

Object Relations: Transatlantic Exchanges on Sculpture and Culture, 1945–1975

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Contexts for Universalism

Fueled in large part by wartime contingencies—first during World War I and again during World War II—United States–British cooperation reached perhaps its apogee in December 1941, with the signing of the Anglo-American Alliance and the creation of the Combined Chiefs of Staff—a joint British and American military command with authority over all Anglo-American operations. The alliance would continue for the next four years and lead to the invasion of Normandy and the eventual defeat of German Nazism and Japanese militarism, as well as to the development of the atomic bomb and the founding of the United Nations (1945) and of NATO (1949). Several credible historians of the period describe the US–UK alliance (known since Churchill’s famous Iron Curtain speech in Fulton, Missouri, in 1946 as the “special relationship”) as perhaps the most successful case of military, cultural, and economic bilateralism in modern history.

These events, and the international politics that drove them, were not without their artistic, especially sculptural, correlates—although for the most part the aesthetic orders on which they depended were in arrears of avant-garde taste by a couple of decades or so. The sculptural augmentation of the United Nations headquarters in New York emblemizes this conjunction. Evgenj Vuchetich’s *Let Us Beat Our Swords into Ploughshares* (fig. 1), presented to the UN on December 4, 1959, by the government of the USSR and located in the North Garden, represents a man holding a hammer aloft in one hand and a sword—which he is beating into a ploughshare—in the other. The sculpture is a crudely massive literalization of the biblical allegory that offers to convert the means of destruction into creative tools for the benefit of mankind. Built on the formal foundations of the Socialist Realism still mandated by the USSR after World War II, Vuchetich’s allegorical internationalism is both at odds and somewhat in keeping with the other sculptural languages that have come to rest in the precincts of the United Nations—including Henry Moore’s signature *Reclining Figure: Hand* (fig. 2), a bronze sculpture gifted by the Henry Moore Foundation in September 1982 (located in the same landscaped area north of the United Nations Secretariat Building), and Barbara Hepworth’s *Single Form*, which was installed on a granite plinth on the site of the ornamental pool in front of the UN

Figure 1

Evgenj Vuchetich (Russian, 1908–1974), *Let Us Beat Our Swords into Ploughshares*. Bronze, dimensions unknown. New York, United Nations North Garden. Presented on 4 December 1959, by the government of the USSR. © Estate of Evgenj Viktorovich Vuchetich/RAO, Moscow/Licensed by VAGA, New York, NY. Photo: UN Photo/Michos Tzovaras



Figure 2

Henry Moore (British, 1898–1986), *Reclining Figure: Hand*, 1979. Bronze, L: 221 cm (87 in.). New York, United Nations North Garden. Gift of The Henry Moore Foundation, September 1982. Reproduced by permission of The Henry Moore Foundation. Photo: UN Photo/Michos Tzovaras



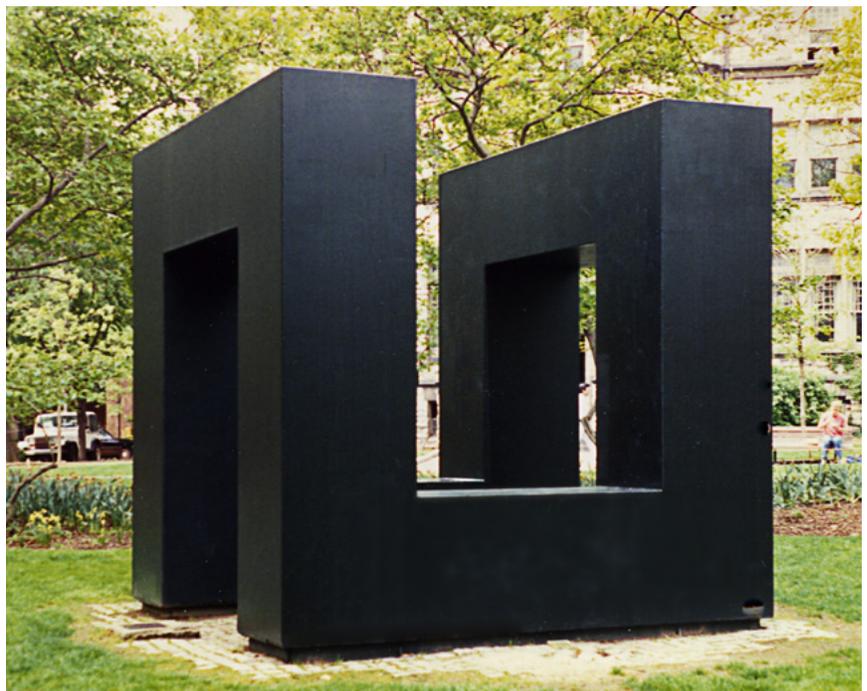
building in 1964. Assisted by powerful currents of implied site-specificity, these and most of the other works at the UN offer various mantras for neohumanistic nonviolence, antimilitarism, and international communitarianism.¹

Led by the lodestars of the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine, which were developed in the 1940s and 1950s, Anglo-American relations between the close of World War II and the mid-1970s endured a sequence of crises, of both confidence and action, until the era of Reagan/Thatcher neoconservatism and the Bush/Blair rapprochement. These included the Palestine question; the emergence of the Cold War in Europe in the late 1940s, and in Asia between 1945 and 1954; the Suez Crisis of 1956; and the Skybolt and Cuban Missile crises of 1962. The special relationship was further taxed by the often debilitating media and parliamentary debates on European integration and Britain's relationship to the common market and the European Union, as well as by its long nights of industrial action in the 1970s and by Britain's rapid decolonization, one of the most precipitous eclipses of territorial and economic power in history—a case, as David Reynolds put it in a powerful study, of *Britannia Overruled*.² There was considerable impact, too, from a succession of military conflicts, including the wars in Cambodia, Vietnam, and, later, the Falklands and the two Gulf Wars.³

Few sculptural works on either side of the Atlantic addressed these conflicts directly, although exceptions in the United States include Tony Smith's *We Lost* (fig. 3), an antimemorial arch, or Arc de Triomphe manqué, acquired by the University of Pennsylvania in 1967, but not dedicated until 1976; Mark di Suvero's painted steel *Mother Peace* (1970), with its perforated peace sign, at the Storm King Art Center in Mountainville, New York;⁴ and Duane Hanson's *Vietnam Scene* (1969). In the United Kingdom there was, perhaps, even less work using sculptural forms or materials that directly engaged with the international conflicts of the era. But we should point to Colin Self's witty indictments

Figure 3

Tony Smith (American, 1912–1980), *We Lost*, 1962. Painted steel, 312 × 312 × 312 cm (123 × 123 × 123 in.). © 2010 Estate of Tony Smith/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Photo courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Art Collection, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania



of the Cold War arms race—such as *Leopardskin Nuclear Bomber No. 2* (1963) or his darker *Beach Girl: Nuclear Victim* (1966)—and especially to Michael Sandle’s *Twentieth Century Memorial* (1971–78). Exhibited at the 1978 *Hayward Annual*, *Twentieth Century Memorial* was directly predicated on the artist’s response to the Vietnam War and is described in one account of radical art in 1970s Britain as “the most substantial sculpture by a British artist produced in the 1970s.”⁵

It is evident, however, that economic and political relationships between the United States and the UK in the postwar years turned on the eclipse of the latter’s maritime and mercantile power and the precipitous growth of US economic might. The contrarian and polemicist Christopher Hitchens notes in *Blood, Class and Empire: The Enduring Anglo-American Relationship* that while the closeness between the US and the UK is usually accounted for as a matter of tradition, manners, and common culture sanctified by wartime alliance, the special ingredient that really binds this relationship is empire. Transmitted from an ancien régime that tried to preserve and renew itself through empire, England, in Hitchens’s view, has played the role of Greece to the American Rome.⁶ Sculpture, as ever, provides an exception that proves the rule in Tony Berlant’s *The Marriage of New York and Athens* (1966), which, while switching the partners of the alliance, underlines the classicizing aspirations argued for by Hitchens.

