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Postwar Cultural Diplomacy: V&A Contributions to Loan Exhibitions in the United States, 1945-1947

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Keywords:
Victoria and Albert Museum; Cultural Diplomacy; Loan Exhibitions; Transatlantic Exchange; Postwar Museum Modernisation

ABSTRACT:

This article examines the Victoria and Albert Museum's (V&A) contributions to three loan exhibitions of British art staged in North America (1945-1947). These were paralleled by the V&A's own temporary exhibitions, which tested new display methods in preparation for its postwar gallery reorganisation. Drawing on primary source research, and case studies of exhibitions at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Museum of Modern Art, and the Art Institute of Chicago, the article explores how these efforts anticipated the V&A's transformation and reinforced its transatlantic role in cultural diplomacy. Challenging prevailing narratives of the V&A's detachment from international museum developments, the article highlights its engagement with wider patterns of postwar reconstruction and cultural exchange. It argues that temporary exhibitions—both at home and abroad—served as laboratories for curatorial innovation and diplomacy, reflecting the V&A's adaptability and global relevance.

Questo articolo analizza il contributo del Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A) a tre mostre itineranti d'arte britannica allestite in Nord America tra il 1945 e il 1947. Tali iniziative furono affiancate da esposizioni temporanee al V&A stesso, che sperimentarono nuovi metodi espositivi in vista della riorganizzazione postbellica delle gallerie permanenti. Basandosi su fonti primarie e studi di caso relativi a mostre presso il Metropolitan Museum of Art, il Museum of Modern Art e l'Art Institute of Chicago, l'articolo esplora come tali attività anticiparono la trasformazione del V&A e ne rafforzarono il ruolo nella diplomazia culturale transatlantica. Contrastando le narrazioni dominanti che vedono il V&A distante dagli sviluppi museali internazionali, l'articolo evidenzia il suo coinvolgimento nei processi di ricostruzione e scambio culturale del dopoguerra, sostenendo che le esposizioni temporanee furono laboratori per innovazione curatoriale e strumenti diplomatici.

Opening Picture:

Artworks arriving by truck for *Masterpieces of English Painting* (Art Institute of Chicago), 1946. Courtesy The Art Institute of Chicago. The Art Institute of Chicago / Art Resource, NY/ Scala, Florence.

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Opening Picture: Artworks arriving by truck for *Masterpieces of English Painting* (Art Institute of Chicago), 1946. Courtesy The Art Institute of Chicago. The Art Institute of Chicago / Art Resource, NY/ Scala, Florence.

The V&A's Postwar Role in Transatlantic Cultural Diplomacy and Exchange

The immediate postwar period saw museums across the Atlantic in flux, many facing major gallery modernisation before their collections returned from wartime storage.[1] The war had also shifted global cultural leadership to the U.S., a transition signalled by the openings of MoMA's new building in 1939 and the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. in 1941, as Europe's great institutions were devasted by the conflict. As Kathleen Burk and David Reynolds note, this moment marked the beginning of a broader realignment in cultural authority.[2]

Against this backdrop, major U.S. museums such as the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), the Art Institute of Chicago (AIC), and the Metropolitan Museum of Art (the Met) organised a series of international loan exhibitions that reflected an emerging commitment to cultural exchange and institutional modernisation.[3] This momentum was reinforced by a 1947 UNESCO meeting on international art exhibitions, hosted at the AIC, which preceded the founding of UNESCO's Commission for Museums and Monuments in 1948.[4]

However, museologist Kathleen Berrin identifies a persistent lack of scholarship on what she terms "National Diplomacy Exhibitions" in postwar U.S. museum history.[5] These included exhibitions of British art, which— due to legal constraints before the war (discussed in the next section) —remained relatively unfamiliar to American audiences. While Berrin examines collaborations with British institutions

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such as the National Gallery and Tate Gallery, the Victoria and Albert Museum's (V&A) contributions remain under-researched. Similarly, the V&A's role postwar museum redevelopment is largely absent from studies by Brandon Taylor, Ana Baeza Ruiz, and David McCann who have focussed on the National Gallery and director Kenneth Clark or his successor, Philip Hendy, or the Tate Gallery under director John Rothenstein.[6] This article argues that such omissions reflect a prevailing narrative, advanced by scholars such as Christopher Wilk and Tim Barringer, casting the V&A as insular and detached from international museological developments in the 20th century.[7]

Challenging that view, this article examines three U.S. loan exhibitions between 1945 and 1947 in which the V&A played a key role: *English Domestic Needlework of the XVI, XVII, and XVIII Centuries*, staged by the Met (Nov 5–Dec 2, 1945); *Masterpieces of English Painting: Hogarth, Constable and Turner*, exhibited at the AIC (Oct 15–Dec 22, 1946), the Met (Jan 15–Mar 16, 1947), the Art Gallery of Ontario (Apr 3–May 11, 1947), and London's Tate Gallery (Aug 21–Sep 30, 1947); and *Henry Moore*, exhibited at MoMA (Dec 17, 1946–Mar 16, 1947), the AIC (Apr 17–May 18, 1947), and the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art (Jun 8–Sep 7, 1947).

