last*, John Martin's Art Gallery, Adelaide, 20-? September 1949, catalogue no. 16 (as *Torso*, freestone, 50 gns); *Sculpture by Clifford Last*, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 10-26 October 1950, catalogue no. 15 (as *Figure*, freestone, 1950, 60 gns).

Literature: Melbourne, 1948, no. 13; Adelaide, 1949, no. 16; Francis, 1949 Sept 20, p. 14; Haines in Melbourne, 1950, n.p.; Melbourne, 1950, no. 15; Last, 1952, b&w illustration of the artist standing beside this work outside his studio, p. [8].

Photos: (a) Ritter-Jeppesen Studios, original courtesy Jerry Last, UK; (b) detail of (a); (c) detail of an installation view of the 1950 exhibition, showing the recarved version; unknown photographer, reproduced in Melbourne, 1989, p. 13.

When exhibited in Adelaide in 1949, Ivor Francis noted: ‘His sense of form comes out clearly in Torso, carved in freestone’. The work was soon afterwards further carved in a more rigid, geometric form. Robert Haines noted in the catalogue foreword to Last’s Georges Gallery show of 1950 that ‘... two of the pieces - *Pine Figure* and *Freestone Figure* - have been recarved, or, perhaps more accurately, the carving has been continued. This does not mean that the earlier work is not as good as the later work, but that it marks a different stage in the artist’s development. It is this development that convinces me that here we have a sculptor who has an important contribution to make to sculpture in Australia’ (Haines in Melbourne, 1950, n.p.). Last’s annotated copy of the 1950 exhibition catalogue (Last papers, box 3) has a note beside the entry for catalogue no. 15 that reads: ‘Margot Knox’.

**CL0018**

*Composition, c. 1948*

Alabaster.

Dimensions unknown.

Whereabouts unknown.


Exhibited: *Sculpture by Clifford Last*, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 5-14 October 1948, catalogue no. 16 (as *Composition*, alabaster, 15 gns).

Literature: Melbourne, 1948, no. 16; Age, 1948 Oct 5, p. 2.

Photo: unknown photographer (possibly Ritter Jeppesen Pty Ltd), original in possession of Jerry Last, UK, where inscribed: ‘Composition, Alabaster. 1948. In possession of Capt Neils, Sweden’.

This was one of Last’s earliest forays into entirely abstract carving, although it clearly draws inspiration from natural forms such as...
flower buds and leaves. The Age art critic noted that ‘Composition is one of several abstract carvings that depend for aesthetic appeal on the ability to appreciate harmonious relationships of planes and balanced design’ (Age, 1948 Oct 5, p. 2).

CL0019  
**Shell Form, 1948**  
Alabaster.  
Dimensions unknown.  
Whereabouts unknown.  
**Exhibited:** *Sculpture by Clifford Last*, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 5-14 October 1948, catalogue no. 17 (as *Shell Form*, alabaster, 12 gns); *An Exhibition of Sculpture by Clifford Last*, John Martin's Art Gallery, Adelaide, 20-? September 1949, catalogue no. 19 (as *Shell Form*, alabaster, 9 gns).  
**Literature:** Melbourne, 1948, no. 17; Adelaide, 1949, no. 19; Melbourne, 1950, no. 19.

Photo: unknown photographer, original in possession of Jerry Last, UK, where inscribed: ‘Figure, Sienna Marble. Melbourne 1948. In possession of R Oppie [sic] Esq., Sydney’.  
A colour slide of this work, held among the Last papers, reveals this to have been in red marble. Max Dimmack later noted that ‘Last is not entirely dominated by the material. But he is careful nevertheless to utilize and preserve in the realised conception the inherent beauty found in the grain and texture of the material, and this is clearly apparent in the beautifully compacted marble *Figure* (Plate 5)’ (Dimmack, 1972, p. 35).

CL0020  
**Figure, 1948**  
Siena marble.  
25 cm high approx.  
Collection of Ron Opie as of 1972.  
**Exhibited:** *Sculpture by Clifford Last*, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 5-14 October 1948, catalogue no. 18 (as *Figure*, Sienna marble, 18 gns).

Literature: Melbourne, 1948, no. 18; Dimmack, 1972, p. 35, b&w illustration plate 5.  
**Photo:** unknown photographer.
(possibly Ritter Jeppesen Pty Ltd), original in possession of Jerry Last, UK, where inscribed: ‘South Wind, Polished Cement. 4ft. 1948’.
When this was exhibited at John Martin’s in 1949, Ivor Francis was critical of the way in which ‘rhythm … at times becomes too obvious. It appears in the drawing of the headgear along the line of wood grain in *Pioneer Woman*, and the rather over-stressed lines of rhythm in *Madonna and Child* and *South Wind*’ (Francis, 1949 Sept 20, p. 14), yet the reviewer for the Adelaide Advertiser found it ‘particularly good’ (Fuller, 1949).

**CL0023**

*Sue,* c. 1948
Bronze.
35 cm high approx.
Estate of Mrs Jean Willoughby née Haines (1918-91).
Provenance: Miss Jean ‘Sue’ Haines; By whom gifted (?) to her mother, Mrs Edith Reeve Haines (1881-1980); Thence reverted by descent to her daughter.
Exhibited: *Sculpture by Clifford Last*, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 5-14 October 1948, catalogue no. 21 (as *Sue*, lent by Miss J. Haines).
Photo: Ritter Jeppesen Pty Ltd, courtesy Jerry Last, UK, where inscribed: ‘Sue, Portrait Bronze. In possession of Mrs Reeve Haines, Melbourne’.

**CL0022**

*Study,* c. 1948
Terracotta.
15 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: *Sculpture by Clifford Last*, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 5-14 October 1948, catalogue no. 20 (as *Study*, terracotta, 8 gns).
Literature: Melbourne, 1948, no. 20.
Photo: unknown photographer, original held among the Last papers, box 1, folder 4 (detail).
Appendix C: Clifford Last

CL0024

*Portrait Study (head of a boy), c. 1948*

Bronze.

35 cm high approx.

Whereabouts unknown.

**Exhibited:** *Sculpture by Clifford Last*, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 5-14 October 1948, catalogue no. 22 (as *Portrait study*, NFS).

**Literature:** Melbourne, 1948, no. 22; Loxton, 1948 Oct 5, p. 5; Bulletin, 1948 Oct 20.

**Photo:** Ritter-Jeppesen Studios, original held among the Last papers, box 1, folder 4 (detail).

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CL0025

*Bronze (small hooded figure), c. 1948*

Bronze.

15 cm high approx.

Whereabouts unknown.

**Exhibited:** *Sculpture by Clifford Last*, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 5-14 October 1948, catalogue no. 23 or 24 (each described simply as *Bronze*, 9 gns).

**Literature:** Melbourne, 1948, no. 23 or 24.

**Photos:** (a) unknown photographer, original held among the Last papers, box 1, folder 4; (b) detail of (a).

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CL0026

*Bronze (grieving woman), c. 1948*

Bronze.

10 cm high approx.

Whereabouts unknown.

**Exhibited:** *Sculpture by Clifford Last*, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 5-14 October 1948, catalogue no. 23 or 24 (each described simply as *Bronze*, 9 gns).

**Literature:** Melbourne, 1948, no. 23 or 24.

**Photo:** detail of an exhibition installation view, unknown photographer, courtesy Jerry Last, UK.

In the variant table arrangement of small works in Last’s 1948 exhibition, this work appears at the far left and is apparently of a woman with her head in her hands, as though in grief.
CL0027

_Calf, 1948_

Lambertiana pine; also described as cedar pine.
15.2 x 45.7 cm approx.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: _An Exhibition of Sculpture by Clifford Last_, John Martin's Art Gallery, Adelaide, 20-? September 1949, catalogue no. 7 (as _Calf_, Lambertiana pine, 20 gns); _Sculpture by Clifford Last_, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 10-26 October 1950, catalogue no. 9 (as _Plant Form_, Tasmanian myrtle, 15 gns).

Literature: Adelaide, 1949, no. 7; George, 1949, p. 42; Melbourne, 1950, no. 9.

Photo: Norman Dewhurst, 459 Toorak Rd, Toorak, negative no. C57A; original held among the Last papers, box 1, folder 4.

Possibly based upon Karl Blossfeldt’s well-known series of photographs of natural plant forms, first published in English as _Art Forms in Nature_ (see Blossfeldt, 1929).

CL0028

_Plant Form, 1948_

Silver birch.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: _An Exhibition of Sculpture by Clifford Last_, John Martin's Art Gallery, Adelaide, 20-? September 1949, catalogue no. 8 (as _Plant Form_, silver birch, 15 gns); _Sculpture by Clifford Last_, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 10-26 October 1950, catalogue no. 9 (as _Plant Form_, silver birch, 1948, 15 gns).

Literature: Adelaide, 1949, no. 8; George, 1949, p. 42; Melbourne, 1950, no. 9.

Photo: Norman Dewhurst, 459 Toorak Rd, Toorak, negative no. O57D; original held among the Last papers, box 1, folder 4.

Possibly based upon Karl Blossfeldt’s well-known series of photographs of natural plant forms, first published in English as _Art Forms in Nature_ (see Blossfeldt, 1929).

CL0029

_Plant Form, 1948_

Tasmanian myrtle.
Dimensions unknown.
Collection of John Duncan, as of 1950.
Exhibited: _An Exhibition of Sculpture by Clifford Last_, John Martin's Art Gallery, Adelaide, 20-? September 1949, catalogue no. 9 (as _Plant Form_, Plant Form, Tasmanian myrtle, 15 gns); _Sculpture by Clifford Last_, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 10-26 October 1950, catalogue no. 10 (as
Appendix C: Clifford Last

Plant Form, Tasmanian myrtle, 1948, 15 gns).

Literature: Adelaide, 1949, no. 9; Melbourne, 1950, no. 10; Wood, 1951, b&w photograph, p. 77.

Photo: Norman Dewhurst, 459 Toorak Rd, Toorak, negative no. C57G; original held among the Last papers, box 1, folder 4.

Reproduced in a feature article on Last’s carvings in Australian woods, for the British publication Wood, where captioned: ‘Close-grained Tasmanian myrtle is well-suited to the tightly-sheathed plant form, above right’ (Wood, 1951, p. 77). Last’s annotated copy of the 1950 Georges Gallery catalogue (Last papers, box 3) records this to be in the collection of John Duncan.

CL0030

Mother and Child, 1948
Mount Somers stone
30.4 x 25.0 x 27.0 cm
Signed with initials and dated under base, front left: ‘CL 48’.
McClelland Gallery & Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic.

Provenance: Gift from the artist to David Wynn (1915-95), Adelaide, circa 1950; Gift of the Estate of Mr David Wynn, 1996.

Exhibited: An Exhibition of Sculpture by Clifford Last, John Martin's Art Gallery, Adelaide, 20-? September 1949, catalogue no. 17 (as Mother and Child, Mt Somers stone, 30 gns); Sculpture by Clifford Last, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 10-26 October 1950, catalogue no. 16 (Mother and Child, Mt Somers stone, 1948, 30 gns); Clifford Last Sculpture: A Retrospective Exhibition, NGV, Melbourne, 23 November 1989 - 29 January 1990, catalogue no. 4 (as Mother and Child, 1948, Mount Somers stone, 30.4 cm high, Mr David Wynn, Adelaide, exhibited Georges Gallery 1948 [sic]); Awakening Forms: Vincas Jomantas and Clifford Last, McClelland Gallery & Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 29 July - 28 October 2012 (no catalogue issued).

Photo: Helen Skuse and Garry Sommerfeld for the NGV, reproduced Melbourne, 1989, p. 34.

Last’s annotated copy of the John Martin catalogue (Last papers, box 3) records that this was given to David Wynn.

CL0031

Invader, 1948
Carved Kaolin.
Dimensions unknown.
Collection of John Tallis, Bellura, Mornington, Vic., as of 1950.

Exhibited: An Exhibition of Sculpture by Clifford Last, John Martin's Art Gallery, Adelaide, 20-? September 1949, catalogue no. 21 (as Invader, caved Kaolin, 18 gns); Sculpture by Clifford Last, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 10-26 October 1950, catalogue no. 17 (as Invader, caved Kaolin, 1948, 18 gns).

Literature: Adelaide, 1949, no. 21; Melbourne, 1950, no. 17.

Last’s annotated copy of the 1950 Georges Gallery catalogue (Last papers, box 3) records this to be in the collection of John Tallis.
Appendix C: Clifford Last

Clifford Last

**Pioneer Woman (later known as Mother and Child), 1949**

Lambertiana pine.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.


Exhibited: *Easter 1949 Exhibition of Paintings and Sculpture*, Macquarie Galleries, Sydney, 6-23 April 1949, catalogue no. 29 (as Pioneer Woman, Lambertiana pine, 25 gns); *An Exhibition of Sculpture by Clifford Last*, John Martin's Art Gallery, Adelaide, 20-? September 1949, catalogue no. 5 (as Pioneer Woman, Lambertiana pine, 20 gns); *Selections from the Kym Bonython Collection: Arts Festival exhibition*, Bonython Art Gallery, North Adelaide, 18 March - 6 April 1962, catalogue no. 57 (as Mother and Child).

Literature: Sydney, 1949 April, no. 30; Adelaide, 1949, no. 5; Adelaide, 1962, no. 57.

**Shell Form, 1949**

Alabaster.

38 cm high.

Estate of Michael Shannon (1927-93).

Exhibited: *An Exhibition of Sculpture by Clifford Last*, John Martin's Art Gallery, Adelaide, 20-? September 1949, catalogue no. 18 (as Shell Form, alabaster, 25 gns); *Sculpture by Clifford Last*, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 10-26 October 1950, catalogue no. 18 (as Shell Form, alabaster, 1949, 25 gns); *Clifford Last Sculpture: A Retrospective Exhibition*, NGV, Melbourne, 23 November 1989 - 29 January 1990, catalogue no. 8 (as Shell Form, 1949, alabaster, 38 cm high, Mr Michael Shannon, Melbourne, exhibited Georges Gallery 1950).

Literature: Sydney, 1949, no. 30; Adelaide, 1949, no. 18; Mail, 1949 Sept 24, p. 42; Melbourne, 1950, no. 18; Dimmack, 1972, b&w illustration plate 6; Melbourne, 1989, no. 8, p. 67.

Photo: unknown photographer, reproduced in Dimmack, 1972, plate 6. A colour slide of this work, held among the Last papers, reveals this to have been in red marble.

**Fish Lamp, c. 1949**

Jacaranda

45.7 cm high approx.

Whereabouts unknown.

Provenance: Mr A. Rowe, Vice Chancellor, University of Adelaide.

Exhibited: *An Exhibition of Sculpture by Clifford Last*, John Martin's Art Gallery, Adelaide, 20-? September 1949, catalogue no. 6 (as Fish Lamp, jacaranda, 20 gns)

CL0035

**Dancer, c. 1949**

Alabaster.  
Dimensions unknown.  
Whereabouts unknown.  

**Exhibited:** *An Exhibition of Sculpture by Clifford Last*, John Martin’s Art Gallery, Adelaide, 20–29 September 1949, catalogue no. 20 (as *Dancer*, alabaster, 15 gns).  
**Literature:** Adelaide, 1949, no. 20.  
**Photo:** Norman Dewhurst, 459 Toorak Rd, Toorak, negative no. C57B; original held among the Last papers, box 1, folder 4.  
Possibly connected to Last’s portrait of ballerina Sally Gilmour (see the following entry, CL0036).

**CL0036**

**Lady into Fox (Sally Gilmour), 1949**

Bronze with green patina; edition of at least two casts.  
34 cm high.  
McClelland Gallery & Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic.  

**Provenance:** First bronze collection of Dr Allan Wynn and Sally Gilmour, Melbourne; Estate of Sally Gilmour, Sydney, 2004.  
Second cast purchased by David Wynn; by whom given (?) to Dame Margaret Scott; Donated to the McClelland Gallery by Dame Margaret Scott AC DBE in memory of Sally Gilmour, 2011.  

**Exhibited:** *An Exhibition of Sculpture by Clifford Last*, John Martin’s Art Gallery, Adelaide, 20–29 September 1949, catalogue no. 23 (as *Lady into Fox, Sally Gilmour*, bronze, lent by Mr A. Wynn, NFS); *Sculpture by Clifford Last*, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 10-26 October 1950, catalogue no. 22 (as *Lady into Fox, Sally Gilmour*, 1949, bronze, 75 gns, original bronze in possession of Dr A. Wynn); *Herald Outdoor Art Show*, Treasury Gardens, Melbourne, 8-15 December 1953, catalogue no. 1165 (as *Lady into Fox, Sally Gilmour*, 1949, bronze, NFS, section K); *Clifford Last Sculpture: A Retrospective Exhibition*, NGV, Melbourne, 23 November 1989 - 29 January 1990, catalogue no. 5 (as *Sally Gilmour in her role as Lady into Fox*, 1949, bronze, 34 cm high, Mr David Wynn, Adelaide, exhibited Georges Gallery

**Literature:** Oliver, 1949, b&w photograph of the work in Last’s studio, p. 24; Truth, 1949 June 16; Mail, 1949 June 25, p. 37; Sun, 1949 July 14, b&w photograph of Last at work on the head; South Australian Homes and Garden, 1949 Sept 1, detail of b&w photograph of Last at work on the head; Mail, 1949 Sept 17, p. 37; Adelaide, 1949, no. 23; Francis, 1949 Sept 20; Fuller, 1949; Express, 1949 Sept 23; Mail, 1949 Sept 24, p. 42; Melbourne, 1950, no. 22; Dagbladet, 1952, b&w photograph; Melbourne, 1953 Dec, no. 1165; Hetherington, 1962, p. 13, b&w illustration; Melbourne, 1989, no. 5, p. 67, b&w illustration pp. 10, 35; Blensdorf, 1989, p. 4; Palmer, 1990, p. 6.

**Photos:** (a) unknown photographer, reproduced in The Sun, 1949 July 14, and in Melbourne, 1989, p. 10; (b) Helen Skuse and Garry Sommerfeld for the NGV, reproduced Melbourne, 1989, p. 35.

Last’s annotated copy of the 1950 Georges Gallery catalogue (Last papers, box 3) has a manuscript notation that ‘David Wynn has a cast’ alongside the printed statement that ‘original Bronze in possession of Dr. A. Wynn’. I have therefore deduced that at least two casts were made. However, I am uncertain as to whether Dame Margaret Scott’s cast (which she donated to the McClelland Gallery in 2011) came from Allan Wynn or David Wynn’s collections. Sally Gilmour (1921-2004) was lead dancer with the Ballet Rambert in the 1930s and ‘40s. She is best remembered for her leading role as Sylvia Tebrick in *Lady into Fox*, which was adapted from David Garnett’s novel specifically for her by choreographer Andrée Howard and premiered in London in 1939. Last saw Gilmour perform the role several times in London before she came to Melbourne, in 1947, where she met and married cardiologist Dr Allan Wynn in August 1948 (Potter, 2014, p. 119). The Wynns returned to London in June 1949. Shortly prior to their departure Last unveiled the portrait bust at a champagne farewell party (Truth, 1949 June 16). Three months later, in advance of the work’s exhibition in Adelaide, *The Mail* wrote: ‘A bronze head of English ballerina Sally Gilmour is one of the only two heads in the exhibition of 30 pieces of sculpture by young English sculptor Clifford Last, which Prof. Wood will open in John Martin’s gallery on Tuesday. It is of Miss Gilmour, in the make-up of the role specially written for her – *Lady Into Fox* – with its furry headpiece and pointed ears. Mr Last has also included the hands, which will be remembered by everyone who saw Miss Gilmour dance the part as the final touch of realism. Mr Last has seen Miss Gilmour dance this ballet at least six times – four or five times in England and twice in Australia. He says she has the perfect face for sculpture. It is heart-shaped, with high cheek bones, a fine bulbous forehead, and a “widow’s peak” hairstyle. Incidentally, Miss Gilmour and her husband, Melbourne doctor Alan Wynn, are living in London’ (Mail, 1949 Sept 17, p. 37). The work was well received in Adelaide. *The Express* reviewer wrote: ‘A delightful piece with a piquant charm is a bronze bust of ballerina Sally Gilmour as she appeared in the ballet *Lady Into Fox*. The hands are used to great advantage in the composition’ (Express, 1949 Sept 23). Gilmour returned to Rambert for the 1950 season, before retiring in December 1952, after which she and Wynn returned to Melbourne, where they settled with their three children (for further biography see Meisner, 2004).
CL0037

Male Torso, 1949
Cedar pine; also known as King William pine.
91.4 cm high approx.
Exhibited: An Exhibition of Sculpture by Clifford Last, John Martin's Art Gallery, Adelaide, 20-? September 1949, catalogue no. 1 (as Torso, cedar pine, 75 gns); Sculpture by Clifford Last, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 10-26 October 1950, catalogue no. 2 (as Male Torso, 1949, cedar pine, 75 gns); Sculpture by Clifford Last, Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 13-22 October 1953, catalogue no. 2 (as Male Torso, Cedar pine, 1949, 40 gns); (?) Exhibition of Paintings in Settings of Fine Office Furniture, Australian Galleries, Collingwood, 7-15 August 1958, catalogue no. 36 (as Male Torso, 85 gns).
Literature: Pix, 1949, b&w photograph of the artist at work on this piece, p. 25; Adelaide, 1949, no. 1; Melbourne, 1950, no. 2; Age, 1950 Oct 10; Wood, 1951, b&w photograph, p. 77; Dagbladet, 1952, b&w photograph (where stated to be in Tasmanian myrtle); Melbourne, 1953 Oct, no. 2; (?) Collingwood, 1958, no. 36; Dimmack, 1972, p. 35, b&w illustration plate 7.
Photos: (a) unknown photographer, reproduced Wood, 1951, p. 77; (b) unknown photographer, reproduced Pix, 1949, p. 25.

Male Torso was a feature of both the 1949 Adelaide and 1950 Melbourne exhibitions. When exhibited at the latter, The Age art critic found it and Reclining Figure (CL0047) ‘with their skillfully related planes and stylisation maintained in three-dimensional unity … big in conception and execution’ (Age, 1950 Oct 3). An anonymous article on Last’s carvings for the Tiranti trade magazine, Wood, in 1951, noted that: ‘Geometric forms are a feature of Last’s carvings. The use of a few dominant lines in the male torso, left, recalls the conventions of early Greek designs. The wood used is “King William pine” [sic]’ (Wood, 1951, p. 76). Max Dimmack later noted that severe monumental works, such as this and Reclining Figure (CL0047) were effectively ‘transitional or bridging forms, anticipating and leading to the stark abstraction of the period which was to follow’ (Dimmack, 1972, p. 35). The caption alongside the illustration in Dimmack records the medium to be Lambertiana pine, but the dark colouring and the earlier descriptions would suggest that cedar pine is the correct medium.

CL0038

The Four Seasons (bas-relief doors for a sideboard), c. 1949
Queensland blackbean.
Dimensions unknown.
Private collection.
Exhibited: Exhibition of applied art (exact title unknown), Georges Gallery, Melbourne, opened 25 October 1949 (catalogue untraced).

This work of applied or decorative art was a rare collaboration between Last and the Romanian émigré Schulim Krimper (1893-1971). Karen Finch’s masters thesis on Krimper includes a description of the four panels that Last carved: they ‘depict the four seasons, in which allegorical figures are portrayed with iconic motifs of a rake, a scythe, a spinning wheel and what appears to be a handful of vegetation’ (Finch, 2006, p. 66).
Finch was unable to precisely date the work or to account for the collaboration, which she rightly perceived to be unusual given Krimper’s aversion to ornamentation. However, the work is mentioned in The Age (25 October 1949) in connection with an
exhibition at Georges Gallery of Ascher-printed linen wall-hangings and silk squares designed by Matisse and Moore: ‘Another attractive feature in this display of applied art is a sideboard by S. Krimper, an Australian artist-craftsman. The bas-relief doors of this piece were carved by the young sculptor Clifford Last’. This enables us to date the work to c. 1949, not the late 1950s as suggested in Finch’s thesis. Finch records that the original client for the work was unhappy with the colour of the wood and asked Krimper to stain it darker, which he refused to do (Finch, 2006, p. 66). However, the story may be apocryphal; it seems more likely that the work was made specifically for the 1949 exhibition, possibly at Robert Haines’ suggestion given Haines’ patronage of both artists and his former directorship of Georges Gallery.

CL0039.1

*St George and the Dragon*, c. 1949
Wood carving.
100 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.
Literature: Unidentified, undated newspaper clipping (Last papers, box 3) captioned: ‘Sculpture in wood – Mr. Clifford Lacy [sic], a young English sculptor, at work on a representation in Australian wood of St. George and the dragon. Mr. Lacy [sic] is making a collection of Australian woods to take home to Lancashire’.
Photo: unknown photographer; original newspaper clipping held among the Last papers, box 3.

CL0039.2

*St George and the Dragon*, c. 1949
(?) Bronze.
100 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: *'Til you drop: Shopping - a Melbourne history*, Keith Murdoch Gallery, SLV, Melbourne, 11 December 2009 - 31 October 2010 (photograph only; no catalogue issued).
Photo: (a) Wolfgang Sievers, taken in 1973; original held SLV, accession no. H98.30/229; (b) unknown photographer, reproduced in Cooper, 2014, p. 355.

According to the SLV catalogue entry for the above Sievers photograph, the image depicts ‘pedestrians walking past the front of Georges. Shows original show windows and frontage with sculpture of Georges' coat of arms, sculpted by Clifford Last’. Annette Cooper records that under Reta Findlay, Advertising Manager for Georges, ‘the logo was re-designed by Clifford Last, the window displays became much more elegant, sparse
and dramatic, and the print advertisements developed a lot more flair’ (Cooper, 2014, p. 349). Cooper reproduces Rennie Ellis’s photograph of the logo (Rennie Ellis Photographic Archive, SLV, Accession no. H2011.150/103) and records that it was removed during the Terence Conran revival c. 1996.

Photos: (a) unknown photographer, reproduced Pix, 1949, p. 25, and in Melbourne, 1989, p. 18; (b) detail of (a).

Dated 1950 in the 1950 Georges Gallery catalogue, yet a photograph of Last working on this piece was reproduced in Pix in September 1949. Last’s annotated copy of the 1950 Georges Gallery catalogue (Last papers, box 3) records this to be in the collection of ‘Searle (Melp University)’. This was probably the same Ross Searle or Sears or Rene Searles who owned the Nude Figure, 1947 (CL00…). The carving was recorded as ‘since destroyed’ in the 1989 retrospective catalogue (Melbourne, 1989, p. 18).

CL0041.1

Audrey, 1949
Plaster.
Dimensions unknown.
Collection of Keith Morrow, as of 1950.
Exhibited: An Exhibition of Sculpture by Clifford Last, John Martin's Art Gallery, Adelaide, 20-? September 1949, catalogue no. 24 (as Audrey, plaster for bronze, 1949, NFS).

Literature: Adelaide, 1949, no. 24; Francis, 1949 Sept 20; Fuller, 1949. When this was exhibited at Adelaide in 1949, the generally critical Ivor Francis conceded that ‘Peasant, with its classical treatment of a romantic subject, and the two busts Audrey and Lady Into Fox are excellent by any standards’ (Francis, 1949 Sept 20), while the critic for the Adelaide Advertiser noted that ‘Audrey is a beautifully modelled head’ (Fuller, 1949). An annotated copy of the John Martin catalogue (Last papers, box 3) records that this belongs to ‘Keith’, and the ‘N.F.S.’ is crossed out and replaced with ‘30 [gns]’. The ‘Keith’ in question was almost certainly Keith Morrow, whose name appears alongside the bronze version of Audrey in Last’s annotated version of the 1950 catalogue.

CL0041.2

Audrey, 1949
Bronze; probably in an edition of two.
Dimensions unknown.
One cast collection of Keith Morrow, as of 1950.
Exhibited: Sculpture by Clifford Last, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 10-26

CL0040

Pearwood Madonna, 1949
Pearwood.
60.9 cm high approx.
Destroyed.
Provenance: Bought by Searle, Melbourne University, from the 1950 exhibition; later destroyed.
Exhibited: Sculpture by Clifford Last, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 10-26 October 1950, catalogue no. 6 (as Pearwood Madonna, 1950, 30 gns).

Literature: Pix, 1949, b&w photograph of the artist at work on this piece, p. 25; Melbourne, 1950, no. 6; Age, 1950 Oct 10; Melbourne, 1989, b&w illustration p. 18.
October 1950, catalogue no. 23 (as Audrey, bronze, 1949, 65 gns);
(? ) First group exhibition (exact title unknown), Australian Galleries, Collingwood, June 1956 – April 1957, catalogue no. 127 (as Portrait Study, bronze, 60 gns, and later as Head of a Girl, bronze, 60 gns); (? ) Exhibition of Paintings in Settings of Fine Office Furniture, Australian Galleries, Collingwood, 7-15 August 1958, catalogue no. 37 (as Portrait Head, bronze, 60 gns).


Robert Haines wrote in the foreword to Last’s 1950 exhibition catalogue: ‘It seems to me that the work has followed logically along the lines of his development, that the conception is larger, that the carving is stronger and the modelling - especially in the head of Audrey - is more sensitive’ (Haines in Melbourne, 1950, n.p.). Last’s annotated copy of the 1950 Georges Gallery catalogue (Last papers, box 3), records this to be in the collection of Keith Morrow. However, it is likely that a second cast was made available for sale, as a bronze portrait head of ‘a girl’ was offered through the Australian Galleries, Collingwood, at their first group exhibition in June 1956 and remained with them throughout the following five monthly exhibitions, until April 1957.

Whereabouts unknown.

Provenance: Collection of the artist, c. 1989; Leonard Joel, Melbourne, 21 August 1996, lot 267 (as Head of a Man, plaster, 32.5 cm, estimate $400-600); Leonard Joel, Melbourne, 25 October 2009, lot 136 (as Man’s head, plaster, 32.5 cm high, estimate $400-600, sold $480 IBP).

Literature: Melbourne, 1989, visible in the background of a photograph of Last in his studio, taken circa 1949, reproduced p. 16, fig. 5.

Photo: Leonard Joel’s, Melbourne.

Nils Runbalk was captain of the Swedish freighter, the Mongabarra, aboard which Last worked his passage to Europe in 1951. Runbalk was married to an Australian, whose portrait Last also modelled (see The Captain’s Wife, 1950, CL0051). Six slides of the present work, each titled The Sea Captain, are to be found among the Last papers (box 2). The Sea Captain is also visible on a shelf in Last’s studio in a photograph taken in 1949 (see CL0043).

CL0043

Title unknown (three-quarter female nude), c. 1949
Terracotta.
30 cm high approx.

Whereabouts unknown.

Literature: People, 1950, b&w photograph of Last working on this while model poses in the studio, p. 33.


The People magazine photograph of 1950 is dated 1949 in Melbourne, 1989 (p. 16). I have followed this date given the rather conservative execution of the piece, suggesting it predates the more severely geometric work that Last embarked on in 1950.
Female Torso, 1949
Ironbark.
1.0 m high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.
Provenance: Burwood Teachers’ College, as of 1950.
Exhibited: Sculpture by Clifford Last, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 10-26 October 1950, catalogue no. 3 (as Female Torso, iron bark, 1949, 70 gns).
Literature: People magazine, 1950, b&w photograph of the artist holding this work, p. 32; Wood, 1951, b&w photograph, p. 76; Geelong, 1973, p. 7.
Photo: unknown photographer, reproduced in Wood, 1951, p. 76. A photograph of Last holding this work appeared in People magazine, 1950, alongside the caption: ‘Clifford Last put more than 10 weeks work into this 70 lb female torso, carved from an old ironbark post. He hopes to get 60 gns for it’ (People, 1950, p. 32). In 1951 the work was illustrated in Wood magazine, next to Native Head (CL0045), with the caption: ‘The carvings on this page, both in ironbark, were carved from the same piece of wood. The sculptor has made use of the grain markings in the wood to emphasise the rounded skull in the native head, above, and the curved, heavy lines of the female torso, left’ (Wood, 1951, p. 76). Last’s annotated copy of the 1950 Georges Gallery catalogue (Last papers, box 3), records this to be in the collection of Burwood Teachers’ College. This later became the State College of Victoria (1976-81), Victoria College (1981-92) and, since 1992, Deakin University. However, enquiries with Deakin University failed to locate the work (email to the author from Roxanna Richens, Deakin, 18 March 2015).

Native Head, 1949
Ironbark.
20 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Sculpture by Clifford Last, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 10-26 October 1950, catalogue no. 13 (as Native Head, iron bark, 1949, 15 gns).

Reclining Figure, 1950
Blackwood.
45.7 cm long.
Collection of Andrew Thwaites, as of 1950.
Exhibited: Sculpture by Clifford Last, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 10-26 October 1950, catalogue no. 5 (as Reclining Figure, blackwood, 1950, kindly lent by Mr Andrew Thwaites); Clifford Last Sculpture: A Retrospective Exhibition, NGV, Melbourne, 23 November 1989 - 29 January 1990, catalogue no. 7 (as Reclining Figure, 1949, blackwood, 45.7 cm length, private collection, Melbourne, exhibited Georges Gallery 1950).
Literature: Melbourne, 1950, no. 5;
Wood, 1951, b&w illustration p. 77; Melbourne, 1989, no. 7, p. 67, b&w illustration 37.

Photo: Norman Dewhurst, reproduced Melbourne, 1989, p. 37; original held among the Last papers, box 1, folder 4. Dated 1949 in the 1989 retrospective catalogue, but dated 1950 in the 1950 Georges Gallery catalogue. I have followed the 1950 dating give that it was assigned closer to the time of execution. In a feature article on Last for *Wood* magazine, 1951, this work was illustrated alongside the caption: 'The reclining figure, carved in Australian blackwood, below, which was inspired by sunbathers on Australian beaches, has the simplicity of much medieval work' (Wood, 1951, p. 77).

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**CL0047**

**Reclining Figure, 1950**

Canadian myrtle.

2.0 m long approx.

Whereabouts unknown.

**Exhibited: Sculpture by Clifford Last, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 10-26 October 1950, catalogue no. 1 (as Reclining Figure, Canadian myrtle, 1950, 200 gns); Sculpture by Clifford Last, Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 13-22 October 1953, catalogue no. 1 (as Reclining Figure, Canadian myrtle, 1950, price on application).**

**Literature:** Melbourne, 1950, no. 1; *Age*, 1950 Oct 10; *Warren, 1950 Oct 10; People, 1950, b&w photograph of Last at work on this sculpture in his garden, p. 33; Melbourne, 1953 Oct, no. 1; McCulloch, 1953 Oct.

**Photo:** unknown photographer, reproduced in People, 1950, p. 33.

In 1950 this was the largest and highest-priced work Last had exhibited thus far. Alan Warren found the 'life-sized wood-carving, *Reclining Figure,* … [Last’s] tour-de-force in this exhibition' (Warren, 1950 Oct 10) while *The Age* art critic complimented its ‘skillfully related planes and stylisation maintained in three-dimensional unity’ (Age, 1950 Oct 10). However, when it was again exhibited in 1953, Alan McCulloch found that it lacked mystery (McCulloch, 1953 Oct). Last's annotated copy of the 1950 Georges Gallery catalogue (Last papers, box 3), records that this was re-carved. However, no photographs or documentary sources have been located regarding the re-carved version.

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**CL0048**

**Female Torso, 1950**

Poplar.

44.5 x 16.5 x 15.5 cm

Signed with initials and dated near base at reverse: ‘CL 50’.

McClelland Gallery & Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic.

**Provenance:** David Wynn, Adelaide; Gift of the family of David Wynn AO 1915-95 in his memory. Patricia, Adam and Eva Wynn and Claudia Harper, 1996.

**Exhibited:** Sculpture by Clifford Last, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 10-26 October 1950, catalogue no. 7 (Female Form, poplar wood, 1950, 30 gns); *Clifford Last Sculpture: A Retrospective Exhibition*, NGV, Melbourne, 23 November 1989 - 29 January 1990, catalogue no. 6 (as Torso, 1950, poplar, 39 cm high, Mr David Wynn, Adelaide, exhibited.
Georges Gallery 1950); 1956: "Melbourne, Modernity and the XVI Olympiad," Museum of Modern Art at Heide, Bulleen, Vic., 17 December 1996 - 2 March 1997, no catalogue number (as "Untitled", 1950, wood, 39.5 x 12.5 x 13.5 cm, loaned by the McClelland Gallery); This was the Future... Australian sculpture of the 1950s, 60s, 70s and today; Heide Museum of Modern Art, Bulleen, Vic., 4 October - 7 December 2003 (as Female form in wood, 1950, wood, 39.5 x 12.5 x 13.5 cm, McClelland Gallery & Sculpture Park, gift of the Estate of Mr David Wynn, 1996).

Literature: Melbourne, 1950, no. 7; Melbourne, 1989, no. 6, p. 67, b&w illustration p. 36; Bulleen, 1996, p. 107; Bulleen, 2003, p. 86.

Photos: the author.

CL0049
**Mask, 1950**
Silver poplar.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

Exhibited: Sculpture by Clifford Last, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 10-26 October 1950, catalogue no. 12 (as Mask, poplar wood, 1950, 20 gns); (?) Sculpture by Clifford Last, Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 13-22 October 1953, catalogue no. 7 (as Mask, silver poplar, 1951 [sic], 12 gns).

Literature: Melbourne, 1950, no. 12; Melbourne, 1953 Oct, no. 7.

See also CL0042.

CL0050
**Stone Flower, 1950**
Alabaster.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

Exhibited: Sculpture by Clifford Last, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 10-26 October 1950, catalogue no. 20 (as Stone Flower, alabaster, 1950, 12 gns).


The Age art critic admired Stone Flower for 'the sheer purity of its abstract form' (Age, 1950 Oct 10).

CL0051
**The Captain’s Wife, 1950**
Bronze.
Dimensions unknown.
Collection of Capt Nils Runbalk, as of 1950.

Exhibited: Sculpture by Clifford Last, Georges Gallery, Melbourne, 10-26 October 1950, catalogue no. 21 (as The Captain’s Wife, bronze, 1950, kindly lent by Capt. Nils Runbalk).

Literature: Melbourne, 1950, no. 21.
See also CL0042.

CL0052
**Crucifixion, c. 1950s**
Wood.
40 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.

Photo: unknown photographer; original held among the Last papers, box 2.
CL0053

Weeping Figure, 1951
Wood – possibly Lambertiana pine – and gesso.
77.0 cm high.
Provenance: Gift of the artist; Private collection, Melbourne; Thence by descent; Fine Art, Leonard Joel, Melbourne, 22 March 2016, lot 214 (as Weeping Figure, 1951, carved wood, 77 cm high, initialed and dated verso: CL 1951, estimate $3,000-$5,000), sold for $3,000.
Photo: Leonard Joel’s, Melbourne.

London, 1951-52

CL0054

Mermaid, 1952
(?) Wood.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Made in London, this is the only recorded sculpture that Last executed during his visit to England and Europe between March 1951 and March 1952. Last’s diary entries for 15-17 January 1952 record him to be ‘working on Mermaid’ and ‘finishing off Mermaid’. The rapidity of the execution suggests that the work was perhaps a small woodcarving. No photograph or exhibition record for it exists. It was possibly gifted to a friend in London at the time.

Melbourne, 1952-60

Some confusion exists over Last’s 1952-53 series that he termed ‘experiments in abstract carving’. At least five works were carved in coral stone or limestone, of which three have been sighted in reproduction. I have attempted to match these three illustrations with their original exhibition records. The apparent confusion over the medium – coral stone or Mt Gambier limestone – is somewhat clarified by a note in The Argus regarding Last’s ‘geometrically inspired pieces, in coral stone from Mt. Gambier and in natural Australian timbers’ (Argus, 1953 Oct 13, p. 8). The terms coral stone and limestone have been used interchangeably. Last possibly came across Mt Gambier-quarried stone during his visits to the Wynns at Coonawarra from the late 1940s onwards.

CL0055.1

Maquette for Abstract Group, 1952
(?) Clay.
20 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.
Photo: unknown photographer; scanned by the SLV from an original colour slide held among the Last papers, box 2, folder 6, where inscribed: ‘Maquette / poss. C. Last’.
CL0055.2

Abstract Group (later known as Standing Figures), 1952
Coral stone; also described as Mt Gambier limestone.
40.6 cm high.
Collection of Charles Blackman, as of 1972.
Exhibited: Victorian Sculptors’ Society Annual Exhibition of Sculpture, Victorian Artists’ Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 5-16 November 1952, catalogue no. 24 (as Abstract Group, coral stone, 18 gns).
Photo: unknown photographer, reproduced in Dimmack, 1972, plate 8. Max Dimmack connects this and related works to the so-called ‘geometry of fear’ period of 1950s British sculpture, writing: ‘Typical pieces such as Standing Figures (Plate 8) and Abstract Figure (Plate 10) … contain overtones of human mystery, a certain indefinable aggressiveness, a watchfulness rooted in a deeper anxiety of human fear and uncertainty. These forms clearly relate to troubled times’ (Dimmack, 1972, p. 36).

CL0056

Standing Abstract (also known as Standing Figure), 1952
Exhibited: Victorian Sculptors' Society Annual Exhibition of Sculpture, Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 5-16 November 1952, catalogue no. 25 (as Standing Abstract, coral stone, 16 gns); The Group of Four: Inge King, Norma Redpath, Julius Kuhn, Clifford Last, Melbourne University School of Architecture, 1-12 June 1953, catalogue no. 20 (as Standing Figure, coral stone, 15 gns); Sculpture by Clifford Last, Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 13-22 October 1953, catalogue no. 11 (in the section headed ‘Experiments in Abstract Carving’, as Standing Figure, coral stone, 1952, 15 gns).
CL0057

Abstract Figure, 1952
Coral stone.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: The Group of Four: Inge King, Norma Redpath, Julius Kuhn, Clifford Last, Melbourne University School of Architecture, 1-12 June 1953, catalogue no. 21 (as Abstract Figure, coral stone, 12 gns); Sculpture by Clifford Last, Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 13-22 October 1953, catalogue no. 10 (in the section headed ‘Experiments in Abstract Carving’, as Figure, coral stone, 1952, 12 gns). Literature: Parkville, 1953, no. 21; McCulloch, 1953 June; Age, 1953 June 2, p. 10; Wynn, 1953, p. 40; Melbourne, 1953 Oct, no. 10; Argus, 1953 Oct 13, p. 8.

CL0058

Abstract Head (also known as Head), 1952
Variously catalogued as coral stone and Mt Gambier limestone.
27.9 cm high.
Whereabouts unknown.
Provenance: Collection of the artist, as of 1989.
Exhibited: The Group of Four: Inge King, Norma Redpath, Julius Kuhn, Clifford Last, Melbourne University School of Architecture, 1-12 June 1953, catalogue no. 22 (as Abstract Head, coral stone, 10 gns); Sculpture by Clifford Last, Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 13-22 October 1953, catalogue no. 15 (in the section headed ‘Experiments in Abstract Carving’, as Figure, coral stone, 1952, 12 gns). Literature: Parkville, 1953, no. 22; McCulloch, 1953 June; Age, 1953 June 2, p. 10; Wynn, 1953, p. 40, b&w illustration p. 41; Melbourne, 1953 Oct, no. 12; Argus, 1953 Oct 13, p. 8; Melbourne, 1989, no. 9, p. 67, b&w illustration p. 37; South Yarra, 1990, no. 1.
Thanks to being illustrated in the journal Architecture and Arts (Wynn, 1953, p. 41) and in the 1989 retrospective catalogue, this is perhaps the best-known work of Last’s transitional period, following his time spent with Robert Adams in London.

CL0059

Standing Figures, 1952
Coral stone.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
This is almost certainly not the same work as Standing Figures, 1952, (CL0055.2), which was priced at 18 gns when exhibited at the VSS in 1952. Last’s other exhibit at the VSS
show, *Standing Abstract*, was originally 16 gns – a price that dropped slightly to 15 gns when shown at this solo show at the Peter Bray Gallery in 1953. It seems unlikely that Last would have dropped the price of *Standing Figures* so drastically, from 18 gns to 12 gns, in the space of less than twelve months. It is more probable that two works were assigned the same title.

**CL0060**

*Freestone Carving (later known as Head)*, 1952

Freestone.

35.5 cm high.


*Exhibited:* *The Group of Four: Inge King, Norma Redpath, Julius Kuhn, Clifford Last*, Melbourne University School of Architecture, 1-12 June 1953, catalogue no. 23 (as *Freestone Carving, 15 gns*); *Sculpture by Clifford Last*, Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 13-22 October 1953, catalogue no. 9 (as *Freestone Carving, 15 gns*); *Clifford Last Sculpture: A Retrospective Exhibition*, NGV, Melbourne, 23 November 1989 - 29 January 1990, catalogue no. 10 (as *Head*, 1953, freestone, 35.5 cm high, collection Mrs M. Abercrombie, Hobart, exhibited Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 1953).


*Photo:* David Muir; original held among the Last papers, box 2, folder 6. Last’s annotated copy of the 1953 Peter Bray catalogue records that this was bought by ‘Abercrombie’, allowing us to match the *Freestone Carving* from the Peter Bray exhibition with *Head* from the collection of Mrs M. Abercrombie, as recorded in the 1989 retrospective catalogue. However, I have adjusted the date from 1953 to 1952 based on the close similarity with *Abstract Head* (also known simply as *Head*), 1952 (CL0058). Sturgeon records that this work was made immediately after Last’s return from Europe, which would also date it to early 1952, rather than 1953 (Sturgeon, 1978, p. 168).

**CL0061**

*Two Standing Figures (also known as Figure I and II or Standing Abstract I and II)*, 1952

Silver poplar joined together at a later date on a slate base.

48.0 x 18.0 x 18.0 cm each approx.; base: 5 cm high.

Not signed.

Collection of the Gold Coast Art Centre, Queensland.

*Provenance:* Bought back by the artist from a private collector; Collection of the artist, as of 1989; Purchased from the Powell Street Gallery by the Gold Coast Art Centre, 1990.

*Exhibited:* *Victorian Sculptors' Society Annual Exhibition of Sculpture*, Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 5-16 November 1952,
catalogue no. 26 and 27 (each as Standing Abstract, 1952, silver poplar wood, 12 gns and 9 gns respectively); Sculpture by Clifford Last, Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 13-22 October 1953, catalogue no. 16 and 17 (in the section headed ‘Experiments in Abstract Carving’, as Figure I and Figure II, silver poplar, 1952, 9 gns each); Clifford Last Sculpture: A Retrospective Exhibition, NGV, Melbourne, 23 November 1989 - 29 January 1990, catalogue no. 11 (as Two Sanding Figures, 1953 [sic], poplar, 53 cm high, collection the artist, exhibited Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 1953); Clifford Last: Sculpture 1952-1990, Powell Street Gallery, South Yarra, 26 May - 14 June 1990, catalogue no. 2 (as Two Sanding Figures, 1953 [sic], poplar). Literature: East Melbourne, 1952 Nov, nos. 26 and 27; Bulletin, 1952 Nov 12; Melbourne, 1953 Oct, nos. 16 and 17; Melbourne, 1989, no. 11, p. 67, b&w illustration p. 38; South Yarra, 1990, no. 2; Catalano, 1990 Jan; Palmer, 1990, p. 7; (?) Heathcote, 1995, p. 128. Photos: (a) unknown photographer; original held among the Last papers, box 2, folder 6; (b) Helen Skuse and Garry Sommerfeld for the NGV, reproduced Melbourne, 1989, p. 38.

CL0062
Figure with Colour, 1952
Pine.
Dimensions unknown.
Destroyed by the artist. 
Exhibited: Sculpture by Clifford Last, Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 13-22 October 1953, catalogue no. 14 (in the section headed ‘Experiments in Abstract Carving’, as Figure with Colour, pine, 1952, 12 gns).
Last’s annotated copy of the 1953 Peter Bray catalogue records that this was later ‘self destroyed’, suggesting either his unhappiness with the work or that it was inadvertently damaged beyond repair.

CL0063
Alabaster Carving, 1953
Alabaster.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: The Group of Four: Inge King, Norma Redpath, Julius Kuhn, Clifford Last, Melbourne University School of Architecture, 1-12 June 1953, catalogue no. 19 (as Alabaster Carving, 12 gns); Sculpture by Clifford Last, Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 13-22 October 1953, catalogue no. 13 (in the section headed ‘Experiments in Abstract Carving’, as Carving, alabaster, 1953, 12 gns).
catalogue no. 3 (as Abstract Figure, silky oak, 1953, 40 gns); Clifford Last Sculpture: A Retrospective Exhibition, NGV, Melbourne, 23 November 1989 - 29 January 1990, catalogue no. 12 (as Abstract Figure, 1953, silky oak, 123 cm high, collection Mr and Mrs Max Dimmack, Melbourne, exhibited Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 1953).


CL0065

Abstract Figure, 1953

Elm.

Dimensions unknown.

Whereabouts unknown.

Exhibited: Sculpture by Clifford Last, Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 13-22 October 1953, catalogue no. 4 (as Abstract Figure, elm, 1953, 35 gns).


In one of the few positive reviews of Last’s Peter Bray exhibition, Alan Warren singled this out as the ‘Most admirable piece exhibited at Peter Bray’s by Clifford Last, who rejected academic sculpture to explore abstraction, in his stately Abstract Figure (4). Using an experimental style (for him) in this, he successfully fuses rhythm and tension’ (Warren, 1953 Oct 13).

CL0066

Bird Form I, 1953

Almond (Prunus sp.).

88.0 x 19.5 x 16.5 cm

Signed with monogram above base lower left: ‘L’ [in a triangle].

NGV, Melbourne.

Provenance: Collection of Mr and Mrs H. C. Long, Melbourne, by 1954 and still with them as of 1989; Amanda Addams Auctions, Melbourne, 10 March 2002, lot 121 (as Bird Form, 1953, ex. Peter Bray Gallery, 1953; NGV, 1989; sold $5,660 IBP); Deutscher Menzies, Melbourne, 27 November 2002, lot 95, unsold ($18,000-$24,000); Presented through the NGV Foundation by Wong Min Lee, Member, 2004. Accession no. 2004.355.

Exhibited: Sculpture by Clifford Last, Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 13-22 October 1953, catalogue no. 5 (as Bird Form I, almond wood, 1953, 30 gns); Contemporary Art Society of Australia, Royal Tour Contemporary Art Exhibition, Mirka's Gallery, Melbourne, 25 February - 6 March 1954, catalogue E (as Bird Form, by courtesy of Mrs H. C. Long); (?) Contemporary Arts Society (South Australia) Annual Exhibition, Institute Gallery, North Terrace, Adelaide, July 1954, catalogue no. 17 (as Bird Form, almond wood, 30 gns); (?) Third group exhibition (exact title unknown), Australian Galleries, Collingwood, November 1956 – April 1957,
catalogue no. 111 (as Bird Form, 30 gns); Clifford Last Sculpture: A Retrospective Exhibition, NGV, Melbourne, 23 November 1989 - 29 January 1990, catalogue no. 13 (as Bird Form, 1953, almond, 88 cm high, collection Mr and Mrs H.C. Long, Melbourne, exhibited Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 1953).


Photo: courtesy NGV, Melbourne.

It is unclear whether this or the following entry was the work that Last sent to Adelaide for the South Australian CAS exhibition of 1954, where the reviewer for the Advertiser noted ‘Birdform in almond wood — it was a nice piece of wood, by Clifford Last’ (Young, 1954, p. 4). Similarly it is unknown whether it was this piece or its pair that was shown at the third Australian Galleries group exhibition in November 1956 and which remained with them for the subsequent three monthly exhibitions until April 1957. In 2004, in their submission for acquisition report, curators Jennifer Phipps and Frances Lindsay wrote: ‘This sculpture represents the uncompromising fine balance and severity of the carved stone and wood exhibits in Last’s Peter Bray Gallery exhibition, 1953. The artist found unusual and finely figured wood – almond – and carved it into an acutely balanced, rising form, part Constructivist, part pure geometry which suggests the most abstract of bird forms. The sensuality of the polished wood is set off against the severity of the slightly rotated form and the long delicate piercing of the head’ (NGV accession file: Clifford Last, Bird Form, 2004.355).