In the cultural and ideological spheres, similar arguments were made, sometimes bluntly. F. Scott Fitzgerald wrote to Edmund Wilson from London in 1921, for example: “God damn the continent of Europe. . . . It is of merely antiquarian interest.” He asserted that “in the next quarter of a century at most . . . New York will be the global capital of culture” because “culture follows money . . . *we will be the Romans of the next generations as the English are now.*”⁷ While the language and critical assumptions had changed enormously, this fundamental insight remained intact sixty-five years later when Stuart Hall, at the Birmingham Center for Cultural Studies, defined postmodernism itself in 1986 as “the way the world has dreamed itself American.”⁸

But the refrain of US cultural relations with Europe was resoundingly oriented to the New York–Paris axis. These were the key artistic centers about which Thomas Hess spun his “Tale of Two Cities” in 1964 and with which Serge Guilbaut reckoned so energetically in his landmark study *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art* in 1983.⁹ One could argue that the residually figurative impulse of the Parisian avant-garde—long fueled by a thoroughgoing suspicion about what Joan Miró referred to as the “deserted house” of abstraction¹⁰—gave way to two regimes of visual signification in the US neo-avant-garde that were antithetical to Franco-centric practice: works not predicated on relations of identity or bodily presence, on the one hand, and practices grounded in vernacular or mass culture on the other. One by-product of the infamous theft of modern art was, however, a kickback for some of the imperialist continuities in the Anglophone alliance; it was in the provision of a sculptural model of radical abstraction (by Anthony Caro), on the one hand, and in the codevelopment of pop art in London and New York, on the other, that—so far as the visual arts are concerned—the two cultures were, we could argue, most mutually indebted between the mid-1940s and mid-1970s.

Before moving to some specific remarks about movements and individual artists, I want to underline what lies on the other side of the nationalist

debate, necessarily mitigating against the logic and assumptions of prioritizing schools and time frames organized around nations and cities—Britain, the United States, France, London, New York, Paris. I’m referring, of course, to the discourse of cultural internationalism, which we have encountered in the provision of sculptural supplements to the United Nations Secretariat in New York. The institutionally sited sculptures of Moore and Hepworth (her Dag Hammarskjöld monument installed in 1964 was the first large-scale abstract public sculpture in the United States) are founded on a transnationalist agenda supported by notions of humanist and abstract universalism. These and related ideas—in many, sometimes antithetical, guises—constitute one of the key contexts for the development of painting and sculpture in the postwar years.

The very language of abstraction itself—fully developed in New York by around 1948 and predicated on what Guilbaut refers to as “the art of obliteration”¹¹—is underwritten, of course, by its own shifting discourse of universalist assumptions. Worked out in downtown New York in parallel with the rise of virulent anticommunism, this abstraction was soon put to work as a cipher for freedom of expression, creative individualism, and political liberty. Internationalism clearly catches up with its own tail in this dispensation, and fuses into a spiral of reterritorializations. For, as expressive abstraction was wielded as an instrument of propaganda, it was proportionally cross-correlated with its privileged point of origin in the United States, thus reverting to a nationalist advertisement redolent of export-ready American values.

It is surely also the case that the pictorialist bias of the new American School (formed in a triangulation between Jackson Pollock’s drip paintings, the more planar dispensations of the other abstract expressionists, and the later color field paintings of Morris Louis, Kenneth Noland, and others) granted an implicit permission for British sculpture—spearheaded by Caro and the first group of modernist sculptors from the St. Martin’s School of Art—to administer the high modernist rites to three-dimensional noniconic representation presided over by the logic of structural relations. Time and again Caro was held to do this *as if he were* really an American—which, to cite just one example, accounted for his inclusion among some eighty US artists in Maurice Tuchman’s gargantuan exhibition *American Sculpture of the Sixties* at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art in 1967.

While cultural internationalism took many forms in the postwar period, Henry Moore’s position on the question, as expressed most cogently in his lecture at a UNESCO conference during the Venice Biennale in September 1952, sounds out some of the central propositions. First, there is a nostalgia for the organic interrelation of artist and society in the preindustrial world, fueled by what Moore terms “universal faith”—the “unified structures” of which offer definition and purpose to the artist.¹² Second, modernity is defined by a fragmentation and specialization that alienates artists from this universalism. Third, there are two responses to these contingencies: either artists will be forced to rely on their individuality and uniqueness, or, at the other extreme, the state will intervene through its generation of a singular cultural template imposed by virtue of its monopoly on patronage, commissions, themes, and materials, as in the USSR. Once more, however, a certain measure of equivocation is built into these seemingly polarized possibilities, for the orientation of the individual artist, in Moore’s view, is toward a universalizing liberal humanism itemized through figures of the family and the couple, emblems of motherhood, and various

surrogates for Everyman. Soviet cultural policy often promoted a superficially similar agenda of figurative types—struck in the poses of leadership, happy leisure, or heroic labor—so that the proselytizing zeal of the Communist international functioned at the same time as a form of crypto-nationalism in the polarized politics of the Cold War.

These “interactive” antitheses also inform the thinking of artists working in sculptural languages far removed from Moore’s. Donald Judd’s essay “Imperialism, Nationalism and Regionalism” (written in October 1975), for example, forms a bookend to the internationalist question, just as it does to his *Collected Writings* published by the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design. It also marks the chronological end brackets of our conference and publication. Judd allies his internationalism with Pollock’s, whom he quotes approvingly: “The basic problems of contemporary painting are independent of any one country.” “I hope,” Judd contends, “my work is international and not European.”¹³ For him the concept of “European” was governed by the compositional address to art making and countermanded by the production of “specific objects” whose particularity was embedded in the generalized coefficients of postwar industrial production—plastics, metals, paints—allied with symmetry, “seriality,” and so on. As befitting Caro’s offshore, quasi-European identity, Judd’s review of his 1964 show at the Emmerich Gallery, New York, asserts that while he is clearly the best British sculptor since Moore, and his work is imbued with a certain quotient of counter-compositionality, as well as a lack of high art pomposity, it falls, finally, somewhere between the United States and continental Europe, and occupies a space in between traditional sculpture and the uncomposed, countersculptural objectness defended by Judd.¹⁴

Somewhat different from, though clearly related to, the universalist assumptions of neohumanism and its quasi-existential correlates, a key filament of the internationalist discourse that I am sketching here has fed into the new globalism underwriting the profusion of art fairs and biennials that blossomed between the art booms of the late 1980s and the early twenty-first century. Once again these conditions preserve the dialectic between national specificity (here in metropolitan and regional sites and funding structures—Istanbul and Shanghai, Sydney and Kwonju) and the internationalist, now globalizing, homogeneity of the sanctioned quorum of artists and curators that shuttles between these diverse locations, usually deploying an internationally recognized thematic orientation.

Corporal Punishment

Nowhere was the other side of the abstractionist question better represented during these years in relation to sculpture than in the debate between realism and abstraction, played out in exhibitions such as *New Images of Man*, curated by Peter Selz for the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in 1959. Paul Tillich’s preface to the exhibition catalogue for the MoMA show sets the tone by posing to contemporary artists a set of stirring questions about the redemption of their humanity: “Where are the organic forms of man’s body, the human character of his face, the uniqueness of his individual person? And finally, when in abstract or non-objective painting and sculpture the figure disappears completely, one is tempted to ask, what has happened to man?”¹⁵ *New Images of Man* was conceived against the double “dehumanizations” of totalitarianism and “technical

mass civilization,” and its artists held to protest “against the fate to become a thing.”¹⁶ The neohumanism negotiated here offers the body as a site of struggle, shock, and threat, in the contexts of which “man” is effectively miniaturized, revealing not just his literal “smallness” but his deep implication “in the vast masses of inorganic matter out of which he tries to emerge with toil and pain.” Subject to the relentless “controlling power of technical forms” which “dissect” and “reconstruct” the body, the new image of man reveals “the hidden presence of animal trends in the unconscious and the primitive mass-man from which man comes and to which civilized mass-man may return.”¹⁷

Despite the emphasis here on anxiety, despair, primitivism, and possession by demonic forces, there is a quasi-religious insistence on redemption through suffering, the insistent passage of “anguish and dread” through the tradition of Friedrich Nietzsche, Søren Kierkegaard, Martin Heidegger, and Albert Camus, and on the cosmologically calibrated smallness of personhood that results. Thus, even when Selz specifically objects to the cultivation by academics and social realists of the new humanism (which the exhibition seems elsewhere to advocate), counterposed by what he terms “effigies of the disquiet man” governed by special powers that make them over as “icon[s], poppet[s], fetish[es],”¹⁸ his emphasis is on the unending struggle of consciousness and its metaphorization in materials and techniques.