Although differing in scale, curatorial approach, and subject matter, these exhibitions each served as platforms for cultural diplomacy and curatorial experimentation. Together, they provide a comparative framework for examining how British art was interpreted and positioned within American art historical narratives, while also situating these efforts within broader discourses of early Cold War cultural alignment and institutional modernisation.

To better understand the V&A's postwar role, this article draws on conceptual frameworks that illuminate the mechanics of cultural influence and diplomacy. Joseph Nye's notion of "soft power,"[8] although primarily associated with statecraft and foreign policy, offers a useful lens for examining how museums like the V&A shaped international relations through cultural appeal. Richard Arndt's theory of "cultural diplomacy"[9] likewise underscores the strategic function of institutional exchange in advancing national interests. Through these frameworks, the article explores how the V&A's involvement in U.S. loan exhibitions enhanced transatlantic ties. Though temporary, such exhibitions became sites of collaboration, cultural signalling, and curatorial testing amid postwar reinvention and Cold War realignment. Recent work by Holger Nehring, Samuel J. M. M. Alberti, and Jessica Douthwaite further emphasises how cultural institutions were embedded in geopolitical strategy, particularly in relation to identity formation and global diplomacy.[10] These initiatives, the article argues, reflected Britain's shift to a supporting role in America's cultural ascendancy and signalled a redefinition of the V&A's international influence.

Drawing on under-researched primary sources, this article argues that the V&A used both its transatlantic collaborations and domestic temporary exhibitions as testing grounds

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for curatorial approaches that informed its gallery redevelopment. In doing so, it asserted both continued relevance and strategic realignment with evolving global museological practice. This reframing aligns with its origins as the South Kensington Museum (1857-1899), long recognised as a pioneering model for an international museum movement dedicated to industrial design reform through public education. Scholars including Michael Conforti, Arindam Dutta, Andrew McClellan and Kathleen Curran have traced its formative influence on American museum culture.[11] Curran, in particular, explores how American museums adapted European models—especially those rooted in decorative art and educational missions—from institutions like South Kensington. Likewise, Steven Conn frames American museums as civic spaces entangled in national narratives, making them fertile ground for mid-century cultural diplomacy.[12]

As Jennifer Van Horn has shown in her study of 18th-century British American material culture, domestic objects such as embroidery, portraiture, and dressing furniture functioned not merely as signs of refinement but as tools through which elite Americans constructed a civilised identity aligned with British imperial values.[13] This historical dynamic offers a useful lens for interpreting how the postwar loan exhibitions, such as the Met's *English Domestic Needlework*, revived and recast shared cultural traditions as a basis for renewed Anglo-American alignment through curatorial programming.

The V&A's historical promotion of contemporary work by living artists and manufacturers such as William Morris, later hailed as a "pioneer" of the modern movement, underscore its foundational significance to the histories of both visual culture and transnational museum exchange.[14] In the 20th century, however, the museum shifted focus towards historical connoisseurship, relocating most "modern" collections to other institutions.[15] Yet it retained key holdings by figures such as Morris, Constable, and Turner, and continued actively collecting and displaying works by international modern sculptors, including Rodin, Meštrović, and Henry Moore.

Reconsidering the V&A's participation in mid-century U.S. exhibitions not as isolated gestures but as part of this longer institutional trajectory reveals a sustained and strategic internationalism. Collaborating with American institutions not only affirmed the museum's cultural relevance but also reflected its renewed curatorial orientation before major gallery redevelopment (c.a. 1949-1957). These exhibitions exemplify the bi-directional influence between temporary overseas programming and domestic institutional reform.