Bird Form II, 1953
Almond (Prunus sp.).
88.0 cm high approx.
Collection of Mr G. King (not Grahame King), as of 1989.
Exhibited: Sculpture by Clifford Last, Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 13-22 October 1953, catalogue no. 6 (as Bird Form II, almond wood, 1953, 30 gns); (?) Contemporary Arts Society (South Australia) Annual Exhibition, Institute Gallery, North Terrace, Adelaide, July 1954, catalogue no. 17 (as Bird Form, almond wood, 30 gns); (?) Third group exhibition (exact title unknown), Australian Galleries, Collingwood, November 1956 – April 1957, catalogue no. 111 (as Bird Form, 30 gns); Clifford Last Sculpture: A Retrospective Exhibition, NGV, Melbourne, 23 November 1989 - 29 January 1990, catalogue no. 14 (as Bird Form, 1953, almond, 88 cm high, collection Mr G. King, Melbourne, exhibited Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 1953).


Photo: (work illustrated at the right of pair) Helen Skuse and Garry Sommerfeld for the NGV, reproduced Melbourne, 1989, p. 39.
CL0068
Carved Free-Form Platter, c. 1953
Birds eye maple.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Sculpture by Clifford Last, Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 13-22 October 1953, catalogue no. 18 (as Carved Free-Form Platter, Birds eye maple, 3 gns).

CL0069
Carved Free-Form Platter, c. 1953
Blue gum.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Sculpture by Clifford Last, Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 13-22 October 1953, catalogue no. 19 (as Carved Free-Form Platter, blue gum, 3 gns).

CL0070
Carved Free-Form Platter, c. 1953
Sassafras.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Sculpture by Clifford Last, Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 13-22 October 1953, catalogue no. 20 (as Carved Free-Form Platter, sassafras, 3 gns).

CL0071
Carved Free-Form Platter, c. 1953
New Guinea walnut.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Sculpture by Clifford Last, Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 13-22 October 1953, catalogue no. 21 (as Carved Free-Form Platter, New Guinea walnut, 3 gns).

CL0072
Carved Free-Form Platter, c. 1953
Tasmanian myrtle.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Sculpture by Clifford Last, Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 13-22 October 1953, catalogue no. 22 (as Carved Free-Form Platter, Tasmanian myrtle, 3 gns).

CL0073
Carved Free-Form Platter, c. 1953
Teak.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Sculpture by Clifford Last, Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 13-22 October 1953, catalogue no. 23 (as Carved Free-Form Platter, teak, 2 gns).

CL0074
Carved Free-Form Platter, c. 1953
Blackwood.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Sculpture by Clifford Last, Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 13-22 October 1953, catalogue no. 24 (as Carved Free-Form Platter, blackwood, 2 gns).

CL0075
Carved Free-Form Platter, c. 1953
Cedar pine.
Dimensions unknown. Whereabouts unknown.

Exhibited: *Sculpture by Clifford Last*, Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 13-22 October 1953, catalogue no. 25 (as *Carved Free-Form Platter*, cedar pine, 2 gns).


CL0076

**Carved Free-Form Platter, c. 1953**

Lambertiana pine.

Dimensions unknown. Whereabouts unknown.

Exhibited: *Sculpture by Clifford Last*, Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 13-22 October 1953, catalogue no. 26 (as *Carved Free-Form Platter*, Lambertiana pine, 2 gns).


CL0077

**Carved Free-Form Platter, c. 1953**

Cedar pine.

Dimensions unknown. Whereabouts unknown.

Exhibited: *Sculpture by Clifford Last*, Peter Bray Gallery, Melbourne, 13-22 October 1953, catalogue no. 27 (as *Carved Free-Form Platter*, cedar pine, 2 gns).


CL0078

**Portrait Study, c. 1953**

Bronze.

Dimensions unknown. Whereabouts unknown.

Exhibited: *Contemporary Art Society Exhibition*, Tye's Gallery, 100 Bourke Street, Melbourne, 6-23 April 1954, catalogue no. 126 (as *Ebony Bird Form*, sculpture, 15 gns); *Victorian Sculptors' Society Annual Exhibition of Sculpture*, Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 19-29 October 1954, catalogue no. 18 (as *Ebony Bird Form*, 12 gns).


CL0079

**Pair of table bowls, c. 1954**

Wood.

Dimensions unknown. Whereabouts unknown.

Literature: Home Beautiful, 1954 Nov, b&w illustration, p. 27.

Photo: unknown photographer, reproduced Home Beautiful, 1954 Nov, p. 27.

CL0080

**Ebony Bird Form, c. 1954**

(?) Ebony.

Dimensions unknown. Whereabouts unknown.

Exhibited: *Contemporary Art Society Exhibition*, Tye's Gallery, 100 Bourke Street, Melbourne, 6-23 April 1954, catalogue no. 126 (as *Ebony Bird Form*, sculpture, 15 gns); *Victorian Sculptors' Society Annual Exhibition of Sculpture*, Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 19-29 October 1954, catalogue no. 18 (as *Ebony Bird Form*, 12 gns).


CL0081

**Abstract Carving, c. 1954**

Almond wood.

Dimensions unknown. Whereabouts unknown.

Exhibited: *Contemporary Art Society Exhibition*, Tye's Gallery, 100 Bourke Street, Melbourne, 6-23 April 1954, catalogue no. 127 (as *Abstract Carving*,
almond, 18 gns).
Literature: Melbourne, 1954 April, no. 127.

**CL0082**

*Bird Form in Space, c. 1954*

Mobile of wood and wire.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: *Contemporary Art Society Exhibition*, Tye's Gallery, 100 Bourke Street, Melbourne, 6-23 April 1954, catalogue no. 128 (as *Bird Form in Space*, sculpture, 18 gns).
Literature: Melbourne, 1954 April, no. 128; *Architecture and Arts*, 1954 May, b&w illustration p. 41.

An anonymous notice in the May 1954 issue of the Melbourne journal *Architecture and Arts* announced the reformation of the Victorian branch of the CAS and reviewed their April exhibition, which, the reviewer felt, ‘showed a sign of hope and vitality for the continuance of our culture’. The review included a photograph of Last’s, *Bird Form in Space* (illustrated above).

**CL0083**

*Ecclesiastes, c. 1954*

Almond wood.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: *Victorian Sculptors’ Society Annual Exhibition of Sculpture*, Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 19-29 October 1954, catalogue no. 20 (as *Ecclesiastes*, pine, 25 gns); *Herald Outdoor Art Show*, Treasury Gardens, Melbourne, 11-19 March 1955, catalogue no. 677 (as *Abstract Figure*, sculpture, 40 gns, section Q); *The Group of Four: An Exhibition of Contemporary Sculpture*, exh. cat., Parkville, Vic.: School of Architecture, Melbourne University, 30 May - 11 June 1955, catalogue no. 14 (as *Abstract Figure*, pine, 40 gns); *Clifford Last Sculpture: A Retrospective Exhibition*, NGV, Melbourne, 23 November 1989 - 29 January 1990, catalogue no. 20 (as *Standing Figure*, 1955, Lambertiana pine, gesso, 195 cm high, private collection, Melbourne, re-carved from a figure exhibited at Georges Gallery in 1950); (?) *The Ken Hood Collection*, McClelland Gallery + Sculpture Park, 18 April - 13 June 2004; *Awakening*
Forms: Vincas Jomantas and Clifford Last, McClelland Gallery & Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 29 July - 28 October 2012 (as Standing Figure, c. 1948-55, Lambertiana pine, gesso, collection of McClelland Gallery + Sculpture Park, Gift of Ron and Sally Hood, 2002; no catalogue issued).


Photos: (a) Helen Skuse and Garry Sommerfeld for the NGV, reproduced Melbourne, 1989, p. 42; (b) Herald Sun Newspapers, original held among the Last papers, box 2, folder 5.

This work was recarved from Last’s earlier Pine Figure, 1948, which was slightly reworked in 1950 and differs markedly from the present version (see CL0013). When it was exhibited at Last’s retrospective in 1989 it was titled Standing Figure, 1955, and it was most likely first shown under this title at the 1954 VSS. The Age art critic, reviewing this show, noted: ‘Among the younger sculptors, Clifford Last is most impressive with his Standing Figure (21)’ (Age, 1954 Oct 20, p. 2); Arnold Shore commented that the work showed ‘modern regard for form in the abstract’ (Shore, 1954 Oct 19, p. 11). The following March, Last exhibited it at the Herald Outdoor Art Show where it was mentioned thus in The Herald: ‘Over in the sculpture section, bearded Clifford Last, 36, was arranging his three-feet high wooden abstract figure of a man. Painted white, its head is half scooped away by a curve in the wood. “That signifies man’s receptive qualities,” said Cliff. “They aren’t very many”. Clifford, who works and lives in a St Kilda Road hay-loft, explained: “These are abstractions. They don’t have to look like figures. His sculpture is for sale at 50 [sic] guineas” (Herald, 1955 Oct 11). It was also illustrated in another undated press clipping regarding the Outdoor Art Show among Last’s album of newspaper clippings (Herald, 1955 c. Oct 11-19). Three years later it was again reproduced, this time in the Australian Home Beautiful, although the caption erroneously indicated it was designed for the new library at Mercer House Teachers College in Malvern: ‘Clifford Last designed this symbolic figure in wood for a new library at the Teachers’ Training School, Malvern, Vic., where it is placed so that it breaks up the lines of the bookshelves’ (Australian Home Beautiful, 1958, p. 49). In fact that caption ought to have appeared alongside a photograph of Last’s blackwood Family Group, c. 1955 (CL0089).

CL0085

Suspension ceiling lamp, 1954

White metal.

Dimensions unknown.

Whereabouts unknown.

Provenance: Gift of the artist to Georges and Mirka Mora for the opening of the Mirka Café, 18 Exhibition St Melbourne, December 1954; since lost.


According to Mirka Mora, when she and husband Georges Mora decided to open a café, ‘The sculptor Julius Kane offered to build a bar, and Dawn and Ian Sime offered to paint the walls and ceiling, perched on a scaffold. Clifford Last created a beautiful exotic lamp to be hung from the ceiling’ (Mora, 2002, p. 45).

CL0086

Fish Forms - Brick Mural Design, c. 1954

Plaster relief.

16.2 x 21.5 x 2.0 cm

Not signed. Twice inscribed on reverse: ‘Brick Mural Design / Fish Forms Private Residence’.

Private collection, Hampton, Victoria.

Provenance: Bequeathed to the present owner as part of the artist’s studio contents.
From its outset in 1954, Last was a member of the CAS’s Architect and Artist Co-ordinating Committee, a subcommittee charged with improving relations among Victoria’s architects and artists and increasing the number of commissions awarded to local artists both domestically and in the commercial field (see Reid, 1954 Sept, pp. 3-4). The present work may reflect his activities in this field, as a vocal exponent of the use of original sculpture in modern architectural settings. It is not known whether the mural was ever executed; nor is the intended location known.

Provenance: Purchased by the Launceston City Council, 1959.
Exhibited: Contemporary Art Society of Australia Annual Exhibition, Preston Motors Showroom, Melbourne, 10-21 May 1955, catalogue no. 193 (as Paternity, Red Gum, 25 gns); The Group of Four: An Exhibition of Contemporary Sculpture, School of Architecture, Melbourne University, Parkville, Vic., 30 May - 11 June 1955, catalogue no. 12 (as Paternity, red gum, 25 gns); (?) Third group exhibition (exact title unknown), Australian Galleries, Collingwood, November 1956 – February 1957, catalogue no. 110 (as Father and Son, 30 gns); Six Sculptors, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 21 July - 30 August 1959, catalogue no. 21 (as Father and Son, 1958 [sic], red gum).

Literature: Melbourne, 1955 May, no. 193; Parkville, 1955, no. 12; Bow, 1955 a, b&w illustration p. 54; (?) Collingwood, 1956 Nov, no. 110; Melbourne, 1959 July, no. 21; Six Melbourne Sculptors slides, slide no. 8 (shows both Father and Son and Family Group) and accompanying teachers’ notes, p. 5; Geelong, 1973, listed p. [7] as Family Group, jarrah [sic].

Photos: (a) unknown photographer, courtesy QVMAG, Launceston, Tasmania; (b) detail of Six Sculptors exhibition installation view, 1959, photograph by Mark Strizic on behalf of the Victorian Visual Education Centre, original slide held at the University of Melbourne Visual Cultures Resources Centre, slide no. 11-052-21.

Last’s annotated copy of the 1955 Group of Four catalogue (Last papers, box 3), records that this was sold to the head of Mercer House, Barbara Falk, who employed Last from 1955-62. However, the note was most likely added retrospectively and Last appears to have confused the present version in red gum with the second – slightly taller – version in jarrah (CL0088.2). It is unclear whether it was the
present work or the second version (CL0088.2) or another work in blue gum (CL0090) that was offered for sale through the Australian Galleries, Collingwood, at their third group exhibition and in their subsequent three monthly exhibitions until February 1957. When the present Father and Son was exhibited at Six Sculptors in 1959, alongside the larger Family Group (CL0089), Last wrote a series of notes for teachers on his intentions and technique: ‘The three figures forming Family Group and the two red gum figures in Father and Son were carved during the period 1958-1959 [sic] when I was trying to convey the various aspects of family life. It is important to realize the intentions of an artist and to assess the work bearing these intentions in mind. Rather than present in wood the family as it appeared to me visually, my intention was to suggest qualities like unity, sympathy, protection, and dependence in terms of assembled shapes ... Father and Son is carved from red gum, an exceedingly hard wood, and finished with oil and wax’ (Last cited in Six Sculptors Slides teachers notes, 1959, p. 5).

CL0088.2
Father and Son, c. 1955
Jarrah.
86.0 x 26.0 x 12.0 cm
Estate of Barbara Falk (1910-2008).
Exhibited: (?) Third group exhibition (exact title unknown), Australian Galleries, Collingwood, November 1956 – February 1957, catalogue no. 110 (as Father and Son, 30 gns); Sculpture Today, Council for Adult Education (CAE) and the VSS, Melbourne, travelling exhibition, March 1960, catalogue no. 4 (as Father and Son, Jarrah); Centre Five at

Heide, Heide Park and Art Gallery, Bulleen, Vic., 27 October - 9 December 1984, catalogue no. 15 (as Father and Son, 1958 [sic], Jarrah, 86 x 26 x 12 cm, private collection); Clifford Last Sculpture: A Retrospective Exhibition, NGV, Melbourne, 23 November 1989 - 29 January 1990, catalogue no. 15 (as Father and Son, 1955, jarrah, 86 cm high, private collection, Melbourne, exhibited Group of Four, 1955 [sic]; Six Sculptors, 1959 [sic]; Centre Five, 1984).

Family Group, c. 1955

Tasmanian blackwood, limed.
178 cm high.
Whereabouts unknown.
Provenance: Purchased by Mercer House Teachers’ College, Mercer Road, Malvern, c. 1960s, and with them until c. 1990.

Exhibited: The Group of Four: An Exhibition of Contemporary Sculpture, School of Architecture, Melbourne University, Parkville, Vic., 30 May - 11 June 1955, catalogue no. 15 (as Family Group, blackwood, price on application); Herald Outdoor Art Show, Treasury Gardens, Melbourne, 8-17 March 1956, catalogue no. 688 (as Family Group, NFS, section K); Retrospect, Five Years: Victorian Sculptors’ Society, Victorian Artists’ Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 21 July - ? 1958, catalogue no. 45 (as Family Group, 95 gns); (?) An exhibition of paintings and sculpture, presented by the Victorian Artists Society, in conjunction with the opening of ICI House Melbourne, Third Floor, ICI House, Nicholson Street, East Melbourne, 12-19 December 1958, catalogue no. 29 (as Clifford Last, Family Group, 90 gns); Six Sculptors, NGV, Melbourne, 21 July - 30 August 1959, catalogue no. 20 (as Family Group, 1958 [sic], Tasmanian blackwood); Contemporary Art Society of South Australia Annual Interstate Exhibition, CAS (South Australian branch), Adelaide, 16-27 May 1961, catalogue no. 49 (as Clifford Last, Family Group, Tasmanian blackwood, 150 gns);


Photos: (a) Family Group at Group of Four exhibition, 1955, unknown photographer, reproduced Bow, 1955 a, p. 54; (b) Family Group at Retrospect exhibition, VSS, 1958, unknown photographer, original held among the Aarons papers, AGNSW; (c) Family Group at Six Sculptors exhibition, 1959, photograph by Mark Strizic on behalf of the Victorian Visual Education Centre, original slide held at the University of Melbourne Visual Cultures Resources Centre, slide no. 11-052-12.

Dated 1958 in the 1959 Six Sculptors exhibition catalogue and in the 1989 retrospective catalogue. However, Family Group is clearly visible in a photograph (see above, a) of the second Group of Four Exhibition, held in 1955, and on this basis has been re-dated c. 1955. It was also evidently included in the 1956 Herald Outdoor Art Show, for Alan McCulloch mentioned it in his article,
‘Show grows in scope’: ‘Bare-chested, sun-tanned Clifford Last has composed a Family Group out of a log of Tasmanian blackwood. “It was sent to me,” he said today. “I get presents of logs from many places”’ (McCulloch, 1956 Mar). When exhibited at the Six Sculptors exhibition in 1959, Last wrote some notes for teachers on his intentions and technique: ‘The three figures forming Family Group and the two red gum figures in Father and Son were carved during the period 1958-1959 [sic] when I was trying to convey the various aspects of family life ... The grain in the Tasmanian blackwood of Family Group was very pronounced, so I introduced a coloured liming rubbed thinly on, to show the wood through. I firstly do rough pencil sketches, then model in clay to get the feeling of how the idea would look when carved. These clay sketches are called maquettes. The carving in wood is done with curved chisels or gouges, and a wooden mallet, and smoothed with rasps and sandpaper. In places I have left the chisel marks as a contrasting texture’ (Last cited in Six Sculptors Slides teachers notes, 1959, p. 5). Last’s annotated copy of the Group of Four catalogue (Last papers, box 3) notes that this was sold to Mercer House. Last began lecturing part-time at Mercer House in 1955, at director Barbara Falk’s invitation, and soon became full-time lecturer in charge of the art department there. He remained until 1962, when he resigned in order to concentrate on his sculpture again. Mercer House Teachers’ College, on Mercer Road, Malvern, was absorbed by the State College of Victoria (1976-81), which in turn later became part of Victoria College (1981-92) and finally Deakin University. However, when this work was exhibited at Last’s retrospective in 1989, it was still listed as part of the Mercer House collection. A colour slide of the work (Last papers, box 1, folder 6) is inscribed ‘Family Group / Melbourne Grammar’. Recent inquiries with Melbourne Grammar and Deakin University failed to locate the work (no response from Melbourne Grammar; email to the author from Roxanna Richens, Deakin, 18 March 2015).

CL0090

Father and Son, c. 1955

Variously described as slaty gum and blue gum.

106.7 cm high approx.

Collection of the National Gallery of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur.

Provenance: Purchased during the Four Arts tour of 1962.

Exhibited: The Group of Four: An Exhibition of Contemporary Sculpture, School of Architecture, Melbourne University, Parkville, Vic., 30 May - 11 June 1955, catalogue no. 13 (as Father and Son, slaty gum, 35 gns); (?) Third group exhibition (exact title unknown), Australian Galleries, Collingwood, November 1956 – February 1957, catalogue no. 110 (as Father and Son, 30 gns); Paintings by Dawn Sime and Wood Carvings by Clifford Last, South Yarra Gallery, South Yarra, Vic., 19 July - 6 August 1961, catalogue no. 9 (as Father and Son, 1959 [sic], blue gum, 30 guineas); Four Arts in Australia, organised by the Commonwealth Art Advisory Board to tour South East Asia: Kuala Lumpur, Bangkok, Manilla, Jakarta, Singapore, Phnom Penh, Saigon; 1962, catalogue no. 80 (as Father and Son, blue-gum).

Literature: Parkville, 1955, no. 13; (?) Collingwood, 1956 Nov, no. 110; South Yarra, 1961, no. 9; Shore, 1961 July 18, p. 2; McCulloch, 1961, July 19; Warren, 1961 July 19; South East Asia, 1962, no. 80, b&w illustration on
Appendix C: Clifford Last

CL0091

The Thinker, c. 1955
Freestone.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: The Group of Four: An Exhibition of Contemporary Sculpture, exh. cat., Parkville, Vic.: School of Architecture, Melbourne University, 30 May - 11 June 1955, catalogue no. 16 (as The Thinker, freestone, 15 gns).
Literature: Parkville, 1955, no. 16.

CL0092

Altarpiece: eagle pecking its breast, over the motto Est Deo Gra, 1955
Bas relief, wood.
37.0 x 28.0 cm
St George’s Church, Red Hill, Mornington Peninsula, Victoria (201 Arthurs Seat Road, Red Hill).
Provenance: Commissioned by architects Mockridge, Stahle and Mitchell, 1955. Altar donated to St George’s Church by the Jarman family in memory of their parents William Bruce Douglas Jarman and Daisy Maria Jarman.

Photo: Eric Lang; original held among the Last papers, box 2, folder 4.
An unidentified newspaper clipping among the Last papers, dated 7 November 1955, describes how an old classroom at Red Hill on the Mornington Peninsular was the site of the first Anglican services in the district ‘35 years ago’. When the school was replaced with a more modern one, the church acquired the old school and converted it into St George’s Church, Red Hill. Architects Mockridge, Stahle and Mitchell carried out the conversion, with the interior ‘painted dusty pink with a deep blue sanctuary wall’. The article continues: ‘This modern use of colour ... is enhanced by the modern furnishings made by a local craftsman to the architects’ design. On the centre panel of the altar the sculptor Clifford Last has carved the ancient Christian symbol of the eagle pecking its breast to shed blood symbolising Our Lord shedding His own blood for the redemption of the world’ (Red Hill, 1955). The children of William Bruce Douglas Jarman and Daisy Maria Jarman, who came to Australia in 1913, gave the funds for the altar (email to the author from Gwynneth...
Appendix C: Clifford Last

Cox, parish secretary, Georges Church, Red Hill, 18 January 2015). A local craftsman, Mr G.M. (Monty) Middleton, made the other furnishings using Meranti timber.

CL0093
The Three Marys, c. 1955
Reinforced plastic metal.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Victorian Sculptors' Society annual exhibition, Victorian Artists’ Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 17-29 October 1955 (ex catalogue); Society of Sculptors and Associates with invited overseas exhibitors, David Jones' Gallery, Sydney, February 1956, catalogue no. 43 (as Clifford Last, The Three Marys, plastic metal, 40 gns); Arts Festival of the Olympic Games, Wilson Hall, University of Melbourne, 21 November - 15 December 1956, catalogue no. 26 (as The Three Marys, plastic metal); Sculpture: Brighton High School Exhibition, Brighton High School, Brighton, Vic., 1959, catalogue no. 10 (as Clifford Last, The Three Marys, reinforced plastic metal, 40 gns); Religious Art in Our Time, St Peter's Church, Eastern Hill, East Melbourne, 14-21 October 1962, catalogue no. 55 (as The Three Marys, plastic metal, collection of the artist).
Literature: Age, 1955 Oct 18, p. 2; McCulloch, 1955 Oct; Sydney, 1956 Feb, no. 43; Parkville, 1956, no. 26; Nicholls, 1956, b&w illustration p. 2; Brighton, 1959, no. 10; East Melbourne, 1962 Oct, no. 55.

While this work was not listed in the 1955 VSS catalogue, it was mentioned in two reviews of the exhibition. The Age art critic noted the ‘strange group of mysterious figures by Clifford Last’ while Alan McCulloch wrote that ‘Clifford Last’s The Three Marys is an interesting conception’ (Age, 1955 Oct 18, p. 2; McCulloch, 1955 Oct). Last evidently considered it a major work for it was among his three exhibits at the Olympics Arts Festival exhibition at Wilson Hall in 1956. He also sent a photograph of the work to Lady Maie Casey, whose reply, dated 7 March 1956, is among the Last papers (box 8, folder 1): ‘Dear Mr Last, Just a note to acknowledge the photograph of the Three Marys and your note. If I may, I would like to send the photograph to Alfred Barr in New York – if I don’t hear from you I will go ahead and do so. With best wishes…’. Whether she sent the photograph to Barr, of New York’s Museum of Modern Art, is unknown and no copy of the photograph was located in either the Last papers or the Casey papers.

CL0094
Three Standing Figures, c. 1956
Plaster in three parts.
150 cm high approx.
Destroyed.
Exhibited: Herald Outdoor Art Show, Treasury Gardens, Melbourne, 8-17 March 1956, catalogue no. 689 (as Three Standing Figures, NFS, section K).
Literature: Melbourne, 1956 Mar, no. 689; Sun, March 1956 a, b&w photograph of Last carrying one section of the work captioned: ‘Art “invaded” the Treasury Gardens today. On Thursday The Herald Outdoor Art Show opens and exhibits are now going up. Here sculptor Clifford Last, of Melbourne, carries one of his
Standing Figures”; Sun, March 1956 b: b&w photograph of a child grasping part of the sculpture; McCulloch, 1956 Mar, b&w photograph of complete work, captioned ‘Sculpture Group’.

Photos: (a) the artist standing beside the work, at the Herald Outdoor Art Show, 1956, scanned from an original colour slide among the Last papers, box 1, folder 6; (b) unknown photographer, reproduced in the Sun, March 1956 b.

Compositionally this is clearly based upon the blackwood Family Group, c. 1955 (CL0089).

CL0095
Standing Figures (also known as Family Group), c. 1956
Reinforced cement with terracotta patination.
120 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Arts Festival of the Olympic Games, Wilson Hall, University of Melbourne, 21 November - 15 December 1956, catalogue no. 25 (as Standing Figures, reinforced cement); Herald Outdoor Art Show, Treasury Gardens, Melbourne, 1-9 March 1957, catalogue no. 882 (as Family Group, sculpture, 120 gns, section X); (?) An exhibition of paintings and sculpture, presented by the Victorian Artists Society, in conjunction with the opening of ICI House Melbourne, Third Floor, ICI House, Nicholson Street, East Melbourne, 12-19 December 1958, catalogue no. 29 (as Clifford Last, Family Group, 90 gns).

Literature: Parkville, 1956, no. 25; Anon., 1956: 'Something to chew over', unidentified and undated newspaper clipping among the Last papers, box 3, b&w photograph captioned: ‘This intriguing sculpture – standing figures by Clifford Last – caught the eye of Miss Gwen Nelson, of the University Library staff when she visited the Olympic sculpture exhibition at the Wilson Hall yesterday’; Nicholls, 1956, illustrated p. 2, where captioned ‘Miss Ann Bromley and Miss Kathleen Boschetti with some of the sculptures at the Olympics Art Festival exhibition at Wilson Hall’; Melbourne, 1957 March, no. 882; Readers Digest, 1957
April, visible in a colour photograph by Athol Shmith of the Olympics Arts Festival exhibition; (?) East Melbourne, 1958 Dec, no. 29.

Photos: (a) The Age photographer, reproduced in Nicholls, 1956, p. 2 (detail); (b) at the Olympics Arts Festival exhibition, unknown photographer, reproduced in Anon., 1956 Nov; (c) at the Herald Outdoor Art exhibition, March 1956, photograph by Neil Murray, original on file at the NAA, Canberra, series no. A1501, control symbol A939/3, barcode 8922915; (d) at the Herald Outdoor Art Show, 1957, scanned from an original colour slide among the Last papers, box 1, folder 6.

The black and white photograph reproduced above (c) is captioned: ‘Two Malayans, Mr Soon Chang Hor, Senior Information Officer of the headquarters staff at Kuala Lumpur and Inche Shukor bin Ayob, Deputy State Information Officer in Selangor, are in Australia for three months under the Colombo Plan to get training in information and publicity work. While in Melbourne they studied the organisational set up of the "Moomba" Festival (Moomba is an aboriginal word meaning ‘get together and have fun’) - Mr Soon (left) and Mr Shukor visited the Moomba open air art show, where 1600 artists exhibited 1900 paintings and sculptures. Here, sculptor Clifford Last (centre) shows them one of his contemporary exhibits called "Family Group" (NAA caption). It is interesting to speculate whether these Malayan officials were later involved in some capacity in the purchase of Last’s Father and Son, c. 1955, for the National Art Gallery from the 1962 Fours Arts in Australia tour (see CL0090).

CL0096

Standing Abstract (possibly later known as Abstract Figure), c. 1956
Lambertiana pine.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Olympic Exhibition, Gallery of Contemporary Art, Tavistock Place, Melbourne, 16 November - ? December 1956, catalogue no. 71 (as Standing Abstract, Lambertiana, 70 gns); (?) Sculpture: Brighton High School Exhibition, Brighton High School, Brighton, Vic., 1959, catalogue no. 9 (as Clifford Last, Abstract Figure, Lambertiana pine, 80 gns).

CL0097.1

Standing Abstract, 1956
Rosewood, with polychrome finish, on a sandstone base.
86.2 x 17.0 x 22.5 cm; base: 5.5 x 23.2 x 23.3 cm.
Not signed, inscribed or dated.

Collection NGV, Melbourne.
Provenance: Brummels Gallery, South Yarra; whence purchased, November 1956, £42.0.0, stock no. 1688/4. NGV accession no. 1688-D4.
Exhibited: Opening exhibition of Brummels Gallery, South Yarra, 8-28 October 1956 (catalogue untraced); Arts Festival of the Olympic Games, Wilson Hall, University of Melbourne, 21 November - 15 December 1956, catalogue no. 27 (as Standing Abstract, rosewood); 2e Exposition Internationale de Sculpture Contemporaine, Musée Rodin, Paris, July 1961, catalogue no. 28 (as...
Appendix C: Clifford Last

Abstrait, bois, 0.81, National Gallery of Victoria); Clifford Last Sculpture: A Retrospective Exhibition, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 23 November 1989 - 29 January 1990, catalogue no. 16 (as Standing Abstract, 1956, rosewood, 55.9 cm high, collection NGV, exhibited Brummels Gallery, Melbourne, 1956).


Photo: Helen Skuse and Garry Sommerfeld for the NGV, reproduced Melbourne, 1989, p. 41.

Documentation among the NGV accession file for this work records that it was purchased from Brummels Gallery in November 1956. That being the case, it must be Last’s exhibit from that gallery’s opening exhibition (catalogue untraced), which was noted in The Age thus: ‘Other important items are … a wood carving by Clifford Last, in which smooth polished surfaces are contrasted with intricately carved and tinted areas’ (Age, 1956 Oct 9, p. 2). An undated draft note from Last to Sidney Baillieu Myer, Chairman of the National Gallery Society of Victoria’s Publications Sub-committee, c. 1965, reads: ‘This carving completed in 1956 is an example of elements frequently reoccurring in my work. The choice and assemblage of shapes is an attempt to demonstrate the emotional content of such subjects as Lovers, Standing figures, family group, or Father & Son. By means of opening one form to reveal another, the contrasting of textures, and the application of colour, I try to illustrate the duality of the physical and the mental, the materialistic and the spiritual. Realizing these intentions, it is understandable that aspects of both beauty and the beast are frequently displayed in the one piece of sculpture’ (Last papers, box 8, folder 3). The note was sent in response to the Gallery Society’s request to reproduce a photograph of the sculpture in their forthcoming 1966 desk diary and appears printed alongside a photograph and detail of

the sculpture in the 1966 diary. Last elaborated on this theme in interview, in 1989, explaining that works such as Standing Abstract reflect his desire at the time to pare back: ‘I was very conscious of the outside calmness of somebody – and then, when I got to know them better, the turmoil inside. I tried to open up forms in that way’ (Last cited in Blensoerd, 1989, p. 4).

CL0097.2

Standing Abstract, 1956

Blackwood.

106.7 cm high.

Signed.

Collection of Prof. Emerita Di Yerbury.


Exhibited: (?) Twelve Melbourne Sculptors, Brummel’s Gallery, Melbourne, 22 September - 3 [or 28?] October 1957 (catalogue untraced); Winter Exhibition 1975, Recent Acquisitions, Joseph Brown Gallery, Melbourne, 28 July - 12 August 1975, catalogue no. 69 (as Standing Abstract, 1956, blackwood, 106.7 cm / 42 inches high, signed).


Photo: unknown photographer; scanned by the SLV from an original colour slide held among the Last papers, box 1, folder 6, where inscribed: ‘Di Yerbury’.

This is so closely similar work to the previous entry (CL0097.1), in the collection of the NGV, that I have ascribed them the same catalogue number. Joseph Brown stated that the present
work was exhibited at Wilson Hall in the Olympics Arts Festival exhibition, and illustrated in the accompanying catalogue, but in fact it was the rosewood version, now in the NGV, that was exhibited. The present version may have been included in *Twelve Melbourne Sculptors*, at Brummels Gallery, in 1957, but without catalogue, photographs or detailed reviews it is impossible to prove. All that is known of his entries to that show is Alan McCulloch’s airy comment that: ‘Clifford Last, Inge King and Anita Aarons submit their varying concepts to the charms of polished wood’ (McCulloch, 1957 Sept 25).

**CL0098**

*Head of a Prophet (also known as Jeremiah), c. 1956-62*

Silver poplar with gesso.

48.0 x 20.0 x 14.0 cm

Signed in black felt-tip pen underneath base: ‘Clifford Last’. Number also inscribed into base: ‘V06822479’.

Private collection, Caulfield North, Vic.

Provenance: Purchased directly from the artist by the present owner.

Exhibited: *Religious Art in Our Time*, St Peter's Church, Eastern Hill, East Melbourne, 14-21 October 1962, catalogue no. 56 (as *Head of a Prophet*, silver poplar, collection of Mrs Helen Light).


Photos: (a and b) the author.

The owner of this work believes it be based on the melancholic figure of the Prophet Jeremiah. It was exhibited under the title *Head of a Prophet* in the *Religious Art in Our Time* exhibition at St Peter's Church, Eastern Hill, 1962.

**CL0099**

*Prophet*, c. 1957

Lambertiana pine.

Dimensions unknown.

Whereabouts unknown.

Exhibited: *Exhibition of Sculpture* (also known as *Nine Sculptors*), Peter Bray Gallery, 435 Bourke St, Melbourne, 4-14 March 1957, catalogue no. 8 (as *Prophet*, Lambertina pine, 18 gns).

Literature: Melbourne, 1957 Mar, no. 8.

**CL0100**

*Abstract Carving, 1957*

Freestone.

Dimensions unknown.

Whereabouts unknown.


**CL0101**

*Head of a Prophet, 1958*

Pearwood.

42.2 cm high.

Private collection, Melbourne

Exhibited: *Clifford Last Sculpture: A Retrospective Exhibition*, NGV, Melbourne, 23 November 1989 - 29 January 1990, catalogue no. 18 (as *Head of a Prophet, 1958*, pear, 42.2 cm high, private collection,
Family Group, 1958
Silver birch with gesso; later described as limed pine. 56.5 x 19.5 x 13.5 cm
Castlemaine Art Gallery and Historical Museum, Vic.
Exhibited: Sculpture Today, Council for Adult Education (CAE) and the Victorian Sculptors' Society travelling exhibition, August - 4 September 1959, catalogue no. 6 (as Family Group, silver birch); Clifford Last Sculpture: A Retrospective Exhibition, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 23 November 1989 - 29 January 1990, catalogue no. 17 (as Family Group, 1958, limed pine, 56 cm high, Castlemaine Art Gallery and Historical Museum, gift of subscribers, 1958, exhibited VSS travelling exhibition, 1958 [sic]).
Literature: Melbourne, 1959 Aug, no. 6; Harding, 1959, b&w photograph headed ‘Contemporary sculpture on display’ with the present work (misidentified as Inge King’s Tree Form) alongside works by Anita Aarons and Andor Meszaros; Castlemaine, 1961, n.p.; Geelong, 1973, listed p. [7]; Melbourne, 1989, no. 17, p. 68; Castlemaine, 2013, colour illustration p. 130.

Three Faces of Man, c. 1958
Silver birch with gesso. 45.7 cm high.
Private collection.
Exhibited: An exhibition of paintings and sculpture, presented by the Victorian Artists Society, in conjunction with the opening of ICI House Melbourne, Third Floor, ICI House, Nicholson Street, East Melbourne, 12-19 December 1958, catalogue no. 29 (as Clifford Last, Three Faces of Man, 35 gns); Paintings by Dawn Sime and Wood Carvings by Clifford Last, South Yarra Gallery, South Yarra, Vic., 19 July - 6 August 1961, catalogue no. 10 (as Three Faces of Man, 1959, silver birch, 25 gns).
Literature: East Melbourne, 1958 Dec,
Dolia Ribush Trophy for Best Producer, c. 1958

Metal alloy, cast, on a wooden base; edition unknown.
50 cm high approx.
Held in perpetuity by the Council for Adult Education.

Provenance: Commissioned by Rosa Ribush for the first Dolia Ribush Award, presented annually in her husband’s memory to the producer of the best play in Melbourne, March 1958.

Exhibited: Retrospect, Five Years: Victorian Sculptors’ Society, Victorian Artists’ Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 21 July - 30 August 1959, catalogue no. 19 (as Doita Reibush [sic], no price listed).


The Dolia Ribush award was adjudicated by the Melbourne Critics’ Circle. It was first awarded in 1958 to Walter John (Wal) Cherry (1932-86) for his production of Arthur Miller’s A View from Under the Bridge at the Union Theatre.

The Lovers, 1959

Canadian myrtle.
150 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown, possibly in a private collection, Adelaide.

Exhibited: Six Sculptors, NGV, Melbourne, 21 July - 30 August 1959, catalogue no. 19 (as The Lovers, Canadian myrtle); Contemporary Australian Sculpture, held in conjunction with the first Adelaide Festival, Art Gallery of South Australia, gallery IV, Adelaide, March 1960, catalogue no. 18 (as Clifford Last, The Lovers, 1959, wood, lent by the artist); (?), Victorian Sculptors’ Society Annual Exhibition, Victorian Artists’ Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 22 October - 3 November 1962, catalogue no. 16 (as The Lovers, wood, 200 gns); Centre Five Sculptures, Newcastle City Art Gallery,
Standing Abstract (later known as Organic Forms), 1959

Blackwood; also described as blue gum and as Tasmanian blackwood. 103.3 x 21.4 x 20.2 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Photo: Mark Strizic; reproduced in Melbourne, 1989, p. 43.

Last’s annotated copy of the 1961 South Yarra Gallery catalogue records that this is in the collection of the Newcastle Art Gallery (Last papers, box 3). The work is dated 1959 in that catalogue, and the photograph reproduced above was almost certainly taken at the Six Sculptors exhibition of 1959, yet the sculpture has long been catalogued as dating to 1961. To complicate matters, Last’s statement about this work, on file at the NAG Last file, reads: ‘This carving is representative of a group of organic carving work that separated some earlier geometric sculptures influenced by a year in Europe and working with Robert Adams in London, and the later involvement with subjects like ‘The Lovers’, ‘Father and Son’, ‘Family Group’. In the last mentioned work I used the same forms as in ‘Standing Abstract’ but to demonstrate the feelings established in human relationships’. In fact it would appear that Standing Abstract dates to after this ‘involvement’ with subjects concerning human relations.

CL0107

The Symbol, c. 1959

Plastic metal.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

Exhibited: Six Sculptors, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 21 July - 30 August 1959, catalogue no. 22 (as The Symbol, plastic metal).


Undated in the Six Sculptors catalogue, but probably from c. 1959. No photographs survive but this may relate compositionally to a later work of Last’s: Symbol, 1970 (pine, 72.0 x 27.0 x 20.0 cm, collection of Benalla Art Gallery), in which concentric circles are arranged hierarchically atop a central stem with geometric units at the base. Last’s esoteric symbolism became a prevailing concern of his work in the 1960s, particularly after 1961 when he became involved with the Lucis Trust (see chapter 1).

CL0108

Birdman (possibly formerly known as Abstract Figure), c. 1959

Welded aluminium (or plastic metal?) on a painted wood base.
59.0 x 12.8 x 12.8 cm including base.
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
McClelland Gallery & Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic.


Exhibited: (?) Outset (group exhibition), 43 Dalgety Street, St Kilda, Vic., 20 March - 12 April 1959, catalogue no. 24 (as Abstract Figure, plastic metal, 18 gns).

Literature: (?) St Kilda, 1959, no. 24.

Photos: the author.

Last may have met the original owners of this work through their mutual interests in the theatre and film. Frank Nicholls (1916-2013) was a distinguished CSIRO scientist whose involvement in theatre at Melbourne University led him to organize a film festival at Olinda in 1952 in conjunction with the Melbourne University Film Society – effectively paving the way for the Melbourne International Film Festival (see Chandler, 2013). Yvonne Nicholls (née Miles) was a political geographer and teacher. They lived abroad in Thailand and Switzerland from 1960 to 1977. The present work was most likely acquired before their travels overseas and is dated by the McClelland Gallery to c. 1950s.
Appendix C: Clifford Last

CL0109

*Abstract (later known as Form), c. 1959*

Wood (probably silver poplar) and plastic metal.
60.0 x 22.0 x 16.0 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated. Yellow sticker, possibly an auction sticker, numbered 30 on reverse.
Private collection, North Fitzroy, Vic.
**Provenance:** Estate of Paul Morawetz, Melbourne; Deutscher-Menzies, Melbourne, 1 May 2002, lot 184 (as *Form*, c. 1960s, est. $1,000-3,000, sold $1,997 IBP); whence purchased by the present owners.

**Exhibited:** (?) *Outset* (group exhibition), 43 Dalgety Street, St Kilda, Vic., 20 March - 12 April 1959, catalogue no. 25 (as *Abstract*, silver poplar and plastic metal, 27 gns).

**Literature:** (?) St Kilda, 1959, no. 25.

**Photos:** the author.

This untitled, undated work is almost certainly the piece included in the opening exhibition of the Dalgety Street gallery in 1959 as *Abstract*, in silver poplar and plastic metal. It was most likely purchased from Dalgety Street by the former owner: émigré industrialist and patron of the arts Paul A. Morawetz.

CL0110.1

*Family Group, scale model, 1959*

Freestone.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
**Exhibited:** (?) Chadstone Shopping Centre Sculpture Competition, Buvelot gallery bays of the NGV, February - March 1960 (no catalogue traced).

**Literature:** (?) McCulloch, 1960 Feb 17, p. 22; *Sunday Observer*, 1970 Sept 27, b&w photograph of Last with the work, p. 34 where captioned: ‘Clifford Last with the model from which he worked The *Family Group* in aluminium for Comalco Industries’.

**Photos:** (a) unknown photographer; original held among the Last papers, box 2, folder 2b, where inscribed: ‘Scale model “Family Group” / for stone carving / Commissioned by / Comalco Aluminium’; (b) unknown photographer; reproduced in *Sunday Observer*, 1970 Sept 27, p. 34.

It is not certain whether the above two works are of the same model as the scale is not apparent in photo (a). For the dating of this work, see following entry. A second photograph of this among the Last papers, box 2, folder 5, is inscribed ‘Scale model for / “Family Group” / Freestone’. This was possibly originally submitted to the Chadstone Shopping Centre competition for a subject conveying ‘the family’. Alan McCulloch commented that ‘Last’s freestone carving [for Chadstone] has distinction but would be more suited to a church setting’ (McCulloch, 1960 Feb 17, p. 22).
CL0110.2

_Family Group, maquette, 1959-64_
Bronze cast in 1964; possibly unique cast.
32.5 x 16.5 x 16.5 cm
Incised with monogram and dated on the base: ‘CL 64’.
Private collection, Yarra Glen, Vic.
Provenance: The artist, as of c. 1989; Sotheby’s, Melbourne, 22 August 1994, lot 300, estimate $1,500-$2,500, sold $4,370 IBP; Christie’s, Melbourne, 17 and 18 August 1998, lot 1274 (as _Family Group_, incised with monogram and dated CL64 on the base, bronze, 35 cm high with base, illus. pl. 28 of Dimmack, estimate $2,000-$3,000, sold $5,520 IBP).
_Literature:_ Paddington, 1964, included in photomontage illustration on front of catalogue; Dimmack, 1972, p. 41, b&w illustration plate 28; Bulleen, 1984, included in photomontage illustration on front of catalogue; Heathcote, 2008, pp. 50, p. 264, colour illustration p. 50.
Photo: John Brash, reproduced in Heathcote, 2008, p. 50.
Despite being dated 1964 on the work itself, this is dated 1959 in a black and white slide among the Last papers, box 2. It is most likely that the maquette was modelled in 1959 and first cast in bronze in 1964.

CL0110.3

_Family Group, 1959-67_
143.0 x 29.0 x 24.0 cm
Comalco Industries Pty Ltd (two casts).
_Exhibited:_ Centre Five at Heide, Heide Park and Art Gallery, Bulleen, Vic., 27 October - 9 December 1984, catalogue no. 16 (as _Family Group, 1960 [sic], aluminium, 143 x 29 x 24 cm, collection Comalco Ltd._)
_Literature:_ Paddington, 1964, included in photomontage illustration on front of catalogue; Dimmack, 1972, p. 41, b&w illustration plate 27; Geelong, 1973, p. [7]; Gleeson and Last, 1979, p. 16; Bulleen, 1984, no. 16, p. 20, and included in photomontage illustration on front of catalogue; Melbourne, 1989, b&w illustration p. 6.
Photos: (a) Wolfgang Sievers; original negative held in the NLA, Canberra (PIC WS 3893 A LOC Cold store PIC Siev B&W), dated 1967; (b) unknown photographer, original colour photograph held among the Last papers, box 2, folder 2.

Dated 1960 in the 1984 Heide catalogue, dated 1967 in the 1989 retrospective catalogue and dated 1966 by Comalco for their Christmas card of around that period, though corrected by Last to 1967 on one of his prints of the work against an orange background. However, the work actually dates to 1959; it was merely enlarged and cast in 1967 with a second edition cast the following year in 1968. A fuller account of the work’s history can be gathered from Last’s papers (box 8, folder 1). In November 1966 foundry owner F.J. Lemon, of Moorabbin, Vic., wrote to Last with a quote of $1,150 for casting in aluminium and lightly sandblasting ‘one abstract sculpture approx. 4’6” and 5’ circumference’ (Lemon to Last, 17 Nov. 1966). Shortly afterwards Dean Bunney, Public Relations and Advertising Manager for Comalco, wrote to Last: ‘Following today’s discussion I confirm that we would be glad if you would undertake a commission to provide a piece of sculpture for the 18th floor of 95 Collins Street as discussed in relation to the small bronze group earlier provided by you. The basis of the commission would be a fee of $1,250 plus the actual cost of executing the casting, which is estimated by you to be in the vicinity of $1,160. On receiving confirmation from you that the commission will be undertaken we will be happy to pay you one-third of your fee immediately. Another one-third would be payable on completion of the studio model prior to casting and the remaining one-third on delivery’ (Bunney to Last, 28 Feb 1967). Over the ensuing twelve months, presumably after the first cast was completed and delivered, Comalco apparently commissioned a second cast. A copy of Last’s letter reads: ‘Dear Dean, I can now give you final quotes for a second edition of Family Group. I have decided to use a new caster, J. Swift, 48 Carween Avenue Mitcham, 871349, who guarantees delivery within three months. This casting to have sand blast finish, from metal to be supplied by you, with welded stays for bolt fixing to a base (necessary for outside placing) for overall cost of $700. My inclusive fee would be $800’ (Last to Bunney, 13 Feb 1968). Last placed the order with Swift, c. 17 Feb 1968, with a request that work by completed by May (draft from Last to J. Swift, Mitcham, c. 17 Feb. 1968). Fifteen years later, Comalco’s head of corporate relations wrote to Joseph Brown, who by then was representing Last: ‘Dear Mr Brown, Comalco Limited will grant permission for the casting of bronze for the Darwin Art Gallery from the model of Family Group by Clifford Last providing: 1. An acknowledgement is given stating “First commissioned by Comalco Limited and cast in aluminium, July 1966 [sic]”. This acknowledgement should be displayed in conjunction with the bronze casting. 2. No further casting of the model is made. We are pleased that the Darwin Art Gallery has chosen this commission for its collection’ (I. McI., Comalco, to Joseph Brown, 23 May 1983). For further on the bronze cast of Family Group see below.

CL0110.4

Family Group, 1959-83

Bronze; unique cast.
142.0 x 45.0 x 24.0 cm
Signed in monogram, dated and stamped with what appears to be the foundry mark on lower edge: ‘L [in a triangle] / LXVII / CIRE / Meridian / Perou [?]’.

Museum and Art Gallery of the Northern Territory, Darwin.

Provenance: Commissioned by the Darwin Art Gallery, through the auspices of the Joseph Brown Gallery and with the permission of Comalco Industries, 1983, from the original model of 1959. Purchased 5 January
1984. Accession no. CS00008 (previously GA00477).
Photo: Courtesy NTMAG.
Dated 1967 on the sculpture, which is actually the date when the aluminium cast in the Comalco collection was cast. The freestone maquette appears to date back to 1959, although Last usually stated that the maquette dated to 1964 (see for his instance his inscription on the reverse of a Strizic photograph of the Comalco work on file with the NTMAG). The foundry mark would suggest that this was cast by Meridian Foundry, Fitzroy.

**CL0111**

**Family Group, 1960-80**
Bronze on a wooden base; edition of 6, cast in 1980.
32.0 x 19.8 x 15.8 cm
Collection of Geelong Gallery, Vic., and private collections.
Provenance: Geelong Gallery cast, gift of Dr and Mrs Bruce Munro, 1981.
Accession no. 1981.123. Another cast, 5/6, sold through the Joseph Brown Gallery, Melbourne; with Sotheby’s Australia, 29 October 2014, lot 152 (as Family Group, c. 1962, bronze and wood, 5/6, 27 x 17 x 15 cm, estimate $2,000-$4,000; sold $5,124 IBP).
Exhibited: This was the Future...

**CL0112**

**Tetes d’Amants (Heads of Lovers), c. 1960**
Pine.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

Australian sculpture of the 1950s, 60s, 70s and today, Heide Museum of Modern Art, Bulleen, Vic., 4 October - 7 December 2003 (as Family Group, 1960, bronze, cast 1980, 32 x 19.8 x 15.8 cm, Geelong Gallery Collection, gift of Dr and Mrs Bruce Munro, 1981); *A question of scale - maquettes and small sculpture from the permanent collection*, Geelong Gallery, Geelong Gallery, Vic., 13 October to 21 April 2013; *A question of scale - maquettes and small sculpture from the permanent collection*, Geelong Gallery, 17 October 2015 - 14 February 2016.
Photo: Sotheby’s, Australia.
Cast by Meridian Foundry, Fitzroy, 1980.
CL0113

Integration, 1960
Tasmanian oak on a stone base.
130.0 x 90.0 x 50.0 cm
Whereabouts unknown.

Provenance: Collection of Mrs Mark Strizic, Wallan, Vic., as of 1989; Deutscher-Menzies, Melbourne, Vic., 28 November 2001, lot 76 (as Standing Abstract, c. 1956, 87.5 cm high [sic], estimate $6,000-9,000, sold $7,637 IBP).

Exhibited: Victorian Sculptors' Society Annual Exhibition, Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 24 October - 5 November 1960, catalogue no. 3 (as Integration, Tasmanian oak, 60 gns); Paintings by Dawn Sime and Wood Carvings by Clifford Last, South Yarra Gallery, South Yarra, Vic., 19 July - 6 August 1961, catalogue no. 6 (as Fish Form, 1960, Tasmanian blackwood, 30 gns).

Literature: South Yarra, 1961, no. 6.

CL0114

Fish Form, 1960
Tasmanian blackwood.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

Exhibited: Paintings by Dawn Sime and Wood Carvings by Clifford Last, South Yarra Gallery, South Yarra, Vic., 19 July - 6 August 1961, catalogue no. 6 (as Fish Form, 1960, Tasmanian blackwood, 30 gns).

Literature: South Yarra, 1961, no. 6.