The language used to discuss the effects of individual artists underlines this. Francis Bacon’s figures are seen as “howling with torture and guilt”;¹⁹ Leonard Baskin’s work, like Alberto Giacometti’s, exemplifies a maximal manipulation of imaginative scale, so that “between eye and eye stretches an interminable landscape” and the body’s “wandering . . . magnitudes” reach for a semblance of “divinity.”²⁰ Theodor Roszak’s *Iron Throat* (1959) is a mighty “canine-human head”—“the portrait bust of a scream—agony, terror, warning.”²¹

The MoMA show included four British artists (out of a total of twenty-three)—in addition to Bacon, the sculptors Kenneth Armitage, Reg Butler, and Eduardo Paolozzi. All vigorously defended the correlation of their sculptures or paintings with the presence and implications of the human body. For Butler, sculpture was “naturally” oriented toward “the personage, the creature, the human animal”—to what he terms, finally, the *magic object* (fig. 4). Butler also offers an existential predicate for the self-referentiality that was being established concurrently in the emergent discourse of formalism. For him this lies in the very actuality of the body held in common between “the sculptor and his work,” which both “share the same actual space and enjoy the same physical dimensions.”²²

Armitage, who was introduced to the United States in 1954, dedicated himself to economy and pattern, and to the sculptural achievement of “area without actual bulk.”²³ He also defended sculpture based on the human image (fig. 5) and attacked the whole enterprise of abstraction, while working out his signature clumping of bodies in groups and small crowds. Paolozzi offers a slightly different orientation, as his mythologically inflected “necromantic fetishes of the technological world, automatons born of fragmentation”²⁴ are scavenged composites textured by molded impressions from mass-produced cast-offs.

Many of the issues and much of the language present in *New Images of Man* had been anticipated by the acclaimed exhibition *New Aspects of British*

Figure 4

Reg Butler (British, 1913–1981), *Woman*, 1949.
Forged steel, 221 × 76.2 × 48.3 cm (87 × 30 ×
19 in.). London, Tate, T03708. © Estate of Reg
Butler. Photo: Tate, London/Art Resource, NY



Figure 5

Kenneth Armitage (British, 1916–2002), *Seated
Woman with Square Head (version B)*, 1955.
Bronze, 60 × 25.1 × 31.1 cm (23⁵/₈ × 9⁷/₈ ×
12¹/₄ in.). London, Tate, N05942. © Kenneth
Armitage Foundation. Photo: Tate, London/Art
Resource, NY



Sculpture presented at the Venice Biennale in 1952, which included work by Paolozzi, Armitage, Lynn Chadwick, Geoffrey Clarke, Bernard Meadows, Butler, William Turnbull, and Robert Adams. It was in relation to this exhibition that Herbert Read penned his famous lines, the last phrase of which became the sobriquet for what Lawrence Alloway's review in *Artnews* headlined as "Britain's New Iron Age."²⁵ "Here," wrote Read, "are images of flight, of ragged claws 'scuttling across the floors of silent seas,' of excoriated flesh, frustrated sex, the geometry of fear."²⁶

The battle for realism and figurative art in Britain during the Cold War, 1945–1960, to borrow the title of a recent book by James Hyman,²⁷ was more often than not an occasion to indulge in the locative pieties of nationalist cultural identity, laced with explicit strains of xenophobia. Nikolaus Pevsner delivered his Reith Lectures in 1955, which were published the following year as the best-selling book *The Englishness of English Art*;²⁸ in the same year W. G. Hoskins brought out *The Making of the English Landscape*, which delivered a paean to preindustrial nature. For him the national identity of Britain was nowhere more explicitly corrupted than by the American air bases "flayed" into the flatlands of Norfolk and Lincolnshire, whose "atom-bombers" lay "trails like a filthy slug upon Constable's and Gainsborough's sky."²⁹

Hyman charts the neonationalism that underwrote the criticism of two key figures who emerged in this era: David Sylvester, whose support for Bacon and the School of London offered an enduring alternative—and corrective—to the international export of Greenbergian formalism and, later, to conceptual antipictoriality; and John Berger, whose advocacy in the pages of the *New Statesman* in the mid-1950s for an adequate, socially inflected realism (he supported the work of Betty Rea, George Fullard, Ralph Brown, and others) brought compromise at the level of specificity to the generalized critique of the conditions of viewing that he later developed. The Little Englandism that surfaced from time to time in Sylvester and Berger—but which was endemic in some of the circles in which their writings were popularized—continued unabated into the 1980s, as witnessed for example by Peter Fuller who, in a review of the Royal Academy blockbuster *British Art in the 20th Century* (1987), gave vent to a jeremiad against modernism, Americanism, and abstraction in the name of neo-romanticism, landscape painting, and what he termed "conservationism."³⁰ In the writings of all three men, sculpture gets short shrift, although Fuller lands his polemic most caustically not just on pop art and disembodied abstraction but on Caro before he returned to the figure in the later 1970s, while Sylvester's evaluation of the School of London seems underwritten in large measure by his almost obsessive reflections on the sculpture of Giacometti.

On Pop

Developed between around 1955 and 1965—at the heart of the thirty-year span under consideration in this volume—the casually satirical anti-utopianism of classic pop art, was, crucially, played out in front of a stage set of US-denominated commodity culture. In his useful 1987 article "Toward a Throw-Away Culture: Consumerism, 'Style Obsolescence' and Cultural Theory in the 1950s and 1960s," Nigel Whiteley explains that one of the social catalysts for the pop generation in the era of the credit card and Hire Purchase was a crucial new inflection in the theory and practice of design.³¹ Ushered in by streamline art deco design in the 1930s, the systematic organization of planned obsolescence became

a mantra for designers and commodity manufacturers in the later 1940s. As J. Gordon Lippincott put it in *Design for Business* in 1947: “There is only one reason for hiring an industrial designer, and that is to increase the sales of the product.”³² Design placed at the service of its own expenditures created a mercantilist antithesis to the aesthetic utilitarianism of European modernist design, which proposed elegantly spare solutions to the self-reflexive functionality of the useful object. Prompted by a profusion of main street showrooms and mass suburbanization, social status was gauged through the consumption and display of commodities; the largest and most visible of these were products of an expansionist car culture in the 1950s that took upon itself the manifest destiny of metalwork in the twentieth century, offering, according to one account, an “accurate image of post-war value immortalized in chrome and steel.”³³

Reactions to Americanized popular and commodity cultures, and later to Britain’s variants of them, were predictably polarized. In *The Uses of Literacy* in 1957, Richard Hoggart wrote of the “corrupt brightness,” “improper appeals,” “moral evasions,” and “irresponsible pleasure” of American “mass-entertainments.”³⁴ These denigrations were echoed by Raymond Williams in *Culture and Society* and *The Long Revolution*,³⁵ and they had political correlates both in right-wing Conservative xenophobia and cultural elitism and in left-wing critiques of bourgeois and capitalist values. As Whitely explains, one response to this situation—notably by the Independent Group in London (which included Alloway, Reyner Banham, John McHale, Richard Hamilton, and architects Alison and Peter Smithson, among others)—gave rise to the emergence in Britain of a “cultural theory of expendability” predicated on “technological progressivism.”³⁶ This constellation of artists, architects, and critics was willing to take “mass-produced urban culture” seriously and to stand up against anti-Americanism, British elitism—with its “Montgomery and soda-water” disdain³⁷—and the high-toned truth-to-materials or obeisance-to-form of institutionalized modernism. Based on intermittent bouts of pseudo-utopianism, an unstinting prochange ethos, and whimsical techno-futurism, their views—particularly those of Alloway, Banham, and Hamilton—were predicated on the separation of American design and cultural energy from the socio-political operability that all found troubling or disturbing.