From the UK to the US: A background to transatlantic loan exhibitions

As historian Jonathan Conlin notes, loan exhibitions, initiated by the British Institution (1805) and later popularised by international expositions, broadening the scope of public art education.[16] Francis Haskell further emphasises their importance in fostering public en-

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gagement and expanding museum collections.[17] The practice was central to the V&A: its South Court—a grand, richly decorated space, specifically designed and built in the mid-1860s for exhibiting loan exhibitions of private collections—often led to gifts and donations. This directly influenced the Met's adoption of loan exhibitions, as evidenced by its early historians, Winifred Howe, and George Fisk Comfort.[18] Both institutions continued the practice into the early 20th century, for example, simultaneously exhibiting different parts of the Morgan loan collection of decorative art.[19]

However, the V&A generally refrained from loaning works to overseas exhibitions due to the *National Gallery (Loan) Act* (1883-1935).[20] While not formally bound by the Act, the museum largely conformed to its restrictions. Enacted to safeguard national treasures, the legislation severely limited national collections' participation in overseas exhibitions. This isolationist stance drew criticism in the 1930s when the Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries (1927–1931) acknowledged the "Unfortunate Consequences of the Present Position,"[21] stating: "A nation which welcomes great international exhibitions in its capital city, and fails to reciprocate, cannot escape from the charge of churlishness." It further observed that "We have ourselves been impressed by the lamentable inadequacy of its (British art) representation in the great galleries of Europe…" asserting that "At the present time, the inspired achievements of the British School of Painting are actually little known outside this country and the United States of America.[22]

Even in the U.S., British painting was mainly limited to a few collections such as The Met's holdings, rather than through loans from Britain's national museums. The need to disseminate British art more widely abroad led to the *National Gallery (Overseas Loans) Act* (1935), which permitted such loans. By then, however, the rise of totalitarianism and the growing threat of war discouraged international lending.

After the war, Britain's national museums adopted a more flexible interpretation of the 1935 Act, actively participating in overseas loan exhibitions. These efforts were supported by the British Foreign Office, British Council and the newly formed Arts Council of Great Britain; organisations that played a critical role in coordinating diplomacy, providing funding, and managing logistics with American partners.[23] Crucially, the founding of the International Council of Museums (ICOM) in 1946 provided a global framework for intercultural cooperation. Its resolutions promoted international loan exhibitions as essential to "the advancement and dissemination of knowledge."[24]

Ashton, who served during the war in the Ministry of Information and was an experienced orientalist, had curated international exhibitions in the 1930s, including Chinese art shows at the Royal Academy and the V&A.[25] Appointed the V&A's Director in early 1945, he embraced the principle of overseas loans, especially to the U.S., whose museum culture he had long studied and admired.[26] In preparation for his role, he undertook an eight-week study tour of U.S. museums in the winter of 1945, arranged by the Ministry

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of Information. [27] Ashton played a pivotal role in facilitating postwar loans, chairing two lending committees (explored in the second and third case studies) alongside John Rothenstein (Tate Gallery), and Philip Hendy (National Gallery). He also resisted proposals from "The Standing Committee on Museums and Galleries" (1946 "Massey Report)"[28] of which he was a member, to relocate the V&A's oil paintings to the Tate Gallery and National Gallery, including major works by Constable and Turner. Ashton referenced his recent American trip to argue that American audiences expected to find objects exhibited in the museums with which they were historically associated.[29] His stance helped preserve the V&A's curatorial autonomy and enabled its participation in postwar U.S. exhibitions.

This arrangement was reciprocal, with American museums contributing to British loan exhibitions such as Tate Gallery's *American Painting: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present Day* (1945), which "The New York Times" described as an "unprecedented showing" of 240 paintings from American galleries.[30] In a letter to "The Times," Rothenstein lamented that previous restrictions had prevented exhibiting British and American art from being displayed together, denying audiences the experience of "comparing and enjoying; in one place, the best examples in this country of the art of Whistler and Sargent with those from American collections."[31] The exchange of loan exhibitions marked a turning point in transatlantic museological relations and supports Berrin's argument that such cultural diplomacy advanced soft power by strengthening alliances through artistic exchange. At the outset of the Cold War, exhibitions played a key role in fostering mutual recognition and ideological alignment between the U.K and the U.S.

Similarly, the U.S. loan exhibitions examined in this article—featuring V&A loans of Elizabethan embroidery, 19th century master painting and modern sculpture—enriched American audiences' understanding of British art and redefined transatlantic artistic relations. The following case studies examine how these exhibitions built on earlier institutional links between V&A and U.S museums, such as MoMA's *Henry Moore* show (1946), and how they helped shape postwar curatorial and collecting strategies.[32]

Together, these developments suggest that the V&A's international collaborations were not peripheral but central to its modernisation. The exhibitions examined here prefigured institutional reform, contributing to curatorial renewal and rethinking of the museum's identity and public role during a period of significant transformation.