CL0115

Font: Bird, c. 1960
Freestone and blackwood.
1.0 m high approx
All Saints (formerly Christ Church) Anglican Church, 18 Edward Street, Mitcham, Vic.
Provenance: Commissioned by architect Ray Berg, c. 1958, for Christ Church Anglican Church, Mitcham, Melbourne, and executed c. 1960. Photo: unknown photographer; original held among the Last papers. Last dated his photographs of this work to 1960 although it may have been 1961, which is when the main figure of *Christ in Majesty* (limed sugar pine with polychrome, 334 cm high) was commissioned by Ray Berg for Christchurch, Mitcham. The church itself was largely designed in 1958 and the fittings may well date to that time. Interestingly, the form of carved bird that sits atop the simple baptismal font lid is very close to Last’s earliest carving, *Bird Form*, 1946 (CL0001).
WORKS ON PAPER

CLW0001
*Untitled (mother and child), c. 1947-49*
Black and red pen and ink on wove paper.
51.0 x 38.5 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
State Library of Victoria, Melbourne, accession no. H92.282/327.
Photo: SLV.
The mother and child theme preoccupied Last only relatively briefly, mainly between 1947 and 1949, when he executed his Elmwood Madonna and Child, 1947 (CL0007), and Pioneer Woman, 1949 (CL0032).

CLW0002
*Untitled (Madonna and child), c. 1947-49*
Blue pen and ink on wove paper.
51.0 x 38.5 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
State Library of Victoria, Melbourne, accession no. H92.282/328.
Photo: SLV.

CLW0003
*Untitled (studies for sculpture), c. 1947-49*
Black crayon and red felt-tip pen on wove paper.
51.0 x 38.5 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
State Library of Victoria, Melbourne, accession no. H92.282/316.
Photo: SLV.
I have dated this to c. 1947-49 based on the similarity with Jeremiah, 1947 (CL0008), and Male Torso, 1949 (CL0037).

CLW0004
*Untitled, c. 1952*
Pencil on wove paper.
51.0 x 38.5 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
State Library of Victoria, Melbourne, accession no. H92.282/309.
Photo: SLV.
CLW0005  
*Untitled Christmas card (Two standing figures), 1954*
Linocut print in red ink.  
10.0 x 10.0 cm approx.  
**Collection:** State Library of Queensland, Johnston Galleries Archive, scrapbook June 1954 - Dec 1955, RBHARC 7/1/2, p. 30.  
**Provenance:** Christmas card sent to Brian and Marjorie Johnston, Johnston Galleries, Brisbane, December 1954.  
**Photo:** the author.  
Depicts the carving *Two Standing Figures*, 1952.

CLW0006  
*Untitled (Family group), c. 1955-57*
Linocut block in bas relief.  
17.5 x 10.0 cm  
**Private collection, Hampton, Vic.**  
**Provenance:** Bequeathed to the present owner as part of the artist’s studio contents.  
Compositonally this is related to the blackwood *Family Group*, c. 1955 (CL0089), and the plaster *Three Standing Figures*, c. 1956 (CL0094). I have only seen the original linocut block, not the resulting print, which was probably used for a Christmas card. The overall dimensions of the wooden panel to which the linocut block is fixed are 22 x 22 cm.

CLW0007  
**Family Group, 1959**
Ink, wash and crayon.  
40.0 x 17.8 cm
**Castlemaine Art Gallery and Historical Museum, Vic.**  
**Provenance:** Gift of artist, 1974.  
**Accession no:** 465.  
This is almost certainly related to the carving of the same title in the Castlemaine collection (see CL0102).

CLW0008  
**Drawing, c. 1959**
Line drawing.  
Dimensions unknown.  
**Whereabouts unknown.**  
**Exhibited:** *Sculpture: Brighton High School Exhibition*, Brighton High School, Brighton, Vic., 1959, catalogue no. 11 (as Clifford Last, *Drawing*, line, 5 gns).  
**Literature:** Brighton, 1959, no. 11.

CLW0009  
**Drawing, c. 1959**
Line drawing.  
Dimensions unknown.  
**Whereabouts unknown.**  
**Exhibited:** *Sculpture: Brighton High School Exhibition*, Brighton High School, Brighton, Vic., 1959, catalogue no. 12 (as Clifford Last, *Drawing*, line, 5 gns).  
**Literature:** Brighton, 1959, no. 12.

CLW0010  
**Drawing, c. 1959**
Line and wash drawing.  
Dimensions unknown.  
**Whereabouts unknown.**  
**Exhibited:** *Sculpture: Brighton High School Exhibition*, Brighton High School, Brighton, Vic., 1959, catalogue no. 13 (as Clifford Last,
.Drawing, line and wash, 9 gns).

**Literature:** Brighton, 1959, no. 13.

CLW0011

**Drawing, c. 1959**

Line and wash drawing.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

**Exhibited:** Sculpture: Brighton High School Exhibition, Brighton High School, Brighton, Vic., 1959, catalogue no. 14 (as Clifford Last, *Drawing, line and wash, 9 gns*).

**Literature:** Brighton, 1959, no. 14.
LENTON PARR (1924-2003)

LP0001

**Torso, 1952**

Laminated wood.

61 cm high approx.

Private collection.

**Exhibited:** *Victorian Sculptors' Society Annual Exhibition of Sculpture*,

Victorian Artists' Society Galleries,

East Melbourne, 5-16 November 1952,

catalogue no. 50 (as *Torso*, NFS, in the 'exhibition by invitation section').

**Literature:** East Melbourne, 1952 Nov, no. 50; Age, 1952 Nov 4, p. 2; Shore, 1952 Nov, p. 37, b&w illustration;


**Photo:** unknown photographer, reproduced in Shore, 1952 Nov, p. 37.

The Age Art Critic found ‘A torso in wood by L. Parr … [among] the work of students with definite potentialities’ (Age, 1952 Nov 4, p. 2).

LP0002

**Seated Figure, 1953**

Mt Somers limestone.

38 cm high approx.

Private collection.

**Exhibited:** (?) *Victorian Sculptors' Society Annual Exhibition of Sculpture*,

Victorian Artists' Society Galleries,

East Melbourne 9-20 November 1953

(catalogue untraced).

**Literature:** (?) McCulloch, 1953 Nov 10; Edwards, 1999, p. 152, catalogue raisonné no. 2.

Possibly accorded honourable mention

(Stanley Hammond Prize) at the 1953 VSS.

LP0003

**St Rocco, 1953**

Sandstone.

76 cm high approx.

Private collection.

**Provenance:** Sold to Mr and Mrs Algie, Balgowan, Neerim South, Vic.,

through the auspices of Ken Scarlett, c. 1959-60; Thence to their son Andrew Algie; By whom gifted to the present owners when they moved to Balgowan, 1983.

**Exhibited:** *Victorian Sculptors' Society Annual Exhibition of Sculpture*,

Victorian Artists' Society Galleries,

East Melbourne, 19-29 October 1954,

catalogue no. 31 (as *St Rocco*, sandstone, 85 gns).

**Literature:** East Melbourne, 1954 Oct, no. 31; Shore, 1954 Oct 19, p. 11;

Edwards, 1999, p. 152, catalogue raisonné no. 3.

**Photos:** courtesy the present owners.

Reviewing the 1954 VSS exhibition, Arnold Shore noted that ‘Regard for design is evinced in the bulk of *St. Rocco* (31), by Lenton Parr’
(Shore, 1954 Oct, p. 11). St Rocco was the patron saint not only of plague victims but also of dogs. The present owners knew only that their garden sculpture was an early Lenton Parr carving. Given the inclusion here of the hound, held protectively by the kneeling figure of a man, I have deduced it to be St Rocco, which Parr included in his catalogue raisonné in Edwards, 1999, no. 5. With thanks to both the owners and to Ken Scarlett for helping to locate the work.

LP0004

**Niobe, 1953**

Cast stone.
51 cm high approx.
Private collection.
**Exhibited: Herald Outdoor Art Show,** Treasury Gardens, Melbourne, 8-15 December 1953, catalogue no. 1547 (as Niobe, cast stone, 35 gns, section K).
**Literature:** Melbourne, 1953 Dec, no. 1547; Edwards, 1999, p. 152, catalogue raisonné no. 4.

LP0005

**St Elizabeth, 1953**

Terracotta.
38 cm high approx.
Private collection.
**Literature:** Edwards, 1999, p. 152, catalogue raisonné no. 5.

LP0006

**Relief portrait of Johanna Bretton, 1954**

Bronze roundel in bas-relief with brown patina.
27 x 27 x 2 cm

Signed with initials lower right: ‘L.P.’
Private collection, Castlemaine, Vic.
**Provenance:** Bequest of Lenton Parr to the present owner.
**Literature:** Edwards, 1999, p. 152, catalogue raisonné no. 6.
**Photo:** J. Parkes.
Parr met his first wife Johanna (Joan) Bretton in the MTC life room, where Bretton worked as an artist’s model. Born in Sydney as Johanna Breitenburger, of German-Czech heritage, Bretton modelled for Rayner Hoff, appearing as the figure of sorrowing womanhood in his central group at the Anzac War Memorial in Hyde Park (email correspondence from Joanna Parkes, 13 Sept 2015). She also modelled for Norman Lindsay before walking from Sydney to Melbourne in search of work in 1933 (Singleton Argus, 1933). She studied painting at the National Gallery School, 1936-37, winning a prize for drawing. During the war she lived in London, modelling at the Slade and Westminster Schools. She won the National Council of Women’s jubilee competition for literary criticism in 1952 for an essay on James Joyce. Bretton and Parr were married from 1958 until Bretton’s death in 1966. See Argus, 1952 Nov 15, p. 5; Blackman and Parr, 1989, tape 1, side 1; Parr, 1999, pp. 27-8.
LP0007

*Relief sculpture, 1954*

Cast concrete.

183 x 122 x ? cm

Melbourne Church of England Grammar School, Bromby Street Sports Building.

Provenance: Prize winning entry for design competition run in conjunction with the Victorian Sculptors' Society and the architects for the building, Mockridge, Stahle and Mitchell.

Exhibited: Victorian Sculptors’ Society competition entries [exact title of exhibition unknown], Victorian Artists’ Society Galleries, East Melbourne, May 1954 (catalogue untraced; possibly only maquette for final work exhibited).


Photo: (a) unknown photographer, courtesy Sue Walker and Australian Galleries.

This was Parr’s first commission and was the result of a competition run in conjunction with the VSS and the architects responsible for the building: Mockridge, Stahle and Mitchell. Cast in concrete, it depicts two relay runners with a torch – befitting the theme of a sports building. Parr later recalled the circumstances leading to this work: ‘In 1954 an open competition was announced for a small relief sculpture with a sporting theme for a sports building at Melbourne Grammar. (I had left the teaching job I had there a year earlier when I was granted a Technical Studentship). The value of the commission was only £200 pounds but there were thirty or more entrants – such was the state of sculpture in Australia at that time!’ (Parr, c. 1970, n.p.). His memory of the relatively large number of entries is supported by Arnold Shore’s review: ‘Numbers instead of names distinguish the maquettes entered for the £200 prize competition for a sculptural relief work for the Melbourne Grammar School’s new sports building. The prize was won by a final year sculpture student at Melbourne Technical College, Lenton Parr, of East Coburg. The Victorian Sculptors' Society and the architects for the building, Mockridge, Stahle, and Mitchell, have worked in conjunction for the success of this venture. Eighteen entries are on show, ranging from amateurs’ literal efforts to aboriginal influenced design and abstract treatment’ (Shore, 1954 May 18, p. 12). Parr later acknowledged the impact on the work of his teachers at the Melbourne Tech: “Certainly when I came to the end of my time as a student I was making works very much in the manner of my teachers, who were Victor Greenhalgh and George Allen and other people of that generation… In fact in my fourth year, I won a competition for a sculpture to go on – a relief sculpture – to go on a building in the Melbourne Grammar School, that’s still there and looking at it, it’s pretty much in the manner of the teachers that I had during my time as a student… a sort of moderately art-deco figurative style – that was what they did… [It] was cast in concrete. It was a very modest little commission. But one learnt so much, even the purely technical aspects of it’ (Gleeson and Parr, 1979, pp. 2-3).

LP0008

*Head, 1955*

Marble.

Dimensions unknown.

Whereabouts unknown.


**Apocalyptic Horseman I** (also known as *Horseman of the Apocalypse I* and possibly also known as *Centurion*),

1955

steel and bronze
35 cm high approx.

Whereabouts unknown, possibly estate of Roy Bizley (1930-99).

**Exhibited:** (?) *Lenton Parr solo exhibition*, Obelisk Gallery, London, 1956 (catalogue untraced and probably not issued); *Exhibition of Sculpture* (also known as *Nine Sculptors*), Peter Bray Gallery, 435 Bourke St, Melbourne, 4-14 March 1957, as either catalogue nos. 10-13 inclusive (each described as *Apocalyptic Horseman*, steel and bronze, 35 gns); (?) *Sculpture: Brighton High School Exhibition*, Brighton High School, Brighton, Vic., 1959, as either catalogue no. 26 or 27 (each described as *Apocalyptic Horseman*, welded metal, 30 gns); (?) *Art and the Church*, The Anglican Church of St. John the Divine, Croydon, Vic., 20 April - 1 May 1967, catalogue no. 73 (as Lenton Parr, *Centurion*, welded steel, collection of the artist) or no. 74 (as Lenton Parr, *Apocalyptic Horseman*, welded steel, collection of the artist).

**Literature:** Melbourne, 1957 Mar 4, nos. 10-13; McCulloch, 1957 Mar 6; (?) Brighton, 1959, nos. 26 or 27; (?) Croydon, 1967, nos. 73 or 74; Gleeson and Parr, 1979, pp. 12-3; Scarlett, 1984, b&w illustration p. 27; Edwards in Melbourne, 1984 Oct, n.p.; Edwards, 1999, p. 152, catalogue raisonné no. 8; Parr, 1999, p. 29.

**Photo:** unknown photographer, original among the Parr papers, SLV, PA 07/11, box 18, photographs 1956-65: white folder marked ‘1956-1957’.

Parr made the *Horsemen* series at the Bourne Cottage, Much Hadham, after purchasing oxy-acetylene welding equipment. The series incorporated ‘all manner of scraps of old locks, screws and nails’ (Parr, 1999, p. 29). They were probably shown at his first solo show, at the Obelisk Gallery (London, 1956), and were certainly exhibited in Melbourne the following year at the Peter Bray Gallery. Parr later recalled that ‘There was a phase, in which I was in a sort of uneasy stage of transition, when I was making sculptures, which had a direct reference to the human figure, for instance, or to animal forms. And some of these were quite successful. I had an exhibition in London in 1956, I think, in which I showed quite a number of these things. I made, for instance, four little *Apocalyptic Horsemen*, which were assembled out of, virtually out of junk items and so on’ (Gleeson and Parr, 1979, p. 12-3). Geoffrey Edwards later noted that the technique employed in the *Horsemen* series foreshadowed Parr’s steel ‘biomorphs’ of the later 1950s: ‘The *Horsemen* … evolve from a network of slender metal rods bent into shape and welded or brazed to create a continuous, if deeply pitted and scarred, surface … [and] therefore represent the tentative use of a technique later developed by the sculptor whilst working on what is possibly his best-known series – the spiky, biomorphic ‘constellations’ of the late 1950s and 1960s’ (Edwards in Melbourne, 1984, n.p.). In his diary for 1960, Parr recorded that the British painter-printmaker ‘Roy Bizley [who was based in Melbourne, 1957-61] got one of the *Apocalyptic Horsemen* in exchange for a painting’ (Parr, c. 1970, entry for 20 April 1960). Parr wrote the introduction for Bizley’s solo exhibition at Gallery A in 1960.
Appendix C: Lenton Parr

LP0010

Apocalyptic Horseman II (also known as Horseman of the Apocalypse II and possibly also known as Centurion), 1955
Steel and bronze.
34.0 x 15.6 x 29.0 cm
Deakin University Art Collection, Burwood, Vic.
Exhibited: (?) Lenton Parr solo exhibition, Obelisk Gallery, London, 1956 (catalogue untraced and probably not issued); Exhibition of Sculpture (also known as Nine Sculptors), Peter Bray Gallery, 435 Bourke St, Melbourne, 4-14 March 1957, as either catalogue nos. 10-13 inclusive (each described as Apocalyptic Horseman, steel and bronze, 35 gns); (?) Sculpture: Brighton High School Exhibition, Brighton High School, Brighton, Vic., 1959, as either catalogue no. 26 or 27 (each described as Lenton Parr, Apocalyptic Horseman, welded metal, 30 gns); (?) Art and the Church, The Anglican Church of St. John the Divine, Croydon, Vic., 20 April - 1 May 1967, catalogue no. 73 (as Lenton Parr, Centurion, welded steel, collection of the artist) or no. 74 (as Lenton Parr, Apocalyptic Horseman, welded steel, collection of the artist); Lenton Parr Sculpture, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 27 October 1984 - 17 February 1985, catalogue no. 2 (as Horseman of the Apocalypse, 1955, steel, bronze, 34 cm high, loaned by Deakin University); This was the Future... Australian sculpture of the 1950s, 60s, 70s and today, Heide Museum of Modern Art, Bulleen, Vic., 4 October - 7 December 2003 (as Horseman of the Apocalypse, 1963 [sic], bronze, 35 x 15.6 x 29 cm, Deakin University Art Collection).
Photo: unknown photographer, courtesy Deakin University.

LP0011

Apocalyptic Horseman III (also known as Horseman of the Apocalypse III and possibly also known as Centurion), 1955
Steel and bronze.
30.5 cm high
Whereabouts unknown (presumed private collection)
Provenance: Peter Bray Gallery (accompanied by receipt); David Steeman collection; Deutscher &
Menzies, Malvern, Vic., 20 August 2001, lot 109, $1,500-$2,500, sold for $2,500 ($2,937 including premium). Exhibited: (?) Lenton Parr solo exhibition, Obelisk Gallery, London, 1956 (catalogue untraced and probably not issued); Exhibition of Sculpture (also known as Nine Sculptors), Peter Bray Gallery, 435 Bourke St, Melbourne, 4-14 March 1957, as either catalogue nos. 10-13 inclusive (each described as Apocalyptic Horseman, steel and bronze, 35 gns).


Photo: unknown photographer, courtesy Deutscher Menzies.

known as Horseman of the Apocalypse IV and possibly also known as Centurion, 1955
Steel and bronze.
40 cm high
Whereabouts unknown, possibly estate of Roy Bizley (1930-99).
Exhibited: (?) Lenton Parr solo exhibition, Obelisk Gallery, London, 1956 (catalogue untraced and probably not issued); Exhibition of Sculpture (also known as Nine Sculptors), Peter Bray Gallery, 435 Bourke St, Melbourne, 4-14 March 1957, as either catalogue nos. 10-13 inclusive (each described as Apocalyptic Horseman, steel and bronze, 35 gns); (?) Sculpture: Brighton High School Exhibition, Brighton High School, Brighton, Vic., 1959, as either catalogue no. 26 or 27 (each described as Lenton Parr, Apocalyptic Horseman, welded metal, 30 gns); (?) Art and the Church, The Anglican Church of St. John the Divine, Croydon, Vic., 20 April - 1 May 1967, catalogue no. 73 (as Lenton Parr, Centurion, welded steel, collection of the artist) or no. 74 (as Lenton Parr, Apocalyptic Horseman, welded steel, collection of the artist).


Photos: unknown photographer, originals among the Parr papers, SLV, PA 07/11, box 18, photographs 1956-65: white folder marked "1956-1957".
Appendix C: Lenton Parr

LP0013

*Apocalyptic Horseman, miniature (also known as Horseman of the Apocalypse, miniature), 1955*

Steel and bronze.
15.2 cm high
Whereabouts unknown

Photos: unknown photographer, originals among the Parr papers, SLV, PA 07/11, box 18, photographs 1956-65: white folder marked ‘1956-1957’.

LP0014

*Flower Piece I, 1955*

Steel rods and found steel object, on a steel base.
14.0 x 7.5 x 7.0 cm; base: 1.5 x 5 x 6 cm
Not signed or inscribed.
With Australian Galleries, Collingwood, Vic., 2010.
Provenance: Artist’s estate.
Exhibited: *Lenton Parr Sculpture*, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 27 October 1984 - 17 February 1985, catalogue no. 3 (as *Flower piece, 1955, 15.4 cm high*, loaned by the artist); *Lenton Parr: The Estate*, The Australian Galleries, Smith Street, Collingwood, Vic., 7-22 July 2012, catalogue no. 42 (as *Flower Piece II, 1955, welded steel and found object, 14 x 7.5 x 7 cm, AG 206596, $2,250*).


Photo: the author.
Like the *Horsemen series*, the flower ‘inventions’ (LP0014-LP0016) also incorporated scrap iron that Parr discovered around the Bourne Cottage and surrounding outhouses at Hoglands, Much Hadham (Parr, 1999, p. 29).
LP0015

*Flower Piece II, 1955*

Steel.
40 cm high approx.
Private collection.

**Exhibited:** (?) *Lenton Parr solo exhibition*, Obelisk Gallery, London, 1956 (catalogue untraced and probably not issued).

**Literature:** Edwards, 1999, p. 152, catalogue raisonné no. 10; Parr, 1999, p. 29.

**Photo:** S. Lidbrooke, London, original among Parr papers, SLV, PA 07/11, box 18, photographs 1956-65: white folder marked ‘1956-1957’.

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LP0016

*Flower Piece III, 1955*

Steel.
60 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.

**Exhibited:** (?) *Lenton Parr solo exhibition*, Obelisk Gallery, London, 1956 (catalogue untraced and probably not issued).

**Literature:** Edwards, 1999, p. 152, catalogue raisonné no. 10; Parr, 1999, p. 29; Borthwick, 2012, pp. 69, 375-6, fig. 110.

**Photo:** S. Lidbrooke, London, original among Parr papers, SLV, PA 07/11, box 18, photographs 1956-65: white folder marked ‘1956-1957’.

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LP0017

*Seated Figure, Reclining, 1956*

Steel painted black on wooden base, also painted black.
27.5 × 27.7 × 13.0 cm
Not signed or inscribed.
NGV, Melbourne.

**Provenance:** Artist’s estate; With Australian Galleries, Collingwood, Vic., 2010; Gift of Sue Walker AM through the Australian Government's Cultural Gifts Program, 2012. NGV accession no. 2012.386.

**Exhibited:** (?) *Lenton Parr solo exhibition*, Obelisk Gallery, London, 1956 (catalogue untraced and probably not issued); *Lenton Parr Sculpture*, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 27 October 1984 - 17 February 1985, catalogue no. 4 (as *Seated figure*, 1956, steel painted black, 25.4 cm high, loaned by the artist); *Lenton Parr: Sculptures 1956-1999*, posthumous show, Christine Abrahams Gallery, Richmond, 1-26 June 2004, catalogue no. 1 (as *Seated figure – reclining*, 1956, steel, 25.4 x 27.5 x 13 cm).
cm, NFS); Lenton Parr: The Estate, The Australian Galleries, Smith Street, Collingwood, Vic., 7-22 July 2012, catalogue no. 14 (as Seated Figure, Reclining, 1956, welded steel, painted black, 26 x 26 x 14.5 cm, AG 106290, $18,500); At the Still Point of the Turning World: Lenton Parr, The Gallery at Bayside Arts and Cultural Centre, Brighton, Vic., 10 May - 22 June 2014, no catalogue nos. assigned (loaned by the NGV); Collection focus: Lenton Parr, NGV, Federation Square, Melbourne, from July 2015, no catalogue nos. assigned. 


Photo: unknown photographer, courtesy Sue Walker and Australian Galleries.

As with the Horsemen series and ‘flower inventions’, Seated Figure (LP0018) and Seated Figure, Reclining (the present work) also employed scrap-metal found around the Bourne Cottage farmhouse. Ten such pieces were shown at his first solo exhibition, in 1956, and drew favourable comment from Moore.

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LP0018

**Seated Figure, 1956**

Steel painted black on wooden base, also painted black.

38.0 x 11.0 x 11.5 cm

Whereabouts unknown.

Provenance: Sold through the Dalgety Street Gallery, 3 April 1960, to Kym Bonython (1920-2011); Sold at the Bonython Estate Sale, Greenaway Art Gallery, Kent Town, South Australia, 7 February 2012.

Exhibited: (?) Lenton Parr solo exhibition, Obelisk Gallery, London, 1956 (catalogue untraced and probably not issued); Outset (group exhibition), 43 Dalgety Street, St Kilda, Vic., 20 March - 12 April 1959, catalogue no. 26 (as Seated Figure, welded steel, 18 gns); Selections from the Kym Bonython Collection: Arts Festival exhibition, Bonython Art Gallery, North Adelaide, 18 March - 6 April 1962, catalogue no. 58 (as Seated Figure); Lenton Parr Sculpture, NGV, Melbourne, 27 October 1984 - 17 February 1985, catalogue no. 5 (as Seated figure, 1956, steel painted black, 35.5 cm high, lent by Kym Bonython).

Literature: St Kilda, 1959, no. 26; Adelaide, 1962, no. 58; Melbourne, 1984, no. 5; Giannoukos, 1984, photograph of Parr with Seated Figure; Edwards, 1999, p. 152, catalogue raisonné no. 12, b&w illustration p. 44; Parr, 1999, p. 29.

Photo: unknown photographer, courtesy Sue Walker and Australian Galleries.

Damaged in the Ash Wednesday fires, 16 February 1983, and restored shortly thereafter by the artist.
**Flying Man, 1956**

Steel painted black.

81 cm length.

Whereabouts unknown.

Provenance: The artist as of 1999.


Photo: unknown photographer (possibly Mark Strizic), reproduced in Edwards, 1999, p. 45.

Referring to the present work, Parr recalled that ‘a pair of stable door hinges [found while living at the Bourne Cottage] became a flying man’ (Parr, 1999, p. 29). Both Alan McCulloch and Alan Warren singled out *Flying Man* for praise in their reviews of the 1958 VSS *Retrospect* exhibition (McCulloch, 1958, July; Warren, 1958 July). The work is clearly visible in a number of Anita Aarons’ photographs of the exhibition (Aarons papers, AA 734 and AA 739).

**Crucifix (later known as Crucifixion; also as Figure of Christ), 1956**

Welded mild steel, incorporating found objects, with traces of black paint.

86 x 20 x 13 cm

Not signed or inscribed.

McClelland Gallery & Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic.


Exhibited: (?) *Lenton Parr solo exhibition*, Obelisk Gallery, London, 1956 (catalogue untraced and probably not issued); *Twelve Melbourne Sculptors*, Brummel’s Gallery, Melbourne, 22 September – 3 October 1957 (catalogue untraced); *Retrospect, Five Years: Victorian Sculptors' Society*, Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 21 July - ? 1958, catalogue no. 69 (as *Crucifixion*, welded steel, 35 gns); *Religious Art in Our Time*, St Peter's Church, Eastern Hill, East Melbourne, 14-21 October 1962, catalogue no. 61 (as *Crucifix*, welded steel, collection of R. Crichton Esq.); *Art and the Church*, The Anglican Church of St. John the Divine, Croydon, Vic., 20 April - 1 May 1967, catalogue no. 75 (as *Crucifix*, welded steel, collection of Mr. and Mrs. R. Crichton); *Lenton Parr Sculpture*, NGV, Melbourne, 27

Photo: Mark Strizic, courtesy Sue Walker and Australian Galleries.

According to Parr, the discovery at the Bourne Cottage of some iron ‘railings topped with fleur-de-lis ornaments suggested hands and feet and led to a small crucifixion design’ (Parr, 1999, p. 29). Close examination of the claw-like hands reveal their origins in found objects. When first exhibited in Melbourne (at Brummel’s Gallery, 1957), Arnold Shore wrote that ‘Metal is wrought in linear vitality in Lenton Parr’s *Crucifixion*’ while Alan McCulloch found Parr’s work in the exhibition ‘decorative in scale if not in intent’, with ‘shades of the Italian, Giacometti’ (Shore, 1957 Sep 24; McCulloch, 1957 Sept 25).

Parr’s transcribed diary entries for 29 October 1959 alternatively state ‘sold crucifix to R. Crichton’, and ‘gave crucifix to Dick Crichton’ (Parr, c. 1970).

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**LP0021**

**Standing Figure, 1957**

Steel and bronze. 40 x 14 x 8 cm

Private collection (Reg Preston and Phyl Dunn, as of 1984).

**Exhibited:** *Twelve Melbourne Sculptors*, Brummel’s Gallery, Melbourne, 22 September - 3 October 1957 (catalogue untraced); (?) *Sculpture Today*, Council for Adult Education (CAE) and the Victorian Sculptors' Society travelling exhibition, opened August 1959, catalogue no. 10 (as *Standing Figure*, steel and bronze); *Contemporary Australian Art*, Auckland City Art Gallery, New Zealand, May 1960, catalogue no. 9 (as *Standing Figure*, welded steel and brass, 16 x 6 inches, loaned by the artist); *Lenton Parr Sculpture*, NGV, Melbourne, 27 October 1984 - 17 February 1985, catalogue no. 7 (as *Standing figure*, 1957, steel, bronze, 40 cm high, lent by Reg Preston and Phyl Dunn).


Photo: unknown photographer, courtesy Sue Walker and Australian Galleries.

In his review of *Twelve Melbourne Sculptors*
at Brummel’s Gallery, Alan Warren mentioned this work: ‘In this talented company possibly one other work, a Standing Figure, stands apart by virtue of Lenton Parr’s serious approach to his metal medium’ (Warren, 1957 Sept). It is not clear whether it was this work or Standing Figure, 1959 (LP00…) that was included in the VSS and CAE touring exhibition of 1959-61. The dimensions given in the Auckland, 1960 catalogue, however, suggest that this work travelled to New Zealand in the Contemporary Australian Art exhibition.

LP0022
**Terracotta heads (set of three), 1957**
Terracotta; one unit painted white, another black (possibly iron oxide). Dimensions unknown (approx. 10 cm high).

Whereabouts unknown.

Photo: unknown photographer, original among Parr papers, SLV, PA 07/11, box 18, photographs 1956-65: white folder marked ‘1956-1957’.

Each unit in the set of three comprises a pair of faces, akin to Greek comedy and tragedy masks. They possibly relate to Parr’s little-known work in theatre costuming – Parr having made thirty masks in plastic, based on drawings by Louis Kahan, for the Royal Command performance of *The Tales of Hoffman* at the Princes Theatre, Melbourne, 1954. Not listed in the catalogue raisonné in Edwards, 1999.

LP0023
**Untitled (seated figure), c. 1957**
Medium unknown; likely plaster.

20 x 8 x 8 cm approx.

Whereabouts unknown.

Photo: unknown photographer, original among Parr papers, SLV, PA 07/11, box 18, photographs 1956-65: white folder marked ‘1958-1959’.

Not listed in Edwards, 1999. Dated c. 1957 as the sole surviving photograph was filed in the artist’s papers under 1958-59, although stylistically this still clearly bears witness to Henry Moore’s immense influence and was most likely made before the pivotal *Danae* (LP0025.2).

LP0024
**Untitled (reclining figure), c. 1957**
Medium unknown; likely plaster or terracotta with bronze patina.

10 x 12 x 5 cm approx.

Whereabouts unknown.

Photo: unknown photographer, original among Parr papers, SLV, PA 07/11, box 18, photographs 1956-65: white folder marked ‘1958-1959’.

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Appendix C: Lenton Parr
Not listed in Edwards, 1999. Dated c. 1957 for the same reasons as given in LP0023.

LP0025.1

**Plaster design for Danae, 1956**

Plaster.
19.5 x 24.0 x 37.0 cm approx.

Whereabouts unknown.


The plaster original for *Danae* is known only through two photographs among Parr’s papers and has not been recorded elsewhere.

LP0025.2

**Danae, 1957**

Steel and bronze.
19.5 x 24.0 x 37.0 cm

Geelong Gallery, Vic.


Exhibited: *Lenton Parr Sculpture*, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 27 October 1984 - 17 February 1985, catalogue no. 9 (as Danae, 1957, steel, bronze, 37 cm long, lent by Geelong Art Gallery);

This was the Future... Australian sculpture of the 1950s, 60s, 70s and... today, Heide Museum of Modern Art, Bulleen, Vic., 4 October - 7 December 2003 (as Danae, 1957, bronze alloy, 19.5 x 24 x 37 cm, Geelong Art Gallery collection, H.P. Douglass Bequest Funds, 1959); *A question of scale - maquettes and small sculpture from the permanent collection*, Geelong Gallery, Geelong, Vic., 13 October to 21 April 2013; *At the Still Point of the Turning World: Lenton Parr*, The Gallery at Bayside Arts and Cultural Centre, Brighton, Vic., 10 May - 22 June 2014, no catalogue nos. assigned; *A question of scale - maquettes and small sculpture from the permanent collection*, Geelong Gallery, 17 October 2015 - 14 February 2016.


Photo: Geelong Art Gallery, courtesy Sue Walker and Australian Galleries.

In interview with James Gleeson, in 1979, Parr recalled that:

Gleeson and Parr, 1979: ‘I made a little reclining figure, which I called Danae, and which is now in the Geelong Art Gallery, and that was what one might call a, I suppose, a formalised or abstract figure, and in the process of making it I suddenly realised that I could do very much what I was trying to achieve with this figures much more successfully using purely abstract forms, and that was a very exciting thing. The next sculpture I made was entirely abstract and I’ve always – from that point on – I’ve always felt very at home working in abstract form. I wouldn’t have done before... It’s [Danae] a very tiny little piece of sculpture but to me it’s one of the most significant things I’ve made’ (Gleeson and Parr, 1979, p. 13).
**LP0026**

**Bronze Forms (set of five), 1958**
Catalogued individually below.

Photo: unknown photographer, courtesy Sue Walker and Australian Galleries, inscribed: ‘Bronze forms, 1958, small experimental castings, place any way up’.

**LP0026-a**

**Form in Bronze I, 1958**
Bronze with traces of green patina.
7.0 x 15.0 x 10.0 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Geelong Gallery, Vic.


Photo: the author.

**LP0026-b**

**Form in Bronze II, 1958**
Bronze with green patina.
9.5 x 10.0 x 6.5 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Geelong Gallery, Vic.


Photo: the author.
Appendix C: Lenton Parr

October to 21 April 2013; At the Still Point of the Turning World: Lenton Parr, The Gallery at Bayside Arts and Cultural Centre, Brighton, Vic., 10 May - 22 June 2014, no catalogue nos. assigned; A question of scale - maquettes and small sculpture from the permanent collection, Geelong Gallery, 17 October 2015 - 14 February 2016.


Photo: the author.

LP0026-c

Form in Bronze III, 1958

Bronze with traces of green patina.
6.5 x 14.0 x 5.0 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Geelong Gallery, Vic.


Exhibited: Lenton Parr Sculpture, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 27 October 1984 - 17 February 1985, part of catalogue no. 10 (as Group of Five Forms, 1957-58, bronze, L 11.5, 11.7, 13.3, 14.3, 16.5 cm, loaned by the artist); Lenton Parr: The Estate, The Australian Galleries, Smith Street, Collingwood, Vic., 7-22 July 2012, catalogue no. 30 (AG 206599, $5,500); A question of scale - maquettes and small sculpture from the permanent collection, Geelong Gallery, Geelong Gallery, Vic., 13 October to 21 April 2013; At the Still Point of the Turning World: Lenton Parr

LP0026-d

Form in Bronze IV, 1958

Bronze with green patina.
4.0 x 1.03 x 4.5 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Geelong Gallery, Vic.


Exhibited: Lenton Parr Sculpture, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 27 October 1984 - 17 February 1985, part of catalogue no. 10 (as Group of Five Forms, 1957-58, bronze, L 11.5, 11.7, 13.3, 14.3, 16.5 cm, loaned by the artist); Lenton Parr: The Estate, The Australian Galleries, Smith Street, Collingwood, Vic., 7-22 July 2012, catalogue no. 31 (AG 206600, $5,500); A question of scale - maquettes and small sculpture from the permanent collection, Geelong Gallery, Geelong Gallery, Vic., 13 October to 21 April 2013; At the Still Point of the Turning World: Lenton Parr


Photo: the author.

LP0026-e

**Form in Bronze V, 1958**

Bronze with green patina.

6.0 x 11.5 x 7.0 cm

Not signed, inscribed or dated.

Geelong Gallery, Vic.

Provenance: Artist’s estate; Gift of Sue Walker through the Australian Government’s Cultural Gifts Program, 2012. Accession no. 2012.34.


Photo: the author.

LP0027

**Standing Figure, 1958**

Steel painted black.

64.8 x 19 x 14 cm

Not signed, inscribed or dated.

NGV, Melbourne.


Exhibited: *Retrospect, Five Years: Victorian Sculptors' Society*, Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 21 July - ? 1958, catalogue no. 70 (as *Standing Figure*, welded steel, 45 gns); *Sculpture Today*, Council for Adult Education (CAE) and the Victorian Sculptors’ Society, travelling exhibition, opened in Melbourne, 8-22 May 1961, catalogue no. 10 (as *Standing Figure*, steel); *Lenton Parr Sculpture*, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 27 October 1984 - 17 February 1985, catalogue no. 11 (as *Standing figure*,...
1958, steel painted black, 64.8 cm high, loaned by the artist); *At the Still Point of the Turning World: Lenton Parr*, The Gallery at Bayside Arts and Cultural Centre, Brighton, Vic., 10 May - 22 June 2014, no catalogue nos. assigned; *Collection focus: Lenton Parr*, NGV, Federation Square, Melbourne, from July 2015, no catalogue nos. assigned; *Lurid Beauty: Australian Surrealism and its Echoes*, NGV, Federation Square, Melbourne, 9 October 2015 - 31 January 2016, no catalogue nos. assigned.


**Photo:** Mark Strizic, courtesy Sue Walker and Australian Galleries.

**LP0028**

**Head of Christ, 1958**

Steel and brass on wooden base. 52 x 29 x 34 cm
Signed, inscribed, and dated beneath base: ‘LENTON PARR Head of Christ 1958’.

McClelland Gallery & Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic.


**Photo:** Mark Strizic, reproduced in Edwards, 1999, p. 11.

The work is clearly visible in a number of Anita Aarons’ photographs of the exhibition (Aarons papers, AA 723, AA 732 and AA 737).
LP0029
Areopagitica - maquette (design for wall sculpture, Baillieu Library competition), 1958
Metal (steel and bronze?) mounted on green block board. 34.3 x 58.4 cm; 44 x 80 cm overall (including block). Not signed, inscribed or dated. University of Melbourne, Cultural Collections Unit. Provenance: Invitation competition, Baillieu Library, University of Melbourne, 1958. Accession no. 593. University of Melbourne Art Collection accession no. 1958.0013.000.000. Exhibited: Exhibition of mural designs -Baillieu Library, Mural Competition, Museum of Modern Art, Tavistock Place, Melbourne, 3-13 March, 1959, catalogue no. 5 (as Lenton Parr, metal on timber); A Storehouse of Wisdom: Celebrating 50 years of the Baillieu Library, Melbourne: University of Melbourne, 20 March - 17 May 2009. Literature: Parr, c. 1970, diary entries. Parr was one of ten artists invited to submit designs for the Baillieu Library mural competition on the theme of Milton’s Areopagitica (Zikaras and Redpath were also invited; see TZ00… and NR00…, the latter being the winning submission). In a letter accompanying his submission, Parr wrote: ‘Theme – I have expressed a general idea of light dispelling darkness, symbolising intellectual enlightenment dispelling ignorance. The emerging light defines the world, abstracting from chaos Sun and Moon, earth and water, and the form of organic life’ (Parr, 1958). His proposed work was to be made in steel and bronze. According to Gillian McCarthy, who interviewed Parr in 1990 regarding his submission, Parr found the set theme ‘difficult to visualise’ and so instead opted to ‘reinterpret the theme into a symbolic structure’, creating ‘a little world out of chaos complete with symbols of the sun, moon, earth, water and organic growth’ (McCarthy, 1990, p. 35). The university’s Special Collections Unit retains Parr’s maquette in which the gold-coloured bronze parts are fore-grounded against black-painted steel scaffolding. Not listed in Edwards, 1999.

LP0030
Small Constellation (later known as Constellation 2), 1958-59
Steel painted black. 28 x 46.5 x 21 cm Whereabouts unknown. Provenance: the artist as of 1999. Exhibited: Sydney, c. 1959-60 (possibly Farmers Blaxland Gallery; details untraced); Eastside Gallery, Jolimont, Vic., c. 1960-61; Lenton Parr Sculpture Exhibition, NGV, Melbourne, 4 November 1984 - 17 February 1985, catalogue no. 12 (as Small constellation, 1959, steel painted black, 46.5 cm long, lent by the artist); From Texture to Sculpture, Charles Nodrum Gallery, Richmond, Vic., 8-24 September 1987, catalogue no. 28 (as Small Constellation, 1959, steel painted black, 28 x 46.5 x 21 cm, illustrated in catalogue); Lenton Parr: Sculptures 1956-1999, posthumous show, Christine Abrahams Gallery, Richmond, 1-26 June 2004, catalogue no. 2 (as Small constellation, 1958, 17 x 47 x 30 cm, $15,000). Literature: Parr, c. 1970, diary entries.

Photo: unknown photographer, courtesy Sue Walker and Australian Galleries.

Dated 1958 in Edwards, 1999, and Richmond, 2004, but dated 1959 in Melbourne, 1984, and Richmond, 1987. Parr’s diary entry for 13 Feb 1960 records that the work was returned from Sydney and had to be repaired, while on 19 Aug 1961 he collected it from Annette Barrette’s Eastside Gallery in Jolimont and repaired it again.

LP0031

Four Balconies, The Four Humours: Melancholy, Phlegm, Choler, Sanguine, 1958

Steel balconies with welded bronze figures.

116 x 92 x 64 cm

University of Melbourne Art Collection, Union Theatre, north-east wall of the Des Connor rehearsal room.

Provenance: Commissioned by the architects Eggleston, Macdonald and Secomb. Accession no. 1958.0007.001.004.


Photo: (a) Mark Strizic and Beaver Photographics, courtesy Sue Walker and Australian Galleries; (c-e) courtesy Ian Potter Museum of Art; (f) external view of Melancholy, by the author.

According to Gillian McCarthy, who interviewed Parr in connection to his submitted design for the Baillieu Library relief (LP0029), Parr used melted silicon bronze over steel as an economical alternative to standard bronze (McCarthy, 1990, p. 36).
Appendix C: Lenton Parr

LP0032

**Fountain, 1959**

Medium unknown (possibly aluminium).
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown, possibly Sydney.

**Literature:** Parr, c. 1970, diary entries for 6th, 8th and 14th July 1959.

**Photo:** unknown photographer, original among Parr papers, SLV, PA 07/11, box 18, photographs 1956-65: white folder marked ‘1960-1962’.

This is most likely the commissioned fountain referred to in Parr’s transcribed diary for 1959: ‘6 July 1959 - Architect chose design for fountain. 8 July 1959 – Working on model of fountain in wax. 14 July 1959 – Fountain rendering’ (Parr, c. 1970, n.p.).

Whereabouts unknown.

**Exhibited:** Board Room of the Fidelity Trustee Company Ltd, 101 Lydiard Street North, Ballarat, June 1959; *Victorian Sculptors’ Society Annual Exhibition*, Victorian Artists’ Society Galleries, East Melbourne, August - 4 September 1959, catalogue no. 34 (as *William Shakespeare*, plaster, Design for Shakespeare Memorial Competition, NFS).


**Photo:** unknown photographer, courtesy Sue Walker and Australian Galleries.

Not listed in Edwards, 1999. This was Parr’s entry for a Shakespeare memorial to be erected outside Ballarat’s Civic Hall. Parr first learnt of the proposed competition through the VSS in 1957 and on 19 September 1957 wrote to the manager of Fidelity Trustee outlining his career to date, along with photographs of his work. In his letter he assured the manager that, although his recent work was ‘of a much more advanced character’ than his Melbourne Grammar School relief (LP0007) and while he felt his recent ‘experiments to be necessary’, he also believed ‘a rational approach to be necessary to a clients requirements, especially in public sculpture’. He ended by saying that he ‘should very much like to design a worthy memorial to William Shakespeare; it is a project that I find an exciting challenge and I hope sincerely I may have the opportunity to meet it’ (Parr papers, box 11). On 16 January 1959 he was officially invited to participate in the competition along with five other sculptors: Karl Duldig, George Allen, Andor Meszaros, Jeffrey Wilkinson and Stanley Hammond. Competitors were allowed three months in which to prepare their models, which were to be delivered to Fidelity Trustee by 30 April 1959 and for which each artist was paid 50 guineas. The selected design was to be commissioned in bronze or marble at a total cost of no more than £4,000 and the models then returned to the artists. It is not known what happened to Parr’s model. Parr submitted a quarter-scale model of a statue envisaged to be 7’8” high. In the report he submitted to accompany the model, he

LP0033

**William Shakespeare - design for Shakespeare Memorial Competition, 1959**

Plaster for bronze.
58 cm high approx.
explained his vision of Shakespeare as ‘the epitome of the intellectual boldness and new-found perception associated with the Renaissance’ – a man of ‘supreme genius’ who was able to ‘grasp and express’ the myriad new ideas then emerging in ‘science, politics, art and philosophy’. As such, Parr chose to depict Shakespeare in ‘the characteristic restless draperies of the High Renaissance sculpture [rather] than merely to display the fact that he wrote plays by including perhaps a book or a scroll’ (Parr, ‘Shakespeare Portrait Statue Competition, Ballarat, report’, n.d. [c. May 1959], Parr papers, box 11). His preparatory drawings are among his papers in the SLV; see LPW0006 - LPW002I inclusive. Parr envisaged the final statue to be in dark bronze ‘with moderate amount of green patina’ on a five foot high pedestal of red granite that would contrast pleasingly with the cream brick and off-white cement render of Ballarat’s Civic Hall, outside which the statue would stand (artist’s typescript report and hand-annotated plan map of proposed site for the statue, Parr papers, box 11). When exhibited at the VSS in August 1959, Arnold Shore wrote that ‘It is salutary … to see how well one lover of welded metal, Lenton Parr, can work in more orthodox material. His model in plaster for a bronze William Shakespeare memorial has a completely captivating elegance, spirit and design’ (Shore, 1959 Aug, p. 2). According to Parr’s diary, Ola Cohn told him his entry was the ‘only one with some guts in it’, while Alan Warren presented a talk at the NGV on 12 November 1959, at which he showed ‘a good slide’ of Parr’s Shakespeare model (Parr, c. 1970, entries for 24 July and 12 November 1959). The winner of the competition was Andor Meszaros, who later recalled the exhibition of entries in his unpublished memoir: ‘There were two works far above the usual, [p. IV 39 ff] Lenton Parr’s pirouetting Shakespeare and mine. Parr’s work was excellently modelled and quite a good idea, except it is not right to those an attitude [sic], that is quite out of keeping with our idea about Shakespeare, also a too accidental one, whereas his thanking for the applause occurs after every performance, are his greatest moments and is the attitude he would have liked to be depicted. Anyhow these two works were already taken out of the exhibiting room, as natural rejects, when the delegate of the Vic. Sculptors Soc., this time Norma Redpath[,] arrived. The first thing was that she let the two works be brought back, secondly she let them open the explanatory descriptions, which they [the competition committee] did not consider worthwhile… So my work that was chucked out by the committee won the competition’ (Meszaros, 1970, pp. IV 38-9).

LP0034
**Head, c. 1959**
Bronze.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Provenance: Sold through Allen David, Dalgety Street Gallery, July 1959.
Exhibited: *Outset* (group exhibition), 43 Dalgety Street, St Kilda, Vic., 20 March - 12 April 1959, catalogue no. 27 (as *Head*, bronze, 15 gns).
Literature: St Kilda, 1959, no. 27; Parr, c. 1970, diary entries for 20 July and 20 August 1959.
Nothing is known of this work beyond that it was exhibited at the first Dalgety Street Gallery exhibition and that Parr briefly recorded it in his diary: ‘Alan [sic] David tells me he has sold small green (bronze) head’ (20 July 1959). Elsewhere he records: ‘Sold small bronze head (Alan David)’ (20 Aug 1959). It may date to an earlier period; another work, *Crucifixion*, 1956, also sold in 1959.

LP0035
**Composition, c. 1959**
Welded steel.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: *Outset* (group exhibition), 43 Dalgety Street, St Kilda, Vic., 20 March - 12 April 1959, catalogue no. 28 (as *Composition*, welded steel, 10 gns).
Literature: St Kilda, 1959, no. 28.

LP0036
**Head of Victor Greenhalgh, 1959**
Bronze with green patina; edition of at least two.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Engineering exhibition, Royal Melbourne Technical College, c. August 1959 (details untraced); (?) *Decade: A Tribute to Victor Greenhalgh*, Storey Hall, RMIT, Melbourne, July 1965 (works exhibited...
Ballarat-born sculptor Victor Greenhalgh was Head of the Art Department at MTC from 1955-65 and had served on the teaching staff there since 1938. Parr later acknowledged his student work was in the manner of Greenhalgh and George Allen (Gleeson and Parr, 1979, p. 2) although he rapidly moved beyond their influence; Parr’s Cerberus, 1964, illustrated on the front of the Greenhalgh tribute catalogue (Melbourne, 1965 July) demonstrates the distance travelled. Parr records the various stages in casting this head in his transcribed diary: ‘7 July 1959 – Cast Greenhalgh head in wax. 10 July 1959 – Invested Greenhalgh head. 17 July 1959 – Patinated Greenhalgh head. 24 July 1959 – Patina on second Greenhalgh head. 7 August 1959 – Did wax of Greenhalgh head for engineering exhibition’ (Parr, c. 1970, n.p.).

Sir Stanley Seymour Argyle, after Paul Montford, 1959
Bronze.
44.5 x 35.0 x 26.0 cm; base: 13.0 x 17.0 x 18.0 cm
Parliament House, Melbourne.
Photo: courtesy Parliamentary Library & Information Service, Parliament of Victoria.

Even as Parr matured as a sculptor, he continued to accept jobs such as the present one, which entailed producing a bronze copy of Paul Montford’s head of Sir Stanley Seymour Argyle for Parliament House.


Reclining Figure, 1959
Steel.
24 x 59 (or 71?) x 23 cm
Whereabouts unknown.
Provenance: Fundraising Auction, Arts Centre Building Fund, Melbourne 1960; Private collection, Melbourne; Deutscher Menzies, 13 September 2006, lot 94 (as Reclining Couple, 1959, 24 x 59 x 23 cm, no. 22 in catalogue raisonné, illustrated, est AU $9,000 - 12,000; sold AU $7,500 or $9,000 including premium).
Photo: Mark Strizic, courtesy Sue Walker and Australian Galleries.
Inscribed on reverse: ‘Reclining figure 1959 / L. 28 “ / 71 cm / Donated to Arts Centre Building Appeal’.

This is possibly a work made specifically – and very quickly – for the opening of Gallery A, as suggested by Parr’s transcribed diary entry: ‘26 July 1959 – Started welded figure for Clem Meadmore’s show. 27 July 1959 –
Finished reclining figure for Clem Meadmore’s show. 28 July 1959 – At Meadmore’s Gallery opening’ (Parr, c. 1970). Clement Meadmore and Max Hutchinson launched Gallery A, Melbourne, on 28 July 1959 with an exhibition of ceramics by Italian Franco Meneguzzo alongside Eight Australians – a group of Sydney abstract painters consisting of Nancy Borlase, John Coburn, John Dutruc, Kenneth Hood, George Johnson, Elwyn Lynn, John Ogburn and Peter Upward. It seems that Meadmore may have asked a number of local Melbourne artists, including Parr, to include work in a separate room to complement that show, although no catalogue listing for such works has been located among either the Gallery A records, NGA research library, or the gallery’s AAA file at the SLV.

LP0039.1

Orion, 1959

Welded steel painted black. 71.3 × 140.6 × 53.5 cm

Not signed, inscribed or dated. NGV, Melbourne.


Accession no. 490-D5.