Banham’s apologia pro-America was unremitting: the “gusto and professionalism of wide-screen movies or Detroit car styling,” he exclaimed, “was a constant reproach to the [Henry] Moore-ish yokely of British sculpture or the affected Piperish gloom of British painting.”³⁸ One of the most visible and consequential products of the fascination with America was the emigration to the United States of many of the leading protagonists of these years. Alloway moved to New York in 1961 to become senior curator at the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, where he remained until 1966; he lived in the United States for the rest of his life. McHale, David Hockney, and later Derek Boshier and others also emigrated to the States.

The place of sculpture in the pop art movements in both London and New York is once more ambiguous. For a start, with the obvious exception of Claes Oldenburg, there are very few sculptors on either side of the Atlantic who can be clearly identified as pop artists. The movement was more invested in principles of collage or montage derived from graphic, print, and screen cultures and oriented to the media delivery systems that sustained them.

Figure 6

Richard Hamilton (British, b. 1922), *Just What Is It that Makes Today's Homes So Different, So Appealing?* Poster for *This Is Tomorrow* exhibition, Whitechapel Gallery, 1956. Screenprint, 76.2 × 51.1 cm (30 × 20 1/8 in.). London, Victoria & Albert Museum, E.176-1994. Gift of Professor Theo Crosby. © 2010 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/DACS London. Photo © Victoria and Albert Museum, London



Furthermore, during the early phases of pop in London, its public and three-dimensional interests were more aligned with architecture, urbanism, and design than with the production of fine art objects. The clearest symptom of this is found in the relationship of the sculptors in *This Is Tomorrow* (fig. 6)—an early pop exhibition at the Whitechapel Art Gallery in 1956—to their colleagues in architecture, design, and painting. Originally conceived as a multipart show subcurated into twelve groups of three, each comprising an architect, a painter, and sculptor, the groups were in the end disproportionately weighted toward practitioners and critics of architecture and design—such as Theo Crosby, Germano Facetti, McHale, John Voelcker, Alison and Peter Smithson, James Stirling, Michael Pine, John Weeks, and others. In point of fact, most of the sculptors actually involved in the project were associated with the constructivist group, the subject of Alastair Grieve’s recent study, *Constructed Abstract Art in England after the Second World War: A Neglected Avant Garde*;³⁹ these included Anthony Hill, Kenneth and Mary Martin, Stephen Gilbert, and John Ernest, the last an American-born artist who worked in England from 1951, one of the relatively few artists who moved from west to east in this era, along the jet stream. The affiliation of this group with the international language of construction produced yet more interference for any potential alliance of sculptural practice with popular culture.

Greenberg and Fried: Caro and Formalism

As several of the contributions to this publication discuss aspects of Caro's work in an Anglo-American context, I am not going to add much here. I will, however, note that Caro's career from the mid-1940s, when he served in the Royal Navy, through to 1975, the year of his retrospective of thirty-three works at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, curated by William Rubin, overlays our thirty-year period like a template.

When Michael Fried recalled the importance of Caro to the development of his critical positions in a piece for *Artforum* in 1993 that took the sculptor's *Midday* (1960) as its point of departure, he noted that "Caro was one of a number of artists—along with Morris Louis, Helen Frankenthaler, Frank Stella (one year ahead of me at Princeton), Kenneth Noland, Jules Olitski, and Larry Poons—whose work came to lie at the center of my own reflections about the nature and significance of high-modernist painting and sculpture during the period of my most intense activity as an art critic."⁴⁰ Fried makes clear here what Greenberg hinted: among color field and Hard Edge painters Caro's work alone perfectly emblemized the self-reflexive abstraction according to which this form of critical reckoning was organized. In simple terms, Caro's work was the best possible fit for the formalist approach to sculpture—that "long-eclipsed art," as Greenberg put it in 1949 in "The New Sculpture." He was the proof, and possibly sole guarantor, again in Greenberg's words, that sculpture "stands to gain by the modernist 'reduction' as painting does not."⁴¹

Beyond Sculpture

The 1950s and 1960s were characterized by a wide range of signal challenges to sculpture's traditional materials and formats, which included the blurring of boundaries between pictoriality and three-dimensional art through the expansion of collage and montage-based practices, as in the combines of Robert Rauschenberg and the *décollage* of Volf Vorstell. The redefinition of work made in three dimensions took many new forms, including the environments and happenings of Allan Kaprow, the tableaux and proto-installations of Ed Kienholz, the para-institutions of Marcel Broodthaers, the work of Claes Oldenburg and Paul Thek, and the structures of "open propositionality" of Hélio Oiticica, which transcend the palpability of "painting-sculpture-poem fusions" to engage with what he termed in 1967 the "suprasensorial."⁴² They also include the "Social Sculpture/Social Architecture" advocated by Joseph Beuys in the name of transforming the "social organism into a work of art."⁴³

Advanced sculpture was progressively untethered from its historical dependence on wood, stone, and metals; instead, practitioners worked with junk, refuse, poor quality materials, and the products of industrial manufacture, including bricks, new synthetic plastics, plywood, and neon lights. US artists and commentators responded to these changes in the 1960s and 1970s in several ways. In a short article written in 1965 and published as the first product of his Something Else Press the following year, Dick Higgins suggested the term *intermedia* to speak to the heterogeneous layering of forms, materials, and locations in contemporary art, theater and, more briefly, music.⁴⁴ Some of these ideas were anticipated, although in quite different critical languages and contexts, by Reyner Banham in his article "Not Quite Architecture: 'Not Quite Painting or Sculpture Either.'"⁴⁵

A quarter of a century later, Rosalind Krauss famously summarized this shift as a move to “sculpture in the expanded field,” referring to a new set of developments in the later 1960s and early 1970s, which included land art, process art, and conceptualism.⁴⁶ Sculpture, she remarked, had been “kneaded and twisted” during the 1960s and 1970s to “include just about anything.” The malleability implied by Krauss’s industrio-culinary metaphor makes sculpture subject to its own transformative principles. The result is a metasculptural discourse: on the one hand, artists used sculpture to reflect on the medium itself and the interstices between materials, objects, and processes; on other hand, sculpture was posed on thresholds of everything that traditional sculpture had *not* been—landscape, architecture, social space, and so on.

With few exceptions—including, crucially, the ways that sculptural practices were filtered through actions and performances—British artists, it seems to me, participated only fitfully in the first phase of the material redefinition of sculpture and its points of suspension between body, structure, and place, from the later 1950s to the early 1970s. Making good on this claim would require a dedicated separate study, but one rough guide might be found by assessing the place reserved for expanded field sculpture in Britain in Lucy Lippard’s 1973 compendium, *Six Years: The Dematerialization of the Art Object*,⁴⁷ which swiftly became a touchstone for the new media and approaches of the conceptual art era. Informed by what Lippard herself later referred to as the “core value” of “over-the-top accumulation,” which was in turn “the result of a politically intentional anti-exclusive aesthetic,”⁴⁸ my question here turns on the nature and implications of her logic of “inclusion” both in general and as it relates to British sculptural-type activities in this crucial period. In what follows I take brief stock of six different forms in which the presence—and absence—of conceptually oriented British sculpture are demarcated—directly or by implication—in Lippard’s text, although I have space only to elaborate a little on several different artists in the last three. Using Lippard’s text as a point of refraction for a saliently incomplete American view onto the contributions in Britain to new genres of practice at the turn of the 70s provides a kind of coda in the form of a ghost story for the last chapter of the transatlantic relationship.