The V&A's contributions to postwar cultural diplomacy: Case studies of U.S. loan exhibitions, 1945–1947

1. English Domestic Needlework of the XVI, XVII and XVIII Centuries: A Loan Exhibition

In January 1945, as World War II was nearing its end, Leigh Ashton, soon to be Director of the V&A, wrote to Maurice Holmes, Secretary of the Board of Education:

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> *I have been approached by the Metropolitan Museum of New York to help them in borrowing three or four pieces of English needlework for the great exhibition they are going to hold in the winter. I am on good terms with the Metropolitan and am particularly anxious to do everything I can to help them more particularly as the Director, Francis Taylor who was specially sent to Europe by President Rooseveldt (sic) is extremely interested in keeping up Anglo-American good relations. I should like, therefore, to press strongly for relaxing our normal regulations and I have in mind a set of four small Elizabethan pillow cases which are of a type of which they have none in the States."*[33]

Ashton's request underscored the exhibition's diplomatic significance, aligning with broader efforts to strengthen cultural ties between Britain and America during the uncertainty of the postwar period. His experience in the Ministry of Information, managing British propaganda, informed his appreciation of cultural diplomacy's potential to foster goodwill and influence public opinion.[34] The Board of Education approved Ashton's proposal, and with support from the British Embassy in Washington, D.C., works from the V&A, Queen Mary, and other British collections were assembled and loaned to the Met.

The resulting exhibition, *English Domestic Needlework of the XVI, XVII and XVIII Centuries*, marked the first major display of its kind in the U.S., featuring 250 distinguished items from American and British collections.[35] Ashton personally accompanied the British loan objects to New York, and gave two lectures on the exhibition, promoting British decorative art and the V&A's world class collections on an international stage.

This exhibition came at a transformative moment as both the V&A and the Met prepared for major rearrangements of their public galleries.[36] Each museum planned new galleries dedicated to English decorative art—a first for the V&A (opened ca. 1951) and a significant addition at the Met (opened 1954).[37] *English Domestic Needlework* was prescient of these developments, exemplifying the institutions' mutual investment in English decorative art and setting the stage for future gallery developments. It symbolised the growing prominence of English decorative art in both institutions and paved the way for their mid-century gallery developments and later dedicated "British Galleries."[38]

The exhibition also reflects the evolving rationale behind Anglo-American museum relations, increasingly centred on gallery development and modernisation. Earlier in 1945, Ashton had undertaken an eight-week study visit to American museums, consulting with Francis Henry Taylor, Director of the Met, to explore innovative models of gallery arrangement, display, and technology.[39] While no direct link between this visit and *English Domestic Nee-*

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dlework has been documented, its subject matter and timing strongly suggest close collaboration. The show thus served both as a practical experiment and symbolic gesture in redefining postwar transatlantic museum practices.

Occupying three galleries at the Met, the exhibition followed a largely chronological layout, guiding visitors from Elizabethan to Georgian embroideries.[40] Preston Remington, the Met's Curator of Renaissance and Modern Art, acknowledged in the accompanying publication the challenges of strict chronological arrangement. To balance periods with fewer objects, key highlights were prominently showcased.[41] One such highlight, noted in a small exhibition pamphlet, was a table carpet, described as "among the most prized survivals of Elizabethan needlework, and that lent by the Victoria and Albert Museum is one of the finest."[42] The detailed description evoked scenes of historic English aristocratic life: "… ladies and gentlemen are shown walking near a great country house while various hunting episodes appear in the distance. The entire carpet is in a remarkable state of preservation and vibrant with its original brilliance of color (*sic*)."[43]

In foregrounding English domestic embroidery, the Met's exhibition exemplifies the longer Anglophone tradition of transatlantic alignment through objects Van Horn suggests. In this light, the V&A's loans contributed not only to postwar diplomacy but to the reaffirmation of a shared heritage embedded in material forms of domesticity.

Other highlights from the V&A included a "superb Georgian dress" and an 18th century bed coverlet with "matching pillows of satin worked in silk and silver-gilt thread."[44] In such illustrious company, the Met exhibited some works from its own collection, including a hanging from Treago, Herefordshire, and a recently acquired "fabulous Queen Anne waistcoat."[45] However, the V&A's contributions went beyond loaning objects. In the catalogue's foreword, Remington referred readers to the bibliography and expressed deep gratitude to generations of V&A scholars, acknowledging their pre-eminence in the field.[46] This suggests the exhibition narrative drew strongly on the V&A's subject expertise, a dynamic relevant to the other case studies.