Exhibited: Italian Government Art Scholarship, exhibition of entries, NGV, Melbourne, November 1959 (catalogue untraced); Mildara Prize for Sculpture, Mildura Art Gallery, Mildura, Vic., 22 April - 21 May 1961, catalogue no. 86 (as Orion, 1959, steel, 28", £210); Contemporary Australian Sculpture, held in conjunction with the first Adelaide Festival, Art Gallery of South Australia, gallery IV, Adelaide, March 1960, catalogue no. 20 (as Lenton Parr, Orion, welded steel, lent by the artist); Recent Australian Sculpture, organised by the Commonwealth Art Advisory Board, NGV, Melbourne, July 1964, and toured all state galleries, Australia, 1964-65, catalogue no. 29 (as Orion, 1964 [sic], lent by the Trustees of the NGV); Realist Art: Selected works from the Permanent and Michell Endowment Collections of the National Gallery of Victoria (regional touring exhibition), Banyule Gallery, 1 April - 30 June 1980, catalogue no. 19; Lenton Parr Sculpture, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 27 October 1984 - 17 February 1985, catalogue no. 13 (as Orion, 1959, steel painted black, 137.5 cm length, NGV); At the Still Point of the Turning World: Lenton Parr, The Gallery at Bayside Arts and Cultural Centre, Brighton, Vic., 10 May - 22 June 2014, no catalogue nos. assigned; Collection focus: Lenton Parr, National Gallery of Victoria, Federation Square, Melbourne, from July 2015, no catalogue nos. assigned.

Orion marked a turning point and a time of maturation in Parr’s development. It was one of his earliest ‘biomorphic’ steel sculptures and was immediately recognized by critics and curators as a significant and powerful work. It is also one of the few works in which Parr thought the form suggested the title, rather than the title being entirely arbitrary; as he told James Gleeson: Orion ‘referred quite directly to the constellation [of Orion] because the disposition of the forms seemed to me to suggest the forms of the constellation. In addition Orion is the hunter, and this had a somewhat predatory look, and I thought it was a fairly happy association of ideas’ (Gleeson and Parr, 1979, p. 9). In his transcribed diary, Parr recorded the various stages in the development of Orion: ‘2 & 3 September 1959 - New sculpture [thumbnail sketch of what looks to be a mixture of Orion or Small constellation]... 5 September 1959 - New sculpture to be about 5’ long. This is ORION... 5 September 1959 – Worked on big sculpture (about 3’) (Orion)... 6 September 1959 [ditto] – Worked on big sculpture… 19 September 1959 - Working on big sculpture and another terracotta… 4 October 1959 - Finished big sculpture (Orion)... 9 October 1959 – Presentation of Orion and photographs for Italian Scholarship... 16 November 1959 – Gordon Thomson flattering about Orion and referring to article he wrote about it’ (Parr, c. 1970). Thomson’s ‘flattering’ words warrant reprinting here: ‘Lenton Parr’s Orion is perhaps the most successful piece in the exhibition [the Italian Government Art Scholarship competition]. It is a beautiful work, attractive in its forms, mature and full of meaning. Besides this it is an example to us of the highest craft standards bent to the talk of bringing a complex conception to realization. It is in every way sufficiently sophisticated for international exhibition in good company... This content of the work is frankly invented, its concern subjective and its associations primordial. The ancient, scaly and horrible creature obtruding its great mandibles stretches itself before us. The movement reminds us of dragons and other creatures of the myths of the past’ (Thomson, 1959, p. 12). Similarly, Chris Wallace-Crabbe found it the outstanding work in the exhibition (which was won by Stephen Walker): ‘It is hard to understand the judges’ decision in the Italian Government Travelling Scholarship for sculpture ... [It] is Lenton Parr’s exhibit which dominates the show, both for its controlled complexity and for the intelligence of its conception. It is an elaborate construction in welded iron, entitled Orion, and successfully suggests both the armoured knight and the form of his constellation. Extended horizontally, this figure combines the cruelty of spiky limbs with the self-protection of its defensively curved carapace; and somehow the whole remains an organic unity, an almost crustacean embodiment of aggression’ (Wallace-Crabbe, 1959, p. 22). Others to detect marine or crustacean references – allusions only heightened by Parr’s photographing the work on the Sandringham foreshore (see Parr, 1961, p. 19; also his reference to photographing it on the beach with Brian Will in Parr, c. 1970, entry for 18 June 1960) – include fellow sculptor Clement Meadmore (Meadmore, 1963, pp. 5-6), Professor of English at the University of Western Australia, Allan Edwards (Edwards, 1960, p. 49), Margaret Plant (Hoff and Plant, 1968, p. 196), Inge King (King, 1984, p. 21) and Geoffrey Edwards (Melbourne, 1984 Oct, n.p.). Still others have focused on the novel abandonment of a pedestal – a radical move that prefigures the work of Anthony Caro in Britain (see Hoff and Plant, 1968, p. 196; Catalano, 1981, p. 110; and Sturgeon, 1982, p. [28]).
Orion, métal soudé, 0.86 m); Centre Five at Heide, Heide Park and Art Gallery, Bulleen, Vic., 27 October - 9 December 1984, catalogue no. 22 (as Orion, 1959, welded steel, 48 x 31 x 94 cm, collection of the artist).


Photo: (?) John Brash; reproduced in Bulleen, 1984, p. 22.

Dated 1959 in Bulleen, 1984, and 1961 in Edwards, 1999. I have dated it 1959-61 on the basis that the original, large Orion dates to 1959 and the smaller version was made in 1961. While it is unusual for a sculptor to produce a smaller version of a work after a large version, Parr’s diary entries for March and April 1961 clarify the circumstances for this later production of a half-scale version of the large Orion. On 24 Mar 1961 Gordon Thomson of the NGV asked Parr ‘for work to go to Musee Rodin’. A week later, on 31 Mar, he began work on a ‘small version of Orion for Paris show’. He had completed the Small Orion by 3 April 1961.

Southern Cross, 1959

Steel.

89 cm high.

Art Gallery of Western Australia, Perth.


Exhibited: Chadstone Shopping Centre Sculpture Competition, Buvelot gallery bays of the NGV, February - March 1960 (catalogue untraced); Australian Art Today, Western Australian Art Gallery, Perth, travelling art exhibition through the North-West, 1963; Fremantle Port Authority exhibition, Fremantle, WA, 21 February – 10 June 1966, loaned by AGWA; Fremantle Port Authority exhibition, Fremantle, WA, 16 June 1971, loaned by AGWA; The ’50s into the ’60s, Art Gallery Western Australia, Perth, 30 October – December 1982; Australian Sculpture from the Collection, Art Gallery Western Australia, Perth, 9 February – 10 April 1984.


Photo: Mark Strizic, courtesy Sue Walker and Australian Galleries.

Southern Cross was one of Parr’s entries for the Chadstone competition. An entry from his transcribed diary records: ‘18 November 1959 - Chadstone designs started. (Southern Cross design later sold to WA gallery)’. When exhibited with the Chadstone entries, Alan McCulloch thought Southern Cross would have worked more successfully than Parr’s selected design Untitled (Plant Forms) (McCulloch, 1960 Feb, p. 22). Another print of the same Strizic photo reproduced above, among the Parr papers (SLV, PA 07/11, box 18 Photographs 1956-65: white folder marked ‘1958-1959’) is inscribed: ‘Design for a monumental sculpture / symbolizing the Southern Cross Constellation / Height to Sc 18’ Material welded steel’. Furthermore a print of the above Strizic photograph, housed among the Reed papers (box 15c/18, file 21, 3 of 4), is inscribed verso “… “Southern Cross”. / Design for 17” / sculpture in / architectural / setting. (Entry / in Chadstone / sculpture competition / 1960). / Material: steel / Size: 1/6” scale model’. The AGWA work is therefore clearly a maquette for a monumental work of an
envisaged 17 or 18 feet in height. The maquette is also visible in the background of a Strizic photograph of Parr in his studio loft at Chalmers Avenue, Sandringham, taken 1959 (reproduced in Edwards, 1999, pp. 18-19). It was sold to Frank Norton of the AGWA on 19 November 1960, with the account sent to Ruth [McNicholl of the Argus Gallery’ on 2 Jan 1961 (Parr, c. 1970). Parr’s statement regarding the work was published in the Western Australian Art Gallery Bulletin, April 1962: ‘This sculpture is a design for an Australian monumental sculpture intended to stand 20 feet high in an open air setting. It embodies what seems to me to be the simplest and most satisfying of all Australian symbols, the constellation of the Southern Cross’ (Parr cited in Anon., 1962, p. 3).

LP0041.1
*Untitled, maquette for Chadstone sculpture, 1959*

Steel and stones.

80 cm high approx.

Whereabouts unknown.

*Exhibited:* Chadstone Shopping Centre Sculpture Competition, Buvelot gallery bays of the NGV, February - March 1960 (catalogue untraced); Mildara Prize for Sculpture, Mildura Art Gallery, Mildura, Vic., 22 April - 21 May 1961, catalogue no. 85 (as Chadstone Sculpture, 1960, scale model for steel sculpture, 102", NFS).


The Chadstone sculpture competition was open to invited sculptors. Eric Westbrook put Parr’s name forward (recorded in Parr, c. 1970, diary entry for 5 Oct 1959). Westbrook was also one of the competition judges; the others being Kenneth Myer and George McCahon from the Myer Emporium Ltd, architect Roderick McDonald who was the nominee of the VSS, and architect Mr P.M. Shaw (Parr papers, box 11, circular headed ‘Chadstone Shopping Centre Pty Ltd / Conditions of Competition for the Design of Sculpture’ issued by Tompkins and Shaw, architects, October 1959). Entrants were requested to submit models at 1/6th of the full-scale sculpture, for which they would be paid an honorarium of 50 guineas. The size and material of final work was open to the sculptors’ discretion though they were cautioned: ‘that Chadstone Shopping Centre is a place where the whole family may shop together in casual attire, and many services and attractions are incorporated for children’, hinting perhaps that reclining nudes would hold no place in the centre (Parr papers, box 11, circular headed ‘Chadstone Shopping Centre Pty Ltd / Conditions of Competition for the Design of Sculpture’ issued by Tompkins and Shaw, architects, October 1959). Indeed three themes were suggested to entrants and they could submit designs in as many categories as they chose: ‘The Family’, ‘Chadstone Shopping Centre as an assemblage of merchandise from all over the world’ and ‘Australia’ – this latter category later being reinterpreted (at least by Parr) as ‘Australian Flora’ (Parr papers, box 11, circular headed ‘Chadstone Shopping Centre Pty Ltd / Conditions of Competition for the Design of Sculpture’ issued by Tompkins and Shaw, architects, October 1959; McCulloch, 1960 Feb 17, p. 22). Parr’s winning entry belongs to this final category. It is not certain whether this was his first, second or third design as mentioned in the below diary entries, which record his progress on the Chadstone maquette: ‘5 October 1959 – Westbrook recommends me for Chadstone competition (closed competition)... 9 October 1959 – ...
15. **Appendix C: Lenton Parr**


**LP0041.2 Untitled (Plant Forms), 1959-60**

Welded mild steel painted blue black, on basalt boulders. 259 x 259 x [?] cm; base 45.7 cm high Collection of John and Pauline Gandel, Point Leo, Vic.  

Provenance: Commissioned by architects Tompkins and Shaw for the Myer Emporium, Chadstone Shopping Centre, 1960; Unveiled 3 October 1960; Sold with the Myer Emporium to the Gandel Group, 1983.  


LP0042.2

**Configuration, 1959-61**

Welded mild steel painted black. 122 x 175 x 71 cm

Whereabouts unknown.

Provenance: Kym Bonython; Sold at the Bonython Estate Sale, Greenaway Art Gallery, Kent Town, South Australia, 7 February 2012 (where dimensions given as 123 x 166 x 70 cm).

**Exhibited:** *Mildara Prize for Sculpture*, Mildura Art Gallery, Mildura, Vic., 22 April - 21 May 1961, catalogue no. 87 (as **Configuration**, 1961, steel, 54”, £263); *Nine Melbourne Sculptors*, Argus Gallery, Melbourne, 26 June - 7 July 1961, catalogue no. 20 (as **Configuration**, welded steel, 200 gns); *An exhibition of paintings and sculpture from Melbourne and Adelaide*, Hungry Horse Gallery, Paddington, NSW, 18-? December 1962, catalogue no. 9 (as **Configuration**); On loan to the Art Gallery of South Australia, c 1960s, lent by Kym Bonython; *Lenton Parr Sculpture*, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 27 October 1984 - 17 February 1985, catalogue no. 16 (as **Configuration**, 1961, steel painted black, 175 cm, lent by Kym Bonython).


Photo: Mark Strizic, courtesy Sue Walker and Australian Galleries.

Dated 1961 in Melbourne, 1984, and Edwards, 1999. I have dated it to 1959-61 on the basis that the maquette dates to 1959, yet Parr’s diary entries record that work commenced on the large version on 14 Nov 1960 and was completed on 31 Mar 1961. **Configuration** featured in a number of significant exhibitions including the first *Mildara Prize for Sculpture* (Mildura, 1961, no. 87), *Nine Melbourne Sculptors* (Argus Gallery, 1961, no. 20) and the artist’s retrospective (Melbourne, 1984 Oct, no. 16). A photograph of it in situ at the first Mildura exhibition can be found in Sturgeon, 1985, pp. 12-3, while the above photograph depicts it at the Argus Gallery in 1961. Another photograph, among the Parr papers (SLV PA 07/11, box 18: Photographs 1956-65, white folder marked ‘1960-1962’) depicts it in an outdoor courtyard at the Art Gallery of South Australia, where it was on loan from Kym Bonython during the 1960s.

LP0043

**Constellation, 1960**

Steel and bronze. 20 cm length

Private collection.

**Exhibited:** *Exhibition of Australian Art by Victorian, Interstate and Expatriate Artists for World Refugee Year*, Australian Galleries, Collingwood, 7-17 June 1960, catalogue no. 91 (as **Constellation**, 55 guineas); *Four Arts in Australia*, organised by the Commonwealth Art Advisory Board to tour South East Asia: Malay, Bangkok, the Philippines, Djakarta, Singapore, Cambodia, Saigon, 1962,
catalogue no. 83 (as *Constellation*, welded steel).


Photo: (?) Mark Strizic, courtesy Sue Walker and Australian Galleries. Differs considerably from *Small Constellation*, 1958, and is apparently half the size of *Small Constellation*.

LP0044

**Sculpture**, c. 1960


LP0045

**Sentinel**, 1960
Steel painted black. 59.5 cm high approx. Whereabouts unknown. Provenance: the artist as of 1999.

Exhibited: *Nine Melbourne Sculptors*, Argus Gallery, Melbourne, 26 June - 7 July 1961, catalogue no. 17 (as *Sculpture*, welded steel, 50 gns); (?) *Contemporary Art Society of South Australia, Adelaide Festival of Arts*, CAS (South Australian branch), Charles Birks Gallery, Adelaide, March 1962, catalogue no. 51 (as *Sculpture*, welded steel, 50 gns); *Lenton Parr Sculpture*, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 27 October 1984 - 17 February 1985, catalogue no. 14 (as *Sentinel*, 1960, steel painted black, 59.5 cm, lent by the artist).


Photo: Mark Strizic, courtesy Sue Walker and Australian Galleries. The above photograph depicts the work exhibited at the Argus Gallery in 1961.

LP0046

**Bladed Constellation**, 1960-61
Steel painted black. 40 x 52 x 20 cm Not signed or inscribed. Private collection, Melbourne. Provenance: Artist’s estate; Sold through Australian Galleries, Collingwood, Vic., 2012.

Exhibited: *Nine Melbourne Sculptors*, Argus Gallery, Melbourne, 26 June - 7 July 1961, catalogue no. 18 (as *Sculpture*, welded steel, 40 gns); (?) *Contemporary Art Society of South Australia, Adelaide Festival of Arts*, CAS (South Australian branch), Charles Birks Gallery, Adelaide,
March 1962, catalogue no. 52 (as Sculpture, welded steel, 45 gns); Lenton Parr Sculpture, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 27 October 1984 - 17 February 1985, catalogue no. 15 (as Bladed constellation, 1960, steel painted black, 53.5 cm long, lent by the artist); Lenton Parr: Sculptures 1956-1999, posthumous show, Christine Abrahams Gallery, Richmond, 1-26 June 2004, catalogue no. 3 (as Bladed constellation, 1960, $15,000); Lenton Parr: The Estate, The Australian Galleries, Smith Street, Collingwood, Vic., 7-22 July 2012, catalogue no. 13 (AG 206602, $18,500).

Literature: Melbourne, 1961 June, no. 18; Shore, 1961 June 27, p. 2; (?) Adelaide, 1962 Mar, no. 52; Melbourne, 1984 Oct, no. 15; Edwards, p. 152, catalogue raisonné no. 28, b&w illustration pp. 54-55; Richmond, 2004, no. 3; Collingwood, 2012, no. 13. Photo: Mark Strizic, courtesy Sue Walker and Australian Galleries.

Bladed Constellation is notable for the steel’s smooth surfaces, foreshadowing Parr’s later abandonment of heavily encrusted surfaces and joins in preference for the more anonymous machined surfaces of mild steel. This work has always been dated 1960, and for this reason has been included in the present list of works up to and including 1960. However, an entry in Parr’s diary for 23 May 1961 records that he started and finished a new sculpture; the thumbnail sketch beside this entry is clearly a drawing of Bladed Constellation.

37.0 x 48.0 x 18.0 cm
Mildura Art Gallery, Vic.


According to the Mildura Art Gallery, this work was awarded the 1961 Prize for Sculpture at Mildura. However, there is no record of the work in the catalogue nor of the award elsewhere in the literature on Mildura.
WORKS ON PAPER

LPW0001

*Three Heads, drawing for Sculpture*, 1957
Pastel on paper.
37.8 x 27.2 cm
Whereabouts unknown.
Provenance: Leonard Joel, Melbourne, 10 November 1999, lot 552, AU $250-350, sold for AU $450; Christies, Melbourne, 25 November 2003, lot 296, AU $400-600, sold for AU $400.
Possibly relates to the series of three *Terracotta heads*, 1957 (LP0022).

LPW0002

*Untitled (studies for Bronze Forms)*, c. 1957-58
Pencil on brown wove paper.
14.4 x 9.5 cm irreg. (image); 15.2 x 10.1 cm (sheet).
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
NGV, Melbourne.
Photo: the author.
The second sketch from the top is a study for *Bronze Form I*, 1958, while the third sketch would appear to be a study for *Bronze Form V*, 1958 (LP0026-a and LP0026-b). Also with additional pencil studies on reverse.

LPW0003

*Untitled (studies for Bronze Forms)*, c. 1957-58
Pencil on brown wove paper.
14.3 x 9.4 cm irreg. (image); 15.2 x 10.1 cm (sheet).
Not signed or dated. Inscribed on reverse (vertically) in pencil upper left: ‘natural / forms / gumnuts / bones etc’.
NGV, Melbourne.
Photo: the author.
The first three sketches from the top appear to be studies for *Bronze Form III*, 1958 (LP0026-c). Also with additional pencil studies on reverse.

LPW0004

*Untitled study*, c. 1957-58
Pencil on brown wove paper.
13.5 x 9.0 cm irreg. (image); 15.1 x 10.1 cm (sheet).
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
NGV, Melbourne.
Closely related in composition to a work in ink and watercolour, Drawing for steel sculpture; three studies, 1959 (LPW0032). With additional pencil studies on reverse.

LPW0005
Untitled study, c. 1957-58
Pencil on brown wove paper.
12.6 x 8.3 cm irreg. (image); 15.1 x 10.1 cm (sheet).
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
NGV, Melbourne.
With additional pencil studies on reverse.

LPW0006
Preparatory sketch for Shakespeare Memorial statue, c. January 1959
Pencil on blue-ruled foolscap paper.
33.7 x 20.9 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
SLV (Parr papers, box 11)
Photo: the author.
This and the following fifteen entries are preliminary ideas for Parr’s entry to Ballarat’s Shakespeare Memorial competition, 1959 (see LP0033).

LPW0007
Preparatory sketch for Shakespeare Memorial statue, c. January 1959
Pencil on blue-ruled paper.
16.3 x 10.2 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
SLV (Parr papers, box 11)
Photo: the author.

LPW0008
Preparatory sketch for Shakespeare Memorial statue, c. January 1959
Pencil on blue-ruled foolscap paper.
16.3 x 10.2 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
SLV (Parr papers, box 11)
Photo: the author.
LPW0009
Preparatory sketch for Shakespeare Memorial statue, c. January 1959
Pencil on blue-ruled paper.
16.3 x 10.3 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
SLV (Parr papers, box 11)
Photo: the author.

LPW0010
Preparatory sketch for Shakespeare Memorial statue, c. January 1959
Pencil on paper.
18.9 x 28.0 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
SLV (Parr papers, box 11)
Photo: the author.

LPW0011
Preparatory sketch for Shakespeare Memorial statue, c. January 1959
Pencil on paper.
22.2 x 19.9 cm (irregular)
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
SLV (Parr papers, box 11)
Photo: the author.
With a further study of three figures on reverse.
LPW0012
Preparatory sketch for Shakespeare Memorial statue, c. January 1959
Pencil on paper, folded in half.
22.2 x 20.0 cm (irregular)
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
SLV (Parr papers, box 11)
Photo: the author.
With a further study of three figures on reverse.

LPW0013
Preparatory sketch for Shakespeare Memorial statue, c. January 1959
Pencil on paper.
21.6 x 17.1 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
SLV (Parr papers, box 11)
Photo: the author.
With a single figure on reverse.
Brush and black and green ink over pencil on paper.
21.1 x 11.1 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
SLV (Parr papers, box 11)
Photo: the author.

LPW0016
Preparatory sketch for Shakespeare Memorial statue, c. January 1959
Pencil on paper.
28.0 x 18.8 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
SLV (Parr papers, box 11)
Photo: the author.

LPW0015
Preparatory sketch for Shakespeare Memorial statue, c. January 1959
Pencil on paper.
28.0 x 19.1 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
SLV (Parr papers, box 11)
Photo: the author.
With more experimental sketches of women and men on reverse.

LPW0017
Preparatory sketch for Shakespeare Memorial statue, c. January 1959
Pen and blue ink on paper.
28.1 x 18.9 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
SLV (Parr papers, box 11)
Photo: the author.
With a further study of a single figure on reverse.

LPW0019
*Preparatory sketch for Shakespeare Memorial statue, c. January 1959*
Pencil on paper.
21.6 x 17.0 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
SLV (Parr papers, box 11)
Photo: the author.

LPW0018
*Preparatory sketch for Shakespeare Memorial statue, c. January 1959*
Brush, pen and black ink over pencil on paper.
28.0 x 18.8 cm (irreg.)
Not signed or dated. Inscribed on reverse: ‘Measure for measure / 1.15 / Asulikit [?] 24’.
SLV (Parr papers, box 11)
Photo: the author.
With pencil sketches for modernist pierced figures, including the *Reclining Figure, 1959* (LP0038) on reverse.
**Preparatory sketch for Shakespeare Memorial statue, c. January 1959**
Pencil on paper.
21.3 x 17.0 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
SLV (Parr papers, box 11)
Photo: the author.

**Untitled (study for Small Constellation), c. 1958-59**
Pen and ink and pencil on white wove paper.
21.5 x 17.1 cm irreg. (image); 26.0 x 20.6 cm (sheet).
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
NGV, Melbourne.
Photo: the author.

**Drawing for sculpture, 1959**
Pen and ink on white wove paper.
24.3 x 15.4 cm irreg. (image); 26.0 x 20.6 cm (sheet).
NGV, Melbourne
Photo: the author.

**Drawing for sculpture, 1959**
Pen and ink on white wove paper.
21.2 x 16.6 cm irreg. (image); 26.0 x 20.6 cm (sheet).
NGV, Melbourne
Photo: the author.
LPW0025

_Developing for sculpture, 1959_
Pen and ink on white wove paper. 16.0 x 21.0 cm irreg. (image); 20.6 x 26.0 cm (sheet).
NGV, Melbourne
Photo: the author.

LPW0026

_Developing for sculpture, 1959_
Pen and ink on white wove paper. 18.0 x 27.0 cm (image); 20.6 x 26.0 cm (sheet).
NGV, Melbourne
Photo: the author.

LPW0027

_Untitled (studies relating to Orion), c. 1959_
Pen and ink on white wove paper. 21.9 x 18.1 cm (image); 26.0 x 20.6 cm (sheet).
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
NGV, Melbourne
Exhibited: _At the Still Point of the Turning World: Lenton Parr_, The Gallery at Bayside Arts and Cultural Centre, Brighton, Vic., 10 May - 22 June 2014, no catalogue nos. assigned.
The hooked 'legs' in this drawing relate to _Orion, 1959_ (LP0038.1) and _Small Orion, 1959-61_ (LP0038.2). However, it is difficult to say whether the drawing predates these two sculptures or post-dates them, as Parr may have been simply experimenting with re-using this motif in a further work.

LPW0028

_Untitled (Study towards Chadstone sculpture, Plant Forms), c. 1959_
Pencil on brown wove paper. 7.4 x 12.4 cm irreg. (image); 10.0 x 15.0 cm (sheet). Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Appendix C: Lenton Parr

PNG, Melbourne
Photo: the author.
Preliminary study for Parr’s Plant Forms, for Chadstone Shopping Centre (LP00 40.1 and LP0040.2).

LPW0029
Untitled (Study towards Chadstone sculpture, Plant Forms), c. 1959
Pencil on brown wove paper.
8.8 x 13.1 cm irreg. (image); 10.0 x 15.0 cm (sheet).
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
NGV, Melbourne
Photo: the author.

LPW0030
Untitled (Study towards Chadstone sculpture, Plant Forms), c. 1959
Pencil on brown wove paper.
8.6 x 12.8 cm irreg. (image); 10.0 x 15.0 cm (sheet).
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
NGV, Melbourne
Photo: the author.

LPW0031
Untitled (Study towards Chadstone sculpture, Plant Forms), c. 1959
Pencil on brown wove paper.
7.6 x 11.4 cm irreg. (image); 10.0 x 15.0 cm (sheet).
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
NGV, Melbourne
Exhibited: At the Still Point of the Turning World: Lenton Parr, The Gallery at Bayside Arts and Cultural Centre, Brighton, Vic., 10 May - 22
June 2014, no catalogue nos. assigned.

Photo: the author.

LPW0032
Drawing for steel sculpture; three studies, 1959
Watercolour and ink on paper mounted on board.
28 x 19 cm
Whereabouts unknown.
Provenance: Leonard Joel, Melbourne, 13 December 2009, part of lot 195 (including bronze ref. no. 1424, sold for AU $1,200 or AU $1,440 including premium).
Photo: Leonard Joel.

LPW0033
Drawing, c. 1959
Drawing on paper.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Sculpture: Brighton High School Exhibition, Brighton High School, Brighton, Vic., 1959, catalogue no. 28 (as Lenton Parr, Drawing, 6 gns).

LPW0034
Drawing, c. 1959
Drawing on paper.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Sculpture: Brighton High School Exhibition, Brighton High School, Brighton, Vic., 1959, catalogue no. 29 (as Lenton Parr, Drawing, 6 gns).

LPW0035
Drawing for Sculpture, c. 1959
Drawing on paper.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Victorian Sculptors' Society Annual Exhibition, Victorian Artists’ Society Galleries, East Melbourne, August - 4 September 1959, catalogue no. 58 (as Drawing for Sculpture, 8 gns).

LPW0036
Drawing for Sculpture, c. 1959
Drawing on paper.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Victorian Sculptors' Society Annual Exhibition, Victorian Artists’ Society Galleries, East Melbourne, August - 4 September 1959, catalogue no. 59 (as Drawing for Sculpture, 6 gns).

LPW0037
Drawing for Sculpture, c. 1959
Drawing on paper.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Victorian Sculptors' Society Annual Exhibition, Victorian Artists’ Society Galleries, East Melbourne, August - 4 September 1959, catalogue no. 60 (as Drawing for Sculpture, 6 gns).
Appendix C: Lenton Parr

LPW0038
*Untitled study*, c. 1959-60
Pencil on cream wove paper.
19.8 x 16.8 cm irreg. (image); 26.0 x 20.6 cm (sheet).
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
NGV, Melbourne
Photo: the author.

LPW0039
*Untitled (Studies for Configuration)*, c. 1959-61
Pen and ink on white wove paper.
23.4 x 17.6 cm irreg. (image); 26.0 x 21.0 cm (sheet).
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
NGV, Melbourne
Photo: the author.
The forms outlined in these sketches later developed into the sculpture *Aeolus*, 1964 (private collection).

LPW0040
*Drawing for Sculpture*, 1960
Pen and ink on white wove paper.
21.9 x 16.7 cm irreg. (image); 25.8 x 21.0 cm (sheet).
Signed and dated lower right: ‘LENTON PARR / 60’. Inscribed lower centre-left: ‘DRAWING FOR SCULPTURE’.
NGV, Melbourne
Photo: the author.

LPW0038
*Untitled (Studies for Configuration)*, c. 1959-61
Pen and ink on white wove paper.
23.4 x 17.6 cm irreg. (image); 26.0 x 20.6 cm (sheet).
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
NGV, Melbourne
Photo: the author.
Preliminary studies for *Configuration*, 1959-61 (LP0041.1 and LP0041.2).
Appendix C: Norma Redpath

NR0001

*Head of a Woman, 1944*

Plaster.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

Photo: Mark Strizic; original held among the Redpath papers, SLV.

This remarkably assured head was modelled when Redpath was just sixteen years old and still a student at Swinburne Technical College. At Swinburne Redpath mainly worked in the painting studio but she also enjoyed ‘learning the craft of drawing, rendering and copying of plaster casts’ (Redpath, 1991, p. 17). A second copy of the above photograph is pasted into the artist’s Italian Government Scholarship portfolio (also among the Redpath papers, SLV), in which it is inscribed: ‘1944 / Head of a Woman / plaster’.

NR0002

*Untitled maquette: portrait head of a woman, c. 1944-49*

Bronze on an oak base.

10.2 x 9.5 x 10.0 cm; base: 4.8 x 5.2 x 6.4 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Artist’s estate.

Photo: Gavin Hansford, courtesy Charles Nodrum Gallery.

I have attributed this small, unsigned bronze to Redpath on the basis of its similarities with *Head of a Woman, 1944* (NR0001). It was most likely modelled at Swinburne but cast in bronze at a later date. Redpath displayed the work on a side-table in her living room alongside a small collection of antique vases and curiosities. As the only modern item on the table, it occupied a place of evident significance.

NR0003

*Crucifixion, c. 1949*

Carved wood or possibly cast lead.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.


Photo: Tritex Photo Service, Bentleigh; original held among the Redpath papers, SLV.

This is possibly the lead crucifix mentioned in Christopher Marshall’s text on Redpath’s carving, *Deposition* (see NR0023 and Marshall, 1993, p. 76).
NR0004
**Sleeping Bird, 1949**
Soapstone.
11.3 x 15.5 x 12.5 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
With the Charles Nodrum Gallery, Richmond, Vic., 2013.
Provenance: Collection of Dr Euan Maclean; re-acquired by Redpath, c. 1990s; Artist’s estate.
Exhibited: Norma Redpath: Works from the Studio, 1940s to 1960s, Charles Nodrum Gallery, Richmond, Vic., 4-27 July 2013, catalogue no. 30 (as Bird Form, c. 1950-51, soapstone, $7,500).
Literature: Richmond, 2013 July, no. 30, p. [4], colour illustration p. [4].
Photo: University of Melbourne, Visual Aids Department; original held among the Redpath papers, SLV, inscribed on reverse: ‘1949 stone / Poss. McLean / Sleeping Bird’.
At the time of the Redpath studio sale, the above photograph had not yet been sighted and I therefore dated the work c. 1950-51 on the basis of its similarity with White Spheroid, 1950-51 (NR0009), which is likewise in soapstone and of a similar size. The original owner of this and some of the following works (NR0005, NR0007 and NR0009), Dr Euan Maclean, was cofounder, in 1962, of the Jung Society in Melbourne.

NR0005
**Two Figures, 1949**
Polished red limestone.
20 cm high approx.
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Artist’s estate.
Provenance: Collection of Dr Euan Maclean; re-acquired by Redpath, c. 1990s.
Exhibited: Present Day Art of Victoria, organised by the Victorian 1951 Commemorative Committee in conjunction with the Victorian Artists' Society, VAS Galleries, East Melbourne, 19 November - 9 December 1951, catalogue no. 100 (as Two Figures, stone, 100 gns).
Literature: East Melbourne, 1951 Nov, no. 100.
Photo: University of Melbourne, Visual Aids Department; original held among the Redpath papers, SLV, inscribed on reverse: ‘Pos. MacLean [sic] / 1949 Limestone’.
Currently broken in two parts.
NR0006

Title unknown (figure), c. 1950
Stone.
30 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.

Literature: Lee, 1950, p. 8, b&w photograph of the artist with this work in the foreground.

Photo: left: The Argus, reproduced in Lee, 1950, p. 8; original held among the Redpath papers, SLV; right: detail.

NR0007

Bird Form (also known as Bird Forms), c. 1950
Tallow wood.
40.2 x 9.0 x 8.0 cm; base: 13 x 9 x 7 cm.

Not signed, inscribed or dated.

With the Charles Nodrum Gallery, Richmond, Vic., 2013.

Provenance: Collection of Dr Euan Maclean by 1953; re-acquired by Redpath, c. 1990s; Artist’s estate.

Exhibited: Victorian Sculptors' Society Annual Exhibition of Sculpture, Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 14-25 November 1950, catalogue no. 40 (as Bird Form, tallow wood, no price listed); The Group of Four: Inge King, Norma Redpath, Julius Kuhn, Clifford Last, Melbourne University School of Architecture, 1-12 June 1953, catalogue no. 7 (as Bird Forms, tallow wood, lent by Dr Euan Maclean); Norma Redpath: Works from the Studio, 1940s to 1960s, Charles Nodrum Gallery, Richmond, Vic., 4-27 July 2013, catalogue no. 32 (as Untitled, Madonna and Child, 1950, $9,000).

Literature: East Melbourne, 1950 Nov, no. 40; Parkville, 1953, no. 7; Age, 1953 June 2, p. 10; McCulloch, 1953 June; Wynn, 1953, p. 40; Richmond, 2013 July, no. 32, colour illustration p. [14].

Photo: Gavin Hansford, courtesy Charles Nodrum Gallery.
A photograph among the Redpath papers, discovered after the 2013 exhibition, is inscribed on reverse: ‘Norma Redpath / Bird Forms / Tallow Wood’ and stamped ‘University of Melbourne, Visual Aids Department.

NR0008
**Ovoid (formerly known as Abstract), 1950**
Huon pine.
13.0 x 17.0 x 14.2 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
NGV, Melbourne
**Provenance:** Purchased from the artist with funds from the Victorian Foundation for Living Australian Artists, 2005. Accession no. 2005.70.
**Literature:** Age, 1953 June 2, p. 10; McCulloch, 1953 June; Wynn, 1953, p. 40; Bulleen, 1996, p. 107 (listed); Redpath, c. 2002, p. 8.
**Photo:** NGV.

Redpath later wrote of this and the following work (*White Spheroid*, NR0009): ‘My first explorations alternated between almost pure geometry (which had always held a fascination for me) and natural forms. In the former I was fascinated with void and solid and the associated mass in balance which for me should supply the voice and image as in the first sculptural works the *Huon Pine Ovoid* and the *White Stone Spheroid 1950*’ (Redpath, c. 2002, p. 8).

NR0009
**White Spheroid, c. 1950-51**
Soapstone.
14.9 x 15.8 x 13.6 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
NGV, Melbourne
**Provenance:** Collection of Dr Euan Maclean by 1953; re-acquired by Redpath, c. 1990s; Purchased from the artist with funds from the Victorian Foundation for Living Australian Artists, 2005. Accession no. 2005.69.
**Exhibited:** *Victorian Sculptors' Society Sculpture Exhibition*, Victorian Artists' Society's Galleries, East Melbourne, 29 October - 2 November 1951, catalogue no. 27 (as White Spheroid, stone, NFS); *The Group of Four: Inge King, Norma Redpath, Julius Kuhn, Clifford Last*, Melbourne University School of Architecture, 1-12 June 1953, catalogue no. 9 (as Spheroid, 1950, soft stone, 15.5 x 16.0 x 14.0 cm, loaned by the artist).
Redpath retrospectively dated this 1950, but it may actually date to a year later. Certainly it was not exhibited until October 1951. At the time of its exhibition, The Age art critic described Redpath as a sculptor of promise, Alan Warren, described the work as a ‘pleasing abstract’, and Redpath’s staunch supporter curator Gordon Thomson wrote: ‘A white spheroid by Norma Redpath, mathematically precise and finely finished ... shows how wide is the range of subject and material’ (Age, 1951 Oct 30, p. 7; Thompson, 1951, p. 6).

Seat of Wisdom (Madonna), c. 1951
Wood.
64 cm high.
Signed.
Whereabouts unknown
Provenance: Commissioned for Aquinas College, Adelaide, 1951, but rejected; Smiley family, Kew; Dr Gladys I. Hallows (1905-85); Leonard Joel, Melbourne, 16 April 1986, lot 1409, unsold; Leonard Joel, Melbourne, 5 November 1986, lot 1451(est $2,000-$3,000, sold $2,000); Whence purchased by Deutscher Fine Art, Carlton, Vic.; With Deutscher Fine Art, 1986.

Photos: unknown photographer, originals held among the Redpath papers, SLV.
Among the Redpath papers is a snapshot of this work accompanying a letter from John Jones, Assistant Director of Deutscher Fine Art, 20 November 1986, recording that the work was bought from the estate of the late Dr Gladys Hallows at Leonard Joel’s in November. Jones asked where it was related to the 1951 commission for Acquinas College, Adelaide. Redpath annotated the letter in pencil: ‘No record / Date seems correct / Commissioned through / an architect for / I believe Aquinas College / abortive as the college / requested a face (features) / which I refused / originally in collection of / the Smiley family Kew’.

Woman with arms raised (possibly originally titled as Woman), c. 1952

Whereabouts unknown
Provenance: Commissioned for Aquinas College, Adelaide, 1951, but rejected; Smiley family, Kew; Dr Gladys I. Hallows (1905-85); Leonard Joel, Melbourne, 16 April 1986, lot 1409, unsold; Leonard Joel, Melbourne, 5 November 1986, lot 1451(est $2,000-$3,000, sold $2,000); Whence purchased by Deutscher Fine Art, Carlton, Vic.; With Deutscher Fine Art, 1986.

Photos: unknown photographer, originals held among the Redpath papers, SLV.
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Dove marble on a polished granite base.
20 x 21 x 8 cm (remaining fragmented torso only).
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
With the Charles Nodrum Gallery, Richmond, Vic., 2013.
Provenance: Artist’s estate.
Exhibited: (?) Victorian Sculptors’ Society Annual Exhibition of Sculpture, Victorian Artists’ Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 5-16 November 1952, catalogue no. 37 (as Cat and Rooster, 20 gns); The Group of Four: Inge King, Norma Redpath, Julius Kuhn, Clifford Last, Melbourne University School of Architecture, 1-12 June 1953, catalogue no. 10 (as Cat and Rooster, lent by Mr J. Pinter); Six Sculptors, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 21 July - 30 August 1959, catalogue no. 27 (as Cat and Rooster, 1952, cedar, lent by Mr and Mrs J. Pinter).
Literature: East Melbourne, 1952 Nov, no. 37; McCulloch, 1952 Nov; Age, 1952 Nov 4, p. 2; Parkville, 1953, no. 10; Age, 1953 June 2, p. 10; McCulloch, 1953 June; Wynn, 1953, p. 40; Bulletin, 1953 June 17; Courier-Mail, 1954 April 24, p. 7, also visible in b&w photograph of Pinter family living room, p. 7; Melbourne, 1959 July, no. 27; Farrago, 1959; Scarlett, 1980, p. 540.
Photo: Rosslyn Studios, Murwillumbah; original held among the Redpath papers, SLV.
When first exhibited at the VSS in 1952, Alan McCulloch likened this to the ‘sculptural reality’ of King’s Crouching Birds, 1948 (IK0069): ‘A similar reality animates Norma Redpath’s Cat and Rooster, but here the feeling is of released energy. The soaring spirit of this work makes it as stimulating as anything in the show’ (McCulloch, 1952 Nov). The Age Art Critic also singled it out for praise: ‘Maturing talent is evident in Norma Redpath’s Cat and Rooster…’ (Age, 1952 Nov 4, p. 2). Two years later the work was pictured in a profile article on the Broadbeach holiday home of successful émigrés Joseph Pinter (managing director of Associated Minerals Consolidated) and his Berlin-born wife Gerda Pinter née Baruch (Gold Coast Little Theatre’s director of productions and co-founder of the South Coast Children’s Arts Theatre and Queensland Theatre of Puppetry). The Pinters lived in Carlton, Vic., 1939-47, before moving to Queensland. Architect Dr Karl Langer

Provenance: The estate of Joseph and Gerda Pinter, Broadbeach, Queensland.
Exhibited: Victorian Sculptors’ Society Annual Exhibition of Sculpture, Victorian Artists’ Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 5-16 November 1952, catalogue no. 37 (as Cat and Rooster, 20 gns); The Group of Four: Inge King, Norma Redpath, Julius Kuhn, Clifford Last, Melbourne University School of Architecture, 1-12 June 1953, catalogue no. 10 (as Cat and Rooster, lent by Mr J. Pinter); Six Sculptors, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 21 July - 30 August 1959, catalogue no. 27 (as Cat and Rooster, 1952, cedar, lent by Mr and Mrs J. Pinter).

Cat and Rooster, 1952
Cedar.
80 cm high approx.
(?) Pinter family.

NR0012
Appendix C: Norma Redpath

(husband of enlightened art critic Gertrude Langer) designed the home. The photograph’s extended caption reads: ‘Lounge room of Mr. and Mrs. J. Pinter's Broadbeach home is built for easy living. All furniture in matching bleached maple, except the occasional chairs, is built in. The abstract timber statue, standing on the radiogram, is by Melbourne sculptress Norma Redpath’.

Untitled (possibly maquette for the Monument to the Unknown Political Prisoner), c. 1952
Cast lead threaded with wire (since lost).
12.3 x 19.5 x 8.5 cm; base: 0.3 x 25.2 x 15.0 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.

With the Charles Nodrum Gallery, Richmond, Vic., 2013.

Provenance: Artist’s estate.

Exhibited: (?) International Sculpture Competition, The Unknown Political Prisoner, Australasian preliminary competition, National Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney, 3-14 December 1952; Norma Redpath: Works from the Studio, 1940s to 1960s, Charles Nodrum Gallery, Richmond, Vic., 4-27 July 2013, catalogue no. 31 (as Untitled, stringed form, c. 1953-59, lead, 12.3 x 19.5 x 8.5 cm, $8,500).

Literature: (?) Casey papers, series 4, box 22, folder 11; Unknown Political Prisoner file, AGNSW; Richmond, 2013 July, no. 31, colour illustration p. [14].

Photo: Gavin Hansford, courtesy Charles Nodrum Gallery.

This was possibly Redpath’s entry to the Australasian preliminary selection for the international competition to design a Monument to the Unknown Political Prisoner – a worldwide sculpture competition between artists from sixty countries (a ‘Sculpture Olympiad’) organized by London’s Institute of Contemporary Art. Lady Maie Casey (married to the then Australian Minister for External Affairs R.G. Casey) was the Australasian coordinator and represented the Commonwealth on the panel of judges for the final competition held in London. She was the only woman and only judge without professional qualifications; according to Herbert Read she was invited ‘because she is a woman of taste’ (Casey papers, series 4, box 22, folder 11, unidentified news-clipping headed ‘Taste’). Among her papers are documents relating to the Australasian preliminary exhibition. From these it is known that 56 entries were received from Australia, of which three were selected for London from Sydney sculptors Tom Bass, John Joseph Bruhn and Margel Hinder, who went on to gain an honourable mention in the international competition. Of the 56 Australian entrants, 26 came from NSW, 21 from Victoria (the best known being George Allen, Wallace Anderson, William Leslie Bowles, Ola Cohn, Raymond Ewers, Victor Greenhalgh, Pam Hallandal, Stanley Hammond, Andor Meszaros, Clive Stephen, Danila Vassilieff and Tina Wentcher) and the remaining nine from Qld, SA and WA. Redpath was the only Centre Five sculptor to enter the competition. Despite living in Melbourne, Casey’s contacts with contemporary Victorian sculptors were virtually non-existent and she repeatedly confided her belief that Sydney was the centre of Australian sculptural activity (see for instance Casey papers, series 4, box 22, folder 10, duplicate letter from Casey to Tom Bass, 18 Mar 1952: ‘My own feeling is that the selection should be made in Sydney as there are more sculptors of eminence in New South Wales and Queensland than I think in other the States’). It appears that not all 56 entries were exhibited at Sydney; one reviewer stated there were 39 exhibits (SMH, 1952 Dec 4 a, p. 4) and there was no mention of Redpath’s entry even in a feature article on the women connected with the completion (SMH, 1952 Dec 4 b, p. 3 supplement); other articles simply report there were 56 Australian entries (see for instance Advertiser, 1952 Dec). In the absence of a printed catalogue or photographs of the exhibition installation, it is impossible to know whether Redpath’s entry was exhibited (with thanks to Steven Miller and Eric Riddler, AGNSW library and archives, for checking the gallery’s file on the exhibition on my behalf, 27 Jan 2016). Foxtone News made a film of the exhibition, which was apparently aired on News of the Week in Australia and New
Zealand (Casey papers, series 4, box 21, folder 7, duplicate letter from Casey to A.J.T. Klomon, ICI, 4 Dec 1952), but this has not been traced. In addition, it has not been categorically established that the present work was actually Redpath’s submission. The subject of a bird-like stringed form, evocative of freedom and peace, certainly seems appropriate to the competition. Yet the maquette is only half the scale requested by the Australasian competition organizers, who required ‘the dimensions of the maquette ... to be 50 centimetres in any direction, including the base, if intended to form an integral part of the sculpture’ (International Sculpture Competition, “The Unknown Political Prisoner”, Memorandum for Australasian Competitors, n.d., c. Oct – Nov 1952, Casey papers, series 4, box 21, folder 7). However, the international conditions stipulated that ‘maquettes should not exceed 50 cm in any direction [my emphasis]’ (Casey papers, series 4, box 21, folder 11, prospectus and application form circulated to all entrants). No photographs of this work were located among Redpath’s papers, nor any material related to the competition. Redpath had certainly begun to work with stringed forms in the manner of Hepworth and Moore by mid-1953; the identification of the present stringed bird-form would bring this date forward to late-1952. Interestingly, Hinder’s prize-winning entry, since destroyed, was also a stringed abstract form (see Sydney, 1980, no. M32, archival photograph reproduced p. 67, and Free, 1995, p. 31). The association of the present stringed sculpture with Redpath’s entry in the Unknown Political Prisoner competition remains speculative but intriguing.

Whereabouts unknown. 

Exhibited: Victorian Sculptors’ Society annual exhibition, VAS Galleries, East Melbourne, 5-16 November 1953 (as Standing Figures, catalogue untraced although original hand-lettered display card, marking it as the winner of the Stanley Hammond Prize, held among the Redpath papers).


Photos: unknown photographer; originals held among the Redpath papers.

Standing Figures was awarded the Stanley Hammond Prize (£25) for the best work by a student sculptor under 30 years of age at the 1953 VSS exhibition. Karl Duldig judged the competition. Redpath received considerable publicity as a result of the prize. The Argus briefly interviewed her: ‘Greatly encouraged by the prize, which was awarded this year for the first time, she said it was “disgraceful” that whilst there were many profitable competitions for painters, this was the first time any monetary award had been offered to sculptors. Her winning entry was entitled Standing Figures, and was carved in cherrywood’ (Argus, Nov 8, p. 10). Alan McCulloch found the work impressive (McCulloch, 1953 Nov 10), The Age art critic thought the prize ‘richly deserved’ (Age, 1953 Nov 10, p. 2) and Alan Warren was thoroughly approving: ‘Sculpture involves craftsmanship as well as creative vision. Norma Redpath, 24, of Hawthorn, who last night won the £25 students prize at the Victorian Sculptors’ Society exhibition, has both. In her willowy carving of Standing Figures the technical standard is professional; the voice with which she speaks uncompromisingly adult’ (Warren, 1953 Nov). However, the Bulletin critic found it (predictably) ‘eccentric’ and Arnold Shore, while admitting the work ‘had quite an interesting relation of volumes’, was deterred

NR0014

Standing Figures, c. 1953
Cherry wood painted black.
60 cm high approx.
by the unusual colouring: ‘For some reason, however, she had painted most it black, leaving only one drapery-suggesting swirl in honey colored [sic] wood. *Mulga* it almost shrieked. She couldn’t have noticed this fact’ (Shore, 1953 Dec, p. 28). A photograph of Redpath holding the work, published in the *Herald Sun* (9 Nov 1953, p. 11), noted that it was carved in ‘wild cherry wood that grows on a block of land her family owns in the hills’. This is most likely the land at Kilsyth, where she built her first home in the early 1960s.

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**NR0015**

*Wooden Shape with Steel Wire (later known as Abstract Form with Strings)*,

1953

Wild cherry wood with wire. 130 cm high approx.

Private collection.

Provenance: Neil Montgomery, architect (1924-1995); thence by descent to present owner.


Photos: University of Melbourne, Visual Aids Department; originals held among the Redpath papers.

Visible in a photograph of the 1958 VSS *Retrospect* exhibition among Anita Aarons papers in the AGNSW research library.

Photographs of this work submitted to the Charles Nodrum Gallery in October 2014 show it to have since been mounted horizontally. The present owner is endeavouring to restore the work to its original vertical position, using archival photographs as a guide.

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**NR0016**

*Abstract (possibly once known as Musical Instrument; later titled Abstract Form)*, c. 1953

Kauri pine tinted with blue analine dye and with copper and cord. 90 cm high approx.

Whereabouts unknown.


Exhibited: (?) *Victorian Sculptors’ Society annual exhibition*, VAS Galleries, East Melbourne, 5-16 November 1953 (as *Musical Instrument*, catalogue untraced); (?) *The Group of Four: An Exhibition of Contemporary Sculpture*, exh. cat.,
Appendix C: Norma Redpath

Parkville, Vic.: School of Architecture, Melbourne University, 30 May - 11 June 1955, catalogue no. 20 (as Abstract, Kauri, 40 gns); (?) Society of Sculptors and Associates with invited overseas exhibitors, David Jones' Gallery, Sydney, February 1956, catalogue no. 47 (as Norma Redpath, Abstract, Kauri, 30 gns).


Photos: University of Melbourne, Visual Aids Department; originals held among the Redpath papers.

This may have originally been exhibited under the title of Musical Instrument, at the 1953 VSS exhibition. The catalogue for the show remains untraced but Alan McCulloch, in his review of the exhibition, wrote of ‘a small group of young Australian artists’ who were intent on bringing forth ‘the form in the heart of the material itself’. He went on to add, ‘Just how far these experiments can take the artist is a debatable point (one is not quite sure, for example, that Musical Instrument by Norma Redpath, doesn’t usurp the province of the violin maker) but for the time being at least we can abandon ourselves to their sensuous charms…’ (McCulloch, 1953 Nov).

Sandra Kirby, who consulted Redpath for the writing of her entry for Joan Kerr’s Heritage compilation, wrote that this ‘was one of three sculptures completed around the same time – two in timber and one in stainless steel – in which Redpath worked with a central abstract shape that was extended by splayed-out cord or wire lines’ (Kirby, 1995 b, p. 241). Kirby apparently refers to Wooden Shape with Steel Wire, 1953 (NR0015) and Abstract Form, 1954 (NR0017), as well as the present work, which in her text is titled Abstract Form, 1954. The height of 900 cm given for the photograph of the work, alongside Kirby’s entry, seems improbable; perhaps this was a misprint of 90 cm. While the extant photographs give little sense of scale, most of Redpath’s major finished carvings of this period were no more than one metre in height.