We should note, first, that before she makes mention of any specific artistic activities, Lippard takes us back to another facet of the postwar debate on the local and the regional, the international and the global, for one of her working assumptions correlates dematerialized art with a would-be new internationalism. She puts it in these terms: “One of the most important things about the new deterritorialized art is that it provides a way of getting the power structure out of New York. . . . Much art now is transported by the artist, or *in* the artist himself, rather than by watered-down, belated circulating exhibitions, or by existing information networks such as mail, books, telex, video, radio, etc.”⁴⁹

Second, we must note that *Six Years* actually contains very few entries from Britain, especially in the area of key exhibitions, which are limited to two in Lippard’s purview. *Idea Structures*, curated by Charles Harrison, was shown at the Camden Arts Center and Central Library, Swiss Cottage, London, from June 24 to July 19, 1970. The catalogue contains “full works” by Keith Arnatt, Victor Burgin, Ed Herring, Joseph Kosuth, and the group Art & Language.⁵⁰ *Wall Show*, which appeared at the Lisson Gallery, London, in January 1971, included Sue Arrowsmith, Arnatt, Edmonds, Barry Flanagan, Michael Ginsborg, Gerard Hemsworth, John Hilliard, John Latham, Bob Law (included as “Lew”

by Lippard), Sol LeWitt, Roelof Louw, Ian Munro, Gerald Newman, Blinky Palermo, Klaus Rinke, Ed Sirrs, John Stezaker, David Tremlett, Lawrence Weiner, and Richard Wentworth. Although not mentioned by Lippard, we could add to this brief list the almost forgotten exhibition *The British Avant-Garde*, curated by Charles Harrison in 1971 at the New York Cultural Center, for which the May 1971 edition of *Studio International* served as a catalogue, publishing his essay “Virgin Soil and Old Land.”⁵¹

Third, there are in fact as many or more references to arte povera and its affiliates in Turin; to Ian Baxter, Jeff Wall, and Ian Wallace in Vancouver; and to Halifax, home of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design—where Douglas Huebler and others were teaching—than there are to Britain as a whole.

A fourth form of negotiation is found in Lippard’s reference to Richard Long, one of a small number of British artists who receive somewhat more than a cursory reference in *Six Years*. Lippard mentions Long as a precursor, along with Carl Andre, Richard Serra, Robert Smithson, and Robert Morris, of the distinctive parasculptural idiom of piling or accumulating material. She lists several works by Long, including: *Bicycle Sculpture* (1967); his “sculpture for Martin and Mia Visser”; “Seven Views of a Sculpture” (1969); and a project titled *Richard Long Skulptures, England, Germany, Africa, America* at the Stadtische Museum, Mönchengladbach, Germany, in the summer of 1970, which took the form of a boxed book of photos.⁵² There is an implicit suggestion here that the art-orientation of Long’s work had in a sense retreated from the landscape to its representation. With Hamish Fulton’s *Pilgrim’s Way* (April 1971),⁵³ the last work illustrated by Lippard, and Long’s “England” pieces, the first two illustrations of work by a UK artist in the book, it seems clearly to be the case that Britain’s contribution to earth art was viewed from New York as its most signal innovation.

Fifth, Lippard reserves several entries, accompanied by rather bemused annotations, for the constellation of predominantly text-based activity emanating from the English Midlands, especially from the war-damaged industrial city of Coventry. I’m referring, of course, to Art & Language (and associated groups), whose journal of the same title and related publications (such as *Statement* and *Analytic Art*) received several citations. The interventions of Art & Language, along with those by Joseph Kosuth in New York, offered the most stringent critique to date of the physical presence of the artwork, even in the dematerialized dispensation proffered by Lippard. In the mid-1970s the polemical intensity of this discussion between Art & Language–affiliated groups in New York and England reached a fever pitch that represented probably the most clamorous transatlantic debate of the postwar era, and, at the same time, the most substantial and sweeping attack on the predicates of anything that had hitherto been defined as sculptural.⁵⁴ This debate about the most radical possibilities of “dematerialization” is reinforced—and complicated—by the presentation in *Six Years* of a then-unpublished letter by John Latham to the editor and John Chandler about Lippard’s earlier article “The Dematerialization of Art,”⁵⁵ which, among other things, debates the nature of solid-state matter and what Latham termed “radiant energy.”⁵⁶ The very existence of sculpture in any material form was clearly under threat from the twin agencies of amateur particle physics and philosophical conceptualization.

Sixth, the only British artist who receives as many mentions by Lippard as Long, Fulton, and Art & Language is Latham himself, beginning with his

impudent chewing piece in which he masticated the pages of a copy of Clement Greenberg's *Art and Culture*, borrowed from the St. Martin's library in August 1966, dissolved what remained in acid, and then sent the solution back along with his year-late recall notice. This gesture of Anglo-American Oedipal cannibalism, is not, however, the most significant measure of Latham's contribution to transatlantic avant-garde exchange, which arrives, instead, in two forms. The first is his reflection on the relationship between materiality, language, and sculpture as outlined in another letter sent to Lippard on March 24, 1969, which he titled "Initial Premise: That 'material' is steadystate Idea, i.e. 'habit.'"⁵⁷ The letter is presented in double columns with one side captioned "In the given material" (e.g., "Preconceptions about words") and the other, "The Sculpture" (e.g., "Review a dictionary without using words").

The second contribution concerns Latham's work with the Artist Placement Group (APG). Founded by Barbara Steveni and Latham in 1966, the APG facilitated the invitation of artists into companies and businesses in the UK. Lippard makes at least four references to the APG⁵⁸ that clearly attest to her preference for art that "jolted" social relations, as she states in the introduction.⁵⁹ What interests me here is that Latham negotiates a third position—which he explicitly labels as an intervention into "social sculpture"—between Joseph Beuys's shamanic *gestamptkunstwerk* and the sometimes paternalist neocorporatism of the Art and Technology program, set in motion by Maurice Tuchman and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA) in 1967. In this third position sculpture is made over as an adjunct of work, and its points of origin, at least, are resituated in the workplace.

If Latham opened up the operability of a concept of sculpture animated by its relation to the social, and Art & Language sought to eradicate its materiality, I want to suggest, finally, that the other British artists curated by Lippard into *Six Years* were caught up in a mesh of commitments to traditionalism (extrapolated in part from the British land artists), on the one hand, and definitional multiplicities for sculpture, on the other. This is clearest in the early work of Gilbert and George, who performed their first version of *Singing Sculpture* (fig. 7) at St. Martin's School of Art, London (January, 20, 1969), produced an *Interview Sculpture* later that same month, served "The Meal" to "David Hockney" in May 1969,⁶⁰ and made their first *Living Sculpture* at the International Jazz festival, Plympton Race Course, Sussex, in August 1969—all of which are included by Lippard. By mounting themselves on plinths, gilding their faces, dressing conservatively in Saville Row suits, and attaching themselves fetishistically to British values, such as the Union Jack and the English countryside, Gilbert and George's neotraditionalism is abundantly clear. Like Long and Fulton, they too soon reverted to photo-based forms of self-presentation. But Gilbert and George also added an ironic reflection on the infinite plurality of sculptural forms. "We would honestly like to say how happy we are to be sculptors," they noted in 1970.⁶¹ In the same year, in "A Message from the Sculptors" in *Art for All*, a booklet with loose photographs and "sculptor's samples," they laid out their product line: "Gilbert and George have a wide range of sculptures for you—singing sculpture, interview sculpture, dancing sculpture, nerve sculpture, cafe sculpture, and philosophy sculpture. So do contact us."⁶²