By presenting a lineage of English decorative art, the exhibition projected shared cultural values and reinforced transatlantic narrative of continuity and refinement, positioning English work as both historically significant and internationally prestigious. As previously touched upon, it also signalled the Met's long-term investment in British decorative art, including the creation of new dedicated galleries as part of its postwar West Wing redevelopment.[47] Crucially, these efforts paralleled the V&A's first galleries for English decorative art under Ashton's tenure—a museum first.[48] Together, these new galleries in the UK and the US set a trajectory that continued with the V&A's British Galleries (2001), and the Met's British Galleries renovation (2020), both reframing collections through narratives of global trade and colonialism.[49]

Ashton's leadership in facilitating the V&A's collaboration with the

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Met underscored a shared commitment to Anglo-American cultural diplomacy and the reappraisal of British art history. The exhibition's emphasis on highlights, such as the Elizabethan table carpet, anticipated a broader postwar shift at the V&A towards prioritising quality in displays. This approach directly informed the museum's gallery reorganisation. As Charles Harvard Gibbs Smith, the first Keeper of the museum's new Department of Extension Services (1947-1971) later explained in *The Sphere* (1953), the decision was taken in 1945 to diverge from the traditional materials-based display that prioritised the scholar, and instead focus on the general visitor by adopting what he described as a "broader, more humanistic" approach: "This scheme comprised taking the pick of the Museum masterpieces—over 10,000 objects of every description—and placing them in a special series of galleries called the Primary Collections.[50]

More broadly, the exhibition demonstrated how loan exhibitions could serve as platforms for curatorial innovation and international collaboration. The V&A's contributions reflected its evolving role in shaping curatorial strategies, enhancing Britain's international cultural standing, and laying the groundwork for its domestic gallery redevelopment.

2. Masterpieces of English Painting: Hogarth, Constable, and Turner

The exhibition, *Masterpieces of English Painting*, marked another milestone in the presentation and reception of British art across the Atlantic. Whereas the previous exhibition showcased the decorative art of needlework as a largely amateur female craft practiced inside stately homes, *Masterpieces* positioned British painting within the European tradition of master painting—a traditionally male dominated artform associated with the Continent. The exhibition highlighted Britain's contributions to artistic modernity: Hogarth's social satire, Constable's pastoralism, and Turner's experimental abstract landscapes projected a sophisticated vision of British life and art that rivalled European contemporaries.

Organized by the Art Institute of Chicago (AIC) in collaboration with Britain's national collections—including the V&A, National Gallery, and Tate Gallery—the exhibition was facilitated by Britain's Foreign Office and the British Embassy in Washington, D.C.[51] The Earl of Halifax, Britain's Ambassador to the U.S., played a pivotal role in supporting the Anglo-American loan negotiated in July 1946, which underscored the exhibition's cultural mission to strengthen bilateral ties during global reconstruction and the looming Cold War.[52]

Art historian Tim Batchelor describes *Masterpieces of English Painting* as one of the postwar era's most successful shows, marking a transformative moment in popularising British painting, previously undervalued both domestically and abroad.[53] After debuting at the AIC, and contributing to an "outstanding attendance record for 1946,"[54] the show travelled to the Met and later Canada's Art Gallery of Ontario which recorded over 76,575 visitors, the highest attendance since its opening in 1926.[55] At the same

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time, rising tensions from Ottawa's Soviet defection and espionage scandal (1945-1946), underscored the exhibition's role in reinforcing Western cohesion through cultural alliances.[56] It also reflected Canada's transforming relationship with Britain from Dominion status to Commonwealth member, intertwining cultural diplomacy with questions of national identity and geopolitical strategy. To coordinate the British loans, Britain's Foreign Office appointed a "Committee of Organization on the Exhibition," chaired by Ashton and including Hendy, and Rothenstein. The committee secured loans including from the Royal Collection, Royal Academy, and private collectors-totalling 61 works valued at £7,000,000— 12 Hogarths, 36 Constables (including 26 sketches), and 13 Turners. Ashton accompanied the works aboard the *Queen Mary* alongside 240 American paintings being repatriated after the Tate Gallery's exhibition, showing the reciprocity of transatlantic exchange.

Kenneth Clark wrote the accompanying catalogue's introduction, authored by Daniel Catton Rich, the AIC's Director of Fine Arts, and delivered public lectures.[57] Clark's introduction emphasised the experimental, non-conformist nature of Britain's 19th century "Masterpieces," resonant of heightened postwar values of artistic freedom in the West. These themes were echoed in The Met's "Bulletin" (1947), which singled out the V&A's loan of Constables sketches as "so fresh, so vigorous and powerful."[58] Constable and Turner were described as "popular and revolutionary painters," while Hogarth was portrayed as a "professional rebel," and "resolutely anti-classical" in his rejection of academic drawing from life.[59] This emphasis on individuality and anti-academic expression also anticipated the appeal of British Neo-Romantic painters like Graham Sutherland and John Piper to North American audiences after the war, admired for their emotional intensity and abstraction.[60]