NR0017

Abstract Form, 1954

Cast concrete with stainless steel wire. sculpture: 178 cm high approx.; overall with base: 350 cm high approx.

Formerly Le Pine Funerals, 88 Carlisle Street, St Kilda, where displayed on front porch since 1962, but destroyed by poor weather, c. 2005.

Provenance: Commissioned by Muir and Shepherd architects for W.G , & Sons Funeral Directors, 88 Carlisle Street, St Kilda, 1954; Sold with company to Le Pine Funerals, c. 1997; Remained in situ at 88 Carlisle Street until c. 2005.


Photo: Wolfgang Sievers; original held in the NLA, LOC Album 1032/64 PIC 1940-B.

This was the artist’s first commission, received in 1954 from architects Muir and Shepherd who requested ‘a non-figurative sculpture for the forecourt of a public building – Apps Funeral Establishment’ (Redpath, c. 2002, p. 13; see also Redpath, 1991, p. 28). Original photographs among the Redpath papers, in a folio marked ‘For Italian Scholarship’, record it to have been made in concrete and stainless steel and that it dates to 1954. The NLA also hold a copy of the above Wolfgang Sievers photograph, where it is captioned: ‘Sculpture by Norma Redpath at Le Pine Funerals, St. Kilda, Victoria, 1962’. The former W. G. Apps (now Le Pine) funeral home in St Kilda was designed by Muir and Shepherd in 1952, with a glazed canopy added to the front in 1962, at which point Redpath’s sculpture was moved into the position seen in the Sievers
photograph. Architectural historian Andrew Ward notes the building’s striking combination of an `attenuated classicism’ with ‘uncompromisingly 1950s Modern’ detailing (Ward, 2014, p. 51, citation no. 454). Redpath’s Abstract Form admirably reflects this restrained classicism while likewise making a boldly modernist statement. It is also entirely in keeping with Redpath’s own sculptural development and interests at the time in terms of it being an upright stringed abstract form, making it unusual for an architectural commission of the fifties. Its striking modernity was such that the editors of the CAS newsletter, Art News, included it in a list of modern artworks on public display that international visitors to the Melbourne Olympics should be encouraged to seek out (Art News, 1956, p. ii). Constant outdoor exposure, however, evidently weakened the work: it disintegrated beyond repair during bad weather, c. 2005 (telephone conversation with Le Pine Funeral home, 16 January 2012).

Bird Forms, 1954
Silky oak polychromed yellow-green. 130 cm high approx.
(?) Brockhoff family.
Provenance: Collection of Mrs A. Brockhoff, as of 1959.
Exhibited: Victorian Sculptors’ Society Annual Exhibition of Sculpture, Victorian Artists’ Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 19-29 October 1954, catalogue no. 32 (as Bird Forms, silky oak, 60 gns); The Group of Four: An Exhibition of Contemporary Sculpture, exh. cat., Parkville, Vic.: School of Architecture, Melbourne University, 30 May - 11 June 1955, catalogue no. 18 (as Bird Forms, silky oak, 35 gns); Retrospect, Five Years: Victorian Sculptors’ Society, Victorian Artists’ Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 21 July - ? 1958, catalogue no. 72 (as Bird Forms, silky oak, kindly lent by Mr A. Brockhoff, NFS); Exhibition of Paintings in Settings of Fine Office Furniture, Australian Galleries, Collingwood, 7-15 August 1958, catalogue no. 39 (as Bird Forms, lent by A. Brockhoff Esq, NFS); Six Sculptors, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 21 July - 30 August 1959, catalogue no. 26 (as Bird Forms 1954, silky oak, lent by Mrs A. Brockhoff).


Photos: University of Melbourne, Visual Aids Department; originals held among the Redpath papers where variously inscribed: ‘1954 / Norma Redpath / Bird Forms / Silky Oak’, and ‘1954 / Silky Oak / Poly. yellow-green / Poss. [possession of] N Brockhoff’. When first exhibited at the VSS, in 1954, Arnold Shore singled out Redpath’s Bird Forms for its ‘modern regard for form in the abstract’ (Shore, 1954 Oct 19, (p. 11) and Alan McCulloch commented on its ‘soaring grace’ (McCulloch, 1954 Oct 20). The following year, when exhibited at the second Group of Four exhibition, The Age art critic found it ‘a sensitive and balanced carving which “reads” well in the round’ (Age, 1955, May 31, p. 2). The original owner of this work, Mr A. Brockhoff, is believed to be Alan Brockhoff, of Toorak, Vic., director of manufacturing operations at Brockhoff Biscuits Pty Ltd, which later (in 1966) became Arnott’s. His first wife, Joyce, a champion skier, died in a skiing accident in 1947. His second wife was regularly mentioned (always as ‘Mrs A. Brockhoff’) in social columns concerning
artistic and charitable events in Melbourne during the 1950s.

NR0019

*Two Figures (Adam and Eve), c. 1955*

Queensland maple.
88.0 x 23.0 x 9.0 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Private collection, Melbourne, since 2015.

Provenance: Collection of Henry and Lorraine White née Broadbent (the artist’s first cousin) by 1955; Thence by descent; Sold through the Charles Nodrum Galleries, Melbourne, 2014, to the present owner.

Exhibited: *The Group of Four: An Exhibition of Contemporary Sculpture*, exh. cat., Parkville, Vic.: School of Architecture, Melbourne University, 30 May - 11 June 1955, catalogue no. 17 (as *Two Figures*, lent by Mr and Mrs H. L. White); *Art & Furniture II*, Charles Nodrum Gallery, Richmond, Vic., 9 April - 2 May 2015, catalogue no. 60 (as *Two Figures (Adam and Eve)*, c. 1955, timber, 88 x 23 x 9 cm.

Literature: Parkville, 1955, no. 17; Richmond, 2015 April, no. 60.

Photo: unknown photographer, courtesy Charles Nodrum Gallery.

NR0020

*Woman and Bird, c. 1955*

Blackbean wood.
48.0 x 10.0 x 10.0 cm (not including base)
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
With the Charles Nodrum Galleries, Melbourne, 2016.

Provenance: Gift to Henry and Lorraine White née Broadbent (the artist’s first cousin) in 1971; Thence by descent; On consignment with the Charles Nodrum Galleries, Melbourne, 2016.


Photo: (?) Mark Strizic; original held among the Redpath papers.

The above photo is not inscribed other than with a number resembling a Mark Strizic photographic reference: ‘49 1059’. I have deduced it to be Redpath’s *Woman and Bird*, c. 1955, based on the style and subject matter.
Appendix C: Norma Redpath

NR0021

*Fish Forms, 1955*

Teak.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
**Exhibited:** *The Group of Four: An Exhibition of Contemporary Sculpture*, exh. cat., Parkville, Vic.: School of Architecture, Melbourne University, 30 May - 11 June 1955, catalogue no. 21 (as *Fish Forms*, teak, 25 gns).
**Literature:** Parkville, 1955, no. 21; McCulloch, 1955 June.
**Photo:** University of Melbourne Visual Aids Department; original held among the Redpath papers.
A second print (damaged) of this work, also photographed by the University of Melbourne Visual Aids Department, inscribed on reverse ‘Fish Forms 1955 / Norma Redpath 2’.

NR0022

*Bird in Spheroid, 1955*

Huon pine, polychromed dark red, black and yellow.
Dimensions unknown.
Private collection.

Provenance: Collection of Henry and Lorraine White née Broadbent (the artist’s cousin) by 1971; Thence by descent to present owner.
**Literature:** Parkville, 1955, no. 22; Bow, 1955 a, p. 54, b&w illustration p. 54; Shore, 1955, p. 12; McCulloch, 1955 June; Sydney, 1956 Feb, no. 48; Scarlett, 1980, p. 540.
**Photo:** (?) Mark Strizic; original among the Redpath papers where inscribed: ‘Huon Pine / Poly. Dr. Red / Black / Yellow / 1955 / Poss [possession] H White Esq’.

When first exhibited at the Group of Four exhibition of 1955, Bird in Spheroid was commended by Arnold Shore and Alan McCulloch, who found it ‘exquisitely tailored’. Sculptor Ian Bow, who reviewed the show for *Architecture and Arts*, wrote: ‘An immediate sense of machine-like beauty attaches to her [Redpath’s] Bird in Spheroid. This is more of a “closed” sculpture, a carver’s work. The single ovoid, compact and organic should be an ageless symbol of regeneration; but here it is not evocative to me. The “form within a form”, the bird within the spheroid, is merely a hint rather than a statement’ (Bow, 1955 a, p. 54).
NR0023

**Deposition, c. 1955**

Maple, originally stained with a blue analine dye (since faded).

82.5 x 26.9 x ? cm

Newman College, University of Melbourne, Parkville, Vic.


Exhibited: Victorian Sculptors' Society Annual Exhibition of Sculpture, Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 17-29 October 1955, catalogue no. 50 (as Deposition, polychrome marble [sic], 50 gns); Arts Festival of the Olympic Games, Wilson Hall, University of Melbourne, 21 November - 15 December 1956, catalogue no. 36 (as Deposition, stained maple).


Photos: University of Melbourne, Visual Aids Department; originals held among the Redpath papers where inscribed: ‘Norma Redpath / Deposition / maple’.

Entered in the Barnett McCutcheon Competition for Religious Sculpture, held in conjunction with the 1955 VSS exhibition, and awarded Honourable Mention (McCulloch, 1955 Oct 19; first prize of £50 went to Zikaras for his St Francis, see TZ0051.1). Redpath subsequently presented the carving to the Dean of Newman College, Father Edward Stormon S.J. (1912-92). According to Christopher Marshall, who interviewed Redpath in connection with this work, in the 1950s Redpath was ‘developing an interest in Roman Catholicism, which Father Stormon, a leading Melbourne ecumenist, was well placed to discuss with her’ (Marshall, 1993, p. 76). The pair also shared a love of Italian language and culture. Marshall writes perceptively of the quietly restrained classicism of Redpath’s Deposition, with the mourners and onlookers removed, the cross suppressed to a minor support at the rear of the composition, and attention focused on the figures of Joseph of Arimathaea and Nicodemus removing Christ from the cross. The work relies on its sense of monumentality, rather than expressionism, for its emotive power. Despite the use of only one colour, Redpath described the work as ‘polychrome maple’, which was misprinted in the 1955 VSS catalogue as polychrome marble.

NR0024

**Flight into Egypt, c. 1955**

Plaster.

Dimensions unknown.

Whereabouts unknown.


Entered into the Barnett McCutcheon Competition for Religious Sculpture, at the 1955 VSS exhibition. The Age art critic noted that: ‘Other women artists who shine in this field are Norma Redpath, with a carving titled Deposition, and a compactly modelled Flight into Egypt’ (Age, 1955 Oct 18, p. 2).
Family Group Relief (also known as Relief Carving, Family Group), 1955
Kauri pine, polychromed.
122 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.
Provenance: Commissioned by architects Kagan and Associates on behalf of Mr & Mrs L. Roberts, Brighton, Vic.
Exhibited: Retrospect, Five Years: Victorian Sculptors’ Society, Victorian Artists’ Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 21 July - ? 1958, catalogue no. 71 (as Family Group Relief, Kauri, kindly lent by Mr and Mrs L. Roberts, NFS); Six Sculptors, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 21 July - 30 August 1959, catalogue no. 25 (as Relief Carving, Family Group, lent by Mr & Mrs L. Roberts); Melbourne 56, National Library of Australia Visitor Centre, Canberra, 13 October 2006 - 28 January 2007 (photograph only).
Literature: Sun, 1958 July 17; Six Melbourne Sculptors slides, slide no. 5, p. 3 of teachers’ notes; Farrago, 1959; McCarthy, 1990, pp. 41-2, b&w illustration fig. 5; Redpath, 1991, p. 28; Redpath, c. 2002, pp. 9, 13-4; Eckett, 2013, p. 17.
Photo: Victorian Visual Education Centre; scanned from a slide held in the Visual Resources Centre, School of Culture & Communication, University of Melbourne.
This was Redpath’s second commission. It came from ‘an architect who had seen my work’ (Redpath, 1991, p. 28), Anatol Kagan, who required ‘a large relief carving, site specific for the living room of a private home’ (Redpath, c. 2002, p. 9). A photograph, taken by Wolfgang Sievers in 1956 (NLA PIC 1998/7 LOC Q59), shows the work hanging over the fireplace – its sinuous curves echoing the curved lounge chair pulled up to the fire while the finely sanded Kauri pine reflects the polished timber floorboards and ceiling paneling and contrasts with the clinker brick wall. The subject of the family was an apt one to hang over the fireplace – the ‘heart’ of the home. Later, when exhibited at the VSS Retrospect exhibition, the work attracted attention and ‘was largely instrumental in my being invited to compete in the “limited” competition for the Entrance Lobby of the Baillieu Library’ (Redpath, c. 2002, p. 28). When it was included in the Six Sculptors exhibition, the accompanying teacher’s notes (issued along with a slide kit) noted: ‘Miss Redpath has earned a wide reputation for the remarkable quality of her sculpture. The work reproduced [Relief Carving, Family Group] is an early woodcarving. Its lively, large-scale composition of rhythmic forms reveals the command over design, materials and techniques, which this young artist possesses. The original wood blocks for her large reliefs are built up by means of lamination. In the final stages of her work the sculpture is polychromed. Miss Redpath has recently completed a fine, large relief-carving mural for the Baillieu Library, at the Melbourne University. She employs laminated woods also in her freestanding sculpture’ (Six Sculptors sides, p. 3).

Mask (or Masks), c. 1955
Silky oak polychromed red, black and white.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

A photograph appeared in the Age, 23 Nov 1955, captioned ‘Examples of modern art are a feature of the Fine Arts Week Exhibition at the Tasmanian Government Tourist Bureau. … Right: The Masks [sic], by Norma Redpath, is admired by Miss Yvonne Raphael’. An early profile article on Redpath (‘Sculpture is her hobby and her job’), held among the artist’s papers but not identified with paper or date, shows her sitting beside this work and notes that: ‘Masks, carved from silky oak, is a polychromed sculpture with touches of red, black and white paint. Viewed from any angle it shows a face’ (Sun, 1958 July 17).

NR0027

Untitled (Man with a bird), c. 1956-57
Bronze.
Dimensions unknown.
Private collection, Milan, Italy.
Provenance: Sold directly or possibly gifted by the artist to the present owner.
Literature: de Berg and Redpath, 1965; Redpath, 1991, p. 30; Engelman, 1992, p. 50; Kirby, 1995 b, p. 434; Redpath, c. 2002, p. 4; Eckett, 2013 a, p. 17. Photo: unknown photographer; original held among the Redpath papers.

Relates directly to the drawing, Untitled (Man with a bird), c. 1957 (NRW0025). On her first visit to Rome, 1956-57, Redpath met the sculptor Pericle Fazzini (1913-87), who gave her the name and address of his Roman foundry (see de Berg and Redpath, 1965). There, in Rome, Redpath had her first two bronzetti cast (the present work and NR0028), which subsequently entered private collections in Italy (Engelman, 1992, p. 50). Neither work has ever been exhibited in Australia or reproduced in the literature until now. Redpath found the experience of working with a bronze foundry liberating: allowing her to concentrate on developing new ideas and consigning the manual labour of translating her work into durable material to the skilled foundry workers. She returned to Australia and immediately began developing work intended for bronze, including Dawn Figure, 1961, which, in its plaster form, won the first Mildara Sculpture Prize but was never cast (and subsequently destroyed in her Kilsyth studio fire in August 1967).

Appendix C: Norma Redpath 840
NR0028

_Untitled (Woman and bird), 1957_

Bronze.

23 x 13 x 10 cm

Signed with initials and dated on reverse: ‘NR 57’.

Private collection, Mosman, NSW.

Provenance: Gift from the artist to Lorna Maneschi (née Pitt); Thence by descent to present owners.


_Photo_: courtesy the present owners.

This is one of the first two bronzetti Redpath had cast in Rome, in 1957 (the other being _Untitled (Man with a bird), c. 1956-57, NR0027_). The original owner of this piece, Lorna Maneschi, was an Australian who met Redpath in Milan in the early 1960s. Redpath became good friends with the Maneschi family and later holidayed with them along the Ruta di Camogli.

NR0029

_Title unknown (possibly Horse and Woman), c. 1957-60_

Plaster or clay.

Dimensions unknown.

Whereabouts unknown.

_Photo_: Mark Strizic; original held among the Redpath papers.

The distinctive form of the nuns’ wimple, which Redpath first incorporated into her works on paper after a trip to Paris in 1957 (cf. NRW0030), appears here at the top of what appears to be a fusion of horse and woman.

NR0030

_First model for Bird and Horse, c. 1958_

Plasticine.

Dimensions unknown.

Whereabouts unknown

_Photo_: Mark Strizic; original colour slide held among the Redpath papers, where inscribed with title.

This is perhaps the earliest work Redpath produced after returning from Italy, at which point she began developing ideas for casting in bronze. The slide held among the Redpath papers is not dated; I have estimated the date to be c. 1958 based on its evident relationship to _Bird and Horse, 1958_ (NR0032).
NR0031
_Untitled (possibly second model for Bird and Horse)_ , c. 1958
Plasticine.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown
Photo: Mark Strizic; original held among the Redpath papers.

NR0032
_Bird and Horse_ , 1958
Plaster for bronze.
Dimensions unknown.
Partially destroyed by 1964; presumed lost during Kilsyth studio fire in August 1967.
Exhibited: _Six Sculptors_, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 21 July - 30 August 1959, catalogue no. 28 (as _Bird and Horse_ , 1958, plaster for bronze).
Photo: Mark Strizic (though unattributed), scanned from a colour slide held among the Redpath papers.

NR0033.1
_Areopagitica - maquette (also known as Relief carving)_ , 1958
Patinated plaster maquette for a relief carving.
Dimensions unknown
Whereabouts unknown
Provenance: Invitation competition for a foyer mural, Baillieu Library, University of Melbourne, 1958; Collection of the artist, as of 1990, when described as ‘in need of repair’ (McCarthy, 1990, p. 42), but not among the artist’s studio contents in 2013.
Exhibited: _Exhibition of mural designs - Baillieu Library, Mural Competition_, Museum of Modern Art, Tavistock Place, Melbourne, 3-13 March, 1959, catalogue no. 1 (as Norma Redpath, plaster maquette for timber bas relief sculpture); _Mildara Prize for Sculpture_, Mildura Art Gallery, Mildura, Vic., 22 April - 21 May 1961, catalogue no. 96 (as Relief Carving, 1958, model for polychrome silky oak, 96”, NFS).
Literature: Redpath, 1958; Herald, 1958 Nov 25, artist illustrated with plaster _Bird and Horse_, which was shown at the Six Sculptors exhibition but, by 1964, she recorded as being partially destroyed (Redpath quoted in Sydney, 1965, p. 36).

Photos: Herald Sun, originals held among the Redpath papers; (a) also reproduced in Herald, 1958 Nov 25. On the strength of her Family Group Relief, 1955, exhibited at the 1958 VSS Retrospect, Redpath was invited to submit designs for the Baillieu Library mural competition on the theme of Milton’s Areopagitica, which advocated freedom of access to knowledge both good and evil. The other nine invited entrants were Parr and Zikaras (see LP0029 and TZ0067), Len Annois, Arthur Boyd, John Brack, Leonard French, Clement Meadmore, Roger Kemp and Ellen Rubbo. According to Alan McCulloch, all ten invited artists were paid for their submissions (McCulloch, 1959 Mar). The designs had to submitted in the form of a panel, no smaller than an eighth of the actual size. They had to fit a wall that was 21’0” long, 11’6” high, and was in an elevated position, with the bottom of the wall 8’6” above the ground level. This was a challenging task given both the relatively small size of the foyer and the fact that the wall that was to support the artwork was located above head-height, perpendicular to the entrance, and wedged between a mezzanine balcony and the glass curtain wall of the building’s façade, with its overpowering grid formed by six-metre high aluminium mullions and opaque glass spandrels (although it is not clear whether the entrants were fully informed of the design features of the foyer at this stage). In addition the design had to ‘embody a theme proper to the building’s intended usage’, and it was ‘strongly recommended’ that artists read John Milton’s, Areopagitica: A Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing (see Scarborough, 1958). In her statement accompanying the submitted maquette, Redpath described her design thus: ‘The lower half of the panel depicts the scholar or seeker of knowledge. Involved in a turmoil of forms and figures symbolising knowledge of all types of things, he embraces books and points upward towards a higher form of bird and book forms, symbolic of protection and freedom. A head turned in towards the centre of the composition symbolises knowledge and reflection symbolises the ultimate truth and wisdom towards which the true scholar must strive, but which he can only do with a foundation of all that has gone before. The top section is approximately at eye level of persons standing on the balcony of the first floor, the books in the lower section are at the feet of the viewer, the abstract elbow on the level of the balcony rail – all of this suggesting an organic participation controlled by the vertical static elements of the design in keeping with the feeling of the architecture’ (Redpath, 1958). Redpath thereby demonstrated an acute awareness of how the work would relate to, reinforce, and yet resist the nearby curtain wall grid. This was architectural integration at a sophisticated level. In interview, Redpath elaborated that the work would be made in silky oak with tempera and would be constructed in her studio (Herald, 1958 Nov 25) though later she referred to the final medium as ‘silky oak with encaustic colour’ (Redpath, c. 2002, p. 9). She also later recalled that ‘The vehicle or device used to enable me to handle the Areopagitica theme was, in retrospect, I believe, suggested by a group of Arthur Boyd’s ceramic sculpture exhibited at the Peter Bray Gallery 1951 or 1954 [actually Sept 1954] and where I had “seen” within the total context certain combinations of forms with which I could identify’ (Redpath, 1991, pp. 28-9).

Apparently ‘... the related sentiments of the sonnet Modo di filosofare by the 16th-century Italian poet Tommaso Campanella also influenced the concept behind the mural’ (Wach, 2013, p. 14; see also McCarthy, 1990, p. 43). The competition was judged by Joseph Burke, Bernard Smith, Eric Westbrook, librarian K.A. Lodewycks and architects Rae Featherstone, John F.D. Scarborough and Ian R. Hunt. Redpath was informed in writing on 4 November 1958 of her entry’s success (Redpath papers, box 3, folder 2, letter from Acting Vice-Chancellor A.B.P. Amies to Redpath, 4 Nov 1958). For further literature on the finished commission, see NR0033.2.
NR0033.2

*Areopagitica, 1959-61*

High relief carving in silky oak with encaustic colouring (polychromed silky oak).

243.8 x 396.2 x ? cm

Not signed.

University of Melbourne, Baillieu Library.

Provenance: winner of the invitation competition for a foyer mural, Baillieu Library, University of Melbourne, 1958; Commissioned by architect John F. D. Scarborough on behalf of the University of Melbourne, 1958.

University of Melbourne Art Collection accession no.

1958.0012.000.000.

Exhibited: *Introducing the Baillieu Library: A 40th Birthday Celebration*, curated by Susan Reidy, University of Melbourne Library, 24 February – 1 April 1999 (no catalogue nos. assigned but both original work and a photograph of it *in situ* were displayed).


Photos: (a) Mark Strizic; original held among the Redpath papers; (b) Wolfgang Sievers, photograph dated 1961; original held NLA, PIC P1998/1-8 LOC Q59; (c) the author.

On the 11th November 1958 architect John Scarborough congratulated Redpath on winning the competition and formally commissioned the large-scale version for a total cost of £2,000 (Redpath papers, box 3, folder 3, letter from Scarborough to Redpath, 11 Nov 1958). This sum covered the construction, carving, colouring, transportation and fixing of the mural. Once the commission for the Baillieu Library mural awarded, work began in earnest. Former fellow-student at the
Melbourne Technical College, Max Lyle, assisted in the early stages of preparing the wood, later recalling that: ‘I worked on some carving of a wood relief for Norma Redpath, who was another Melbourne sculptor of note, and she was going overseas so she needed a bit of help to get this wood-carved relief which was for the University of Melbourne completed, so I did quite a bit of work roughing that out and getting it to the finishing stages so she could actually just work over the surface’ (Linn and Lyle, 2004, p. 20). Nevertheless a series of photographs, taken by Mark Strizic and held among the Redpath papers, show Redpath alone – with mallet and chisel in hand – roughing out the block. There is also no mention of Lyle’s involvement in Redpath’s memoirs. Lyle’s comment regarding Redpath’s imminent departure overseas complicates the dating of the work. Redpath returned from her first visit to Italy in 1958 and did not return until 1961, when she travelled with funds from the Italian Government Scholarship. There were no overseas trips in the intervening years. Furthermore, Lenton Parr recorded in his diary a phone conversation with Redpath, in which she told him she had recently finished the Baillieu Library mural – a conversation that took place on 10 February 1961 (Parr, c. 1970, entry for 10 Feb 1961). I can locate no press clippings regarding the finished mural dated 1959 or 1960. A pamphlet written by university librarian K.A. Lodewycks, to mark the official opening of the Baillieu Library on 21 March 1959, records that the ‘wood-relief mural decoration by Norma Redpath over the entrance lobby represents the emergence of the world from chaos to culture through learning’ (Lodewycks, 1959, p. 6) but does not include any photographs of the work so that it is difficult to ascertain whether the mural was actually in place in time for the opening. In December 1959 Gordon Thomson recorded that ‘…Norma Redpath defeated our best painters to win (hands down, it is said) the commission for the mural in the Bailleu Library’ (Thomson, 1959, p. 14), but did not mention the final work. In his essay for the first Mildura sculpture exhibition, in April 1961, Alan McCulloch made what appears to be the earliest reference to the completed mural: ‘Norma Redpath who made the woodcarving in the Baillieu Library, Melbourne University, and many other notable pieces occupies an equivalent place in Australia to that of Barbara Hepworth in England’ (McCulloch, 1961 a, p. 18). It appears therefore that the mural was only completed and erected into position in early 1961. Certainly Wolfgang Sievers’ photographs of the completed mural are dated 1961 (Sievers, 1961). I have therefore dated the work to 1959-61, unlike virtually all other writers who merely date it to 1959. It should be noted that not all commentators on the mural were as complimentary as Thomson and McCulloch. Graeme Sturgeon, in his history of Australian sculpture, gave the following damning assessment: ‘With its Picasso-like faces, Redpath’s first major commission owes more to the common stylistic devices of the 1950s than to the plastic imagination of the sculptor. It is predominantly concerned with the linear and the pictorial’ (Sturgeon, 1978, p. 152). Certainly there is an echo of Picasso’s profiled heads from Guernica, 1937. However, Sturgeon’s view was formed in the absence of any detailed publication covering Redpath’s early career. As can be seen from other catalogue entries here, the Baillieu Library mural clearly draws on a developing form language that includes the triangulated nuns’ wimples seen in Paris (cf. NRW0030), pointed forms that simulate points of conversation and connection (cf. NRW0035), arched passageways connecting humans to their environment (NRW0029) and finally animal-human biomorphic sculptures, including Horizontal Forms, 1959 (NR0034) and Boy and Horse, 1960 (NR0037), indicating the degree to which the mural belongs to an ongoing series of aesthetic concerns on the part of the artist. The Baillieu Library relief therefore connected with Redpath’s individual development. It did not represent, as some (such as fledgling filmmaker Tim Burstall) mistook it to be, merely a compromise between fitting in with the severe modernist architecture and satisfying the university’s request for a work that symbolized a ‘large socially desirable truth’, namely, the social importance of books and intellectual freedom of expression (Burstall, 1959, p. 212).
NR0034

**Horizontal Forms, 1959**

Queensland maple.

36.0 x 102.0 x 9.0 cm

Not signed, inscribed or dated.

Private collection.

**Provenance:** Gift to Henry and Lorraine White née Broadbent (the artist’s first cousin) in 1971; Thence by descent; Sold through the Charles Nodrum Galleries, Melbourne, 2013; Justin Miller Fine Art, Sydney.

**Exhibited:** *Six Sculptors*, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 21 July - 30 August 1959, catalogue no. 30 (as *Forms*, maple); *Exhibition of Australian Art by Victorian, Interstate and Expatriate Artists for World Refugee Year*, Australian Galleries, Collingwood, 7-17 June 1960, catalogue no. 96 (as *Horizontal Forms*, maple, 150 guineas); Mildura Prize for Sculpture, Mildura Art Gallery, Mildura, Vic., 22 April - 21 May 1961, catalogue no. 92 (as *Horizontal Forms*, 1958, maple, 15", NFS); *Nine Melbourne Sculptors*, Argus Gallery, Melbourne, 26 June - 7 July 1961, catalogue no. 21 (as *Horizontal Form*, maple, 50 gns); *Centre Five Sculptures*, Newcastle City Art Gallery, Newcastle, NSW, 6-30 September 1963, catalogue no. 8 (as *Horizontal Forms*, maple, 80 gns); *Abstraction 12*, Charles Nodrum Gallery, Richmond, Vic., 9-23 November 2013, catalogue no. 39 (as *Horizontal Forms*, maple, P.O.A.).

**Literature:** Gooday and Mora, 1959, p. 13; Shore, 1961 June 27, p. 2; Richmond, 2013 Nov, no. 39.

**Photo:** Mark Strizic (taken at the *Six Sculptors* exhibition); original held among the Redpath papers.

In their review of the *Six Sculptors* exhibition, the editors of *Modern Art News* (a CAS publication) strikingly described this work: ‘Norma Redpath achieves a … feeling of spirituality by a very different means. Her forms suggest a curious metamorphosis as in *Forms* (30), in which a chicken embryo seems to be dangerously interested in modern aircraft forms. In all her recent works this sense of the spirits of man and nature coming to grips provides endless fascination’ (Gooday and Mora, 1959, p. 13). Colour slides among the Jomantas Picture Collection, SLV (H2007.33/1428 and 1429) show this work on view at the Argus Gallery as part of *Nine Melbourne Sculptors*, 26 June - 7 July 1961.

NR0035

**Woman, Cat and Bird, 1959**

Jointed mahogany, polychromed.

Dimensions unknown

Whereabouts unknown

**Exhibited:** *Six Sculptors*, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 21 July - 30 August 1959, catalogue no. 29 (as *Woman, Cat and Bird*, mahogany, no price listed); *Exhibition of Australian Art by Victorian, Interstate and Expatriate Artists for World Refugee Year*, Australian Galleries, Collingwood, 7-17 June 1960, catalogue no. 95 (as *Woman, Cat and Bird*, mahogany, no price listed).

**Literature:** Melbourne, 1959 July, no. 29; Collingwood, 1960 June, no. 95; Anon., 1960 June 4, photograph captioned: ‘In the foreground is Norma Redpath’s *Woman, Bird and Cat*,...
which will also be on show’.

Photo: Mark Strizic (though unattributed), scanned from a colour slide held among the Redpath papers.

**NR0036**

*Bird and Oracle, c. 1960*

Silky oak.

Dimensions unknown

Whereabouts unknown

Exhibited: *Nine Melbourne Sculptors*, Argus Gallery, Melbourne, 26 June - 7 July 1961, catalogue no. 23 (as *Bird and Oracle*, silky oak, 400 gns).


Photos: unknown photographer; scanned from colour slides held among the Redpath papers.

The above two photographs appear to have taken in the artist’s garden at Kilsyth. Two further colour slides among the Jomantas Picture Collection, SLV (H2007.33/1435 and H2007.33/145-146) depict *Bird and Oracle* on view at the Argus Gallery as part of *Nine Melbourne Sculptors*, in 1961. While this is the earliest known exhibition record, I have dated the work to ‘c. 1960’ on the basis of its similarity to *Boy and Horse*, 1960 (NR0037), which Redpath claimed was her final wood carving before concentrating entirely on bronze. Priced at 400 gns in the Argus Gallery exhibition, this was the second dearest work in the show; Julius Kane’s *Group Organism*, 1960, was 420 gns while Redpath’s *Boy and Horse*, 1960, was 330 gns, suggesting that *Bird and Oracle* is probably a taller carving that the 1.5-metre high *Boy and Horse*.

**NR0037**

*Boy and Horse, 1960*

Queensland beech

149.9 x 26.0 x ? cm

Not signed, dated or inscribed.

Newcastle Art Gallery, NSW


Exhibited: *Victorian Sculptors' Society Annual Exhibition*, Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 24 October - 5 November 1960, catalogue no. 35 (as *Boy and Horses*, [sic], beech, no price listed); *Mildara Prize for Sculpture*, Mildura Art Gallery, Mildura, Vic., 22 April - 21 May 1961, catalogue no. 93 (as *Boy and Horse*, 1960, Queensland beech, 60”, NFS); *Nine Melbourne Sculptors*, Argus Gallery, Melbourne, 26 June - 7 July 1961, catalogue no. 20 (as *Boy and Horse*, beech, 330 gns); *Centre Five Sculptures*, Newcastle City Art Gallery, Newcastle, NSW, 6-30 September 1963, catalogue no. 9 (as *Boy and Horse*, Queensland beech, 240 gns); Newcastle Council, office of the general manager, on loan during 1994; *Another Look: Six Women Artists of the 1950s*, Heide Museum of Modern Art, Bulleen, 18 November 2000 - 7 January 2001, no catalogue nos. assigned.


Photo: unknown photographer; scanned from a colour slide, showing the work exhibited at Mildura in 1961, held among the Redpath papers.

When first exhibited, at the 1960 VSS exhibition, Alan McCulloch noted that ‘Norma Redpath achieves a compact and elegant verticality in an elegant carving of beechwood Boy and Horses’ (McCulloch, 1960 Oct 26). The work was next seen at Mildura, where, according to a letter from Redpath to Gil Docking, on file at the NRAG (15 October 1963), it was in ‘the final selection for small sculpture [at] “Mildara” and wasn’t then for sale’. Alan McCulloch rated it ‘outstanding’ among the entries submitted for the £100 prize for indoor sculpture at the first Mildura exhibition (McCulloch, 1961 Apr 26). Two months later, the work was again seen in Melbourne, this time as part of Nine Melbourne Sculptors. Reviewing that show, Arnold Shore wrote: ‘Boy and Horse by Norma Redpath is perhaps her best studied work, but she clearly appreciates sequence in movement and accent’ (Shore, 1961 June 27, p. 2). Boy and Horse next drew considerable interest in Newcastle, in 1963, where it featured at the Centre Five exhibition. One reviewer wrote: ‘The most interesting work in the exhibition is Norma Redpath’s Boy and Horse, a perpendicular meeting of human and beast’ (Newcastle Herald, 1963 Sept 7, p. 6). Five days later a photograph appeared in the same paper captioned: ‘Penny Young, 11, of Belmont, tries to work out how Norma Redpath was able to sculpture [sic] this piece, called Boy and Horse. The piece of sculpture is described as “a perpendicular meeting of human and beast”. It is being shown in Newcastle City Art Gallery for Mattara’ (Newcastle Herald, 1963 Sept 12, p. 5). The following year, during the gallery’s negotiations with Redpath over the purchase of the work, Redpath wrote again to Docking and attested that ‘this is one of the last woodcarvings [I] Redpath made, before moving onto bronze. Bird, Horse and Sun, bronze, owned by the AGNSW, is the sculpture that followed’.

Photo: unknown photographer; scanned from a colour slide, showing the work exhibited at Mildura in 1961, held among the Redpath papers.
WORKS ON PAPER

NRW0001

*Shell Structures*, c. 1942-43
Drypoint etching, variant states in blue and black ink; edition unknown.
16.5 x 19.5 cm
Signed lower right: ‘N Redpath’.
Inscribed lower centre: ‘Shell Structures’; inscribed and dated on reverse: ‘Drypoint / Redpath 1942 / (Swinburne)’.
With the Charles Nodrum Gallery, Richmond, Vic., 2013; another five copies in the collection of the SLV (Redpath papers, box 47).
Provenance: Artist’s estate; SLV copies gift of Mark Rubbo through the Australian Government’s Cultural Gifts Program, 2014.
Exhibited: *Norma Redpath: Works from the Studio, 1940s to 1960s*, Charles Nodrum Gallery, Richmond, Vic., 4-27 July 2013, catalogue no. 35 (as *Shell Structures*, 1942, drypoint etching in blue ink, 16.5 x 19.5 cm, $1,200).
Literature: Richmond, 2013 July, no. 35, p. [4], colour illustration p. [3].
Photo: the author.

Retrospectively dated 1942, but almost certainly made in 1943 when Redpath was fourteen years old and in her first year at Swinburne Technical College. The original copper plate, smeared with traces of blue ink, survives among the Redpath papers, SLV. *Shell Structures* evinces the same interest in the sculptural qualities of natural forms that Henry Moore demonstrated in his series of shell drawings from 1932 and in his widely reprinted article ‘The Sculptor Speaks’ of 1937, in which he owned to paying ‘great attention to natural forms, such as bones, shells and pebbles’ (Moore, 1937). Indeed, the collection of shells and driftwood on the windowsills of Redpath’s living room in Carlton echo those found in Moore’s studio at Much Hadham, Hertfordshire. This early student work points to the young Redpath’s sympathies with Moore, notably developed well in advance of the first showing of Moore’s work in Melbourne, in 1948.

NRW0002

*Untitled (fish)*, c. 1942-43
Drypoint etching in black ink; edition unknown.
6.7 x 9.7 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
SLV (Redpath papers, box 47).
Photo: the author.

NRW0003

*Untitled (head of a girl)*, c. 1943-49
Brown conté crayon on paper.
38.0 x 28.1 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
SLV (Redpath papers, box 47).
Provenance: Gift of Mark Rubbo
through the Australian Government’s Cultural Gifts Program, 2014.
Photo: the author.

NRW0004
_Untitled (studies of faces with eyes closed), c. 1943-49_  
Pen and black ink on paper watermarked ‘…IAN 1942’. 25.9 x 28.9 cm (sheet)  
Not signed, inscribed or dated.  
SLV (Redpath papers, box 47).  
Photo: the author.

NRW0005
_Untitled (tree study), c. 1943-49_  
Pen and black ink on Fabriano ‘Raffaello’ watermarked paper. 24.0 x 33.0 cm (sheet)  
Not signed, inscribed or dated.  
SLV (Redpath papers, box 47).  
Photo: the author.

NRW0006
_Untitled (two studies for triptych with burnt trees), c. 1947-49_  
Black biro on paper. 15.5 x 13.5 cm (image); 38.1 x 22.0 cm (sheet)  
Not signed, inscribed or dated.  
SLV (Redpath papers, box 47).  
Photo: the author.

NRW0007
_Untitled (pair of bird forms), c. 1947-49_  
Watercolour, gouache and ink on paper. 36.0 x 7.8 cm and 36.6 x 7.5 cm, framed as a pair.  
Inscribed on reverse of frame: ‘REDPATH 1940s’.  
With the Charles Nodrum Gallery, Richmond, Vic., 2013.  
Provenance: Artist’s estate.  
Exhibited: *Norma Redpath: Works*
from the Studio, 1940s to 1960s, Charles Nodrum Gallery, Richmond, Vic., 4-27 July 2013, catalogue no. 34 (as Untitled pair of bird forms, c. 1947-49, watercolour, gouache and ink on paper, 36.0 x 7.8 cm each, $1,500).

**Literature:** Richmond, 2013 July, no. 34, p. [4], colour illustration p. [4].

**Photos:** the author.

Retrospectively dated ‘1940s’ but almost certainly painted towards the end of her time at Swinburne and most likely after 1947 when Redpath saw Russell Drysdale’s *The Rabbiters*, 1947, at the NGV. She later recalled the ‘extraordinary impact’ the work had upon her in terms of its scale relationships between man and landscape, though here it is the palette of rust red, burnt umber, terracotta, black and white that is most strongly reminiscent of Drysdale (Redpath, c. 2002, p. 6).

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**NRW0008**

*Untitled study for sculpture (Spheroid)*, c. 1950-51

Ink and acrylic or watercolour on card. 18.5 x 23 cm

Signed with initials lower right: ‘NR’. Bathurst Regional Gallery, NSW.

**Provenance:** Gwen Frolich Bequest. Acc. no. 2005.002G.

**Exhibited:** (?) Society of Sculptors and Associates with invited overseas exhibitors, David Jones' Gallery, Sydney, February 1956, catalogue no. 49 (as Norma Redpath, *Spheroid*, drawing, 6 gns).

**Literature:** (?) Sydney, 1956 Feb, no. 49.

**Photo:** Bathurst Regional Gallery.

Study for *Spheroid*, c. 1950-51 (NR009).

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**NRW0009**

*Studies for Sculpture, c. 1950-51*

Pen and black ink and watercolour on paper.

Dimensions unknown.

Inscribed on lower border of window-mount: ‘Studies for Sculpture’.

Private collection.

**Provenance:** Collection of Henry and Lorraine White née Broadbent (the artist’s first cousin); Thence by descent to present owner.

**Photo:** courtesy present owner.

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**NRW0010**

*Drawing for wood and steel sculpture, c. 1953*

(? Pen and ink on paper.

Dimensions unknown.

Whereabouts unknown.

**Exhibited:** The Group of Four: Inge King, Norma Redpath, Julius Kuhn, Clifford Last, Melbourne University School of Architecture, 1-12 June 1953, ex catalogue.

**Literature:** Wynn, 1953, p. 40, b&w illustration p. 40.
NRW0011

Preparatory sketch for Apps Funeral Parlour commission, c. 1954
Pencil with pen and black ink on paper. 13.9 x 10.3 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
SLV (Redpath papers, box 47).
Photo: the author.

NRW0012

Flight from Jerusalem, c. 1955
Pen and ink with wash on paper. 42.0 x 52.0 cm (image).
Inscribed on reverse: ‘Flight from Jerusalem, c. 1952’.
Private collection.
Provenance: Collection of Henry and Lorraine White née Broadbent (the artist’s first cousin) by the 1960s; Thence by descent; Sold through the Charles Nodrum Galleries, Melbourne, 2015.

Photo: courtesy Charles Nodrum Gallery.
While Redpath retrospectively dated this ‘c. 1952’, it is more likely to have been done in 1955, in which year it was first exhibited at the VSS alongside a plaster version of the same subject, which Redpath submitted for the Barnett McCutcheon Competition for Religious Sculpture (see also NR0024). Alan McCulloch mentioned the drawing in his review of the exhibition: ‘Other works of outstanding merit are Norma Redpath’s drawing, Flight from Jerusalem, and her Deposition (awarded an honourable mention), and Julius Kane’s two standing figures, Adam and Eve’ (McCulloch, 1955 Oct 19).

NRW0013

Study for Sculpture, 1955
Pen and ink and wash on paper. 53.5 x 40 cm
Signed and dated lower left.
Whereabouts unknown
Provenance: Lawson’s, Sydney, 17 September 1996, lot 183 (estimate $400-600, unsold); Lawson’s, Sydney, 10 December 1996, lot 138 (est. $400-600, unsold).

NRW0014

Untitled (masks), c. 1955-56
Biro and pencil on blue-ruled paper.  
12.5 x 15.5 cm (image); 34.0 x 21.4 cm (sheet).  
Not signed, inscribed or dated.  
SLV (Redpath papers, box 47).  
Photo: the author.  
With hand-written instructions regarding encaustic colour and varnishes on the other half of the sheet of paper.

NRW0015  
*Masks*, c. 1955-56  
Drawing on paper.  
Dimensions unknown.  
Whereabouts unknown.  
Literature: Sydney, 1956 Feb, no. 50.  

NRW0017  
*Title unknown (two figures looking upwards)*, c. 1955-58  
Brush, pen and ink with watercolour wash on paper.  
Dimensions unknown  
Whereabouts unknown  
Photo: unknown photographer; original held among the Aarons papers, AGNSW research library.  
In this previously unrecorded drawing we see Redpath addressing the subject of mixed-race couples, with a black Eve-like figure and a white-robed man reaching heavenwards, effectively inverting the colour scheme of Arthur Boyd’s contemporary brides series, of 1957, in which a white-robed white bride is betrothed to a dark-suited Aboriginal groom. I have dated the work to circa 1955-58 on the basis of the similarity of the mask-like profiled faces to other works of the mid-fifties, while the use of brush and ink links it to slightly later works of the Italian period such as NRW0025 and NRW0030.

NRW0016  
*Untitled (masks and vertical form)*, c. 1955-56  
Blue biro with black brush and ink over pencil on paper.  
29.5 x 21.0 cm  
Not signed, inscribed or dated.  
SLV (Redpath papers, box 47).  
Photo: the author.
NRW0018  
*Untitled (reclining nude), 1956*  
Coloured crayon and pastel on paper.  
27.9 x 36.8 cm (image)  
Signed and dated lower right: ‘Redpath 56’. Inscribed on reverse of frame:  
‘On loan to E A Broadbent / Norma Redpath April 1974’.  
With the Charles Nodrum Galleries,  
Melbourne, 2016.  
Provenance: Artist’s estate.  
Exhibited: *Norma Redpath: Works from the Studio, 1940s to 1960s*,  
Charles Nodrum Gallery, Richmond,  
Vic., 4-27 July 2013, catalogue no. 59  
(as *Untitled (reclining nude), 1956*,  
$2,500).  
Photo: the author.  
Later reworked to become *Woman*, 1959.

NRW0020  
*Untitled (split heads or masks), c. 1956-57*  
Brush and black and blue ink over  
pencil on paper.  
25.3 x 19.5 cm  
Not signed, inscribed or dated.  
SLV (Redpath papers, box 47).  
Provenance: Gift of Mark Rubbo  
through the Australian Government’s  
Photo: the author.  
With four pencil sketches of figures on reverse.

NRW0019  
*Untitled (bird forms), 1956*  
Pen and black ink with wash over  
pencil on paper.  
Dimensions unknown  
Signed lower right: ‘N Redpath’.  
Inscribed and dated lower left:  
‘Perugia 56’.  
Whereabouts unknown  
Photo: unknown photographer; original  
held among the Redpath papers.

NRW0021  
*Untitled (female head and torso fragment), c. 1956-57*  
Pen and blue ink on paper.  
14.4 x 10.0 cm  
Not signed, inscribed or dated.  
SLV (Redpath papers, box 47).  
Provenance: Gift of Mark Rubbo  
through the Australian Government’s  
Photo: the author.  
Page torn from a sketchbook.
NRW0022

*Untitled (head in profile), c. 1956-57*
Pen and blue ink on paper.
14.4 x 10.0 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
SLV (Redpath papers, box 47).
Photo: the author.
Page torn from a sketchbook.

NRW0023

*Untitled (Standing woman with bird and eggs), c. 1956-57*
Pen and black ink with wash over pencil on paper.
33.0 x 24.0 cm
Not signed or dated. Inscribed on reverse: ‘Súmerer’ (or possibly ‘Súmever’).
Provenance: Artist’s estate.
Exhibited: *Norma Redpath: Works from the Studio, 1940s to 1960s*, Charles Nodrum Gallery, Richmond, Vic., 4-27 July 2013, catalogue no. 44 (as *Untitled, Standing woman with bird and eggs, c. 1956-57*, $1,500).
Literature: Richmond, 2013 July, no. 44.
Photo: courtesy Charles Nodrum Gallery.
This rapid ink sketch was evidently done during Redpath’s first visit to Italy, 1956-57, when she studied at the Università per Stranieri, Perugia, and afterwards travelled through Europe. Paper watermarked ‘DISEGNO GIORGIONE’.

NRW0024

*Romans, c. 1956-59*
Brush, pen and ink and chalk on paper.
Dimensions unknown
Whereabouts unknown
Exhibited: *Outset* (group exhibition), 43 Dalgety Street, St Kilda, Vic., 20 March - 12 April 1959, catalogue no. 30 (as *Romans*, ink and chalk, 12 gns).
Literature: St Kilda, 1959, no. 30.

NRW0025

*Untitled (probably once known as Man with a Bird), c. 1956-57*
Brush, pen and ink and yellow chalk on paper.
33 x 45 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Private collection, Mosman, NSW
Provenance: Gift from the artist to the present owners, c. 2010.
Exhibited: (?) *Outset* (group exhibition), 43 Dalgety Street, St Kilda, Vic., 20 March - 12 April 1959, catalogue no. 29 (as *Man with a Bird*, ink and chalk, 12 gns).
Literature: (?) St Kilda, 1959, no. 29.
Photo: courtesy the present owners.
This is a sketch for the bronze of the same title (NR0027). The same owners inherited the pair to Boy and bird, that is: Untitled (Woman and bird), c. 1957 (NR0028).

NRW0026

*Untitled fragment (horses), c. 1956-57*

Blue biro on a fragment of paper. 16.9 x 14.5 cm; irregular.
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
SLV (Redpath papers, box 47).
Photo: the author.

Relates to the sculpture *Bird and Horse*, 1958 (NR0032). With an unfinished abstract sketch on reverse.

NRW0027

*Untitled (preparatory sketch for Bird and Horse), c. 1956-57*

Blue biro on paper envelope. 9.6 x 14.2 cm
Not signed or dated. Inscribed on reverse: ‘Nono Reinhold / 19 Rue Hautefeuille / Paris 6’ and with instructions for reaching Reinhold’s address.
SLV (Redpath papers, box 47).
Photo: the author.

Nono Reinhold (b. 1929) was a leading Dutch printmaker who was based in Paris from 1951-63.

NRW0028

*Bird and Horse, 1957*

Watercolour and gouache on buff coloured paper. 42.5 x 54.5 cm (image)
Signed and dated lower left: ‘N Redpath 57’. Inscribed (see below) and with typed label on reverse.
Private collection, Taringa, Qld.
Provenance: Collection of Hal Missingham, Sydney (possibly gifted by the artist to him); Geoff K. Gray Pty Limited, sold at sale 17 November 1981; Charles Nodrum Gallery, Richmond; Thence to the artist (in exchange for a small bronzetti); Artist’s estate; Sold through the Charles Nodrum Gallery, July 2013.

Appendix C: Norma Redpath

(As Bird and Horse, 1957, $3,000).
Photo: courtesy Charles Nodrum Gallery.

Inscribed on reverse: ‘Owner: Hal Missingham / Artist: Norma Redpath / Bird and Horse 1957’. Typed label: ‘Geoff K. Gray Pty Limited, Lot [-] Price [-] Sold at sale 17th November/81’. Redpath later wrote: ‘I was aware of a developing language and the extension of my interest in sculpture not only as object but the importance of the relationship of human stature to “object” to surrounding space; the 1957 drawings lead from the depicted “object” (Horse, Bird and Sun) [sic] etc. to Women and the Etruscan Arch, Perugia, to the three point arch Bird Wings and Nuns Wimples, Paris, the latter being envisaged as an open, walk into and through form, internally lit at night’ (Redpath, c. 2002, p. 5).

NRW0029

Women and the Etruscan Arch, 1957
Watercolour and gouache on paper.
62.5 x 47 cm (image)
Signed and dated lower left: ‘Norma Redpath 1957’. Inscribed on label on reverse: ‘Women and the Etruscan Arch’.
Private collection, Melbourne
Provenance: Artist’s estate; Sold through the Charles Nodrum Gallery, July 2013.
Exhibited: Norma Redpath: Works from the Studio, 1940s to 1960s, Charles Nodrum Gallery, Richmond, Vic., 4-27 July 2013, catalogue no. 37

(As Women and the Etruscan Arch, 1957, $3,000).
Redpath recalled she was inspired to paint this after witnessing two women passing through a gateway in Perugia with washing on their heads (conversation with the artist, 22 Sept 2010). However, her diary for 1956 contains two pen and ink sketches of a similar subject, which she captions: ‘Zagreb / women with loads on heads’ and ‘peasant women and bowls / Zagreb’ (Redpath papers, box 20, diary entries for 26 Dec and 27 Dec 1956). The subject of the human figure in relation to classical architecture, particularly arches, would later prove to be of immense importance to the artist, who, from the mid-1960s onwards, increasingly borrowed fragments of classical architecture with which to form a human-scaled relationship between people and their environment (see Eckett, 2013 b, p. 64). In the artist’s hand-painted frame.