For Keith Arnatt, traditionalism is trumped by ritual, and self-presence or self-reference eclipsed by self-interment. Lippard collects his *Liverpool Beach-Burial* (1968), which is reproduced with a text proposing that sculpture

Figure 7
 Gilbert Proesch (Italian, b. 1943) and George
 Passmore (British, b. 1942), *Singing Sculpture*,
 25 September 1971, performance at the Andre
 Emmerich Gallery, New York, NY. Photo:
 Fred W. McDarrah/Getty Images



might be redefined in terms of “situational . . . patterns of behavior”;⁶³ she also includes the “Self-Burial” at Tintern, England, which was broadcast in small increments on German television in October 1969, with the assistance of Gerry Schum, whose pioneering Die Fernsehgalerie (Television Gallery) was founded in 1968.⁶⁴ Barry Flanagan also crossed sculpture with television, while holding onto the physical presence of the sculptural object⁶⁵ before he retrenched into whimsical figuration. When Arnatt asked in a conceptual text for the idea structures show in June 1970, “Is It Possible for Me to Do Nothing as My Contribution to This Exhibition?”⁶⁶ he responded to the infinite multiplication of sculptural forms by imagining infinite absence. But it was Bruce McLean who delivered a coup de grace to the multiplicity of sculptural languages and their coefficients

of place, body, time, and object in his one thousand pieces, published in the second volume of *Avalanche* in New York in the winter of 1971.

Coda

This brief survey could end in many ways, including with the final institutional triumph of Caro's abstract, relational sculpture at his MoMA exhibition in 1975. Yet this denouement would have to take into account the confounding fact that it was shortly after that moment, between the late 1970s and late 1980s, that Caro took up a new set of references to bodies and architectures that seemed wholly at odds with the stringently formal self-reference for which he had been celebrated, above all in the United States by Greenberg and Fried. Two decades elapsed between the highly nuanced formation by Caro and his critics of one of the most intense renegotiations of compositional abstraction, and the summer of 1987, when Caro and Frank Gehry came together at the Triangle Workshop at Pine Plains, New York, to collaborate on an architectural/sculptural "village."⁶⁷ An account of this meeting notes:

There have long been elements of buildings in his [Caro's] work but it was after a summer workshop in America in 1987 with architect Frank Gehry that the idea of exploring the relationship between architecture and sculpture took off. Freed from the constraints of functionalism but the need to make their structures stand up, Caro and Gehry knocked up over a period of two days a sprawling, quirky and extraordinary hybrid construction in wood that combined ramps, steps, towers and other architectural elements, all used creatively and intuitively as sculptural elements.⁶⁸

The effect on Caro and his work was obvious. The extended practicum with Gehry engendered the very possibility that a direct relationship between sculpture and architecture—once termed "horrific"⁶⁹—could not just be redeemed into some kind of new permissibility, but might actually take over as the driving force of his later career. As Caro put it: "The most ambitious area of his [Gehry's] output is only just coming to fruition, an area he calls 'sculpture.'⁷⁰ It is tempting to suggest that for Gehry, always less direct and usually more cautious about the attribution of specific determinants for his work, the effect was somewhat equal and opposite. In other words, the experience of modeling, experimenting, and playing with one of the magi of high modernist, three-dimensional form allowed him to redigest aspects of the imaginative free-play of shapes and volumes that in the same year he would begin to lay down as one of the foundations of the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao.

Such a proposition is surely conjectural, but while the momentum behind the pen that worked up Gehry's famous napkin sketches—those almost mythological blueprints consecrated to the foundation of the Bilbao museum—cannot by any means be attributed to Caro, the meeting between them, and Caro's emblemization of advanced sculptural abstraction, constitute one strand of the formative interplay between sculptural and architectural discourse, which both British artist and American architect took up at defining moments in their careers, and their disciplines.

Another possible conclusion to this survey might interrogate the transatlantic cultural psychology of the Carl Andre "Bricks" crisis, precipitated in

Figure 8

Carl Andre (American, b. 1935), *Equivalent VIII*, installation view at the Tate Gallery, London, ca. 1985. Firebricks, 12.7 × 68.6 × 229.2 cm (5 × 27 × 90¼ in.). © Carl Andre/Licensed by VAGA, New York, NY. Photo: Tate, London/Art Resource, NY



February 1976 by an article in the London *Sunday Times*. Andre's *Equivalent VIII* (fig. 8), made up of 120 firebricks laid out two bricks high in a rectangular format on the floor, had been purchased by the Tate in 1972 and featured in special displays in 1974 and 1975 without attracting much publicity. But the February 1976 article in the *Sunday Times*, illustrated with a picture of *Equivalent VIII*, precipitated endless rounds of “populist” uproar and high-brow justification.⁷¹ Taking stock of this episode would offer crucial insight into the state of Britain's relations to American avant-garde culture, as well as to the appearance, and presence, of the abstract discourses of visual modernity itself.

But the conclusion I prefer looks back on the thirty years of Anglo-American cultural relations following World War II as a living history that somehow still endures. The English-born, and Los Angeles- and Beijing-based, Matt Hope emerged as an artist in the late 1990s. His prodigious work, which as of this writing has still not yet been seen in a major solo exhibition, can offer us our conclusion, as well as another set of futures to the intercontinental dialogues addressed here. Hope moves in and through a wide range of media and genres, including sculptures using metal, stone, and plastics; performances and live events; appropriated and repurposed manufactured objects; and drawing, computer imaging, and other notational forms. He deploys an equally wide spectrum of working methodologies, many learned and redigested from the American avant-garde through its contact zones with British art in the post-Caro era. In addition to traditional fabrication procedures, such as professional-grade welding and advanced metalworking techniques (learned at the Winchester School of Art, where Caro's current assistants studied), Hope has mobilized a whole spectrum of realization processes, mostly in the form of collaborations and commissions. He draws on precision engineering, microtechnologies, acoustic and other advanced scientific research, electrical engineering, cabinetry and specialized woodworking, computer-based 3D modeling, remote satellite imaging, transport and logistics, industrial salvage, production management, and live event scoring using sonic and visual forms. The result of all

this—in art world terms—is a cascade of striking renegotiations with the spare formats of the late 1960s crosshatched with cutting-edge scientific innovation. Hope generates a kind of ultratechnological post-minimalism, in which highly calibrated logics of process and production merge with new formulas for the social distribution of sculptural objects.

Typical of Hope's renovation of the legacies of US minimalism is his creative adaptation of some of the earlier movement's key symbolic forms and its commitment to serial process. Hope's seriality, however, is not confined to modular sequencing. Instead it operates in several dimensions only the first terms of which are predicated on formal morphology—as in the artist's deployment of variants of the square or the cube, for example. Hope supplements minimalism's serial investment in the declensions of geometric shape by investigating both thematic and social serialities. Thus, his work with scaling ranges from the manufacture of ultraminiature objects (including cubes and minuscule saw-horses) to microscopic cartography and the pixilated irresolution of surrogate satellite self-portraiture. Another group of works inhabit the contact zones between different energy types and the support structures through which they are found or generated—light and sound; oil and gas; gravity and kinetic energy.

One sequence of objects made in 2006 represents a special case in the thematically complex, intermedia zoning of Hope's oeuvre. This is a series of tools and instruments, including a knife, a wrench, a hammer, a crowbar, a set square, and a vise, each hand-fabricated by the artist from a single block of stainless steel, and all fully functional as professional instruments. In a characteristic gesture of serial embellishment, Hope also presents two pieces made of the same material and hewn in the same manner as the “tools,” but which are the objects (or subjects) of their instrumentality: *Nut and Bolt* (2006) (fig. 9) and *Nail* (2006).