Clark further argued that between 1800 and 1840, English painting "… shot into the mainstream of European art"[61] a significant assertion given the exhibition's novelty for American audiences. As the *New York Times* noted, "Many of the paintings have never before been sent out of the British Isles, and none have been shown in this country previously," enhancing its novelty appeal.[62] While select works by Hogarth, Constable, and Turner already featured in American public and private collections, notably the Met's, the exhibition offered U.S. audiences a rare opportunity to see major loans from British national collections. It is, therefore, highly plausible that it drew on the work of British scholars such as Arthur Graham Reynolds, the V&A's Curator of Paintings, and leading expert on Constable.[63]

Reynolds, like several curators in Britain's national art institutions, was deeply involved in curating temporary exhibitions of Constable and other English artists in V&A's paintings collections. One such exhibition curated by Reynolds brought together, for the first time at the V&A, Constable paintings from several collections, displayed with new frames and mounts.[64] *The Times* observed: "Students who had been familiar with them for years have been astonished at the revela-

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tion of their superb quality by the simple but effective methods of display that have now been adopted."[65] This shift—from hanging pictures closely together in clusters to more spacious display of pictures hung in single or double rows at eye level—marked a significant development in the V&A's postwar curatorial presentation.

This modern approach paralleled similar developments at the National Gallery and Tate Gallery and was mirrored by the AIC's *Masterpieces of English Painting*, which combined loaned works from several collections to construct a cohesive narrative of English painting. At the Met, the exhibition was paired with a complementary display of the museum's Hogarth, Constable, and Turner prints, enriching its narrative and reinforcing Anglo-American artistic bonds.[66] Upon returning to London, the exhibition's final Tate Gallery show included additional works by William Blake, expanding its scope and significance in re-evaluating British art history.

The exhibition's critical and popular success in North America paved the way for future similar collaborations. Notably, the Met's newly refurbished Paintings Galleries, opened in 1954, incorporated British master paintings into historical, rather than national, groupings. Sanka Knox, *The New York Times* art critic, noted that "The (Met's) picture collection, the first to bear the stamp of the new order, is no longer shown as in the past, within national boundaries (grouped by national schools), but according to historical periods."[67] In planning the galleries, Taylor prioritised showcasing "the high points of the collections," arguing that "Instead of putting everything on the front line with the result that nobody sees anything we should place the greatest things where they demand attention and classify the bulk of the collections for the student's use."[68]

At the galleries' opening, Ashton gave a speech highlighting the Met's progress alongside "advances made in English museums," particularly the V&A's ongoing gallery "modernisation" as he put it.[69] Yet, the V&A's new Paintings Galleries opened in 1957 after Ashton's tenure. These focussed on British work where, for the first time, pictures by Constable and Turner were presented in historic sequence rather than displayed separately due to the conditions of individual bequests.[70]

This development directly followed another U.S. loan exhibition, *Masters of British Painting: 1800–1950* (1956) staged by MoMA, which drew on the same British lending committee structure as the AIC's 1946 exhibition, and borrowed works from many of the same institutions, including the V&A. Among the committee members was Herbert Read, formerly a V&A curator from 1922 until the 1930s, whose writings on Henry Moore especially, established him as an influential art critic on both sides of the Atlantic. His involvement reflected continuity with the V&A's scholarship and ongoing support for modern art, relevant to MoMA's extended survey of British painting into mid-20th century modernism. Furthermore, MoMA's signature modernist display techniques—pictures spaciously arranged at eye level against plain pale walls—reinforced British painting's international relevance.

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This trajectory later found fulfilment in MoMA's *Turner* retrospective (1966), curated by Lawrence Gowing, recasting the artist within a modernist framework of formal abstraction.

Together, these exhibitions illustrate how postwar British and American institutions incrementally shifted the narrative of British painting—from an isolationist national school to part of a broader international movement with historical depth and contemporary relevance—thus extending the diplomatic and institutional legacy of earlier collaborative models in which the V&A played a key role.

3. Henry Moore

MoMA's retrospective, *Henry Moore* (December 1946-March 1947) both represented a shift towards presenting contemporary British art to American audiences and affirmed the artist's global significance. Curated by James Johnson Sweeney, *Henry Moore* was MoMA's first solo exhibition dedicated to a living British artist. The retrospective was organised by MoMA in collaboration with the AIC and the San Francisco Museum of Art (SFMOMA) to where it later toured, with loans arranged from Britain's national art institutions, that were once again overseen by a "Committee of Organisation" assembled by the British Foreign Office, chaired by Ashton alongside Rothenstein, and Hendy.