NRW0030

Bird Wings and Nuns’ Wimples, 1957
Watercolour and gouache on paper.
64 x 46.5 cm (image)
Private collection
Provenance: Artist’s estate; Sold through the Charles Nodrum Gallery, July 2013.
from the Studio, 1940s to 1960s, Charles Nodrum Gallery, Richmond, Vic., 4-27 July 2013, catalogue no. 36 (as Bird Wings and Nuns’ Wimples, 1957, $3,000).

Literature: Redpath, c. 2002, p. 5; Richmond, 2013 July, no. 36.

Photo: courtesy Charles Nodrum Gallery.

In the artist’s hand-painted frame, which is also visible in a photograph among the Aarons papers, depicting it at the 1958 VSS Retrospect exhibition. Redpath first visited Paris in early 1957 and was there struck by the sight of Catholic nuns wearing full habit and wimples – a vision that had similarly inspired James Gleeson a decade earlier, when he visited Paris, sparking his ‘nun-punts’ series of 1948-51. Bird Wings and Nuns’ Wimples was a significant work in terms of the artist’s thinking, as it led her to envisage ‘an open, walk into and through form, internally lit at night’ (Redpath, c. 2002, p. 5).

NRW0031

Drawing for sculpture, 1957

Gouache, pen and ink and pastel on wove paper laid on cardboard.

43.6 x 64.8 cm

Signed, inscribed and dated upper right: ‘N. Redpath. 57 Paris’.

NGV, Melbourne


Exhibited: Six Sculptors, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 21 July - 30 August 1959, ex catalogue; The art of drawing: 100 drawings from the Print Room of the National Gallery of Victoria and some other collections, NGV, Melbourne, 3 December 1964 - February 1965 and AGNSW, Sydney, 7 June - 4 July 1965, catalogue no. 86 (as Norma Redpath, Study for Sculpture [sic], 1957, crayon, ink and oil colour, 17” x 25 1/4”, signed and dated lower right [sic], exh: Six Sculptors, Nat. Gall. Vic., 1959, purchased 1959.

Literature: Melbourne and Sydney, 1964-65, no. 86.

Photo: the author.

Though essentially abstract, the central form seems to derive from a shell – harkening back to the 1942 etching Shell Structures. The severely limited palette and gestural manner of paint application both chime with Stacha Halpern’s work with which Redpath was familiar, having been introduced to Halpern in Paris by Oliffe Richmond who showed her ‘the somewhat wild Paris scene of the time’ (Redpath, c. 2002, p. 6).

NRW0032

Upright form, 1957

Watercolour and gouache on buff coloured paper.

29.7 x 18.5 cm (image)

Signed and dated upper right: ‘N Redpath 57’.

With the Charles Nodrum Galleries, Melbourne, 2013.

Provenance: Artist’s estate.

Exhibited: Norma Redpath: Works from the Studio, 1940s to 1960s, Charles Nodrum Gallery, Richmond, Vic., 4-27 July 2013, catalogue no. 38 (as Upright form, 1957, $2,000).

Literature: Richmond, 2013 July, no. 38.

Photo: the author.

According to the artist this relates to a stringed instrument (Redpath conversations, 20 Sept 2010), although it could equally relate to the
series of studies of arched forms inspired by birds wings and nuns wimples (cf. NRW0030). The palette is close to that employed in Drawing for Sculpture, 1957 (NRW0031), suggesting that this too may have been done around the time of Redpath’s first visit to Paris.

NRW0033

*Untitled, 1957*

Wax, gouache, and ink on paper.
72.0 x 54.7 x 1.8 cm

Whereabouts unknown

*Provenance:* The artist, as of 1997.

*Exhibited:* 1956: *Melbourne, Modernity and the XVI Olympiad*, Museum of Modern Art at Heide, Bulleen, Vic., 17 December 1996 - 2 March 1997, no catalogue number (as *Untitled, 1957, wax, gouache and ink on paper, 72.0 x 54.7 x 1.8 cm, loaned by the artist*).


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NRW0034

*Untitled (three bird forms; study for fountain), c. 1957*

Pen and black ink with gouache, crayon and wash over pencil on paper.
34.7 x 24.0 cm (sheet)

Signed lower right: ‘Norma Redpath’.

With the Charles Nodrum Galleries, Melbourne, 2016.

*Provenance:* Artist’s estate.

*Exhibited:* *Norma Redpath: Works from the Studio, 1940s to 1960s*, Charles Nodrum Gallery, Richmond, Vic., 4-27 July 2013, catalogue no. 39 (as *Untitled, almost certainly Bird Forms, 1956, $2,000*).


*Photo:* courtesy Charles Nodrum Gallery.

Redpath submitted a b&w photograph of this work as part of her folio submission for the Italian Government Scholarship in 1961. However, while most of the photographs in this portfolio are mounted on grey card and titled, some later became separated from their card supports. The photograph of this work has been mistakenly re-pasted onto card above the caption ‘Bird Forms, silky oak, 1954’. It was formerly thought that the photograph belonged to another caption (now without any accompanying image): ‘Drawing, Bird Forms, 1956’. It was catalogued in this manner for the Nodrum show in 2013. However, since then, photographs of two related works have been discovered that suggest this was part of a series of studies for a fountain (see NRW0035 and NRW0036).

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NRW0035

*Title unknown (study for a monumental sculpture), c. 1957*

Brush, pen and ink on paper.
Dimensions unknown
Whereabouts unknown

*Photo:* unknown photographer; original held among the Redpath papers.

The subject of three upright forms, touching at the middle to form a three-point arch, preoccupied the artist for some time in the latter-1950s. This is the central motif of *Birds Wings and Nuns Wimples*, drawn in Paris in 1957 (NRW0030) and *Drawing for a sculpture: Fountain (also known as Women and Birds)*, 1957 (NRW0036). In the present drawing she has included two people at the lower right to indicate the scale of the envisaged monument.
**NRW0036**

*Drawing for a sculpture: Fountain (also known as Women and Birds), 1957*

Pen and black ink with red wash over pencil on paper.
Dimensions unknown.
Signed, dated and inscribed upper right: ‘N. Redpath 57 Roma’.
Art Gallery of Western Australia, Perth.
Accession no. 1960/00D2.
Photo: unknown photographer; original held among the Redpath papers.

The alternative title (*Women and Birds*) is from inscription below a photograph of the drawing in the artist’s portfolio submitted to the Italian Government Scholarship, 1961.

**NRW0037**

*Untitled, 1957*

Pen and ink on paper
Dimensions unknown
Signed and dated lower right: ‘N. Redpath 57’.
Whereabouts unknown.
Photo: unknown photographer; original held among the Redpath papers.

**NRW0038**

*Figure, 1958*

Pen and black ink with wash over pencil on paper.
Dimensions unknown
Signed and dated lower left: ‘Norma Redpath 58’.
Whereabouts unknown.
Literature: Anon, 1958, depicted in front of Redpath as she works on it.
Photo: unknown photographer; scanned from an original slide held among the Redpath papers.

**NRW0039**

*Title unknown (woman with bird), 1958*

Pen and black ink with gouache and wash on paper.
Dimensions unknown.
Signed and dated lower centre left: ‘N Redpath 58’.
Whereabouts unknown.
Photo: unknown photographer; scanned from an original slide held among the Redpath papers.
NRW0040

**Title unknown (two-headed woman), 1958**

Pen and black ink with gouache and wash on paper.
Dimensions unknown.
Signed and dated centre right: ‘N Redpath 58’.
Whereabouts unknown.
Photo: unknown photographer; scanned from an original slide held among the Redpath papers.

NRW0041

**Conversation, c. 1958**

Medium unknown.
Dimensions unknown
Whereabouts unknown
Literature: East Melbourne, 1958 Dec, no. 29.
The modest price suggests this was a work on paper; indeed it may be one and the same as the *Title unknown (study for a monumental sculpture)*, c. 1957-59, NRW0035.

NRW0042

**Working sketch for Baillieu Library relief, c. 1958-59**

Pencil, blue biro and grey wash on tracing paper.
37.7 x 21.9 cm (sheet)
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
SLV (Redpath papers, box 3, folder 2).
Photo: the author.

NRW0043

**Working sketch for Baillieu Library relief, c. 1958-59**

Pencil, black biro and pink ink on tracing paper.
37.2 x 21.7 cm (sheet)
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
SLV (Redpath papers, box 3, folder 2).
Photo: the author.
NRW0044

**Boy and Horse, 1959**

Blue biro, black felt-tip pen, pencil and brush and black ink on paper.

36.0 x 23.0 cm


Provenance: Purchased from the Charles Nodrum Gallery, through the Gil Docking Art Fund, 2013.

Exhibited: Norma Redpath: Works from the Studio, 1940s to 1960s, Charles Nodrum Gallery, Richmond, Vic., 4-27 July 2013, catalogue no. 41 (as Boy and Horse, 1959, $1,000).


For the carving to which this relates see NR0037.

NRW0045

**Drawing, 1959**

Drawing on paper.

Dimensions unknown

Whereabouts unknown

Exhibited: Sculpture: Brighton High School Exhibition, Brighton High School, Brighton, Vic., 1959, catalogue no. 30 (as Norma Redpath, Drawing --).


NRW0046

**Woman, 1959**

Pen and black ink with wash over pencil on paper.

Dimensions unknown.

Signed and dated lower right: ‘N. Redpath 59’.

Whereabouts unknown

Exhibited: Drawings, Prints and Paintings up to 45 Guineas, Australian Galleries, Collingwood, 24 November - 24 December 1959, catalogue no. 108 (as Woman, 15 gns).

Literature: Collingwood, 1959 Nov, no. 108.

Photo: unknown photographer; original held among the Redpath papers.

Very similar in composition to NRW0018, 1956.
Appendix C: Teisutis Zikaras

TEISUTIS ZIKARAS (1922-91)

Kaunas, 1939-44

TZ0001

Small seated male nude, c. 1939-40
Clay (terracotta?)
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Photo: unknown photographer, courtesy Marcus Zikaras.
Known only from a photograph in Zikaras archive. The work appears unfinished and rather clumsily modelled, on which basis I have dated it to c. 1939-40.

TZ0002

Jūreivis Žvejys (Sailor Fisherman), c. 1939-42
Clay (terracotta?)
Dimensions unknown.
Signed at front of base: ‘T ZIKARAS’.
Whereabouts unknown.
Photo: unknown photographer, Juozas Zikaras Museum, Kaunas, ref. ZA 349.
A label affixed to the front of the work, as seen in the above photograph, reads ‘/ Premija’, or ‘1st Premium / Prize’. The photograph is inscribed on reverse: ‘Jūreivis [sailor] / Žvejys [fisherman] / Kaunas, c. 1942’.

TZ0003

Karys (Warrior), c. 1939-42
Plaster of Paris with bronze patina.
43.0 x 49.5 x 5.5 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated at front (reverse not inspected).
National M. K. Ėiurlionis Art Museum, on permanent display at the Juozas Zikaras Museum, Kaunas, Lithuania.
Provenance: Gift from the artist to his sister, Alytė Zikaraite; by whom bequeathed to the M. K. Ėiurlionis National Art Museum, Kaunas.
Photo: the author.
Depicts the head and torso of a warrior in profile: chin down, gaze raised, brow furrowed. His Grecian robes are caught backwards in a gust of wind. He grasps the hilt of a sword in his left hand and holds the reins of his wild-eyed horse in his right. The veins are visible on the inside of his right arm, suggesting tension and readiness for battle. A photograph of this work is held by the Juozas Zikaras Museum, Kaunas, Lithuania (archive no. 344), and is inscribed on reverse, noting that it was made in Kaunas. I have dated it c. 1939-40 on the basis of the subject, which appears to derive from the antique and would therefore have been typical of the sort of work Zikaras would have executed during his first year or two at art school.
TZ0004

**Seated female nude, c. 1942**

Clay.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

**Photo:** unknown photographer, Juozas Zikaras Museum, Kaunas, ref. ZA 167.
The photograph held by the Juozas Zikaras Museum (ref. ZA 167) is inscribed on reverse: ‘prie savo darbo Meno mokykla’, which translates roughly as ‘at art school’.

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TZ0005

**Sėdi vyras (Seated man), c. 1942**

Clay.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

**Exhibited:** *Teisutis Zikaras: Sculpture and Drawings*, McClelland Gallery and Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 10 May - 19 July 2009, ex catalogue, photograph only.

**Literature:** Langwarrin, 2009, p. 3; Borthwick, 2012, pp. 22, 54, 315, figs. 16, 79.

**Photo:** unknown photographer, Juozas Zikaras Museum, Kaunas, ref. ZA 348.
Known both from a photograph in the Juozas Zikaras Museum, Kaunas (ZA 348), and a copy of same in the Marcus Zikaras archive (marked D111). Also visible in a studio shot wherein Zikaras appears centre back of a group of students at the Kaunas Art School.

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TZ0006

**Stovinti (Stationary), c. 1942**

Plaster or clay.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

**Photo:** unknown photographer, Juozas Zikaras Museum, Kaunas, ref. ZA 352.
The photograph held by the Juozas Zikaras Museum (ref. ZA 352) is inscribed on reverse: ‘Stovinti c. 1942’.

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TZ0007

**Allegorical figure of a woman with a harp, possibly representing Sappho, c. 1942**

Plaster or clay.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Appendix C: Teisutis Zikaras

Photo: unknown photographer, courtesy Marcus Zikaras.

TZ0008
*Mergina (Girl)*, c. 1942
Plaster or clay.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Photo: unknown photographer, Juozas Zikaras Museum, Kaunas, ref. ZA 347.
The photograph held by the Juozas Zikaras Museum (ref. ZA 347) is inscribed on reverse, noting that it was made in Kaunas, c. 1942. The influence of Mikėnas evident here. It also compares well with Kašuba’s *Peace Sleeping*, 1942 (fig. 2.34).

TZ0009
*Moteriškė su linais (Woman with flax); also known simply as Linas (Flax)*, c. 1942-43
Plaster of Paris mounted on wood.
78.0 x 28.0 x 14.5 cm
Inscribed ‘LINAS’ at front of base.

TZ0010
*Skulptūra-fontanas (Fountain sculpture), putto*, c. 1942-44
Stone.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Provenance: Commissioned by Dr Vladas Kuzma, Kaunas, Lithuania.
Photo: unknown photographer, Juozas Zikaras Museum, Kaunas, ref. ZA 346.
An indistinct inscription on the reverse of this photograph appears to note the name of Kažargineje. However, Rasa Ruibienė from the Juozas Zikaras Museum informed me verbally that the work was commissioned by Dr Vladas Kuzma. She did not know of its present whereabouts.

National M. K. Ėiurlionis Art Museum, on permanent display at the Juozas Zikaras Museum, Kaunas, Lithuania.
Photo: unknown photographer, courtesy Ken Scarlett.
Freiburg, 1945-49

TZ0011

_Crouching female nude, c. 1945-47_

Medium unknown, possibly clay or stone.
46 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.

_Literature:_ Borthwick, 2012, visible on p. 74, fig. 120.
_Photo:_ (a) unknown photographer, courtesy Marcus Zikaras; (b) detail of same.

Partially visible on a stand in a photograph among the Zikaras archive (ref. D133) of the artist in his studio, taken c. 1948-49. However, stylistically the work is indebted to Maillol and makes a particularly close comparison with Maillol’s renowned _La Méditerranée_, 1905. I would suggest therefore that this work was probably executed earlier rather than later during his time in Freiburg, c. 1945-46.

TZ0012

_Standing figure of a robed woman, c. 1945-47_

Plaster or clay.
80 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.

_Literature:_ Borthwick, 2012, visible on p. 74, fig. 120.
_Photo:_ unknown photographer, courtesy Marcus Zikaras (detail).

This work is just visible in the background of a photograph of Zikaras in his Freiburg studio. The figure appears to be a woman wearing a full-length classical gown and a veil or possibly wimple over her head.

TZ0013

_Leda, 1946_

Terracotta.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

_Provenance:_ Formerly collection of ‘Mr Masalena’, Commandant of Freiburg.
Appendix C: Teisutis Zikaras

Photo: unknown photographer, courtesy Marcus Zikaras.
Inscribed on reverse of photo with title, date, medium, and name of original owner. In Leda, Zikaras presents an image of idealized adolescent beauty rather than mature eroticism. This is a pensive, yearning composition, allied in mood with the introspection of the intimist paintings and the romantic neoclassical sculpture produced in wartime Lithuania. It also may respond to a work by his former teacher: Kašuba’s Leda and the Swan, 1943 (fig. 2.35).

TZ0014

Taikos Siekimas (Pursuit of Peace, or Seeking Peace); also known as Kompozicija (Composition), 1947
Gypsum relief mounted on board. 200 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown (possibly private collection, USA).
Exhibited: (?) Exiled Lithuanian Artists Exhibition, IRO, Hanau, Germany, June 1948 (catalogue untraced); (?) Lithuanian Art in Exile, New York Hall of Science, New York, 20 October - 20 November 1949 (catalogue untraced); (?) Lithuanian Art in Exile, Chicago Historical Society, Lincoln Park, Chicago, 14 August - 1 October 1950 (catalogue untraced).
Literature: Aidai, 1948, illustrated p. 263; Australijos Lietuvių Metrastis, 1961, p. 209; Ramonienė, 2007, p. 23, and b&w illustration, p. 25 (where captioned Taikos Siekimas (Pursuit of Peace), 1948; Langwarrin, 2009, p. 3 (mentioned among Zikaras’ student works); Borthwick, 2012, pp. 38, 239, figs. 48, also visible on p. 74, fig. 120.
Photo: unknown photographer.

Photo: Photopress Bilderdienst, Artur Hindrichs, Heidelberg-Schlierbach, courtesy Marcus Zikaras.
This was awarded the Žiburių (Lights) newspaper prize (see Ramonienė, 2007, p. 23).
It is very close in composition and style to Kašuba’s Egle, Queen of Adders (fig. 3.34).
The photograph above is inscribed on reverse: ‘1947 m parodaje Hanau Germany / 1949 m parodaje U.S.A. New York / T. Zikaras … USA / “Kompozicija” 1947 / gipzas’.

TZ0015

Aktas (Actress, standing female nude); possibly originally known as Rast (Rest), 1947
Terracotta.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Literature: (?) Freiburg, 1949, no. 117.
Photo: unknown photographer, courtesy Marcus Zikaras.
TZ0016
*Trauer (Mourning); also known as Liūdesys (Sorrow), 1948*
Terracotta.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
**Exhibited:** *Ausstellung der Litauischen Kunst, Augustiner-Museum, Freiburg im Breisgau, 15-31 March 1949,* catalogue no. 118 (as *Trauer*).
**Literature:** Freiburg, 1949, no. 118; (?) *Mūsų kelias*, 1949, p. 5; Langwarrin, 2009, p. 3, b&w illustration p. 3 (where mis-titled *Lindesys*).
**Photo:** Photopress Bilderdienst, Artur Hindrichs, Heidelberg-Schlierbach, courtesy Marcus Zikaras.

TZ0017
*Po Kryžium (Under the Cross); later also known as Ludzeja Meitene (Requesting Girl), c. 1948*
Terracotta.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown (possibly private collection, USA).
**Literature:** Augius and Petravičius, 1948, b&w illustration p. 71; (?) New York, 1949 a; (?) Chicago, 1950; unidentified Latvian newspaper clipping dated 16 February 1953, Ken Scarlett archive Zikaras AAA file, SLV, b&w illustration; Vizgirda, 1966 a, b&w illustration p. 100.
**Photo:** (a) unknown photographer reproduced in Augius and Petravičius, 1948, p. 71, and in Vizgirda, 1966 a, p.
100; (b) Photopress Bilderdienst, Artur Hindrichs, Heidelberg-Schlierbach, courtesy Marcus Zikaras.

Titled *Po Kryžium* (which translates as *Under the Cross*) in the 1966 encyclopaedia entry by Vizgirda, where also stated to be in terracotta and dated 1945. The second photograph illustrated above (b) is Titled *Po Kryžium* and stated to be in terracotta and dated 1948. There are also instructions (illegible) in English for a newspaper, with ‘Cheltenham’ readable. I have followed the later dating, 1948, as stylistically the work has more in common with Zikaras’ work done in Melbourne than the earlier neoclassical Freiburg period.

TZ0018

**Biustas (Bust), 1948**

Terracotta.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
*Photo*: unknown photographer, courtesy Marcus Zikaras.
Possibly a portrait of the artist’s first wife, Skaidrite Veiss.

TZ0020

**Skausmas (Pain), 1948**

Terracotta.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
*Literature*: Langwarrin, 2009, p. 3, where titled *Skausmas (Suffering)*.
*Photo*: unknown photographer, courtesy Marcus Zikaras.

TZ0019

**Female nude with arm extended over her head, c. 1948**

Plaster or clay.
70 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.
*Literature*: Borthwick, 2012, pp. 41, 187, 247, fig. 54, also visible on p. 74, fig. 120.
*Photo*: unknown photographer, courtesy Ken Scarlett.
Appendix C: Teisutis Zikaras

TZ0021

Gimimas (Birth), 1948
Terracotta.
Dimensions unknown.
Signed and dated on front lower right panel of base: ‘T ZIKARAS 48’.
Whereabouts unknown.
Photo: Photopress Bilderdienst, Artur Hindrichs, Heidelberg-Schlierbach, courtesy Marcus Zikaras.
The inscription on reverse of the above photograph gives the title and medium. The photograph is dated 1949 on reverse but the work is clearly dated 1948.

TZ0022

Couple embracing, c. 1948-49
Terracotta.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown (presumed private collection, USA).
Photo: unknown photographer, courtesy Marcus Zikaras.
The above photograph from the Zikaras archive is simply annotated ‘USA’. I have dated the work c. 1948-49 owing to its similarity with Birth and because it apparently went to an American collection.

TZ0023

Sauksina (woman with head thrown back in anguish), c. 1948-52
Terracotta.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown (presumed private collection, USA).
Literature: Borthwick, 2012, pp. 46, 267, fig. 63 (where titled Female figure, c. 1952).
Photo: unknown photographer, courtesy Marcus Zikaras.
The photo in the Zikaras archive has been annotated by Ken Scarlett: ‘Sauksina [sic], 1952, USA 32’. Sauksina does not translate in either Lithuanian or Latvian. It may be a misprint of Skausmas, meaning pain. The date of 1952 is also questionable. Stylistically and compositionally, this work has more in common with Gimimas (Birth) and Couple embracing and, like these two, reveals the impact of Picasso, whose work was first encountered directly in Freiburg. The fact that it also appears to gone to a private collection in the USA suggests it was created in Freiburg and purchased or gifted to someone who afterwards emigrated to the USA.
Melbourne, 1949-60

TZ0024
*Title unknown (seated woman leaning forward), c. 1949-52*
Terracotta or plaster.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
**Photo:** unknown photographer, courtesy Marcus Zikaras.
The emphasis on the massive primitive feet and schematic features is shared with *Sauksina* (see previous entry), yet the motif of the seated woman with rounded limbs belongs more clearly with a body of works that Zikaras executed during his first years in Australia. Ken Scarlett has numbered the photograph in the Zikaras archive D129.

TZ0025.1
*Title unknown (sleeping woman, relief), c. 1949-52*
(?) Clay relief.
100 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.
**Photo:** unknown photographer, courtesy Marcus Zikaras.

TZ0025.2
*Title unknown (sleeping woman, relief), c. 1949-52*
Plaster relief.
100 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.
**Exhibited:** Private exhibition, Clayton, Vic., 1952 (no catalogue traced but visible in installation photographs).
**Photo:** unknown photographer, courtesy Marcus Zikaras.
A framed plaster cast of the above clay relief is clearly visible in a photograph of Zikaras taken c. 1952.
Appendix C: Teisutis Zikaras

**TZ0026**  
*Portrait of the artist’s son, c. 1950-51*  
Plaster or stone on wooden base  
20 cm high approx.  
Whereabouts unknown.  
**Photos:** (a) unknown photographer,  
Juozas Zikaras Museum, Kaunas, ref. ZA 361; (b) unknown photographer,  
courtesy Marcus Zikaras.  
A portrait of the artist’s eldest child, Rene,  
born 13 October 1949, this is also the last  
documented work in Zikaras’ neoclassical  
style (the vacant eyes a hallmark of  
neoclassicism). I have dated it to c. 1950-51  
based on the infant’s apparent age in the  
portrait. A copy of the above photograph (a)  
in the Juozas Zikaras Museum, Kaunas, is  
indistinctly inscribed on reverse: ‘Čia nuėias /  
mėinas iš mano realistic darbų mano sūnus  
portretas kaomet jis buvo vėsus metų amžius.  
Sis darbas yra tiktai užfiksavimas pavizūtinių  
farmas ir išriškas Mano tradicinį realistinę  
forma, dika mano branjo maikydo visų tūkstančių  
yra ... bet įeškėjimas didesnes gilesnes  
filosofines expresijas... yra mano kelias /  
būrybimas. Šio metu. Autaras’, which I  
translate approximately as ‘Here is a portrait of  
my son in his second year. It is a form of  
traditional realistic portraiture but most of my  
work is now expressionist... This is my way.  
Signed: the author’. The portrait is also visible  
in a photograph of Zikaras in Melbourne, taken  
circa 1951 (see above, b).

![TZ0026 Portrait of the artist’s son, c. 1950-51](image)

**TZ0027**  
*Rūpintojėlis (small sorrowing Christ), 1951*  
Plaster.  
Dimensions unknown.  
Whereabouts unknown.  
**Photo:** unknown photographer,  
courtesy Marcus Zikaras.

Ken Scarlett has annotated the above  
photograph among the Zikaras archive  
‘Smutkelis 1951 (Figure of Christ) plaster of  
Paris’. However, there is no Lithuanian word  
‘Smutkelis’ and in the absence of the original  
inscribed photograph it is difficult to guess at  
the original inscription. The subject, however,  
is of a typical *Rūpintojėlis* or ‘Sorrowful God’.

![TZ0027 Rūpintojėlis (small sorrowing Christ), 1951](image)

**TZ0028**  
*Face, 1951*  
Plaster of Paris, painted green to  
simulate bronze, on wooden base.  
30.0 x 16.0 x 8.0 cm  
Signed and dated lower right: ‘T  
ZIKARAS 51’.  
Collection of Gabrielius Žemkalnis,  
Melbourne.  
Provenance: Purchased by architect  
Vytautas Landsbergis-Žemkalnis (1893-1993) in 1951; Thence by  
descent.  
Exhibited: Private exhibition, Clayton,  
Vic., 1952 (no catalogue traced but  
visible in installation photographs in an  
unpatinated form); *Exhibition of*
Lithuanian Artists in Australia, Mark Foy's Art Gallery, Sydney, 7-19 September 1953, catalogue no. 72 (as *Face*, plaster of Paris, NFS); *Teisutis Zikaras: Sculpture and Drawings*, McClelland Gallery and Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 10 May - 19 July 2009, catalogue no. 1 (as *Face*, 1951, plaster of Paris, painted green to simulate bronze, on wooden base, 30.0 x 16.0 x 8.0 cm, purchased by Vytautas Landsbergs-Žemkalnis in 1951; now in possession of Gabrielius Žemkalnis).

**Literature:** Sydney, 1953 Sept, no. 72; Kazokas, 1992, vol. 1, p. 181, and vol. 2, colour illustration fig. 176 (where referred to as *Head*, 1952); Kazokas, 2003 a, p. 127; Langwarrin, 2009, p. 10, no. 1; Borthwick, 2012, pp. 53, 291, fig. 77 (as *Head*, c. 1951).

**Photos:** (a and b) the author.

*Face* of 1951 is modelled in low relief, with an apparent crudeness and intensity of expression such as is found in the work of many other modernists, notably Rouault. Despite this intensity, the face has a brooding, introspective appearance – largely owing to the eyes, which are narrowed to deep, impenetrable slits. The eyes point in opposing directions and cannot be seen together in their entirety – a distortion of vision typical of Cubism. However, the main influences discernible here are African and Polynesian carving as well as Lithuanian folk carving. The form of the eye resembles the ‘coffee bean eyes’ of pre-Columbian sculpture. Zikaras has painted the plaster with green paint to simulate a verdigris typical of copper or some bronze sculptures. The paint retains a vividness in the deep crevices, but has mellowed to a deeper grey-green on the flattened surfaces. Three vertical, parallel scratches to the gaunt and concave cheek indicate violence and suffering. The reverse side of the face has not been modelled at all; it is designed to be viewed from one side only.

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*Sēdi Moteris (Sitting Woman)*, possibly also known as *Sēdinti Mergina (Seated Girl)*, 1951

(? Bronze.

40 cm high approx.

Whereabouts unknown.

**Exhibited:** Private exhibition, Clayton, Vic., 1952 (no catalogue traced but mentioned in a review).

**Literature:** (?) Vaičaitis, 1953, p. 234.

**Photos:** (a and b) unknown photographer, courtesy Marcus Zikaras.

In his profile article on Teisutis Zikaras, Adófis Vaičaitis mentioned the inclusion of a work title *Sēdinti Mergina (Seated Girl)* at the artist’s 1952 exhibition and found it indicative of the influence of Moore and Marini (Vaičaitis, 1953, p. 234). The reference is most likely to the present work.
TZ0030.1
Klūpėjimas Mergina (Kneeling Girl, later known as Kneeling Figure), 1952
Clay.
100 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.
Photos: (a and b) unknown photographer, courtesy Marcus Zikaras.
Ken Scarlett has annotated Marcus Zikaras’ photographs: ‘Khiqueuti mirgai ten [sic] 1952 Plaster of Paris, 1954 CAS exhibition ‘Kneeling Girl’’. On this basis I have dated TZ0030.1 and TZ0030.2 to 1952. However, the reference to the 1954 CAS exhibition actually applies to the plaster version (TZ0030.2) not the present clay version.

TZ0030.2
Klūpėjimas Mergina (Kneeling Girl, later known as Kneeling Figure), 1952
Plaster.

100 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Private exhibition, Clayton, Vic., 1952 (no catalogue traced but visible in installation photographs);
Contemporary Art Society Exhibition, Tye's Gallery, 100 Bourke Street, Melbourne, 6-23 April 1954, catalogue no. 134 (as Kneeling Girl, plaster, 40 gns); [Title unknown; gallery's first exhibition], Australian Galleries, Collingwood, Vic., June 1956, catalogue no. 248 (as Kneeling Figure, plaster for bronze, 35 gns, or cast in bronze, 135 gns); [Title unknown; gallery's second exhibition], Australian Galleries, Collingwood, Vic., September 1956, catalogue no. 248 (as Kneeling Figure, plaster for bronze, 35 gns, or cast in bronze, 135 gns).

Literature: Melbourne, 1954 April, no. 134; Age, 1954 April 6, p. 2; McCulloch, 1954 April 7; Collingwood, June 1956, no. 248; McCulloch, 1956 June 6; Collingwood, Sept 1956, no. 248.

Photo: unknown photographer, courtesy Marcus Zikaras.
This work was singled out for praise in The Age art critic’s review of the reformed CAS exhibition, at Tye’s Gallery in 1954: ‘Among artists acknowledging the eternal problems of art are … T. Zikaros [sic], with two finely modelled little bronze [sic] figures’ (Age, 1954 April 6, p. 2). In fact Zikaras showed three works at that show: the present work in plaster (possibly toned to imitate bronze), Standing Figure, c. 1954 (TZ0039), which was also toned plaster, and another described as ‘Komposition, vaire’, which has tentatively been matched with Composition, c. 1954 (TZ0040). The Herald critic (mostly likely Alan McCulloch) found Zikaras’ work among the most interesting of the 200 odd works on display at the newly opened Australian Galleries in June 1956 (McCulloch, 1956 June 6). In the catalogue for that show, two prices were listed for this work: one for plaster and one for bronze. It is probable that Zikaras would only have gone ahead with the expense of bronze casting if he had a firm order; whether this occurred is unknown.
Motherhood; possibly originally known as Belaukiant (Waiting) or Expecting, 1952

Plaster of Paris with shellac.
35.7 x 28.5 x 14.5 cm
Signed indistinctly with initials along lower right edge: ‘TZ’.
Newcastle Art Gallery, NSW.

Provenance: Collection of Bella and Phillip Shulman, Kew, until c. 1972; exchanged with the artist for a bronze cast (see TZ00...2); with the Joseph Brown Gallery at the time of the artist’s death in 1991 and used then for at least a further two bronze casts; gift of Dr Joseph Brown, AO, OBE, 16 December 1992. Accession no. 1992.17.

Exhibited: (?) Private exhibition, Clayton, Vic., 1952 (no catalogue traced but mentioned in a review); (?) Exhibition of Lithuanian Artists in Australia, Mark Foy's Art Gallery, Sydney, 7-19 September 1953, catalogue no. 70 (as Expecting, plaster of Paris, NFS); Teisutis Zikaras solo exhibition, Victorian Artists’ Society Galleries, East Melbourne, opened 13 June 1955 (catalogue untraced but visible in a photograph of the exhibition installation); Teisutis Zikaras: Sculpture and Drawings, McClelland Gallery and Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 10 May - 19 July 2009, catalogue no. 2 (as Motherhood, 1952, plaster of Paris painted yellow, 35.7 x 28.5 x 14.5 cm, collection of Newcastle Region Art Gallery, gift of Dr Joseph Brown, AO, OBE, 1992).


Photos: (a and b) the author.

Provenance details are from the McClelland Gallery accession records (Zikaras file, Ken Scarlett notes). The enclosed, organic form of Motherhood has a noticeable surface texture, revealing the artist’s thumbprints where he has gently nudged the original clay into small, overlapping scales (‘thruppeny bits’ as Benno Schotz called them). Details are lightly incised into this texture, with shallow engraved lines indicating hair, facial features and the simple rounded collar of the woman’s top. The parallel lines used to indicate hair are very similar to those used in medieval stone sculpture, whilst the large empty eyes are reminiscent of Egyptian statuary. The sitter’s arm curls protectively around an unseen babe. This is not a mother and child subject, but rather a more abstract notion of motherhood. Indeed it may have originally been exhibited under the title Waiting or Expecting. Adolfas Vaičaitis referred to a work titled Belaukiant (Waiting) at the artist’s 1952 exhibition (Vaičaitis, 1953, p. 234), while the 1953 exhibition at Mark Foy’s Gallery in Sydney included a work of Zikaras’ titled Expecting.
Motherhood, 1952
35.0 x 27.0 x 13.5 cm
Signed at the front of base: ‘T ZIKARAS’.
Provenance: TMAG cast purchased from the Sixteenth Tasmanian Art Gallery Exhibition, 1972; the cast in the private collection, Kew, exchanged with the artist for the plaster c. 1972.
Exhibited: Sixteenth Tasmanian Art Gallery Exhibition, Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, Hobart, Tasmania, opened 27 June 1972, catalogue no. 38 (as Teisutis Zikaras, Motherhood, $1,200); Teisutis Zikaras: Sculpture and Drawings, McClelland Gallery and Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 10 May - 19 July 2009, catalogue no. 3 (as Motherhood, 1952, bronze, 35.0 x 27.0 x 13.5 cm, private collections, Melbourne).
Literature: Hobart, 1972, no. 38; Kazokas, 1992, vol. 1, p. 181, vol. 2, fig. 175 (where mistakenly stated to be terracotta, coll. Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery); Kazokas, 1997, b&w illustration p. 41 (where described as a terracotta); Kazokas, 2003 a, p. 127, illustrated p. 126 (where described as a terracotta); Langwarrin, 2009, pp. 7, 10, no. 3.
Photos: (a and b) the author.
Provenance details are from the McClelland Gallery accession records (Zikaras file, Ken Scarlett notes).

Title unknown, possibly Kompozicija (Composition), 1952
Wire on a terracotta base.
50 cm high approx.
Signed and dated at front of base lower right: ‘T ZIKARAS / -52’.
Provenance: TMAG cast purchased from an exhibition.
Exhibited: Private exhibition, Clayton, Vic., 1952 (no catalogue traced but visible in installation photographs and possibly referenced in a review); Teisutis Zikaras solo exhibition, Victorian Artists’ Society Galleries, East Melbourne, opened 13 June 1955 (catalogue untraced but visible in a photograph of the exhibition).
**Female Figure (with hands crossed, possibly Eve), c. 1952**

(?) Bronze.
40 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.

**Exhibited:** Private exhibition, Clayton, Vic., 1952 (no catalogue traced but visible in installation photographs).

**Literature:** McCulloch, 1968, b&w illustration p. 663; Kazokas, 1992, b&w illustration, vol. 1, p. 182; vol. 2, fig. 177; Kazokas, 2003 a, p. 128.

**Photos:** (a) unknown photographer, reproduced in McCulloch, 1968, p. 663; (b) unknown photographer, courtesy Marcus Zikaras.

**TZ0034 Rūpintojėlis, The Lord of Sorrows; later known as Liūdesys (Sorrow), c. 1952**

Plaster of Paris, toned for bronze.
40 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.

**Exhibited:** Private exhibition, Clayton, Vic., 1952 (no catalogue traced but visible in installation photographs); Exhibition of Lithuanian Artists in Australia, Mark Foy's Art Gallery, Sydney, 7-19 September 1953, catalogue no. 71 (as Rūpintojėlis - The Lord of Sorrows, plaster of Paris, NFS), won second prize; Victorian Sculptors' Society Annual Exhibition of Sculpture, Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, East Melbourne 9-20 November 1953 (catalogue untraced); Teisutis Zikaras solo exhibition, Victorian Artists’ Society Galleries, East Melbourne, opened 13 June 1955, catalogue no. 10 (as Lord of Sorrows; further details unknown as catalogue untraced but visible in a photograph of the exhibition installation).

**Literature:** Sydney, 1953 Sept, no. 71, full page illustration p. [1]; Gleeson, 1953 Sept 7; Daily Telegraph, 1953 Sept 7; Meie Kodu, 1953 Sept 10, p. 2; Mūsu Pastogė, 1953 Sept 16; Le Courrier Australien, 1953 Sept 18; Age, 1953 Nov 10, p. 2; McCulloch, 1953

Photo: unknown photographer, Juozas Zikaras Museum, Kaunas, ref. ZA 360. The photograph in the Juozas Zikaras Museum, reproduced above, is inscribed on reverse with the medium given as bronze and the title as ‘Sorrow’ (in English). However, the Mark Foy catalogue of 1953 gives the title and medium as Rūpinotojėlis, The Lord of Sorrows, plaster of Paris, and reproduces the same work. It is unknown whether Zikaras ever succeeded in casting the work in bronze. The reviewer for The Age described the work as a ‘tiny bronze’, when it was exhibited at the VSS in November 1953 (Age, 1953 Nov 10, p. 2). Interestingly, The Age critic was one of very few who found this work pleasing, describing it as ‘one of the most impressive professional works’ in the VSS exhibition, ‘wrought with intensity, this tiny bronze has a timeless quality linking the art of past ages with that of the present’ (Age, 1953 Nov 10, p. 2). The same critic later described it as pre-eminent among what he considered to be the best display of the VSS since their foundation in 1949 (Age, 1953 Dec 24, p. 14). Alan McCulloch, reviewing the same exhibition, also praised ‘the work of artists such as Teisutis Zikaras and Julius Kane [which] springs obviously from a solid traditional core, yet there is in it also a sense of urgency which tells us immediately that these artists have added to the vocabulary of the form-language some words of their own’ (McCulloch, 1955 Nov 10). The Bulletin critic predictably found it ‘eccentric’ (Bulletin, 1953 Nov 18).

Similarly, when The Lord of Sorrows was earlier shown in Sydney, in September 1953, James Gleeson found it ‘unimaginative’ (Gleeson, 1953 Sept 7) while another Sydney critic thought it ‘unfortunately showed over-emphasis on one arm and the feet’ (Le Courrier Australien, 1953 Sept 18). The work was again shown in Melbourne at the artist’s solo exhibition, in 1955, and is just visible in a photograph of the exhibition installation. Reviewing the 1955 show, Arnold Shore wrote: ‘His regard for design impels a convincing simplicity of style, and his power of religious feeling gives force to Lord of Sorrows and Pieta’ (Shore, 1955 June 14, p. 9). Alan Warren felt that these same two works differed from the rest of the sculpture on display, which he described as ‘impersonal and unemotional’ while also praising the exhibition as a whole (Warren, 1955 June 14, p. 20). Alan McCulloch wrote: ‘Among the most impressive of the sculptures shown are: Composition (1), Pieta (2), a simple yet very complete conception, Lord of Sorrows (10), and Composition (6)’ (McCulloch, 1955 June 15).

Genovaitė Kazokienė has more recently written of the work, describing its air of ‘fatalistic passivity, submission and retreat into an inner meditation’ as typical of Lithuanian folk art (Kazokas, 1992, p. 181; Kazokas, 2003 a, p. 127). Ken Scarlett rightly questions this and suggests that stylistically the work has more in common with German Expressionism (Scarlett in Langwarrin, 2009, p. 4), although he appears to be conflating the present work with another: Composition; see TZ0042.

TZ0035
Crucifixion, c. 1952-53
Bronze (?) mounted on wooden crucifix.
Figure: 29 x 27.5 cm; cross: 39.5 x 35.5 cm
St Thomas More College, University of Western Australia.
TZ0036

Lying Woman, 1952
Plaster, possibly with shellac.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: *Exhibition of Lithuanian Artists in Australia*, Mark Foy's Art Gallery, Sydney, 7-19 September 1953, catalogue no. 68 (as Lying Woman, plaster of Paris, NFS); Teisutis Zikaras solo exhibition, Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, East Melbourne, opened 13 June 1955 (catalogue untraced but visible in a photograph of the exhibition installation).
Literature: Sydney, 1953 Sept, no. 68; Borthwick, 2012, pp. 43, 247, 260, fig. 58 (as Figure, 1952).
Photo: unknown photographer, courtesy Marcus Zikaras.

TZ0037

Expecting, c. 1953
Plaster of Paris.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: *Exhibition of Lithuanian Artists in Australia*, Mark Foy's Art Gallery, Sydney, 7-19 September 1953, catalogue no. 70 (as Expecting, plaster of Paris, NFS).
Literature: Sydney, 1953 Sept, no. 70; Meie Kodu, 1953 Sept 10, p. 2.
This is possibly a duplicate record of *Motherhood, 1952* (TZ00... .1).

TZ0038

Sitting Figure; later known as Sitting Woman and Untitled, seated figure of a woman, c. 1953
Bronze.
96.5 x 29.0 x 40.5 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Monash University Museum of Art, Melbourne.
Provenance: Gift of Dr Joseph Brown, AO, OBE, September 1976.
Accession no. 1976.18.
Exhibited: *Victorian Sculptors' Society annual exhibition*, VAS Galleries, East Melbourne, 5-16 November 1953 (catalogue untraced); *Herald Outdoor Art Show*, Treasury Gardens, Melbourne, 11-19 March 1955, catalogue no. 1365 (as Sitting Figure, sculpture, 60 gns, section Q); *Centre 5*, Geelong Art Gallery, Vic., 5 September - 1973, catalogue no. 4 [TZ] (as Figure, bronze); *Centre 5*, McClelland Gallery, Langwarrin, Vic., 11 November 1973 - 3 February 1974, catalogue no. 1 [TZ] (as Figure, bronze); *This was the Future... Australian sculpture of the 1950s, 60s, 70s and today*, Heide Museum of Modern Art, Bulleen, Vic., 4 October - 7 December 2003 (as Untitled, seated figure of a woman, 1954, bronze, 96.5 x 29 x 40.5 cm, Monash University Collection, gift of Dr Joseph Brown, 1976); *Teisutis Zikaras: Sculpture and Drawings*, McClelland Gallery and Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 10 May - 19 July 2009, catalogue no. 5.
(as *Sitting woman*, c. 1953).


**Photos:** (a) unknown photographer, courtesy Marcus Zikaras; (b) the author.

Formerly dated to 1954, but in 2009 Ken Scarlett revised the date to c. 1953 owing to the existence of a photograph of the finished work in Shore, 1953 Dec. He had earlier inscribed a photograph of the work, among the Zikaras archive: 'Seated Figure 1954 bronze H 91 cm / Sitting Woman when exhibited Herald Outdoor Art Show 1955 / Figure when exhibited Centre 5 Geelong Art Gallery 1973 / Untitled, collection of Monash University'. When first shown at the 1953 VSS exhibition, Arnold Shore commented: 'Sitting Woman, by Teisutis Zikaras, owes much to Modigliani. She seems to have just popped up, and there she is' (Shore, 1953 Dec, p. 28). Zikaras later posed cheekily with the work, sitting beside it on a park bench in the Treasury Gardens for a Herald photographer. The caption read: 'A sculptor and his art sit side by side on a bench in Treasury Gardens today, patiently waiting for a space to be allotted in The Herald Outdoor Art Show. The sculptor is Zikaras Teisutis [sic], of Clayton; the sculpture, *Sitting Woman*. The show opens on Friday' (Herald, 1955 Mar 8). The work provoked at least one bewildered comment in the press: 'Like many ordinary folk, we appreciate things of beauty in art but have yet to learn why men and women, of undoubted abilities in their own sphere, spend much time and effort on such deformed objects as shown in this photograph. ... [Maybe] our Clayton friend could endeavour to initiate us into the mysteries of the idea behind these objects?' (Read, 1955). With her hair pulled back in a modest bun, hands modestly crossed in her lap, elongated facial features delicately modelled in bas-relief, and large vacant eyes staring ahead, *Sitting Figure* is the very image of chaste womanhood. Zikaras seemingly draws on both ancient and modern sources for his imagery: from the sorts of African carvings that inspired Brancusi to the self-contained poise of a Maillol figure.

**TZ039 Standing Figure,** c. 1954
Possibly bronze or plaster patinated a bronze colour or ciment fondu.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

**Exhibited:** *Contemporary Art Society Exhibition*, Tye's Gallery, 100 Bourke Street, Melbourne, 6-23 April 1954, catalogue no. 129 (as *Standing Figure*, plaster, 30 gns); Teisutis Zikaras solo exhibition, Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, East Melbourne, opened 13 June 1955 (catalogue untraced but visible in a photograph of the exhibition installation).

**Literature:** Melbourne, 1954 April, no. 129; McCulloch, 1954 April 7.

**Photo:** unknown photographer, courtesy Marcus Zikaras.

This is just visible in a photograph of the 1954 CAS exhibition at Tye's Gallery, found at the rear of the Julius Kane memorial album at the SLV (see Last, 1963).
TZ0040

Composition, c. 1954

Cast cement.
100 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.

Exhibited: (?) Contemporary Art Society Exhibition, Tye's Gallery, 100 Bourke Street, Melbourne, 6-23 April 1954, catalogue no. 128 (as Komposition, vaire, 25 gns); Victorian Sculptors' Society Annual Exhibition of Sculpture, Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 19-29 October 1954, catalogue no. 18 (as Composition, cast cement, 45 gns); Arts Festival of the Olympic Games, Wilson Hall, University of Melbourne, 21 November - 15 December 1956, catalogue no. 49 (as Composition, cast concrete).

Literature: (?) Melbourne, 1954 April, no. 128; (?) McCulloch, 1954 April 7; East Melbourne, 1954 Oct, no. 18; Shore, 1954 Oct 19, p. 11; Parkville, 1956, no. 49; Age, 1956 Nov 20, p. 2; McCulloch, 1956 Nov 28, p. 16; Nicholls, 1956, p. 2, illustrated; Readers Digest, 1957 April, visible in colour photograph on front cover.

Photos: (a) The Age photographer, reproduced in Nicholls, 1956, p. 2 (detail); (b) unknown photographer, Juozas Zikaras Museum, Kaunas, ref. ZA 359.

The influence of Hermann Blumenthal would appear to be apparent here. When this work was shown at the 1954 VSS exhibition, Arnold Shore commented: ‘Modern regard for form in the abstract affects many of the exhibits, particularly Norma Redpath's Bird Forms (32), and compositions by Teisutis Zikaras and Clifford Last’ (Shore, 1954 Oct 19, p. 11).

The work was again shown in 1956 at the Arts Festival of the Olympic Games, where Alan McCulloch singled it out for praise as one of the few sculptures that was able to stand up to the overpowering presence of Douglas Annand’s mural on the back wall of Wilson Hall (McCulloch, 1956 Nov 28, p. 16).

TZ0041

Head, c. 1954

Jarrah or red gum, mounted on marble base.
36.5 x 10.0 x 10.5 cm
Signed at base of neck: ‘T ZIKARAS’.
Private collection, Hawthorn, Vic.


Exhibited: (?) Victorian Sculptors' Society Annual Exhibition of Sculpture, Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 19-29 October 1954, catalogue no. 16 (as Head, wood, 20 gns); Six Sculptors, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 21 July - 30 August 1959, catalogue no. 36 (as Head, 1956 [sic], wood); (?) Centre
Appendix C: Teisutis Zikaras

Five Sculptures, Newcastle City Art Gallery, Newcastle, NSW, 6-30 September 1963, catalogue no. 10 (as Head, wood, 100 gns); Centre 5, Geelong Art Gallery, Vic., 5 September - ? 1973, catalogue no. 2 [TZ] (as Head, red gum and marble); Centre 5, McClelland Gallery, Langwarrin, Vic., 11 November 1973 - 3 February 1974, catalogue no. 2 [TZ] (as Head, red gum and marble); Spring Exhibition, Joseph Brown Gallery, Melbourne, 18-29 October 1976, catalogue no. 44 (as Head Study, illustrated); Centre Five at Heide, Heide Park and Art Gallery, Bulleen, Vic., 27 October - 9 December 1984, catalogue no. 31 (as Head, c. 1960 [sic], Jarrah, 36.5 x 10 x 12 cm, collection Joseph Brown Gallery); Sculpture: The Joseph Brown Collection, McClelland Gallery + Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 1 July - 9 September 2001 (as Head, 1960 [sic], wood on marble base, 37.0 x 10.0 x 11.0 cm); Teisutis Zikaras: Sculpture and Drawings, McClelland Gallery and Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 10 May - 19 July 2009, catalogue no. 4 (as Composition, Lord of Sorrows, plaster for bronze, 30 gns).

TZ0042
Composition (later known as Lord of Sorrows), c. 1954
Plaster of Paris, formerly patinated bronze but later painted white.
59.0 x 28.0 x 21.0 cm
Signed along edge of right arm: ‘T ZIKARAS’.
Collection of Rene Zyren (or Zhiren).
Provenance: By descent from the artist.
Exhibited: (?) Victorian Sculptors' Society Annual Exhibition of Sculpture, Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 19-29 October 1954, catalogue no. 17 (as Composition, plaster for bronze, 30 gns); Teisutis Zikaras solo exhibition, Victorian Artists’ Society Galleries, East Melbourne, opened 13 June 1955, either as catalogue nos. 1 or 6 (both titled Composition), catalogue untraced but visible in a photograph of the exhibition installation; (?) Olympic Exhibition, Gallery of Contemporary Art, Tavistock Place, Melbourne, 16 November - ? December 1956, catalogue no. 74 (as Composition, 48 gns); Teisutis Zikaras: Sculpture and Drawings, McClelland Gallery and Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 10 May - 19 July 2009, catalogue no. 4 (as Composition, Lord of Sorrows, annual exhibition. It was certainly included in the Six Sculptors exhibition of 1959 for it is visible in the background of a photograph taken at that exhibition (reproduced in The Sun, 22 July 1959).
1953, plaster of Paris with simulated bronze finish, 59.0 x 28.0 x 21.0 cm, incised T ZIKARAS, collection of Rene Zyren).


**Photos:** (a and b) the author.

This was almost certainly first exhibited at the 1954 VSS exhibition under the title of Composition (no. 17). The Age art critic, reviewing that show, noted: ‘Composition (17) by T. Zikaras, is another work of religious significance. Therein the semi-abstract carving [sic] suggests the agony of Christ’ (Age, 1954 Oct 20, p. 2). It was certainly included in Zikaras’ solo exhibition the next year, held at the VAS Galleries (catalogue untraced). The work is just visible in a photograph of that exhibition’s installation, from which it appears to have been patinated a bronze colour. Alan McCulloch praised it in his review of the 1955 solo show: ‘Among the most impressive of the sculptures shown are: Composition (1), Pieta (2), a simple yet very complete conception, Lord of Sorrows (10), and Composition (6)’. The work was illustrated alongside this review and captioned Composition. The subject matter is closely related to the Lithuanian motif of the Rūpintojėlis (the pensive or sorrowing Christ) although in the latter Christ was usually depicted with head on one hand. Here, the bound arms emphasise Christ’s suffering and martyrdom – tying the work more generally to a ‘man of sorrows’ theme. Interestingly, the pitted and pocked surface texture recalls the roughly planed surface of a piece of wood while the severely stylised forms, constrained within a single rectilinear form, suggest a work carved from a single piece of wood rather than modelled in clay (as would actually have been the case, prior to its being cast in plaster). Germaine Richier similarly drew upon the suggestion of wood and bark in her large crucifix for the church of Assy (1950), referencing the lines from Isaiah 53: ‘For he shall grow up... as a root out of dry ground; he hath no form not comeliness... He is despised and rejected of men... a man of sorrows’.