Figure 9
Matt Hope (British, b. 1976), *Nut & Bolt*, 2006. Functional nut and bolt hewn from single block of stainless steel, 12.7 × 13.18 × 13.18 cm (5 × 1¼ × 1¼ in.). Los Angeles, Ace Gallery. © Matt Hope. Photo courtesy of Ace Gallery Los Angeles

Made at roughly—though not it seems, exactly—real-world scale, this congregation of common workshop objects offers further testimony to the virtuoso precision engineering that underwrites much of Hope's most recent activity. As often, however, a network of allegorical subtexts creatively interferes with the pristine appearance and shiny, sculptural solidity of Hope's special edition toolkit. One of these arrives with the decision to subtract the instruments from a solid block. This point of origin links the fabrication of the tools with the artist's “perfect cubes,” locating them as fractional substrates of a solid mass poised somewhere between the completeness of the immaculately delineated cube and the hollowness of the excavated cube-shaped voids of another of Hope's series, the *Inverse Cubes*. The in-betweenness of the matter of the tools is thus glossed with the pseudo-Platonic formal perfection of the primary object whose outer layers were shed in order to bring a hammer or a wrench into being.

The “reverse parenting” in evidence here also connects with the way this series turns certain assumptions associated with the minimalist object inside out. The tools aren't simply agents of or objects for making; they are brought into being as sculpture. Hope's inert, sculptural tools are invested with a latency (of function, use, and appearance) quite at odds with the minimalist commitment to process. Robert Morris, for example, captured the sonic register of the fabrication process in the tape loop that plays back in *Box with the Sound of its Own Making* (1963), so that the tools and associated construction materials used to fashion this roughly worked quasi-cubic structure—the hammers, saws, and nails—are instruments in a double sense; they are simultaneously

tools and sound-emitting objects. In Hope's series, the tools are sequestered from their process of becoming. They are the precipitates and remainders of complex and technically demanding offstage fabrication, known only by the uncanny products it delivers. They are shiny, reflective, and eerily silent witnesses to the capacity of artist-directed advanced engineering to create a unique class of objects whose simulation of function is eclipsed by a potential utility that is deliberately unrealized.

But they are also signature pieces given identifying hallmarks in the form of the artist's initials ("M. H.") and a date ("2006") and are displayed in specially constructed, clear Plexiglas vitrines, secured with visible machine bolts. Their contours and appearance negotiate, with almost uncanny precision, between the effects of hand and machine. Their slightly soft edges, fractionally discrepant scale, and solid, pristine mass allow them to hover in a semantic space somewhere between an Oldenburg object and the naturalism of the tool shop, so that they register, simultaneously, as outmoded, almost prehistorical artifacts and as the *übertools* of a postmechanical future.

These more technical and historical considerations meet two other subtexts, one caught up in the decision-making etiquettes of the artist, the other in a broader set of issues that turn on the conceptual relationality between several competing terms we have already introduced—*tool*, *equipment*, *instrument*, on the one hand, and *use*, *function*, and the *aesthetic* on the other. For Hope the technology-assisted move from steel block to steel tool is, first and foremost, a witty shorthand for the recalibration of sculpture, and art in general, as an instrument or tool-like product. In this view, art is not collapsed into anti-aesthetic social utility and merged with design or industry, as it was for the Soviet Productivists, and perhaps for Latham. Rather, its agencies are redistributed through a series of often complex tool-like objects such as *Hornmassive*, defined, as its subtitle (*Highpower Audio Input Station*) underlines, as an instrument or medium to be used and played in social space, rather than simply situated in and consumed by it. Sculptural qualities are not foreclosed in this reassessment, they are merely set in apposition to the socially performative or participatory dimensions of a given piece, and activated by particular technical specifications—scale, power, and volume for the horn, flatness, sharpness, and tolerance for the cubes and spikes.

One of the preoccupations of his work, in fact, is with a reformulation of the whole notion of intrinsic quality, one of the pillars of the discourse of formalist modernism as it reached between Moore's mantra of "truth to materials" and Caro's structural relations. Hope achieves this not by taking up with appropriation, duplication, or performative process in the way of much postmodern art from the previous generation (though he deploys all of these tactics in his own way); rather, he works materials to their extremes—pushing them to the edge of the geometry, flatness, or sharpness that can be won from them using state-of-the-art technologies. The tools, then, are a metareferential conundrum embedded in the outcome orientation of Hope's oeuvre. Their futuristic primitivism emblemizes an uncanny precipitation of matter and technique, for they are simultaneously pure material, engineering instruments, personal devices, and quasi-Platonic forms. Carefully built on the contemporary remainders of Anglo-American sculptural practice from the 1960s and 70s, Hope's ultrafabricated ready-mades for the virtual era offer a new future for both the transatlantic dialogue and innovative work in three—or more—dimensions.

Notes

1 Other works at the UN include *Good Defeats Evil* by the Georgian artist Zurab Tsereteli, presented by The Soviet Union on the occasion of the organization's 45th anniversary. Representing St. George slaying the dragon, the work is thirty-nine feet high and weighs forty tons; Karl Fredrik Reuterswärd's *Non-Violence* (1980), a gift from the Government of Luxembourg presented in 1988 and located in the Visitor's Plaza, facing First Avenue at 45th St., is a large bronze replica of a 45-calibre revolver, the barrel of which is tied into a knot. Among Moore's many commissions and gifts to international institutions—such as his *Reclining Figure* (1957) at UNESCO, Paris—and works that mark events of global significance, one of the most important is his *Nuclear Energy* (1967), unveiled at 3:36 p.m. on December 2, 1967, on the University of Chicago campus, precisely a quarter-century after scientists there achieved the first controlled self-sustaining nuclear chain reaction, initiating the atomic age. The twelve-foot bronze sculpture stands on the site of the University's old Stagg Field, where the experiment took place under the leadership of Enrico Fermi. The University of Chicago website notes that “to some, it suggests the shape of the human skull or the atomic mushroom cloud. Henry Moore told a friend, however, that he hoped those viewing it would ‘go around it, looking out through the open spaces, and that they may have a feeling of being in a cathedral.’” See “Henry Moore, Sculptor” at www.physics.uchicago.edu.

2 David Reynolds, *Britannia Overruled: British Policy and World Power in the Twentieth Century* (Harlow and New York: Longman, 2000).

3 Useful discussions of Anglo-American political, military, economic, and social relations in the post-war period include: D. Cameron Watt, *Succeeding John Bull: America in Britain's Place, 1900–1975*, Wiles Lectures (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Wm. Roger Louis and Hedley Bull, eds., *The “Special Relationship”: Anglo-American Relations since 1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); C. J. Bartlett, “The Special Relationship”: A Political History of Anglo-American Relations since 1945 (London: Longman, 1992); Alan P. Dobson, *Anglo-American Relations in the Twentieth Century: Of Friendship, Conflict, and the Rise and Decline of Superpowers* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Ritchie Owendale, *Anglo-American Relations in the Twentieth Century* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998); and Jonathan Hollowell, *Twentieth-Century Anglo-American Relations*, Contemporary History in Context (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001).

4 Di Suvero left the US to protest the Vietnam War and avoid the draft.

5 John A. Walker, *Left Shift: Radical Art in 1970s Britain* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2002), p. 227.

6 Christopher Hitchens, *Blood, Class, and Empire: The Enduring Anglo-American Relationship* (New York: Nation Books, 2004).

7 F. Scott Fitzgerald, cited by Hitchens in *Blood, Class, and Empire*, p. 366.

8 Stuart Hall, cited by George McKay, “Introduction: Americanization and Popular Culture,” in *Yankee Go Home (& Take Me with U): Americanization and Popular Culture*, ed. G. McKay (Sheffield: Academic Press, 1997), p. 32.

9 Thomas Hess, “A Tale of Two Cities,” *Location* 1, no. 2 (Summer 1964), reprinted in *The New Art: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Gregory Battcock (New York: Dutton, 1966), pp. 161–78; Serge Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).

10 Joan Miró in Georges Dutuit, “Where Are You Going, Miró?” *Cahiers d'art* (Paris), nos. 8–10 (1936), reprinted in *Joan Miró: Selected Writings and Interviews*, ed. Margit Rowell (New York: Da Capo, 1992), p. 150.