To this exhibition, the V&A loaned a small but significant sculpture: *Reclining Figure* (1939), an experimental lead cast that Ashton had acquired for the V&A in 1940.[71] After the war, he included the sculpture in his exhibition *Style in Sculpture* (1946), a survey of the history of sculpture from the Eighth century to the mid-20th century that culminated in *Reclining Figure*. One review praised the exhibition's fresh approach, describing the exhibits as noting: "The exhibits are few but selected with discriminating care, and each is a masterpiece of its own period. In scope, they are restricted to works on a small scale, but they are fully representative of sculpture at large."[72]

This exhibition marked a significant departure from the V&A's traditional display organisation of grouping works by materials such as metalwork, woodwork, ceramics or glass. Whereas the materials arrangement was intended for specialists—artisans, students and manufacturers of art and design— the new thematic arrangement of artworks, represented democratising aims. As Ashton himself explained in the exhibition catalogue, *Style in Sculpture* was "… in the nature of an experiment […] not intended as a work of research for students; it is meant as a general introduction which may help the ordinary person to a wider appreciation of sculpture."[73] Such temporary exhibitions were vital in the postwar reconstruction, not only in showcasing the V&A's collections to a generation of children and young people denied access to them during the war, but also to informing the reorganisation of its permanent galleries from 1949 to the mid-1950s, reflecting its adaptability in responding to postwar cultural shifts.

Although a detailed comparison of display techniques is limited here by the lack of surviving visual documentation of the V&A's postwar displays, including *Style in Sculpture*,

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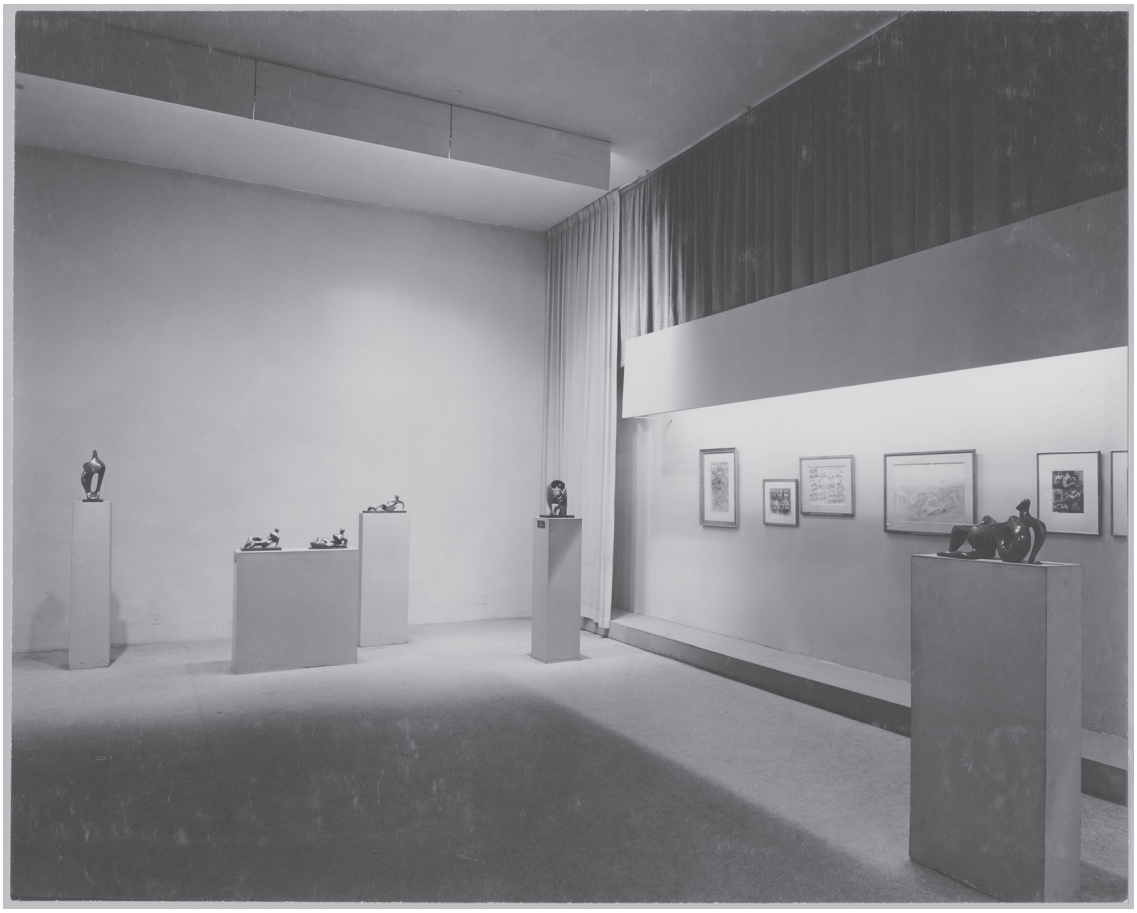

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compared with several installation photographs from MoMA's *Henry Moore* retrospective. Reviews and exhibition publications offer insights into their contrasting display approaches. This case study, therefore, foregrounds the V&A's early role in promoting Moore's work internationally—a role that highlighting formative institutional links with MoMA that continued postwar.