Zikaras’ imagery of an emaciated figure coupled with the bound arms and empty-eyed stare also brings to mind documentary photographs of malnourished survivors of the camps released after WWII.

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**TZ0043.1**

*Study for Mermaid, c. 1955*

Clay.

40.0 cm high approx.

Whereabouts unknown.

Photo: unknown photographer, courtesy Marcus Zikaras.

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**TZ0043.2**

*Mermaid, c. 1955*

Plaster patinated bronze.

80.0 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.

**Exhibited:** *Herald Outdoor Art Show*, Treasury Gardens, Melbourne, 11-19 March 1955, catalogue no. 1364 (as *Mermaid*, sculpture, 50 gns, section Q).

**Literature:** Melbourne, 1956 March, no. 1364; Herald, 1955 March 17, b&w illustration; Borthwick, 2012, pp. 39, 241, fig. 50.

**Photos:** (a) Zikaras standing beside work at home, prior to bronze patination; unknown photographer, reproduced in Herald, 1955 March 17; (b) Zikaras with the work at the 1956 Herald Outdoor Art Show; unknown photographer, courtesy Marcus Zikaras, Hurstbridge, Vic.

Zikaras was photographed for *The Herald* with this work at the Herald Outdoor Art Show, alongside the caption: ‘Eye and touch of the craftsman are run critically over his work by sculptor Teisutis Zikaras. The plaster figure is called *Mermaid*. The sculpture is of a single figure, seated, with a flattened semi-spherical head, tapered fin-like legs and the semblance of a spine and rib cage engraved on the front surface of her torso. It possibly refers to the Lithuanian legend of the mermaid Ėtaitė who fell in love with a fisherman, Kastytis. It also relates to Zikaras’ design, *Swimmer*, 1955, for the Beaurepaire Centre at Melbourne University (see TZ0044.1 and TZ0044.2).

**TZ0044.1**

**Swimmer, 1955**

Plaster.

40.0 x 40.0 x 14.0 cm

Collection of Roderick McDonald, Melbourne.

**Provenance:** Unrealised maquette for Beaurepaire Centre for Physical Education, University of Melbourne. Architects Eggleston McDonald and Secomb designed Melbourne University’s Beaurepaire Centre in 1955. It was the firm’s first major project. Roderick McDonald was partner in charge. It is unknown whether McDonald commissioned the present work or whether Zikaras voluntarily offered it as suitable for enlargement for the centre but ultimately it was unrealized. The Beaurepaire Centre is instead notable for its painted and mosaic murals by Leonard French.

**TZ0044.2**

**Swimmer, 1955**

Bronze, believed unique, cast in 2009. 40.0 x 40.0 x 14.0 cm

Signed on left hand side of base: ‘T ZIKARAS’.

Collection of Roderick McDonald, Melbourne.

**Provenance:** Cast in 2009 from an unrealised maquette for Beaurepaire Centre for Physical Education, University of Melbourne.

**Exhibited:** Teisutis Zikaras: Sculpture and Drawings, McClelland Gallery and Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 10 May - 19 July 2009, catalogue no. 7 (as The Simmer, 1955, cast 2009, bronze, 40.0 x 40.0 x 14.0 cm, collection of Roderick McDonald, maquette for Beaurepaire Centre for Physical Education, Melbourne University, but not commissioned).

**Literature:** Langwarrin, 2009, no. 7, p. 10.

**Photos:** (a and b) the author.
TZ0045

**Nymph, c. 1955**

Bronze, possibly an edition of 2. 
53.0 x 22.5 x 17.0 cm

Signed on right hand side of base: ‘T ZIKARAS’.

McClelland Gallery & Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic.

**Provenance:** Acquired by Frederick Owen and Associates from the artist in lieu of legal fees, c. 1980; inherited by David Owen upon his father’s death in 1990; gift of David Owen in memory of Frederick Owen under the Commonwealth Cultural Gifts Program, 2009. Accession no. 2009.06.

**Exhibited:** (?) Fine Arts Week, *(Painting, Sculpture, Pottery)*, Tasmanian Government Tourist Board, 254 Collins Street, Melbourne, November 1955 (catalogue untraced); Centre Five at Heide, Heide Park and Art Gallery, Bulleen, Vic., 27 October - 9 December 1984, catalogue no. 28 (as Nymph, 1957, bronze, 53 x 23 x 20.5 cm, collection Frederick Owen & Associates); Teisutis Zikaras: Sculpture and Drawings, McClelland Gallery and Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 10 May - 19 July 2009, catalogue no. 8 (as Nymph, 1957, bronze, 53.0 x 22.5 x 17.0 cm, incised T ZIKARAS, McClelland Gallery & Sculpture Park collection, gift of David Owen in memory of Frederick Owen, 2009).


**Photos:** (a and b) the author.

The earliest known firmly-established exhibition record of *Nymph* dates to 1984, when it was included in the *Centre Five at Heide* exhibition – a show with which Zikaras had little to no input (his work was included only owing to the efforts of his colleagues and the exhibition’s curators to secure loans). There is therefore some doubt over the title – *Nymph* – and date – 1957 – that have since been ascribed to the work. It is probable that this was Zikaras’ exhibit at the Tasmanian Tourist Bureau exhibition that David Allen curated as part of the self-orchestrated first ‘Fine Arts Week’, in November 1955. *The Age* art critic, reviewing that show, mentioned ‘a flowing female figure by Teisutis Zikaras’ as among the pre-eminent sculptural exhibits in that show (Age, 1955 Nov 22, p. 2). With its sensuous flowing curves – reminiscent of the decorative arabesques in Matisse’s *Dance* – *Nymph* is also much closer stylistically to *Swimmer*, 1955 (TZ0044) than to Zikaras’ works of 1957. On this basis of both of these facts I have re-dated *Nymph* to c. 1955.

Provenance details are from the McClelland Gallery accession records (Zikaras file, Ken Scarlett notes). *Nymph* is clearly visible in the background of William Dargie’s portrait of art dealer Joseph Brown: *Joseph Brown and Bow*, 1975 (see below). A second cast therefore may exist. Brown either owned a toned plaster version of the work, from which it was cast, or else may have owned an edition of the bronze. Interestingly, there is no mention of the Zikaras sculpture in any of the known publications regarding Dargie’s portrait; instead John Perceval’s sculpture, *Two Angels*, and Charles Blackman’s *The Lovers* are usually cited (see for instance Crawford, 2007, p. 128).
Appendix C: Teisutis Zikaras


TZ0046

**Figure (Christ), c. 1955**

Plaster patinated a bronze colour.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
**Exhibited**: Teisutis Zikaras solo exhibition, Victorian Artists’ Society Galleries, East Melbourne, opened 13 June 1955 (catalogue untraced but visible in photographs of the exhibition installation).

**Literature**: McCulloch, 1955 June 15, b&w illustration; Borthwick, 2012, pp. 57, 324, fig. 85.

Photos: (a) at the 1955 solo exhibition; (b) viewed from side; both by an unknown photographer, courtesy Marcus Zikaras.

Comparison with *Pieta*, 1955 (TZ0047.1) shows that this is evidently a figure of Christ.

TZ0047.1

**Pieta, 1955**

Plaster patinated a bronze colour; also described as ciment fondu and as terracotta.
56 cm high.
Whereabouts unknown.
**Provenance**: collection of the artist as of 1984.


Photo: unknown photographer, reproduced in McCulloch, 1984, vol. 2,
b&w illustration 54.
In a highly complimentary review of Zikaras’ solo exhibition at the VAS Galleries, The Age art critic singled out this work and Lord of Sorrows as evidence of the impact of ‘European folk art’ (Age, 1955 June 14, p. 2). Alan McCulloch also singled these two works out as ‘among the most impressive’ in the exhibition (McCulloch, 1955 June 15). Later the same year, Zikaras showed at the annual VSS exhibition a Pieta, plaster for bronze, that was almost certainly the same work. A decade later he again submitted a work titled Pieta to the 1965 Eltham Art Show. It is uncertain whether it was this work or another of the same title. Most likely it was a later marble version, as suggested by both the high price (150 gns) and the fact that he is known to have shown a marble Pieta in an exhibition titled Art and the Church, at the Anglican Church of St. John the Divine, Croydon, Vic., 20 April - 1 May 1967, catalogue no. 85. It is also uncertain whether it was his Pieta or Bride, or both, that won Zikaras the Eltham Art Show committee award, though Bernard Smith’s comment regarding the judging of prizes for the show would indicate that it was Pieta that won Zikaras the award: ‘Again it was no easy matter to decide that Zikaras’s Pieta was superior in quality to the paintings by Edwards and Newbury’ (Smith, 1965 Nov 17, p. 5).

TZ0047.2
Pieta, 1955
Bronze.
55 cm high.
Whereabouts unknown.
Provenance: Sotheby's Australia, Melbourne, 24 October 1993, lot 19 (as Pieta, 1955, bronze, 55 cm high, estimate AU $800-1,000, sold $1,650 IBP).
When offered at Sotheby’s in 1993, a catalogue note referred the reader to McCulloch, 1984, vol. 2, plate 54, ‘for a related work’, indicating that the work offered for sale was indeed bronze and not merely plaster patinated bronze.

TZ0048
Motinai (Mother), c. 1955
Terracotta.
60.0 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Retrospect, Five Years: Victorian Sculptors' Society, Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 21 July - ? 1958, catalogue no. 85 (as Mother, terracotta, 45 gns); Sculpture: Brighton High School Exhibition, Brighton High School, Brighton, Vic., 1959, catalogue no. 33 (as Teisutis Zikaras, Mother, terracotta, 80 gns); Exhibition of Australian Art by Victorian, Interstate and Expatriate Artists for World Refugee Year, Australian Galleries, Collingwood, 7-17 June 1960, catalogue no. 94 (as Mother, terracotta, no price - NFS).
Literature: East Melbourne, 1958 July, no. 85; Shore, 1958 July 22, p. 2; Brighton, 1959, no. 33; Collingwood, 1960 June, no. 94.
Photo: unknown photographer, Juozas Zikaras Museum, Kaunas, ref. ZA 353.
The photograph held by the Juozas Zikaras Museum (ref. ZA 353) is dated to circa 1955. The subject relates to the previous entries for Pieta (TZ0047.1 and TZ0047.2) although here the sense of mourning is given a secular context.
TZ0049

Title unknown (head and torso of a man), c. 1955
Possibly bronze or plaster patinated a bronze colour or ciment fondu.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Photo: at the 1955 solo exhibition; unknown photographer, courtesy Marcus Zikaras, Hurstbridge, Vic.

TZ0050

Composition (man and woman), c. 1955
Cast concrete or possibly ciment fondu.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Teisutis Zikaras solo exhibition, Victorian Artists’ Society Galleries, East Melbourne, opened 13 June 1955 (catalogue untraced but visible in a photograph of the exhibition installation); Third Herald Outdoor Art Show, Treasury Gardens, Melbourne, 8-19 March 1956, catalogue no. 1368 (as Composition, sculpture, NFS, section K).
Photos: (a) at the 1955 solo exhibition; (b) at the 1956 Herald Outdoor Art Show with Clifford Last’s Three Standing Figures, c. 1956 (CL0094) in the background; both by an unknown photographer, courtesy Marcus Zikaras.
This was shown at the 1956 Herald Outdoor Art Show, alongside Zikaras’ controversial Dexion tower, Construction, 1956 (TZ0053). In a Herald feature on the tower, the reporter noted that Zikaras ‘has also entered two drawings and a more-conventional sculpture piece in the show. His other piece of sculpture is a symbolical abstract shape in cast concrete called Man and Woman’ (Herald, 1956 March 6).
St Francis, 1955
Plaster of Paris patinated bronze.
84.0 x 22.0 x 15.5 cm.
Signed and dated on base.
Whereabouts unknown.

Exhibited: Victorian Sculptors’ Society Annual Exhibition of Sculpture, Victorian Artists’ Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 17-29 October 1955, catalogue no. 55 (as St Francis, plaster for bronze, 40 gns); Arts Festival of the Olympic Games, Wilson Hall, University of Melbourne, 21 November - 15 December 1956, catalogue no. 50 (as St Francis, plaster).


Photos: (a) Stephen West, reproduced in Sturgeon, 1978, p. 175 (where described as being a bronze, in the artist’s collection); (b) Athol Shmith, University of Melbourne Archives no. UMA/I/1351.

St Francis is an upright, totemic figure – austere and dignified. The closed mouth and eyes and gaunt physique are suggestive of the saint’s asceticism while the surprisingly muscular arms presumably indicate his strength derived from an outdoors life. A simplified bird – the typical symbol of the saint – perches on the saint’s flattened hand. The overall flattening and severely rigid block-like structure harkens back to the form of much medieval church statuary that was designed to fit into rectangular niches. When first exhibited at the 1955 VSS annual exhibition this work was awarded the Barnett McCutcheon Prize for Religious Sculpture, which attracted a prize of 50 guineas. Second prize went to Guenter Stein for a Crucifixion and honourable mentions went to Norma Redpath and William Hill (Sturgeon, 1978, p. 246, footnote 26). The critics were unanimous in their praise of Zikaras’ entry. Arnold Shore felt the prize was ‘well awarded’ and described St Francis as ‘intense’ (Shore, 1955 Oct 18, p. 9). Alan McCulloch described it as ‘a compact finely realised interpretation of St. Francis, in the manner of Lithuanian peasant carving’ (McCulloch, 1955 Oct 19). Fellow sculptor Ian Bow wrote at length: ‘The major prize-winning piece, St. Francis, by Teisutis Zikaras, is a moving religious symbol and at the same time shows some of the hall-marks of good sculpture. It stands with the dignity of large conception and speaks with the assurance of hard and penetrating work… Particularly
notable is the “bronze” finish to the plaster St. Francis, which resembles the permanent material so closely as to deceive the eye. The architectural treatment of the figure seems mannered by indigenous peasant wood carving, hence the form has almost medieval rigidity rather than articulated repose. The mood, as is usual with Zikaras, is one of sorrow’ (Bow, 1955 b, p. 15). Following Bow’s interpretation, Graeme Sturgeon described the work as ‘strongly influenced by the carved folk art of his native Lithuania’ (Sturgeon, 1978 a, caption, p. 175). Two photographs of the plaster version exist among the Juozas Zikaras Museum archive. JZ354 is a snapshot, which Zikaras sent to his sister, showing the work in plain white plaster prior to patination. JZ357 in the same collection shows this work in the 1956 Wilson Hall exhibition. For further literature and exhibition details see subsequent entries for the bronze versions.

 TZ0051.2  
**St Francis, 1955**
Bronze; edition of 2 plus an artist’s proof. At least one cast patinated brown; another patinated blue-green. 84.0 x 15.5 x 22.0 cm Signed and dated on base. Cast with brown patination (possibly the A/P): whereabouts unknown. Cast with green patination: collection of Fernando Romei, Bon Beach, Vic.  
Provenance: Cast with brown patination (possibly the A/P): Fine Australian Paintings, Sotheby’s, Melbourne, 19 April 1994, lot 167 (where described as *Saint Francis*, 1955, bronze, 84 x 15.5 x 22 cm, signed and dated ’55 on base, estimate AU $3,000-$5,000), sold $4,830 IBP.

 Cast with green patination: made with artist’s permission by Fernando Romei of the F.J. Lemon Foundry, Moorabbin, Vic.  
Photos: (a) Sotheby’s, Melbourne; (b) courtesy Ken Scarlett.  
A note among the McClelland Gallery accession records (Zikaras file) records that the green patinated version is in the collection of Fernando Romei, who in 2008 allowed the McClelland Gallery to have another cast made from his version (see TZ0052.3).

 TZ0051.3
**St Francis, 1955**
Bronze, cast in 2008.  
84.0 x 24.0 x 17.0 cm  
Signed at base: ‘ZIKARAS’.
McClelland Gallery & Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic.  
Provenance: Bronze cast commissioned by the Elisabeth Murdoch Sculpture Foundation, 2008, from the privately held edition belonging to Fernando Romei (see TZ00… .2). Accession no. 2008.13.  
Exhibited: *Teisutis Zikaras: Sculpture and Drawings*, McClelland Gallery and Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 10 May - 19 July 2009, catalogue no. 6 (as *St Francis, 1955, cast 2008, bronze, 84.0 x 24.0 x 17.0 cm, incised ZIKARAS, McClelland Gallery + Sculpture Park Collection, bronze cast commissioned by the Elisabeth Murdoch Sculpture Foundation, 2008; originally plaster of Paris with simulated bronze finish, subsequently cast in bronze).

TZ0052
Composition, c. 1955
Plaster for bronze.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Victorian Sculptors' Society Annual Exhibition of Sculpture, Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 17-29 October 1955, catalogue no. 34 (as Composition, plaster for bronze, 10 gns).
Literature: East Melbourne, 1955, no. 34.

TZ0053
Composition (also known as Construction in Dexion), 1956
Dexion steel.
12.2 m high approx.
Dismantled after exhibition.
Exhibited: Herald Outdoor Art Show, Treasury Gardens, Melbourne, 8-17 March 1956, catalogue no. 1368 (as Composition, sculpture, NFS, gallery K).
Literature: Herald, 1956 March 6; McCulloch, 1956 March 7; Herald, 1956 March 7, p. 3, illustrated with Zikaras standing in front of work alongside dancer Gay MacSween and construction engineer Mr L.

Spackman; Borthwick, 2012, pp. 27, 137-8, 199, 342, fig. 26.
Photo: The Herald Sun, courtesy Marcus Zikaras.

This towering construction was a highlight of the 1956 Herald Outdoor Art Show. It was constructed from Dexion steel, which Zikaras most likely first encountered in 1952 while employed with the Richmond firm of John McIlwraith Industries – a long-established manufacturer and supplier of builders’ and plumbers’ metal and glass hardware (see chapter 3, section 3.3). Two days before the Outdoor Art Exhibition opened, The Herald ran a feature article on the tower, which it dubbed ‘The Monster’. The article merits quoting at length: ‘Four engineers and a sculptor spent today building “The Monster” ... the popular name for an abstract construction piece which will stand at the entrance to the Herald Outdoor Art Show. Today the engineers began to screw “The Monster’s” pieces together, under the sculptor’s supervision. It will tower 40 feet [high] ... [The] only instrument used to make it was a ¼ inch spanner. It is made of perforated aluminium or steel strips of varying lengths – rather like a man-size Meccano set. But the sculptor Teisutis Zikaras does not approve of his work being called “The Monster”. He prefers to call it Construction in Dexion. Dexion is the name of the product of which “The Monster” is constructed. It is normally used for holding cupboards and benches. Thirty-one-year-old Teisutis says it is a good material to work in. Results can be achieved very quickly. He claims it would be ideal for a focal point sculpture piece at the Olympic Games. ... “For heaven’s sake”, he said “tell them before they insult me that Construction in Dexion does not point a moral or tell a story. It is simply a pleasing shape”’ (Herald, 1956 March 6). The following day, Alan McCulloch gave the more considered comment: ‘... this year (in the outdoor Art Show) the experimental trend is epitomised in a “construction” in dexion. Naturally this work, designed by the Lithuanian sculptor, Zikaras, has aroused a great deal of curiosity, and plenty of criticism from those who like their sculpture solid and “in the round”. But when we consider that the main purpose of the work is to animate and enliven the area and arouse feelings of curiosity and interest when viewed from a considerable distance, it assumes a perfectly logical meaning. And, in spite of the limitations of the material and the dimensions, the artist has managed to endow the structure with a certain strange life. By
extending, a little, the imaginative impulse kindled, the spectator is able to determine for himself the possibilities of a new and extremely adaptable material in which, in this case, the talents of the artist, engineer and architect meet in a happy liaison’ (McCulloch, 1956 March 7).

TZ0054.1

*Figure (possibly also known as Female Figure), c. 1956*

Plaster with terracotta patination. 111.8 cm high.

Whereabouts unknown.

*Exhibited:* (?) *Contemporary Art Society of Australia General State Exhibition*, Gallery of Contemporary Art, Tavistock Place, Melbourne, 9-? July 1956, catalogue no. 113 (as *Female Figure*, Sculpture, NFS); *Arts Festival of the Olympic Games*, Wilson Hall, University of Melbourne, 21 November - 15 December 1956, catalogue no. 48 (as *Figure*, plaster).

*Literature:* (?) *The Age*, 1956 July, no. 113; (?) *Age*, 1956 July 11, p. 2; (?) *Warren*, 1956 July 11; Parkville, 1956, no. 48; *Age*, 1956 Nov 20, p. 2; McCulloch, 1956 Nov 28, p. 16; *Readers Digest*, 1957 April, visible in colour photograph on front cover.

*Photo:* At the 1956 Wilson Hall exhibition (visible to the right of the photograph), Athol Shmith, University of Melbourne Archives no. UMA/I/1351.

According to the 1956 CAS exhibition catalogue this was the only sculpture that Zikaras exhibited, alongside a single drawing: *Rituale* (TZW0025). However, Zikaras may have also contributed a number of other sculptures that were not listed in the catalogue, for *The Age* art critic – who felt that, in general, the CAS members had ‘excelled themselves’ – opened his positive review with the words: ‘Contributing to the higher standard is a series of sculptures by T. Zikaras based on Lithuanian folk-art, and three pieces by his fellow countryman V. Jomantas’ (Age, 1956 July 11, p. 2). Alan McCulloch felt that the exhibition was largely ‘rescued’ by cliché by ‘a few stalwarts’ including Zikaras ‘whose sculpture, *Female Figure*, is endowed with characteristic compact grace’ (McCulloch, 1956 July 18). Alan Warren commented that ‘Rhythmic sculpture by Danila Vassilieff and T. Zikaras is handled with skill and vitality’ (Warren, 1956 July 11). In the absence of any photographs of the exhibition installation it is difficult to determine exactly what Zikaras showed but it was almost certainly the same work that he showed a few months later at the Wilson Hall Olympic Arts Festival exhibition, and which is visible in Athol Smith’s photograph (reproduced above). From this photograph it seems that the work was painted to simulate terracotta.

TZ0054.2

*Figure (possibly also known as Female Figure), c. 1956*

Cast cement. 111.8 cm high.

Mr and Mrs C. B. Sheppard, Meadowsbrook, Penn, USA.

*Exhibited:* (?) *Exhibition of Sculpture (also known as Nine Sculptors)*, Peter Bray Gallery, 435 Bourke St, Melbourne, 4-14 March 1957, catalogue no. 27 (as *Figure*, 60 gns); *Junior Australian American Association (JAAA) group exhibition*,
Georges Gallery, Little Collins Street, Melbourne, May 1958, catalogue no. 7 (as Figure, cast cement); (?) Lithuanian Artists in Australia, Victorian Artists’ Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 22-31 December 1958 (as Figure, catalogue untraced). Literature: (?) Melbourne, 1957 March no. 27; (?) McCulloch, 1957 March 6; Melbourne, 1958 May, no. 7; Shore, 1958 May 6, p. 2; McCulloch, 1958 May 7, b&w illustration; (?) Shore, 1958 Dec 23, p. 2.

Photo: The Herald, original held by Marcus Zikaras, where inscribed with name of owner (Mr and Mrs C. B. Sheppard, Meadowsbrook, Penn, USA), medium (cast cement), height (44”) and date (1958 [sic]). The relatively high price of Zikaras’ exhibit, Figure, at the Nine Sculptors exhibition, Peter Bray Gallery, in 1957, would suggest that this was in fact the present work. Alan McCulloch felt the two artists in the show who ‘stand most firmly on their own feet are T. Zikaras, whose Figure (27) and Swimming Figure (26), with their elegant planes and stylistic purity are the major works of the display, and V. Jomantis [sic], represented by a modest study in plaster, Two Heads (28)’ (McCulloch, 1957 March 6).

The following year, in his review of the JAAA exhibition in 1958, McCulloch again singled this work out for praise: ‘Figure (7) by T. Zikaras, is an elegantly complete work’ (McCulloch, 1958 May 7) and it was illustrated alongside the review. Arnold Shore listed Zikaras among those artists who contributed ‘outstanding works’ to the same show (Shore, 1958 May 6, p. 2). Figure was likely again exhibited in December that year, as part of the Lithuanian Artists in Australia exhibition (for which Zikaras was on the steering committee). Arnold Shore warmly commended Zikaras’ exhibits: ‘His Head of Christ, Figure, and Bride, though clearly idiomatic in style, create no doubt of their sincere feeling or formal value’ (Shore, 1958 Dec 23, p. 2) while Alan McCulloch felt the show ‘should enhance the already excellent reputations’ of both Jomantas and Zikaras (McCulloch, 1958 Dec 24).

 TZ0055

**Girl Resting, c. 1956**

Cast cement. 121.9 x 86.4 x 30.5 cm approx. Destroyed.

**Provenance:** Lost in a fire, most likely the artist’s studio fire in 1962.

**Exhibited:** Victorian Sculptors’ Society Annual Exhibition of Sculpture, Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 31 July - 10 August 1956, catalogue no. 36 (as Girl Resting, cement, 80 gns).

**Literature:** East Melbourne, 1956 Aug, no. 36; Age, 1956 July 31, p. 2; Shore, 1956 July 31, p. 10; McCulloch, 1956 Aug 1.

**Photo:** unknown photographer, courtesy Marcus Zikaras, annotated by Ken Scarlett: ‘Figure, cast cement, 48 x 34”, lost in fire, 31’. Reviewing the 1956 VSS exhibition, The Age art critic rated Victor Greenhalgh’s Mother and Child the most impressive work on view, but ‘From a monumental point of view, a Family Group cast in cement by Max Lyle, and a Girl Resting, by Teisutis Zikaras, are the next most impressive sculptures in the display. Both artists have used related angular planes to turn the form of their subjects. The effect is a vigorous and compelling three-dimensional unity’ (Age, 1956 July 31, p. 2). Arnold Shore commented that ‘Teisutis Zikaras makes the strongest feature in Girl Resting’ (Shore, 1956 July 31, p. 10). Alan McCulloch exempted this work from a generally poor review of the overall exhibition (McCulloch, 1956 Aug 1). Another photograph of this work exists among the Jomantas picture collection, SLV: H2007.33/176. Neither the present photograph nor that in the Jomantas...
collection have any title inscribed on them other than Ken Scarlett’s title of Figure. However, given the above reviews, the relatively high price of 80 guineas and the evident large-scale of the work (judged from the photographs), it can be identified with confidence as Girl Resting.

TZ0056
Mother and child (also known as Family), c. 1956-59
Cast cement.
94.0 x 35.0 x 25.0 cm
Signature incised along side of right leg: ‘T ZIKARAS’.
McClelland Gallery & Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic.
Exhibited: (?) Centre Five at Heide, Heide Park and Art Gallery, Bulleen, Vic., 27 October - 9 December 1984, catalogue no. 33 (as Female Figure, c. 1960, cement, 93.9 x 33 x 25.5 cm, private collection); Teisutis Zikaras: Sculpture and Drawings, McClelland Gallery and Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 10 May - 19 July 2009, catalogue no. 9 (as Mother and Child, 1955-59, cast cement, 94.0 x 35.0 x 25.0 cm, incised T ZIKARAS, McClelland Gallery & Sculpture Park collection, gift of Richard and Florence Crichton, 2008).
Literature: Langwarrin, 2009, no. 9, pp. 5, 10, b&w illustration p. 5.
Photos: (a) unknown photographer, courtesy Marcus Zikaras; (b) John Brash, reproduced in Langwarrin, 2009, p. 5.
Photographs of this work in Ken Scarlett’s folder of Zikaras works are inscribed: ‘correct title is Family’. However, there is no evidence of Zikaras ever producing a work of that title. Scarlett also dates the work to c. 1955-59. I have adjusted that slightly to c. 1956-59 on the basis that the closely comparable Girl Resting (TZ0055) can be dated to c. 1956. The dimensions and medium match almost exactly those given for a work included in the Centre Five at Heide exhibition: there nominally titled Female Figure, c. 1960. Mother and child is a cubist derived composition with at least four different planes arranged one in front the other: the mother’s spine, the child’s spine, the straddled legs of the mother and then the front torso and face of the mother. Both figures have semi-spherical heads with single Cyclops eyes akin to those found in Girl Resting. The reduction of the body to a single long blade reoccurs in Figure of 1959 (NGA, see TZ0071). It is cast in porous cement with visible traces of pale pink paint or plaster.
**TZ0057**

*Swimming Figure, 1957*

Plaster for bronze.

150.0 cm long approx.

Whereabouts unknown.

Exhibited: *Exhibition of Sculpture* (also known as *Nine Sculptors*), Peter Bray Gallery, 435 Bourke St, Melbourne, 4-14 March 1957, catalogue no. 26 (as *Swimming Figure*, 45 gns); *Exhibition of Paintings in Settings of Fine Office Furniture*, Australian Galleries, Collingwood, 7-15 August 1958, catalogue no. 41 (as *Swimming Figure*, plaster for metal, 60 gns, or cast in bronze, 220 gns); *Six Sculptors*, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 21 July - 30 August 1959, catalogue no. 35 (as *Swimming Figure*, 1957, plaster for bronze).

Literature: Melbourne, 1957, no. 26; McCulloch, 1957 March 6, b&w illustration; Collingwood, 1958 Aug, no. 41; McCulloch, 1958 Aug 6; Melbourne, 1959 July, no. 35; *Six Sculptors* slides, slide no. 6 and accompanying artist’s notes for teachers, pp. 3-4; Farrago, 1959; Plant, 1970, p. 105; Bulleen, 1984, p. 4; Langwarrin, 2009, p. 5.

Photo: (a) Victorian Visual Education Centre, scanned from slide no. 11-052-20 held at the Visual Cultures Resource Centre, University of Melbourne; (b) reverse of work partially seen at the *Six Sculptors* exhibition, unknown photographer, scanned from an original slide housed with the Aarons papers.

When this work was first exhibited at the Peter Bray Gallery, in 1957, Alan McCulloch praised the ‘elegant planes and stylistic purity’ of this work and Zikaras’ other exhibit, *Figure* (TZ0054.2), and chose a photograph of *Swimming Figure* to illustrate the review. The work was next shown in 1958 at Australian Galleries, Collingwood, in an exhibition of paintings and sculpture alongside office furniture to demonstrate the potential of modern art to elevate the modern office environ. The catalogue for that show listed prices for the work in plaster and in bronze. It is probable that casting in bronze would only have proceeded should a firm order be received. Whether this occurred is unknown. In 1959 *Swimming Figure* featured in the *Six Sculptors* exhibition at the National Gallery of Victoria. Zikaras provided extended texts on this work and his *Horse and Rider* (TZ0063.2) for the Six Melbourne Sculptors slide set and accompanying notes for teachers, from which it is clear that he envisaged this work being scaled up to ten feet (or 3.05 metres) in length. The text merits quoting at length: ‘To give a brief analysis of two pieces of sculpture, the *Horse and Rider*, and the other *Swimming Figure*, it is important to consider two things: firstly, subject matter, and secondly, the material chosen to determine the form of each work. An eventual comparison of the two pieces will stress the significance of the chosen material [p. 4 ff]. The subject-matter in both works is of secondary importance, for the subject itself is only illustrative, it can never be a work of art. ... Material dictates form and, in so doing, it dictates movement and the extent or quality of that movement. There are two different forms to consider here. One sculpture piece is in aluminium [*Horse and Rider*], a cool material requiring a strong definite form. The other piece [*Swimming Figure*] is in bronze, which gives warmth and flexibility, and allows the forms to be suggested with more sensitivity. There are four points of interest in each piece: 1 DISTORTION AND MOVEMENT ... The *Swimming Figure* (bronze) has a strong, unrestricted movement which is emphasised through distortion, and the forms have been so designed as to produce a circulatory movement. 2 STYLE. ... the bronze is organic, and its organic forms are stressed far more than those of the aluminium, because of the flexibility of bronze itself. 3 IMPORTANCE OF SIZE.
Due to financial restrictions it has not been possible to produce these pieces in the most expressive size. The bronze work should be ten feet long… The large size … produces the very epitome of expression, in fact a degree of expressiveness is lost in the reduced scale. The significance lies in the relationship of the forms, which produces a certain order. Each piece, in itself, creates a new logic, and this logic is born through the fusion of forms. For example, … in the bronze, the legs and arms are distorted and they dictate new rules. In each case one can add or take away, but the formal significance remains. It is obvious then, that subject matter is unimportant, and that the choice of the material determines a great deal of the new logic of the forms produced. The material also affects the qualities of movement which in turn may be restricted or be more flexible through certain distortions. The largeness of the pieces gives the fullest expression’ (Zikaras quoted in Six Sculptors Slides, 1959, pp. 3-4).

TZ0058
The King, c. 1957
Medium unknown; believed to be a carving in wood or stone.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Twelve Melbourne Sculptors, Brummel’s Gallery, Melbourne, 22 September - 3 [or 28?] October 1957 (catalogue untraced); Herald Outdoor Art Show, Treasury Gardens, Melbourne, 7-15 March 1958 (ex catalogue).
When exhibited at Brummel’s Gallery in 1957, Arnold Shore commented that ‘… Zikaras gains strong monumental force with his abstract carvings The King and Head’ (Shore, 1957 Sept 24, p. 2). Alan Warren went further, saying that: ‘For me, at Brummel’s, at 95 Toorak Road, Teisutis Zikaras excites the greatest interest; perhaps because his effort to reach out his intention has been more strenuous than Clement Meadmore’s. His masterly King is impressively solid and tense’ (Warren, 1957, Sept 24). Alan McCulloch, already an established supporter of Zikaras’, wrote simply that Zikaras ‘shows two very able, characteristic works…’ (McCulloch, 1957 Sept 25, p. 18). The work apparently was shown again at the 1958 Herald Outdoor Art Show, for The Sun critic (probably Alan Warren again) wrote: ‘One of Australia’s top sculptors, Teisutis (Joe) Zikaras, has two exhibits - Horseman and King’. These same two exhibits were also mentioned in a Herald feature article (Herald, 1958 March 4, p. 7).

TZ0059
Head, c. 1957
Stone.
46 cm high.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Twelve Melbourne Sculptors, Brummel’s Gallery, Melbourne, 22 September - 3 [or 28?] October 1957 (catalogue untraced); Sculpture Today, Council for Adult Education (CAE) and the Victorian Sculptors' Society travelling exhibition, August - 4 September 1959, catalogue no. 12 (as Head, stone).
Photo: unknown photographer, courtesy Marcus Zikaras.
Ken Scarlett dates the photograph of this work to 1958, but I have adjusted the date to c. 1957 on the basis that it was almost certainly included in the Brummell’s Gallery Twelve Melbourne Sculptors exhibition, as suggested by the reviews cited above (see TZ00.58). There is a clear influence of pre-war cubist sculpture here; compare, for instance, with Henri Laurens’ Head of a Young Girl, 1920 (London: Tate).
Relief panels for Union House - set of eight, 1957-58

Eight separate painted cement panels (or ‘cast stone’).

2.0 x 3.14 m approx. each

University of Melbourne Art Collection.

Provenance: Commissioned by the architects Eggleston, Macdonald and Secomb, 1957, for the remodelled Union House, Melbourne University. Accession no. 1958.0006.001.008.

Literature: University of Melbourne Registrar’s Correspondence, letter from Roderick Macdonald of Eggleston, Macdonald and Secomb, 163 Grattan St, Carlton, to Sir George Paton, Vice-Chancellor, University of Melbourne, 11 November 1957; Herald, 1958 July 11, p. 3, includes b&w illustration of Zikaras installing the panels; Vizgirda, 1966 a, p. 99; Eggleston, Macdonald and Secomb, 1969, b&w illustration p. [8]; Sturgeon, 1978 a, pp. 175-6; Scarlett, 1980, p. 723; Vilnius, 1987, b&w photograph of the artist at work on these panels, p. 126; Bulleen, 2003, p. 64; Goad and Tibbits, 2003, p. 75; Sullivan, 2004, p. 2; Langwarrin, 2009, pp. 5, 7 (f.n. 6); Marginson and Sloggett, 2011, pp. 31, 34; Borthwick, 2012, pp. 40, 168, 199, 244-5, 384, fig. 51; Eckett, 2012, pp. 16, 19, fig. 2.

Photos: (a) the artist at work on the panels, unknown photographer, courtesy Marcus Zikaras; (b) unknown photographer, original held by the Juozas Zikaras Museum, Kaunas; (c) view from the northern side of Union House, c. 1958, unknown photographer, courtesy Marcus Zikaras; (d and e) the author, 2010.

This was one of the earliest architectural commissions given to a Centre Five sculptor. Architects Eggleston, Macdonald and Secomb were tasked with remodelling Melbourne University’s late-1930s Union House and, as part of their design, wanted a series of eight low-relief cement panels to adorn the outside windows of a suite of new private dining rooms on the first floor. A letter from architect Roderick Macdonald to the University’s Vice-Chancellor, Sir George Paton, accompanied a model (since lost) of Zikaras’ proposed design.
Appendix C: Teisutis Zikaras

and explained: ‘The design has been prepared by Mr. Zikaras and is symbolic of the meeting of various peoples at the Union. Architecturally we desired a robust unit which would contrast with the precision of the glass and aluminium and which would be somewhat in keeping with the Tudor quality of the building. Mr. Zikaras has designed these units so that the best use is made of light and shade, and has given special attention to the solid and void effect as seen from the lounges, and from the outside at night’ (University of Melbourne Registrar’s Correspondence, file 1957/1381, letter from Roderick MacDonald to Sir George Paton, Vice-Chancellor, 11 November 1957). Paton approved the design by reply letter the following day. Despite the very tight design remit, Zikaras managed to employ formal motifs that reoccur throughout his work of the fifties, particularly the flattened stylised heads. The eight panels were installed in July 1958.

In an article concerning the panels’ placement, a staff writer for The Herald canvassed the opinion of several students, concluding that ‘the girls liked the crushed stone and concrete work but the boys didn’t’ (Herald, 1958 July 11, p. 3). In the same article Zikaras is quoted as saying that he aimed ‘to give the idea of unity of shape and form’, in keeping with the building’s name and purpose (Zikaras quoted in Herald, 1958 July 11, p. 3). One of the university’s more progressive lecturers in architecture, Fritz Janeba, commented favourably on the work, saying: ‘It’s a very interesting combination against glass. It has a psychological effect of looking like a balustrade and is not merely an addition or decoration to the building but is part of it’ (Janeba quoted in Herald, 1958 July 11, p. 3). This effect of looking like a balustrade, but not acting as one, was perhaps less appreciated by architect Peter Elliott who, during alterations to the building in 1997, relocated the panels with four now floating against the brick façade of the west wall, two bought down to ground level, where they are partially hidden beneath shrubbery, and another two placed either side of a staircase, reminiscent of handrails.

Interestingly, a 1986 conservation study of the university’s architecture made no mention of Eggleston Macdonald Secomb’s 1950s remodelling of Union House, nor of Zikaras’ panels, which may explain why the panels were treated in such a manner in 1997 (see Ward, 1986, section 3.1).

TZ0061
Model for the tomb of Ona Jablonskytė-Landsbergienė, c. 1957-58
Plaster.
40.0 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.
I have dated this to c. 1957-58 on the basis of the date of death of the woman whose grave it was designed to mark. Ona Jablonskytė-Landsbergienė (1894-1957) was a renowned Lithuanian ophthalmologist who studied in St Petersburg before returning to Kaunas in 1921. During WWII she sheltered several Jewish women and children, and was posthumously awarded the Lithuanian Republic’s Žūvančių gelbėjimo kryžiumi (Life Saving Cross) and named ‘Righteous among the nations’ by the Yad Vashem museum in Israel in 1995. She was married to architect Vytautas Landsbergis-Zemkalnis and accompanied him to Australia from 1949-59. In 1959 they returned to Kaunas, where Vytautus became head of the Preservation of Monuments Institute in Kaunas. The choice of the young girl sheltering or hiding possibly refers to Jablonskytė-Landsbergienė’s role in helping Jewish children escape persecution from the Nazis.
TZ0062

Head of Christ; also known as Mąstantis Kristus (The Pensive Christ), 1958

Terracotta.
53.3 cm high approx.
Destroyed.

Provenance: Lost in a fire, most likely the artist’s studio fire in 1962.


Photo: unknown photographer, courtesy Marcus Zikaras, annotated by Ken Scarlett, stating that the work dates to 1955, was in terracotta, measured 21 inches and was lost in a fire; also that it was illustrated in The Herald 12.11.58 as Head of Christ.

Ken Scarlett dates this to 1955 but there is no archival evidence to support the dating. The earliest records date to 1958 and this is the date that Kazokas follows. Kazokas also titles the work The Pensive Christ. The subject is that of the classic Lithuanian Rąpintojėlis, or Sorrowful Christ, although the work appears never to have been assigned that title. When it was exhibited in Melbourne in 1958, as part of the Lithuanian Artists in Australia exhibition (for which Zikaras was on the steering committee), Arnold Shore warmly commended this and other of Zikaras’ exhibits for their combination of an ‘international language of art’ combined with ‘valuable national traits’: ‘Sculpture and drawings by Teisutis Zikaras have this character strongly, and thoroughly warrant his high reputation as artist, citizen and teacher. His Head of Christ, Figure, and Bride, though clearly idiomatic in style, create no doubt of their sincere feeling or formal value’ (Shore, 1958 Dec 23, p. 2).

TZ0063.1

Horseman (originally known as Composition), 1958

Plaster of Paris painted to simulate terracotta.
134.0 x 78.0 x 32.5 cm
Whereabouts unknown (possibly destroyed during the casting process).

Provenance: Formerly collection of Mr & Mrs F. Y. Nicholls; exchanged at Zikaras’ request for the aluminium cast, c. 1959.

Exhibited: Herald Outdoor Art Show, Treasury Gardens, Melbourne, 7-15 March 1958, catalogue no. 1126 (as Composition, sculpture, 80 gns, section X, seen in a photo); Retrospect, Five Years: Victorian Sculptors’ Society, Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 21 July - ? 1958, catalogue no. 84 (as Horseman, plaster
for metal, 80 gns); Exhibition of Paintings in Settings of Fine Office Furniture, Australian Galleries, Collingwood, 7-15 August 1958, catalogue no. 40 a (as Horseman, plaster for metal, 80 gns).


Photo: unknown photographer, courtesy Marcus Zikaras.

A colour slide of this work, taken at the 1958 Herald Outdoor Art Show, in the Jomantas picture collection at the SLV, shows that this was painted a terracotta colour (H2007.33/1392). For further exhibition and literature details see TZ0063.2.

TZ0063.2

Horseman (also known as Horse and Rider), 1958-59

Cast aluminium.

134.0 x 78.0 x 32.5 cm

Signed and dated on reverse of left hand leg: ‘T ZIKARAS 59’.

McClelland Gallery & Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic.


Exhibited: (?) Exhibition of Paintings in Settings of Fine Office Furniture, Australian Galleries, Collingwood, 7-15 August 1958, catalogue no. 40 b (as Horseman, cast in aluminium, 275 gns); Six Sculptors, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 21 July - 30 August 1959, catalogue no. 31 (as Horseman, 1958, cast aluminium, lent by Mr. and Mrs. F. Y. Nicholls);

Teisutis Zikaras: Sculpture and Drawings, McClelland Gallery and Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 10 May - 19 July 2009, catalogue no. 12 (as Horseman, 1958, aluminium, 134.0 x 78.0 x 32.5 cm, McClelland Gallery + Sculpture Park collection, gift of Frank and Yvonne Nicolls, 2008).

Literature: Melbourne, 1959 July, no. 31; Six Sculptors slides, slide no. no. 6 (where labelled Horse and Rider) and accompanying artist’s notes for teachers, pp. 3-4; Sun, 1959 July 21, p.
21, photograph of Zikaras with Horseman, preparing for the Six Sculptors exhibition; McCulloch, 1959 July 22; Bonython, 1960, b&w illustration p. 72; Lynn and Ratas, 1967, p. 7, b&w illustration, p. 19; Baltutienė et al, 1990, b&w illustration p. 26, where captioned Raitelis (Rider), 1960; Kazokas, 1992, vol. 1, pp. 182-3; b&w illustration, vol. 2, fig. 185 (where described as Horseman, 1960, cast aluminium, 153 cm high); Kazokas, 1997, b&w illustration p. 41 (where dated 1960); Kazokas, 2003 a, p. 129, b&w illustration p. 129; Banytė and Jankevičiūtė, 2009, p. 76; Langwarrin, 2009, no. 12, pp. 5, 7, 10, b&w illustration front cover and illustrated on exhibition invitation; Borthwick, 2012, pp. 40, 245, fig. 52. Photos: (a) taken at the 1959 Six Sculptors exhibition, most likely Mark Strizic for the Victorian Visual Education Centre, scanned from a slide held by the Visual Cultures Resource Centre, University of Melbourne, no. 11-052-14; (b) John Brash, reproduced in Langwarrin, 2009, front cover. Dated 1958 in both the Six Sculptors catalogue and the Langwarrin (2009) catalogue. Yet the work is actually inscribed 59. The date of 1958 more correctly belongs to the plaster version (TZ0063.1). Restored by Peter De Garis, 2008-09 (conversation with the author, 10 May 2009). In his notes for teachers to accompany the Six Sculptors slides, Zikaras wrote on this work and on Swimming Figure (see TZ0057): ‘Material dictates form and, in so doing, it dictates movement and the extent or quality of that movement. There are two different forms to consider here. One sculpture piece is in aluminium, a cool material requiring a strong definite form. … There are four points of interest in each piece: 1 DISTORTION AND MOVEMENT. The Horse and Rider (aluminium) has, through distortion, restricted movement; it is structural, coming up into four points and then fading away. … 2 STYLE. The aluminium piece is a simple shape, and is stylised; its organic forms are restricted through the character of the material … 3 IMPORTANCE OF SIZE. Due to financial restrictions it has not been possible to produce these pieces in the most expressive size. The bronze work should be ten feet long, and the aluminium piece five feet in length. The large size of each piece produces the very epitome of expression, in fact a degree of expressiveness is lost in the reduced scale. 4 SIGNIFICANCE OF FORMS. The significance lies in the relationship of the forms, which produces a certain order. Each piece, in itself, creates a new logic, and this logic is born through the fusion of forms. For example, in the aluminium sculpture the rider has no arms because they are unimportant in the order of the whole form’ (Zikaras in Six Sculptors slides, 1959, pp. 3-4). More recently Genovaitė Kazokienė has written of the work’s debt to Lithuanian emblems: ‘In his last sculptures Zikaras returns to Lithuanian imagery. His Horseman, 1960 (ill. 185), derives from the Lithuanian state emblem, Vytis, in simplified and sophisticated form. Basically a linear, open sculpture, beautifully articulated and with pronounced rhythm, it aims at elegance, a quality rare in his oeuvre’ (Kazokas, 1992, pp. 182-3; Kazokas, 2003 a, p. 129).

TZ0064.1

Rolling Horse, 1958
Terracotta.
30.0 x 20.0 x 15.0 cm
Signed: ‘T ZIKARAS 58’.
Private collection, Ivanhoe, Vic.
Provenance: Collection of Ruth McNicoll, director of the Argus Gallery; thence to her nephew.
Exhibited: Second Anniversary Exhibition (group show), Australian Galleries, Collingwood, 3-12 June 1958, catalogue no. 79 (as Rolling Horse, terracotta, 30 gns).
Photo: Ken Scarlet.
TZ0064.2

Rolling Horse, 1958
Bronze, unique edition, cast in 2008. 30.0 x 20.0 x 15.0 cm
Signed in a square on one flank of the horse: ‘T ZIKARAS 58’.
McClelland Gallery & Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic.
Photo: (a) John Brash, reproduced in Langwarrin, 2009, back cover; (b) the author.
Cast in bronze by Peter De Garis, 2008.

TZ0065
Composition, c. 1958
Medium unknown.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: An exhibition of paintings and sculpture, presented by the Victorian Artists Society, in conjunction with the opening of ICI House Melbourne, Third Floor, ICI House, Nicholson Street, East Melbourne, 12-19 December 1958, catalogue no. 29 (as T. Zikaras, Composition, 90 gns).

TZ0066
Bride, c. 1958
Medium unknown.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
When Bride was exhibited in Melbourne in 1958, as part of the Lithuanian Artists in Australia exhibition (for which Zikaras was on the steering committee), Arnold Shore warmly commended this and other of Zikaras’ exhibits for their combination of an ‘international language of art’ combined with ‘valuable national traits’: ‘Sculpture and drawings by Teisutis Zikaras have this character strongly, and thoroughly warrant his high reputation as artist, citizen and teacher. His Head of Christ, Figure, and Bride, though clearly idiomatic in style, create no doubt of their sincere feeling or formal value’ (Shore, 1958 Dec 23, p. 2).
Bride may be a duplicate entry with Lovers (see TZ0068).
TZ0067

Design for a Mural (Areopagitica - maquette for Baillieu Library Mural), 1958-59

Plaster painted to simulate aluminium (later catalogued as cast alloy), in three separate parts, mounted on hardboard painted pink.
40.6 x 80.0 x 3.0 cm
Signed lower right in pencil: ‘T Zikaras’.
University of Melbourne, Cultural Collections Unit.
Provenance: Invitation competition for a foyer mural, Baillieu Library, University of Melbourne, 1958.
Cultural Collections Unit accession no. 958. University of Melbourne Art Collection accession no. 1958.0010.000.000.

Exhibited: Exhibition of mural designs - Baillieu Library, Mural Competition, Museum of Modern Art, Tavistock Place, Melbourne, 3-13 March, 1959, catalogue no. 2 (as Teisutis Zikaras, plaster for aluminium, cast and filed); A Storehouse of Wisdom: Celebrating 50 years of the Baillieu Library, Melbourne: University of Melbourne, 20 March - 17 May 2009 (catalogue numbers not assigned); Teisutis Zikaras: Sculpture and Drawings, McClelland Gallery and Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 10 May - 19 July 2009, catalogue no. 13 (as Maquette for Baillieu Library Mural Competition, 1959 [sic], three separate forms: plaster of Paris painted to simulate aluminium, mounted on hardboard painted pink, 40.6 x 80.0 x 3.0 cm, signed T Zikaras, collection of Baillieu Library, University of Melbourne).

Literature: Melbourne, 1959 Mar, no. 2; Burstall, 1959, pp. 212-13; Carlton, 1971, p. 62 (where titled simply Design for a Mural); McCarthy, 1990, pp. 2, 39-40, 48 (where stated to be missing); Langwarrin, 2009, no. 13, p. 10.

Photo: the author.