11 Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art*, p. 197.

12 Henry Moore, “The Sculptor in Modern Society,” in *Art in Theory, 1900–2000: An Anthology of Changing Ideas*, ed. Charles Harrison and Paul Wood, new edn. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), p. 677.

13 Donald Judd, “Imperialism, Nationalism and Regionalism” (October 1975), in Donald Judd, *Complete Writings, 1959–1975* (Halifax: Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1975), p. 223.

14 Judd, *Complete Writings*, p. 157.

15 Paul Tillich, “A Prefatory Note,” in *New Images of Man*, exh. cat., curated by Peter Selz (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1959), p. 9.

16 *Ibid.*

17 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

18 Peter Selz, “Introduction,” in *New Images of Man*, p. 13.

19 *New Images of Man*, p. 29.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 35.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 138.

22 Reg Butler in *ibid.*, p. 39.

23 Kenneth Armitage in *ibid.*, p. 27.

24 Eduardo Paolozzi in *ibid.*, p. 117.

25 Lawrence Alloway, “Britain's New Iron Age,” *Artnews* 52 (Summer 1953), pp. 19–20, 68–70.

26 Herbert Read, *New Aspects of British Sculpture*, XXVI Venice Biennale (London, 1952).

- 27 James Hyman, *The Battle for Realism and Figurative Art in Britain During the Cold War, 1945–1960* (London: Yale University Press, 2001); see also the review by Norbert Lynton in *The Art Book* 9, no. 2 (March 2002), pp. 11–13.
- 28 Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Englishness of English Art* (London: Architectural Press, 1956).
- 29 W. G. Hoskins, *The Making of the English Landscape* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985), p. 299.
- 30 Peter Fuller, review of *British Art in the 20th Century* (Royal Academy of Arts, London), *The Burlington Magazine* 129, no. 1009 (April 1987), pp. 261–65.
- 31 Nigel Whiteley, “Toward a Throw-Away Culture: Consumerism, ‘Style Obsolescence’ and Cultural Theory in the 1950s and 1960s,” *Oxford Art Journal* 10, no. 2 (1987), pp. 3–27; I summarize some of Whiteley’s arguments here.
- 32 J. Gordon Lippincott, *Design for Business* (Chicago: Paul Theobald, 1947), p. 14.
- 33 See *Industrial Design* 6 (January–June 1959), p. 79.
- 34 Richard Hoggart, *The Uses of Literacy* (1957; New Brunswick, N.J., and London: Transaction, 1998), p. 263.
- 35 Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society, 1780–1950* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958, 1983); Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961).
- 36 Whiteley, “Toward a Throw-Away Culture,” pp. 10, 9.
- 37 Reyner Banham, “A Tonic to the Nation,” BBC Radio 4, November 29, 1976.
- 38 Reyner Banham, “The Atavism of the Short-Distance Mini-Cyclist,” *Living Arts*, no. 3 (1964), p. 22, cited in Nigel Whiteley, *Pop Design: Modernism to Mod* (London: Design Council, 1987), p. 51.
- 39 Alastair Grieve, *Constructed Abstract Art in England after the Second World War: A Neglected Avant-Garde* (London: Yale University Press, 2005).
- 40 Michael Fried, “Anthony Caro: Midday (Sculpture),” *Artforum* 32 (September 1993), pp. 138–39.
- 41 Clement Greenberg, “The New Sculpture” (1949), in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism*, ed. J. O’Brian, 4 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986–93), vol. 3, p. 56.
- 42 Hélio Oiticica, “O aparacimento do supra-sensorial na arte Brasileira,” *Revista GAM* (Rio de Janeiro), no. 13 (1968), translated by Guy Brett as “Appearance of the Supra-Sensorial,” in *Art in Theory, 1900–2000: An Anthology*, pp. 913–14.
- 43 Joseph Beuys, “I Am Searching for Field Character,” in *Art in Theory, 1900–2000: An Anthology*, p. 929.
- 44 See Dick Higgins, “Intermedia,” with an appendix by Hannah Higgins, *Leonardo* 34, no. 1 (2001), pp. 49–54; see also Higgins’s later diagram <http://muse.jhu.edu/demo/leonardo/v034/34.1higgins.html>.
- 45 Reyner Banham, “Not Quite Architecture: ‘Not Quite Painting or Sculpture Either,’” *Architects’ Journal* 124 (August 1956), pp. 215–17. This was the first of a series of six brief articles written by Banham for *Architects’ Journal* between August and December 1956 under the general title “Not Quite Architecture.”
- 46 Rosalind Krauss, “Sculpture in the Expanded Field” (1979), reprinted in *Postmodern Culture*, ed. Hal Foster (London: Pluto Press, 1985), pp. 31–42.
- 47 Lucy Lippard, *Six Years: The Dematerialization of the Art Object* (New York: Praeger, 1973).
- 48 Lucy R. Lippard, “Curating by Numbers,” *Tate Papers*, no. 12 (Landmark Exhibitions Issue; Autumn 2009), <http://www.tate.org.uk/research/tateresearch/tatepapers/09autumn/lippard.shtml> (accessed 20 September 2010).
- 49 Lippard, *Six Years*, p. 8.
- 50 *Ibid.*, p. 171.
- 51 The New York Cultural Center operated between 1969 and 1975. Among the exhibitions it programmed was *Conceptual Art and Conceptual Aspects* (with catalogue), in 1970.
- 52 Lippard, *Six Years*, p. 183.
- 53 *Ibid.*, p. 260.
- 54 Lippard (*ibid.*, p. 43) refers to *Statements* (Coventry: Analytic Art Press), no. 1 (January 1970), and *Analytic Art* (Coventry; formerly *Statements*), no. 1 (July 1971).
- 55 Lucy Lippard, “The Dematerialization of Art” (1968), in *Changing: Essays in Art Criticism* (New York: Dutton, 1971).
- 56 Lippard, *Six Years*, p. 43.
- 57 *Ibid.*, p. 93.
- 58 *Ibid.*, pp. 104, 200, 202, 259.
- 59 *Ibid.*, pp. 6–8.
- 60 *Ibid.*, p. 103. See *Studio International*, May 1970.
- 61 *Konzeption/Conception* (Leverkusen: Städtische Museum, 1969), quoted in Lippard, *Six Years*, p. 119.
- 62 Lippard, *Six Years*, p. 139; see also pp. 189–90.
- 63 *Ibid.*, p. 50.
- 64 *Ibid.*, p. 119. On the new forms of relation between art and media, particularly TV, that emerged in the mid- and later 1960s, see Dieter Daniels, “Television—Art or Anti-Art?: Conflict and

Cooperation between the Avant-Garde and the Mass Media in the 1960s and 1970s,” http://www.medienkunstnetz.de/themes/overview_of_media_art/massmedia/.

65 As he makes clear in the series of statements assembled in Lippard, *Six Years*, p. 94.

66 *Ibid.*, p. 172.

67 This discussion of Caro and Gehry draws on my essay, “Architecture :: Sculpture,” in *Learning from the Bilbao Guggenheim*, ed. Anna Maria Guasch and Joseba Zulaika (Reno, Nev.: Center for Basque Studies, University of Nevada, 2005), pp. 235–58.

68 Tim Marlow, “Man of Steel,” *Cambridge Alumni Magazine*, Lent Term 1997; reprinted in <http://www.anthonycaro.org/Interview-MoS.htm>.

69 Caro: “to have realised the closeness of abstract sculpture to architecture would at that time [the 1960s] have horrified us;” “Through the Window,” edited version of a lecture delivered at the Tate Gallery, March 1991, revised June 2001, <http://www.anthonycaro.org/yspi-thru-the-window.htm>.

70 *Ibid.*

71 For details on the “Bricks” controversy see www.martinries.com/article1991CA.htm; and Richard Morphet, “Carl Andre’s Bricks,” *The Burlington Magazine* 118, no. 884 (November 1976), pp. 762–67.