Zikaras was one of ten artists invited to submit to the Baillieu Library mural competition (for full details see NR0033.1). The invitation was possibly extended on the strength of the balustrades that he had then just recently completed for Union House (see TZ0060). His submission was evidently quite personal in interpretation of the nominal Areopagitica theme. It compares closely with a work on paper from this period (see TZW0040) and with another relief maquette that I have tentatively identified as his submission to the Chadstone Shopping Centre competition in 1959 (see TZ0075).
Signed twice, at the back of the right hand ‘leg’ and on the right hand side of the plinth: ‘ZIKARAS’ and ‘T ZIKARAS’ respectively.  
Private collection, East Richmond, Vic.  
Provenance: Collection of Betty Taylor; thence to her nephew, by whom sold through auction (possibly with Leonard Joel’s, Melbourne, 13 October 2003, lot 327, as Untitled, bronze [sic], 73 cm high, signed ‘T. Zikaras’ on base).  
Exhibited: Mildara Prize for Sculpture, Mildura Art Gallery, Mildura, Vic., 22 April - 21 May 1961, catalogue no. 121 (as Lovers, 1960, metallised ciment, 34 inches, £104); New Influences Exhibition: A tribute to artists who have come from other countries to live in Australia, Newcastle City Art Gallery, Newcastle, held in association with the Good Neighbour Council, 7 June - 8 July 1962, catalogue no. 42 (as Lovers, metallised ciment, 34 x 17 inches); Centre Five at Heide, Heide Park and Art Gallery, Bulleen, Vic., 27 October - 9 December 1984, catalogue no. 30 (as Lovers, c. 1960, cement, 74 x 43 x 30 cm, private collection); Teisutis Zikaras: Sculpture and Drawings, McClelland Gallery and Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 10 May - 19 July 2009, catalogue no. 17 (as Lovers, c. 1960, metallised ciment fondu, 74.0 x 43.0 x 30.0, private collection, Melbourne); Mildura Revisited: sculptures exhibited 1961-1978, Mildura Arts Centre, Mildura, Vic., 5 September 2014 to 26 January 2015 (as Lovers, 1960; no catalogue nos. assigned).  
Photos: (a) Zikaras with Lovers, c. 1960, unknown photographer, courtesy Marcus Zikaras; (b and c) the author.  
Provenance details are from the McClelland Gallery accession records (Zikaras file, Ken Scarlett notes). Since 1961 when it was shown at the first Mildura exhibition, this work has been known by the title of Lovers, 1960. However, I suspect it may have originally been shown under the title of Bride at the 1958 Lithuanian art exhibition at the VAS Galleries (see TZ0066). No photograph of Bride exists and the subject of the present work could be interpreted as a single naked female torso as befitting a ‘bride’ subject. The present work also seems more in keeping with Zikaras’ works of the late 1950s than with his work of the 1960s. In addition, the portrait photograph of Zikaras with this work, reproduced above (a), bears close comparison with another photograph of Zikaras taken c. 1957-58 (see TZ0060, photograph a). It is therefore possible that Zikaras re-titled the work for the Mildura exhibition and that it has subsequently been known under this title ever since. When it was exhibited at Mildura, Alan McCulloch wrote: ‘Among the larger works which extended to the inside of the gallery, the emphasis was on Teisutis Zikaras’ Lovers and Lenton Parr’s elegantly spidery symbols in welded iron’ (McCulloch, 1961 April 26). No further press comments have been traced. This intriguing, self-contained form can be read in a variety of ways. The upper half can be viewed either as a female torso with small breasts suspended at midpoint, or as a face, with eyes bulging out over a covered nose and mouth. The lower half can be read either as one pair of legs or as two pairs of legs standing in close proximity. Both halves are dynamically bound together by the horizontal sweep of arms, hugging the body / bodies tightly. These ‘arms’ are in fact merely shallow dishes balanced one on top of the other, but read as interlocked limbs and fingers. Zikaras may well have had in mind Brancusi’s The Kiss, c.1911, in which it is impossible to distinguish which two figures are carved out of a single block, with only the merest shallow incisions carved to distinguish male from female. Certainly this seminal early work of Brancusi’s has influenced other Lithuanian artists’ works, such as Robertas Antinis (1923-72), Atsisveikinimas (The Farewell), 1965,
terracotta, and Algirdas Bosas (b. 1943), Bičiūnė (Camaraderie), 1982, mahogany (both in the collection of the Lithuanian Art Museum, Vilnius). However, whereas Brancusi’s work was carved, Zikaras has modelled his, most likely firstly in clay before casting it in ciment fondu. The arrangement of discs, reading as arms, also hearkens back to Lipchitz’s first properly cubist sculpture, Sailor and guitar, 1914 (see Putz, 2002, p. 15), where a single bulging disc is used to signify a jutting hip. Similarly, the eyes / breasts stare impudently in the same way that Lipchitz’s seminal Figure, 1926-30 does, with its overt references to fertility symbols (see Putz, 2002, p. 35). The surface of Zikaras’ work has an interesting raked pattern of small parallel lines. Genovaitė Kazokienė feels that Lovers was an exceptional work in Zikaras’ oeuvre ‘because it suggests movement and is in contrast to Zikaras’s usual static repertoire’ (Kazokas, 1992, p. 182; Kazokas, 2003 a, p. 129). However, works such as Swimming Figure, 1957, Rolling Horse, 1958, and Icarus, 1959 (none of which were known to Kazokas) counteract this assertion. In addition, Zikaras’ work became increasingly fluid throughout the 1960s, with emphasis on their own materiality, as seen in the final two entries (which have previously been dated 1950s and are therefore included here although I have re-dated them to c. 1959-69).

TZ0069
Icarus, 1959
Plaster.
60 cm long approx.
Whereabouts unknown.

TZ0070
Female Figure, 1959
Jarrah.
152.4 cm high
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Six Sculptors, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 21 July - 30 August 1959, catalogue no. 32 (as Female Figure, 1959, wood, lent by the artist); Contemporary Australian Sculpture, held in

Photo: taken at the Six Sculptors exhibition by Mark Strizic for Melbourne State College, scanned from an original slide held by the Visual Cultures Resource Centre, University of Melbourne, slide no. 11-052-13.
This strikingly original work should not be confused with the later work of the same title, in metallised ciment fondu, dating to c. 1964, which toured the state galleries 1964-65 as part of the Recent Australian Sculpture, organised by the Commonwealth Art Advisory Board (catalogue no. 42).
conjunction with the first Adelaide Festival, Art Gallery of South Australia, gallery IV, Adelaide, March 1960, catalogue no. 22 (as Teisutis Zikaras, Female Figure, 1959, wood).


**Photos:** (a) unknown photographer, possibly Mark Strizic, courtesy Marcus Zikaras; (b) unknown photographer, probably Mark Strizic, reproduced in Lynn and Ratas, 1967, p. 93.

*Female Figure* reduces the body to a simplified cylinder with little more than lugs for arms, akin to Pre-Columbian carvings or prehistoric fertility goddesses. The work is visible in a photograph of the 1959 *Six Sculptors* exhibition, the original slide of which is among the Aarons papers. It is also just visible in the background a photograph of the *Contemporary Australian Sculpture* exhibition, held in conjunction with the first Adelaide Festival, March 1960 (reproduced in Luck, 1960, n.p.). Marcus Zikaras possesses a photograph (a, above) inscribed with a price: 155 gns (NFS). Kazokas records that the work was carved in jarrah – information she presumably received from the artist, whom she interviewed for her thesis (Kazokas, 1992, vol. 1, p. 182).

**TZ0071**

**Figure, 1959**

Aluminium (fonte aluminium), cast and polished.

64.0 x 24.0 x 18.0 cm

Signed on left hand leg, at base: 'ZIKARAS'.

NGA, Canberra.

**Provenance:** The artist (as of 1961); purchased 15 February 1972.

Accession no. NGA 72.40.

**Exhibited:** *Six Sculptors*, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 21 July - 30 August 1959, catalogue no. 33 (as Figure, 1959, cast aluminium); *Sculpture Today*, Council for Adult Education (CAE) and the Victorian Sculptors' Society, Melbourne, travelling exhibition, March 1960, catalogue no. 12 (as Figure, aluminium); *Mildura Prize for Sculpture*, Mildura Art Gallery, Mildura, Vic., 22 April - 21 May 1961, catalogue no. 122 (as Figure, 1959, aluminium, 24", £63); *2e Exposition Internationale de Sculpture Contemporaine*, Musée Rodin, Paris, circa July 1961, catalogue no. 36 (as Figure, Fonte aluminium, 0.59 m); *Centre Five at Heide*, Heide Park and Art Gallery, Bulleen, Vic., 27 October - 9 December 1984, catalogue no. 29 (as Figure, c. 1960, aluminium, 64 x 24 x 18 cm, collection Australian National Gallery); *Teisutis Zikaras: Sculpture and Drawings*, McClelland Gallery and Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 10 May - 19 July
2009, catalogue no. 15 (as Figure, c. 1960, aluminium, cast and polished, 64.0 x 24.0 x 18.0 cm, incised ZIKARAS, collection NGA).


Photos: (a) Mark Strizic, courtesy Marcus Zikaras; (b) NGA, Canberra.

This remarkably stylised figure reduces the body to a central armless shaft, with small disc-like ribs protruding either side, and legs straddled apart. The mono-eyed semi-spherical head had earlier appeared in works such as Girl Resting, c. 1956 (TZ0055) and Mother and Child (also known as The Family), c. 1956-59 (TZ0056), but the halo-like shield behind the head seems to have developed from – or in tandem with – the two commissioned trophies of 1959: the Australian Book Fair Award and the Mannequin’s Academy Modelling Award, 1959 (TZ0072 and TZ0073). Figure is usually dated ‘c. 1960’ (indeed the NGA retains this date on their website) but it was almost certainly included in the Six Sculptors exhibition in 1959 and dated 1959 in the catalogue to that show. While the work is not visible in the few extant photographs of the Six Sculptors installation (photographs that do not, in any case, document the entire exhibition), the catalogue does include an entry for Figure, 1959, in cast aluminium. The NGA Figure is the only known work of Zikaras’ in aluminium that could plausibly be described simply as Figure. In addition, the editors of the short-lived CAS magazine, Modern Art News, reviewing the Six Sculptors exhibition, commented that Zikaras’ ‘Figure (33) seems metallic right down to its brain...’ (Gooday and Mora, 1959, p. 13). Alan McCulloch, in his review of Six Sculptors, noted what he called Zikaras’ ‘goblet symbol’ and claimed it ‘recalls his native Lithuanian traditions and something of the atmosphere of ancient Egypt’ (McCulloch, 1959 July 22). McCulloch was presumably referring to the goblet-shaped heads of this work and Female Figure, 1959 (TZ0054); certainly the use of the mono-eyed head in both works recalls the ancient Egyptian practice of profile portraits with a single prominent eye. On the strength of these two reviews, and in the absence of any other plausible match with the Six Sculptors catalogue description as well as the similarity with other works of the late 1950s, it is reasonable to re-date the NGA Figure to 1959. Compare also with a drawing of the sculpture, likewise dated 1959 (TZW0045).

TZ0072.1

**Australian Book Fair Award (also known as Oscar), 1959**

Plaster with shellac.

24.0 x 4.5 x 4.5 cm

Not signed, inscribed or dated.

Collection of Marcus Zikaras.

Provenance: By descent from the artist.

Photos: (a and b) the author.
Appendix C: Teisutis Zikaras

**Australian Book Fair Award (also known as Oscar), 1959**
Bronze on a wooden base.
24.0 x 4.5 x 4.5 cm (not including base).
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
Collection of Marcus Zikaras and other private collections.
Photos: (a and b) the author; (c) The *Herald*, reproduced in Herald, 1959 March 4.
On 13 February 1959 the Australian Book Fair Council announced they would award a £100 prize as well as a trophy, in the form of a ‘bronze figure sculpted by Teisutis Zikaras’, for the Australian book published between the 1958 and 1959 Moomba festival book fairs judged to have ‘contributed most substantially to Australian literature’ (Age, 1959 Feb 13, p. 2). Mrs Pat Moger, of Macedon, supplied for the funds for both. By the 4th of March *The Herald* could then publish a photograph of Zikaras holding the bronze, captioned: ‘This bronze “Oscar”, held by its designer, Melbourne sculptor Teisutis Zikaras, will be awarded to the author of the book, published between the 1958 and 1959 Book Fairs, which has made “the most substantial contribution to Australian literature” (Herald, 1959 March 4). The award was in the form of a single standing figure, partially draped, akin to Moore’s draped figures of the early 1950s.

**Mannequin Academy Model Award (also known as Mama), 1959**
Bronze.
24 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.
Literature: Mannequin Award, c. 1959; Herald, 1959 July 31, b&w photograph of Zikaras and Mannequin Academy graduates with the work, p. 3; Scarlett, 1980, p. 723; Bulleen, 2003, p. 64; Langwarrin, 2009, p. 10; Borthwick, 2012, pp. 19, 137, 148, 182, 200, 241, fig. 10.
Photos: (a) unknown photographer, courtesy Marcus Zikaras; (b) The *Herald*, reproduced in Herald, 1959 July 31.
The Mannequin Academy Model Award was a prize to the modelling academy’s top graduate in 1959. It was awarded at a graduation ball, at the Royale Ballroom, 1 September 1959, with proceeds donated to the Royal Children’s Hospital. The successful graduate, named ‘Miss Mannequin Academy’, was also awarded a two-week holiday on Hayman Island (Mannequin Award, c. 1959). Whether the trophy continued to be awarded in subsequent years is unknown. Zikaras’ design for the trophy was very close to the design he conceived earlier in the year for the *Australian Book Fair Award* (see TZ0072). Some confusion arose during the cataloguing of the 2009 retrospective, so that the title of *Mama (Mannequin Academy Model Award)*, 1958, was assigned to an untitled bronze dating to c. 1965-75 (Langwarrin, 2009, no. 11, p. 10).
TZ0074

_Death Mask of Vance Palmer, July 1959_

Plaster mask mounted on velvet-covered board.
30.5 x 25.5 x ? cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
National Library of Australia, Canberra.
Provenance: Commissioned by Sir John Barry, Chair of the Vance and Nettie Palmer Tribute Fund, 1959; presented to the NLA by the Committee for the Vance and Nettie Palmer Tribute Fund; file no. 202/4/123.
Photo: NLA, Canberra.

This was a rather unusual commission for Zikaras and the only recorded instance of his having produced a death mask. There is no known prior connection between Zikaras and author Vance Palmer; the commission possibly arose from Zikaras’ contacts in the publishing industry (cf. TZ0072). According to Joan Kerr: ‘It was a disaster from the moment it arrived unannounced with its nose chipped from being too casually wrapped by its maker, the sculptor Teisutis Zikaras. A fellow member of the Tribute committee, the publisher Andrew Fabinyi, suggested that National Librarian Harold Wright might discreetly dispose of it. But Sir John Barry, clinging tenaciously to an Augustan ideal that was ludicrously anachronistic – even for establishment Melbourne – wanted it repaired for posterity. The Library diplomatically accepted it, chip and all, but kept it safely out of sight’ (Kerr, 2001, p. 91).

TZ0075

_Family group, possibly maquette for Chadstone Shopping Centre competition, c. 1959_

(?!) Cast aluminium or plaster painted to simulate aluminium, mounted on textured board.
50 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: (?) Chadstone Shopping Centre Sculpture Competition, Buvetot gallery bays of the NGV, February - March 1960 (catalogue untraced).

This is almost certainly the maquette that Zikaras submitted to the Chadstone Shopping Centre competition for a set subject: ‘the family’. Alan McCulloch commented that Zikaras’ and Jomantas’ entries were the only two that created ‘a powerful upward movement, a vertical accent here and there to counteract and compliment the squat character of the buildings ... Zikaras’ entry, in polished aluminium, represents a graceful integration of conception, materials and purpose. But his accompanying drawing is unfortunately very bad and might well have influenced the judges’ (McCulloch, 1960 Feb 17, p. 22). The photograph reproduced here is housed among the Jomantas picture collection in the SLV and bears no inscriptions to identify it as the work of Zikaras. However, stylistically it clearly belongs to Zikaras’ oeuvre. It is particularly close to his maquette for the Baillieu Library mural (see TZ0067); both works employ not only blade-like figures with flattened heads, but also the art-deco-like motif of rippling hair and water. In addition the background of the photograph, showing part of a wooden door, is
identical to that found in the photograph of Zikaras’s Motinai (Mother), c. 1955 (TZ0048). Both photographs were most likely taken outside Zikaras’ studio.

Mecanus, 1960
Plaster.
152.4 cm high approx.
Whereabouts unknown (possibly destroyed during casting process).
Exhibited: Herald Outdoor Art Show, Treasury Gardens, Melbourne, 4-12 March 1960, catalogue no. 1063 (as Mecanus, sculpture, 50 gns, section X). Literature: Melbourne, 1960 March a, no. 1063; Herald, 1960 March 1, p. 3. When this plaster cast version was first at the Herald Outdoor Art Show, it was described as a ‘startling modernistic white five foot sculpture’ and Zikaras was quoted as saying: ‘It’s called Mechanus [sic] and represents a fusion between mechanical and organic forms’ (Herald, 1960 March 1, p. 3). This is the earliest of a series of what could be described as Zikaras’ ‘molten bronzes’, in which the figure is savagely pared back to reveal skeleton and exposed flesh, and which preoccupied the artist for much of the 1960s. The contrasting textures, suggestive of organs and connective tissue, is typical of a number of artists of the period, most notably Arnaldo Pomodoro, whose large bronze spheres were, in effect, dissected to reveal mysterious, intricate interiors. Sturgeon notes that a number of the sculptures exhibited at Mildura in 1964 likewise employed this ‘rotting bronze’ effect (Sturgeon, 1978 a, p. 161). However, Zikaras’ vertical structure is inevitably anthropomorphic: there is a suggestion of a rib cage in the lower half of the ‘torso’, two protruding stumps either side of the ‘head’ to indicate stunted limbs, and a third limb, behind the head, suggestive of a Cock’s comb.

Mecanus (later known as Mekanus), 1960
Bronze (possibly cast at a later date). 148.0 x 38.0 x 37.0 cm
Signed on base ‘T. ZIKARAS’.
Private collection, Sydney.
Provenance: Private collection, Melbourne; Deutscher-Menzies, Melbourne, 27 November 2002, lot 97; Private company collection, Melbourne; Menzies Art Brands, Kensington, NSW, 25 March 2009, lot 177, estimate AU $8,000-$10,000, sold $9,600 IBP.
Exhibited: Teisutis Zikaras: Sculpture and Drawings, McClelland Gallery and Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 10 May - 19 July 2009, catalogue no. 16 (as Mekanus, 1960, bronze, 148.0 x 38.0 x 37.0 cm, incised T. ZIKARAS on base, private collection, Sydney,
Appendix C: Teisutis Zikaras

TZ0077
World, c. 1960
Metallised ciment fondu.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
When this was exhibited at the 1960 VSS, Alan McCulloch wrote: ‘Zikaras’ drawings have notable plastic strength which carries through to his World, a work which successfully contends with a new medium, metallised ciment’ (McCulloch, 1960 Oct 26).

The following two works are, I believe, outside the province of this catalogue, which ends at 1960. However, I have included them here as they have previously been dated c. 1959.

TZ0078
Untitled (dancing woman), c. 1959-69
Bronze.
33.0 x 23.0 x 9.0 cm
Signed on base: ‘T ZIKARAS’.
Private collection, Kew, Vic.
Exhibited: Teisutis Zikaras: Sculpture and Drawings, McClelland Gallery and Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 10 May - 19 July 2009, catalogue no. 14 (as Dancing Lady, c. 1959, bronze, modelled in wax, 33.0 x 23.0 x 9.0 cm, incised T ZIKARAS, private collection, Melbourne).
Photos: (a and b) the author.

Dated c. 1959 in the Langwarrin catalogue. However, it is most unlike the rest of Zikaras’ oeuvre from 1959 and more likely dates to c. 1969. It is closely comparable to Torso (TZ0079), which Ken Scarlett dates to 1959-60, and to Warrior, c. 1969 (which was illustrated in Hopwood, 1971, p. 82, and does not date to 1974 as stated in Kazokas, 1992, vol. 1, p. 183, and Banytė and Jankevičiūtė, 2009, p. 76). On this basis I would date all
three works to c. 1969. I have included the Dancing woman and Torso here, however, as they have previously been dated to pre-1960.

TZ0079
*Untitled (torso), c. 1959-69*
Bronze.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Photo: unknown photographer, courtesy Marcus Zikaras.
WORKS ON PAPER

Kaunas 1927-44

TZW0001
*Mama - a sketch from early childhood*, c. 1927
Pencil on paper.
5.75 x 5.5 cm
Inscribed by the artist’s sister Alyte on reverse.
Juozas Zikaras Museum, Kaunas, Lithuania.
*Photo*: the author.

TZW0002
*Self portrait, 1942*
Red conté crayon on tinted paper.
31.0 x 23.0 cm
Signed and dated lower centre: ‘T Zikaras 1942’.
Collection of Marcus Zikaras, Hurstbridge, Vic.
*Provenance*: By descent from the artist.
*Exhibited*: Teisutis Zikaras: Sculpture and Drawings, McClelland Gallery and Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 10 May - 19 July 2009, catalogue no. 24 (as *Self portrait, 1942*, conté or chalk on paper, 31.0 x 23.0 cm, collection of Marcus Zikaras).
*Photo*: the author.

Melbourne, 1949-60

TZW0003
*Untitled (woman with bowed head), 1950*
Charcoal or conté crayon on paper.
Dimensions unknown.
Signed lower right: ‘T Zikaras’.
Collection of Gabrielius Žemkalnis.
*Photo*: unknown photographer, courtesy Ken Scarlett.
The above photograph in Ken Scarlett’s possession is inscribed on reverse with the date, 1950, and the owner’s name (Gabriel Žemkalnis).

TZW0004
*Liūdna Mergina (Sad Girl), 1951*
Charcoal or conté crayon on paper.
Dimensions unknown; 60 x 30 cm approx.
Signed lower left: ‘T Zk- / -51’. 
Whereabouts unknown. 
Exhibited: Teisutis Zikaras solo 
exhibition, Victorian Artists’ Society 
Galleries, East Melbourne, opened 13 
June 1955 (catalogue untraced but 
visible in a photograph of the 
exhibition installation). 
Photo: unknown photographer, 
courtesy Marcus Zikaras.

Charcoal or conté crayon on paper. 
Dimensions unknown; 50 x 30 cm 
approx. 
Exhibited: Private exhibition, Clayton, 
Vic., 1952 (no catalogue traced but 
visible in an installation photograph). 
Photo: seen on wall behind Zikaras as 
the 1952 solo exhibition, unknown 
photographer, courtesy Marcus Zikaras.

TZW0005
Untitled (mother and child), 1952
Black pen and ink with wash on paper. 
21.5 x 11.0 cm (sight) 
Signed lower right: ‘T Zikaras’; dated 
lower left: ‘1952’. 
Collection of Marcus Zikaras, 
Hurstbridge, Vic. 
Provenance: By descent from the artist. 
Photo: the author.

TZW0006
Title unknown (possibly the visitation 
of Mary and Elizabeth), c. 1952

TZW0007
Title unknown (reclining female 
 nude), c. 1952
Dimensions unknown; 30 x 20 cm 
approx. 
Exhibited: Private exhibition, Clayton, 
Vic., 1952 (no catalogue traced but 
visible in an installation photograph). 
Photo: seen on wall behind Zikaras as 
the 1952 solo exhibition, unknown 
photographer, courtesy Marcus Zikaras.

TZW0008
Untitled (later known as Coloured 
Drawing), c. 1952
Mixed media drawing including 
watercolour on paper. 
31.0 x 61.0 cm 
Collection of the Melbourne 
Lithuanian Club. 
183, vol. 2, colour illustration, fig. 191 
(where described as Coloured Drawing, 
c. 1952, mixed media, 31 x 61 cm, 
Lithuanian House Melbourne). 
Stylistically not dissimilar to some of Adomas 
Galdikas’s works (see, for instance, Vilnius, 
2006, catalogue nos. 2, 5 and 10).
TZW0009

Pašportreta (Self portrait), c. 1953
Pen and ink on paper.
Dimensions unknown; 30 x 20 cm approx.
Whereabouts unknown.
Literature: Australjas Latvietis, 1953, b&w illustration; Australijos Lietuvių Metrastis, 1961, b&w illustration, p. 209.
Photo: unknown photographer, reproduced in Australjas Latvietis, 1953.

TZW0010

Untitled (woman with up-raised hands), 1954
Pastel on buff-coloured paper.
59.0 x 42.0 cm

Signed and dated lower right: ‘T ZIKARAS 54’.
Collection of Rene Zyren (or Zhiren).
Provenance: By descent from the artist.
Exhibited: Teisutis Zikaras solo exhibition, VAS Galleries, Melbourne, 13 June - [?] 1955 (catalogue untraced but visible in installation photo);
Teisutis Zikaras: Sculpture and Drawings, McClelland Gallery and Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 10 May - 19 July 2009, catalogue no. 25 (as Untitled, Female with up-raised hands, 1954, pastel on paper, 59.0 x 42.0 cm, collection of Rene Zyren).
Literature: Langwarrin, no. 25, p. 11.
Photo: the author.

TZW0011

Relief drawing of two figures (Adam and Eve), 1954
Pastel and green oil based ink wash on paper.
75.8 x 45.6 cm
Signed and dated lower right: ‘T ZIKARAS - 54’.
NGV, Melbourne.
Accession no. 3201-4.
Photo: the author.
The NGV assign this the descriptive title of...
Relief drawing of two figures. However, it is almost certainly a depiction of Adam and Eve. The work is likely to have been exhibited among an exhibition of graphics by eight Australian artists (including Arthur Boyd, John Brack, Dorothy Braund, Clifton Pugh, Clive Stephen and Constance Stokes) at the Architectural Centre Gallery in Wellington, New Zealand, in 1957. Reviewing the show, ‘G.H.’ found Zikaras ‘one of the most interesting young artists working in Melbourne at the present time’. G.H. noted Zikaras contributed ‘two pastel drawings for sculpture and a watercolour of a reclining figure. Inspired by primitive figures reminiscent of Melanesian art forms, the two pastels are in dark greens and burnt orange, executed with purpose and strength’ (G.H., 1957). The present work is likely to have been one of the two pastels.

TZW0012

Untitled (Three female figures), 1954
Pastel and green wash on paper.
54.5 x 39.5 cm
Signed and dated lower right: ‘T. ZIKARAS - 54’.
Collection of Marcus Zikaras, Hurstbridge, Vic.
Provenance: By descent from the artist.
Photo: the author.
Exhibited: Teisutis Zikaras solo exhibition, VAS Galleries, Melbourne, 13 June - [?] 1955 (catalogue untraced but visible in installation photo); (?) Eight Australian Artists, Architectural Centre Gallery, Wellington, New Zealand, March 1957 (catalogue untraced but seemingly mentioned in a review); (?) Zikaras: Retrospective Exhibition of Drawings 1954-1974, Joseph Brown Gallery, 5 Collins Street, Melbourne, 10-21 June 1974, catalogue no. 1 (as Untitled, 1954, conté and wash, 22 x 16 inches, signed and dated); Teisutis Zikaras: Sculpture and Drawings, McClelland Gallery and Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 10 May - 19 July 2009, catalogue no. 49 (as Untitled, Three female figures, 1984 [sic], pastel, wash on paper, signed and dated T ZIKARAS 84 [sic], 54.5 x 39.5 cm, collection of Marcus Zikaras.

Photo: the author.
These three female figures are reminiscent of Gauguin’s Tahitian women and possibly echo the Melanesian influences detected by the reviewer ‘G.H.’. By virtue of their number the figures inevitably recall the three muses although they are essentially identical in feature. They are portrayed in the manner of a sculptural relief with the central figure turned side-on in order to convey movement and to show further aspects of the bodies on display.

TZW0013

Untitled (head), 1955
Pastel with sanguine conté crayon on paper.
50.0 x 34.5 cm
Signed and indistinctly dated lower right: ‘T. ZIKARAS 55 [or 56]’.
Collection of the Melbourne Lithuanian Club.
Exhibited: Teisutis Zikaras: Sculpture and Drawings, McClelland Gallery and Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic.,
10 May - 19 July 2009, catalogue no. 28 (as Untitled Head of Christ, 1956 [sic], pastel on paper, 50.0 x 34.6 cm, signed and dated, T. Zikaras 56, collection of the Melbourne Lithuanian Club).

Literature: Langwarrin, 2009, no. 28, p. 11.

Photo: the author.

The date of this work has been twice written over and reads either 55 or 56. The Langwarrin catalogue described this work as Untitled (Head of Christ). However, whilst the face is gaunt and long, it does not fit Zikaras’s preference for depicting a bearded Christ. Rather, this appears to be a woman’s face: her long-lashed eyes looking up from under the rim of a veil and the suggestion of a wimple around her neck. Her arm is raised up by her face, in the manner of a saint displaying the instruments of her martyrdom, but it is unclear as to what these instruments or objects above her head, might be – possibly bones and an egg.

TZW0014

Drawing, c. 1955

Sanguine [conté crayon] on paper.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.


Possibly a duplicate record of the previous entry (TZW0013).

TZW0015

Title unknown (man and woman in embrace), c. 1955

Black pen and ink with wash on paper.
Dimensions unknown; 45 x 30 cm approx.
Whereabouts unknown.


Photo: unknown photographer, detail of an installation view of the 1955 solo exhibition, courtesy Marcus Zikaras.

TZW0016

Title unknown (man and woman), c. 1955

(?!) Pen and ink with wash on paper.
Dimensions unknown; 60 x 40 cm approx.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Teisutis Zikaras solo exhibition, VAS Galleries, Melbourne, 13 June - [?] 1955 (catalogue untraced but visible in installation photo).
Photo: unknown photographer, detail of an installation view of the 1955 solo exhibition, courtesy Marcus Zikaras.

TZW0017

*Title unknown (kneeling nude with one arm raised)*, c. 1955
(?) Pen and ink with gouache on paper.
Dimensions unknown; 60 x 40 cm approx.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Teisutis Zikaras solo exhibition, VAS Galleries, Melbourne, 13 June - [?] 1955 (catalogue untraced but visible in installation photo).
Photo: unknown photographer, detail of an installation view of the 1955 solo exhibition, courtesy Marcus Zikaras.

TZW0018

*Dancing nude*, c. 1955
Pen and ink with wash on paper.
45.2 x 20.0 cm
Signed and dated lower right: ‘T Zikaras’.
Mornington Peninsula Regional Gallery.
Exhibited: *Teisutis Zikaras: Sculpture and Drawings*, McClelland Gallery and Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 10 May - 19 July 2009, catalogue no. 26 (as *Dancing Nude*, c. 1955, pen and ink, wash on paper, 45.2 x 20.0 cm, Mornington Peninsula Regional Gallery).
Photo: the author.

TZW0019

*Untitled (abstract composition)*, 1955
Mixed media including crayon and ink on paper.
55.0 x 35.0 cm
Signed and dated lower right: ‘T. ZIKARAS 55’.
Collection of Gabriel Zemkalnis (or possibly the Lithuanian Club, Melbourne; records vary).
Literature: Kazokas, 1992, vol. 1, p. 183, colour illustration, vol. 2, fig. 188 (where described as *Untitled 1*, 1955, gouache, 55 x 35 cm high, collection Lithuanian House Melbourne).
Photo: unknown photographer, courtesy Ken Scarlett; inscribed on reverse with owner as Gabriel Zemkalnis.
Appendix C: Teisutis Zikaras

TZW0020

**Boy and Horse, 1956**

Watercolour on paper.

Signed and dated lower right: ‘T Zikaras 56’.

Whereabouts unknown.

**Exhibited:** Teisutis Zikaras: Exhibition of His Recent Drawings, Brummel's Gallery, Toorak Road, South Yarra, Melbourne, 27 August - ? 1957 (catalogue untraced).


Alan McCulloch singled out this work in the 1957 exhibition: ‘Among the most interesting items shown are Boy And Horse, with its archaic evocations...’ (McCulloch, 1958 Aug 28).

TZW0021

**Untitled (Christ with Mary and St John the Baptist; also known as Three Kings), 1956**

Gouache and watercolour on paper. 44.0 x 33.0 cm

Signed and dated lower right: ‘T ZIKARAS 56’.

McClelland Gallery & Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic.


**Exhibited:** Teisutis Zikaras: Sculpture and Drawings, McClelland Gallery and Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 10 May - 19 July 2009, catalogue no. 27 (as Untitled, Three Kings, 1956, gouache on paper, 44.0 x 33.0 cm, signed and dated T ZIKARAS 56, McClelland Gallery & Sculpture Park Collection, purchased 2004, Fornari Bequest).

**Literature:** Langwarrin, 2009, no. 27, p. 11, b&w illustration p. 10. Photo: the author.

Contrary to the title assigned to this work in the Langwarrin catalogue, Untitled (Three Kings), I believe the subject is actually Christ with Mary and John the Baptist as the figure on the right is identical to the figure of Mary in Pieta, 1955 (see TZ0047.1).

TZW0022

**Composition, 1956**

Gouache on paper.

55.0 x 34.5 cm

Signed and dated lower left: ‘T. ZIKARAS 56’.

Collection of the Melbourne Lithuanian Club.

**Exhibited:** Teisutis Zikaras: Sculpture and Drawings, McClelland Gallery and Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 10 May - 19 July 2009, catalogue no.
29 (as Composition, 1956, gouache on paper, 55.0 x 34.5 cm, signed and dated, T. ZIKARAS 56, collection of the Melbourne Lithuanian Club).

Literature: Kazokas, 1992, vol. 1, p. 183, colour illustration, vol. 2, fig. 190 (where described as Untitled, c. 1952, mixed media, 55 x 34.5 cm high); Langwarrin, 2009, no. 29, p. 11.

The impact of Picasso is felt in this composition. A woman sits cross-legged with one arm raised over her head, which is turned in profile, presenting her body audaciously to the viewer. Her semi-spherical, flattened head is mask-like, with two unseeing eyes crowded into the black void. A profusion of crenelated shapes suggests hands and feet, closing in around the edges of the composition, making negative space as vital as the positive shapes.

TZW0023

Two Figures, c. 1956

Drawing.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: [Title unknown; gallery's first exhibition], Australian Galleries, Collingwood, Vic., June 1956, catalogue no. 245 (as Two Figures, 12 gns); [Title unknown; gallery's second exhibition], Australian Galleries, Collingwood, Vic., September 1956, catalogue no. 245 (as Two Figures, 12 gns).

Literature: Collingwood, June 1956, no. 245; Collingwood, Sept 1956, no. 245; Shore, 1957 Aug 27, p. 2.

Arnold Shore commented on this work that: ‘Two Heads link as one, plastically, symbolically and in richness of tone’ (Shore, 1957 Aug 27, p. 2).

TZW0025

Rituale, c. 1956

Drawing.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Contémporary Art Society of Australia General State Exhibition, Gallery of Contémporary Art, Tavistock Place, Melbourne, 9-? July 1956, no catalogue no. (inserted between catalogue nos. 113 and 114 as Rituale, drawing, 10 guineas)

Literature: Melbourne, 1956 July, no number assigned.

TZW0026

Drawings for sculpture, c. 1956-59

Lithograph printed in black ink; edition unknown.
42.5 x 28.4 cm
Not signed, inscribed or dated.
NGA, Canberra.

Photo: NGA.
The NGA date this simply to ‘1950s’.
However, it is possible to narrow this range to c. 1956-59 on the basis of the sculptures depicted, which include Figure (possibly Female Figure), c. 1956 (TZ0054), and Mother and child (also known as Family), c. 1956-59 (TZ0056).

TZW0027

Untitled (group of figures), 1957
Brush, pen and ink with pale brown wash on paper.
64.0 x 41.5 cm
Signed and dated lower right: ‘T ZIKARAS 57’.
Collection of Roderick Macdonald, Melbourne.
Exhibited: (?) Outset (group exhibition), 43 Dalgety Street, St Kilda, Vic, 20 March - 12 April 1959, catalogue no. 19 (as Drawing, 12 gns); Teisutis Zikaras: Sculpture and Drawings, McClelland Gallery and Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 10 May - 19 July 2009, catalogue no. 30 (as Untitled (group of figures), 1957, ink and wash on paper, signed and dated T ZIKARAS 57, 64.0 x 41.5 cm, collection of Roderick Macdonald).
Literature: (?) St Kilda, 1959, no. 19; Langwarrin, 2009, no. 30, p. 11.
Photo: the author.

TZW0028

Girl with a Bird, c. 1957
Drawing.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Teisutis Zikaras: Exhibition of His Recent Drawings, Brummel's Gallery, Toorak Road, South Yarra, Melbourne, 27 August - ? 1957 (catalogue untraced).
Literature: McCulloch, 1957 Aug 28. Alan Mc禺loch noted of Zikaras’ drawings at Brummel’s Gallery that: ‘The concentration is on structure – as befits the work of a sculptor – but there is also an excursion into the realms of colour (Girl with a Bird) that hints at new, if somewhat tentative developments’ (McCulloch, 1957 Aug 28).

TZW0029

Untitled (Adam and Eve), 1957
Watercolour with pen and ink on paper.
40.0 x 26.5 cm
Signed and dated lower right: ‘T. ZIKARAS -57’.
McClelland Gallery & Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic.
Exhibited: Teisutis Zikaras: Exhibition of His Recent Drawings, Brummel's Gallery, Toorak Road, South Yarra, Melbourne, 27 August - ? 1957 (catalogue untraced); Teisutis Zikaras: Sculpture and Drawings, McClelland Gallery and Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 10 May - 19 July 2009, catalogue no. 32 (asUntitled, 1957, ink and wash on paper, 40.0 x 26.5 cm, signed and dated T ZIKARAS -57, McClelland Gallery & Sculpture Park collection, gift of Marguerita Wu).
Photo: the author.
Although untitled, these dark-skinned naked figures of man and woman undoubtedly represent Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden. This is therefore almost certainly the same work mentioned by both Arnold Shore and Alan McCulloch in their reviews of Zikaras’ 1957 exhibition of drawings at Brummel’s. Shore noted ‘A timorous Adam and Eve stand hesitant within a delightfully ornamental border suggesting the lost garden’ while McCulloch considered ‘a somewhat prehistoric Adam and Eve’ to be among ‘the most interesting items shown’ (Shore, 1957 Aug 27, p. 2; McCulloch, 1957 Aug 28). The ‘prehistoric’ note presumably arose from the choice to depict the pair with dark skin, suggesting perhaps African or Polynesian origins.

Exhibited: Teisutis Zikaras: Exhibition of His Recent Drawings, Brummel's Gallery, Toorak Road, South Yarra, Melbourne, 27 August - ? 1957 (catalogue untraced). Literature: McCulloch, 1957 Aug 28. Reviewing Zikaras’ solo exhibition of drawings, in 1957, Alan McCulloch noted: ‘Among the most interesting items shown are ... the closely knit Vibrating Shapes’ (McCulloch, 1957 Aug 28). This is possibly a repeat record for the previous entry.

TZW0030
Title unknown, c. 1957
Gouache on paper.
Dimensions unknown.
Signed lower right: ‘ZIKARAS’.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Teisutis Zikaras: Exhibition of His Recent Drawings, Brummel's Gallery, Toorak Road, South Yarra, Melbourne, 27 August - ? 1957 (catalogue untraced).
Literature: Architecture and Arts, 1957 Sept, b&w illustration p. 44.
This may reasonably be assumed to have been in Zikaras’ 1957 solo show of drawings, given that it was used to illustrate a review of that show published in Architecture and Arts, September 1957.

TZW0031
Vibrating Shapes, c. 1957
(?) Watercolour on paper.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

TZW0032
Bull, c. 1957
Drawing.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Teisutis Zikaras: Exhibition of His Recent Drawings, Brummel's Gallery, Toorak Road, South Yarra, Melbourne, 27 August - ? 1957 (catalogue untraced).
Arnold Shore commented that ‘An active-looking Bull strikes a somewhat humorous note’ (Shore, 1957 Aug 27, p. 2).

TZW0033
Untitled (Red and Blue Grey Abstract), 1957
Crayon, watercolour and ink on paper. 33.9 x 44.3 cm
Signed and dated lower right, in blue ink: ‘T Zikaras – 57’.
University of Melbourne Art Collection.
Exhibited: (?) Zikaras: Retrospective Exhibition of Drawings 1954-1974, Joseph Brown Gallery, 5 Collins Street,

TZW0034

*Untitled (Seated female figure), 1957*
Pastel, brush and ink on paper.
46.5 x 34.0 cm
McClelland Gallery & Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic.

TZW0035

*Untitled (man and woman), 1958*
Brown chalk on paper.
43.5 x 35.5 cm
Signed and dated lower right: ‘T Zikaras 58’.
Collection of Marcus Zikaras, Hurstbridge, Vic.
Photo: the author.

TZW0036

*Mother and Child, c. 1958*
Drawing on paper.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Appendix C: Teisutis Zikaras

TZW0037

*The Bride*, c. 1958

Drawing on paper.

Dimensions unknown.

Whereabouts unknown.

**Exhibited:** Group exhibition of drawings, Museum of Modern Art, Tavistock Place, November 1958 (catalogue untraced).

**Literature:** Shore, 1958 Nov 11, p. 2; McCulloch, 1958 Nov 12, p. 25.

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TZW0038

*Untitled (Europa and the bull)*, 1958

Pen and ink on paper.

33.0 x 26.6 cm

Signed and dated lower right: ‘Z. Zikaras 58’.

Private collection, Prahran, Vic.


**Photo:** unknown photographer, reproduced in Melbourne, 1974.

Ownership details and measurements are from the McClelland Gallery accession records (Zikaras file, Ken Scarlett notes).

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TZW0039

*Untitled (figure with arms raised)*, 1958

Conté and ink wash on paper.

64.2 x 32.2 cm (image); 69.2 x 37.8 cm (sheet).

Signed and dated lower right in image in black ink: ‘ZIKARAS / - 58’; also signed and dated lower right, in blue pencil, but crossed out: ‘T. Zikaras 58’. Numbered ‘7’ in a circle in pencil lower left.

NGA, Canberra.

**Provenance:** Purchased 29 July 1974.

Accession no. NGA 74.413.

**Exhibited:** Retrospect, Five Years: Victorian Sculptors' Society, Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 21 July - 1958, ex catalogue (but visible in a photograph of the exhibition, housed among the Aaron papers); Zikaras: Retrospective Exhibition of Drawings 1954-1974, Joseph Brown Gallery, 5 Collins Street, Melbourne, 10-21 June 1974, catalogue no. 7 (as *Untitled*, 1958, conté and wash, 23 x 12 inches, signed and dated).

**Literature:** Melbourne, 1974 June, no. 7.

**Photo:** the author.
**Appendix C: Teisutis Zikaras**

**TZW0040**

*Untitled (Two figures), 1958*

Charcoal, gouache and pale brown wash on buff-coloured paper. 66.0 x 28.0 cm

Signed and dated lower right: ‘T ZIKARAS -58’.

McClelland Gallery & Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic.

Provenance: Acquired by Frank and Yvonne Nicholls in the 1950s; gift of Frank and Yvonne Nicholls, 2008.

Accession no. 2008.11.


Literature: Langwarrin, 2009, no. 34, p. 11.

Photo: the author.

The vertical flame-like ellipse of the two figures is a recurrent motif in Zikaras’ work, as are the forms of the two mono-eyed heads: one a spherical form and the taller a semi-spherical form.

**TZW0041**

*Drawing, c. 1958*

Drawing on paper.

Dimensions unknown.

Whereabouts unknown.

Exhibited: *Outset* (group exhibition), 43 Dalgety Street, St Kilda, Vic, 20 March - 12 April 1959, catalogue no. 19 (as *Drawing, 12 gns*).

Literature: St Kilda, 1959, no. 19.

**TZW0042**

*Untitled (Head of Christ, also known as One of the Three Wise Men), 1958*

Linocut printed in black ink on paper; edition of 20.

26.4 x 19.2 cm (image); 42.9 x 29.2 cm (sheet).

Signed and dated lower right: ‘T. Zikaras ’58’; signed with initials ‘ZT’ in mirror image in lower left of block; numbered lower left. One copy also inscribed along lower edge in pencil: ‘24.12.58 Linksmų Švenių! Zikara ieima’ (Merry Christmas! Zikaras).

NGA, Canberra (1/20); National M. K. Ciurlionis Art Museum, on permanent display at the Juozas Zikaras Museum, Kaunas, Lithuania; and McClelland Gallery & Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic. (also numbered 1/20).


**Literature:** (?) New Zealand Herald, 1959 May 8, p. 10; Langwarrin, 2009, no. 33, p. 11, b&w illustration p. 8.

**Photo:** NGA.

The NGA title their copy of this work *One of the Three Wise Men*. However, I believe it to be a head of Christ. Zikaras usually portrayed Christ with similarly gaunt sunken cheeks, large hooded eyes and lightly hatched-in beard. In addition, the inclusion of the fish skeleton that Christ holds – alluding to the parable of the loaves and the fishes – is in keeping with the long established esoteric sign for Christ the Saviour. Early Christians identified the Greek word for fish, *ichthus*, with the acrostic for Jesus Christ, *ICTUS*, or Jesus (I) Christ (X) of God (TH) the Son (U), the Saviour (S), based on the meaning of the Greek letters. This is almost certainly a very early experiment in printmaking for Zikaras, based on the evidence of the initials that have been carved into the block without accounting for the work then being printed in reverse in mirror image.

**TZW0043**

*Untitled (four elongated women)*, 1959

Linocut (black ink on paper); edition of 10.

31.4 x 29.8 cm (image); 34.2 h x 31.6 w cm (sheet).

Signed in the block with initials, in mirror image, lower centre: ‘ZT’.

Some prints also signed and dated lower right below image in pencil: ‘T. Zikaras 59’. Editioned in pencil in margin, lower left. NGA proof print inscribed lower left below image in pencil: ‘P’.

NGA, Canberra (proof print); Melbourne Lithuanian Club (edition unknown); and private collections.


**Exhibited:** (?) *Outset* (group exhibition), 43 Dalgety Street, St Kilda, Vic, 20 March - 12 April 1959, catalogue no. 20 (as Print Linocut, 8 gns); (?) Graphic work by Lithuanian artists in Australia (exact title unknown), Auckland Art Gallery, Auckland, New Zealand, May 1959 (no catalogue issued); *Teisutis Zikaras: Sculpture and Drawings*, McClelland Gallery and Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 10 May - 19 July 2009, catalogue no. 52 (as *Untitled, four female figures*, n.d., linocut, black ink on paper, incised ZT, collection of the Melbourne Lithuanian Club).

**Literature:** (?) St Kilda, 1959, no. 20; (?) New Zealand Herald, 1959 May 8, p. 10; Kazokas, 1992, vol 1, p. 183, vol. 2, fig. 192 (where described as *Drawing*, c. 1960, gouache, 30.5 x 28 cm, collection Lithuanian House Melbourne); Langwarrin, 2009, no. 52, p. 11.

**Photo:** Lawson’s, Sydney.

The NGA catalogue entry for this work records that it was printed in an edition of 18, yet the copy sold through Lawson’s, in 2011 and 2012, was clearly editioned: 4/10. The
Lawson’s copy was also dated 1959, correcting the NGA’s dating of c. 1955.

**Untitled (woman with birds), c. 1959**
Linocut (black ink on paper); edition unknown.
47.0 x 31.6 cm (image); 50.0 x 38.1 cm (sheet).
Signed in the block lower left: ‘T ZIKARAS’.
NGA, Canberra; SLV plus private collections including Marcus Zikaras and the estate of Norma Redpath.
Exhibited: (?) Outset (group exhibition), 43 Dalgety Street, St Kilda, Vic, 20 March - 12 April 1959, catalogue no. 20 (as Print Linocut, 8 gns); (?) Graphic work by Lithuanian artists in Australia (exact title unknown), Auckland Art Gallery, Auckland, New Zealand, May 1959 (no catalogue issued); Teisutis Zikaras: Sculpture and Drawings, McClelland Gallery and Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 10 May - 19 July 2009, catalogue no. 51 (as Untitled, figure with birds, n.d., linocut: black ink on paper, signed T ZIKARAS, 45.5 x 28.0 cm, collection of Marcus Zikaras).
Literature: (?) St Kilda, 1959, no. 20; (?) New Zealand Herald, 1959 May 8, p. 10; Langwarrin, 2009, no. 51, p. 11. The figure of a woman in veil and Grecian robe, surrounded by seven birds and sinuous vines, is most probably the goddess Aphrodite, whose symbol was the dove. This was possibly intended as a book illustration. The original linocut block survives, in Marcus Zikaras’ possession. From the block and from the prints it is clear that Zikaras has, by this stage, mastered the art of mirror-writing to incise his name in the block.

**Untitled (study for Figure), 1959**
Gouache and charcoal on paper.
Dimensions unknown.
Private collection.
Provenance: Leonard Joel’s, South Yarra, Vic., weekly auction, sale LJW5723, 16 May 2013, lot 3057 (as Teisutis Zikaras, Figure, drawing, 1959, gouache and charcoal, estimate $100-200, sold for $90); with Tarlo and Grahame, 202 Gertrude St, Fitzroy, Vic, 2013; sold by them c. 2013.
In the absence of a detailed catalogue listing, it is difficult to know how the Leonard Joel auction house dated this work to 1959. However, the date is in keeping with my dating of the NGA aluminium sculpture, Figure (TZ0071), for which this drawing is either a study or a drawing after the sculpture.
**Appendix C: Teisutis Zikaras**

**TZW0046**

*Untitled (Three Kings), 1960*

Pen, brush and black ink on paper. 48.0 x 26.5 cm
Signed and dated lower left: ‘T ZIKARAS -60’.
McClelland Gallery & Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic.
Provenance: Leonard Joel Auction, 4 March 2004, sale no. 5136, lot P364, listed as Joe Tzakaras [sic], sold $250; purchased 2004, Fornari Bequest.
Exhibited: (?) Zikaras: Retrospective Exhibition of Drawings 1954-1974, Joseph Brown Gallery, 5 Collins Street, Melbourne, 10-21 June 1974, catalogue no. 15 (as *Untitled*, 1960, ink, 19 x 10½ inches, signed and dated);
Teisutis Zikaras: Sculpture and Drawings, McClelland Gallery and Sculpture Park, Langwarrin, Vic., 10 May - 19 July 2009, catalogue no. 35 (as *Untitled, Three Kings*, 1960, ink and wash on paper, 48.0 x 26.5 cm, Signed and dated T ZIKARAS -60, McClelland Gallery + Sculpture Park collection, purchased 2004, Fornari Bequest).

Literature: (?) Melbourne, 1974 June, no. 15; Langwarrin, 2009, no. 35, p. 11, b&w illustration p. 11.

Photo: the author.

**TZW0047**

*Untitled (figures embracing), 1960*

Fibre-tipped pen on paper. 68.1 x 42.2 cm
Signed in red fibre-tipped pen lower right: ‘T. ZIKARAS’; dated (possibly retrospectively) in blue pen lower right: ‘60’.
Monash University Collection.
Literature: (?) Melbourne, 1974 June, no. 16.

Photo: unknown photographer; scanned from a slide held at the Visual Cultures Resource Centre, University of Melbourne (donated by Monash University), slide no. 11-052-11.

There is some doubt over the dating of this work, which appears unlike Zikaras’ works of the 1950s-1960. It is possible that the date was added retrospectively, at the time of the Zikaras’ 1974 exhibition of works on paper at the Joseph Brown Gallery.

**TZW0048**

*Drawing, c. 1960*

Drawing on paper.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Exhibited: Victorian Sculptors' Society Annual Exhibition, Victorian Artists' Society Galleries, East Melbourne, 24
October - 5 November 1960, catalogue no. 43 (as Drawing, NFS).
Literature: East Melbourne, 1960 Oct, no. 43.

TZW0049
Drawing, c. 1960
Drawing on paper.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Literature: East Melbourne, 1960 Oct, no. 44.

TZW0050
Drawing, c. 1960
Drawing on paper.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.

TZW0051
Drawing, c. 1960
Drawing on paper.
Dimensions unknown.
Whereabouts unknown.
Literature: East Melbourne, 1960 Oct, no. 46.

TZW0052
Anguished Figure, c. 1960
Lithograph, printed in black ink, from one plate, on thick cream wove paper; no. 2 from an edition of 2.
56.4 x 38.3 cm
Signed lower right below image: 'T Zikaras'. Inscribed lower left: '2/2'.
NGA, Canberra.
Photo: NGA.
The NGA date this lithograph to c. 1955. However, it is quite unlike Zikaras’ work from that time and has more in common with a series of works on paper that are just visible on the wall of Zikaras’ Balwyn studio in a photograph taken c. 1960 (see entry for Mecanus, 1960, TZ0076.1).
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