Through early acquisitions, correspondences, and exhibitions, the V&A helped lay the groundwork for Moore's international reception, especially the diplomatic function his work served during the early Cold War, when his avant-garde style and rising international reputation positioned him as a key figure in modern sculpture. While MoMA's retrospective undoubtedly reinforced Moore's symbolic value within the Anglo-American cultural alliance, measuring the precise impact of such "soft power" remains difficult, particularly given Moore's already significant reputation in the U.S. by 1946, having featured in the renowned Curt Valentin Gallery (1937-1954)[74] The V&A's contribution is therefore best understood in terms of shaping the institutional relationships and cultural infrastructure that enabled his broader transatlantic prominence. This analysis focuses on how Anglo-American institutions promoted Moore's work within a broader strategy of cultural diplomacy, rather than suggesting any personal artistic deference by Moore to American modernism.

The V&A loaned *Reclining Figure* after MoMA's Curator of Painting and Sculpture, Dorothy C. Miller (1943-1947) wrote to Ashton in August

Fig. 02: Installation view of the exhibition *Henry Moore*. MoMA, New York, December 17, 1946-March 16, 1947. Digital image, The Museum of Modern Art, New York/Scala, Florence.

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1946, outlining the show's importance in the U.S. and internationally:

> *This will be the first extensive showing of Henry Moore's work in the United States. It is planned as the major exhibition of the New York 1946-1947 season and the most ambitious exhibition of contemporary sculpture ever undertaken by the Museum of Modern Art... Mr. Moore's eminence in the field of contemporary art makes this a proud occasion for us and one of international importance in bringing our two nations together on such a high level of artistic presentation.*[75]

In addition to 58 pieces of sculpture, Miller wrote that the retrospective would include approximately forty-eight drawings Moore made of London's wartime Blitz. Most of the sculptures and drawings, she explained, had been sent from England. Additionally, four museums and several private collectors in the U.S. also loaned examples, including two sculptures and three drawings from MoMA's holdings.

Despite its modest size, the V&A's loan of *Reclining Figure* to MoMA reflected the British institution's foundational role in promoting Moore's work nationally and overseas decades before *Style in Sculpture*. Art historian Rona Roob credits an un-named V&A curator with introducing Alfred H. Barr Jr., MoMA's founding Director, to Moore's work during the 1920s.[76] Likely contenders include Ashton, his predecessor, Eric Maclagan, or Herbert Read, a renowned critic and expert on Moore. All three were deeply engaged in promoting Moore's work from the early 1920s through to the postwar period, reflecting the V&A's commitment to modern work.

Art historian, Courtney J. Martin notes that Sweeney relied on Read's book on Moore as his primary source for images and information.[77] However, Burton suggests that Read's advocacy for modern art was itself influenced by his formative curatorial career at the V&A, working with its collections and scholars like Maclagan, who introduced him to Moore and several other leading modern artists.[78]

Comparing the displays of *Reclining Figure* exhibited at MoMA and the V&A reveals a rather curious, though not incidental, exchange of approaches. MoMA's exhibition explored Moore's work by arranging his sculptures by material —stone, wood, lead, bronze and concrete— echoing the V&A's pre-war material display, whereas the V&A's *Style in Sculpture* exhibited *Reclining Figure* within a survey of period styles dating from the Eighth to the mid-20th century. It is a measure of how far the V&A had changed that its new thematic approach on this occasion contrasted with MoMA's material arrangement, a system the V&A had recently moved away from.

Henry Moore reportedly attracted 158,000 visitors at MoMA (where it was open 17 December 1946 - 16 March 1947). While visitor figures for shows at the AIC (17 April - 18 May 1947) and SFMOMA (18 June - August 1947) were not found by this research, the exhibition's widespread popularity is evident from Hendy's 1956 reflections on its the

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success, highlighting Moore's rising global reputation:

> *The work of Henry Moore, though already appreciated in the United States, where it had been given a special exhibition in the Museum of Modern Art, New York, in 1946, was then almost unknown on the Continent. This only made the more significant the award to him by the international jury of the Italian Government's international prize for sculpture, and the subsequent choice of Henry Moore as the first foreign sculptor to have a one-man exhibition in the Musee d'Art Moderne in Paris. Since then demands for exhibitions of his work have poured in to the (British) council from every part of the world.*[79]

As Pauline Rose observes, the success of *Henry Moore* in the U.S. helped engage a broader international public with contemporary art. She suggests this was largely due to Moore's nationality and background in coming from a coal mining family in northern England that made his work relatable to American audiences. She notes, "in the context of the ensuing Cold War, the very persona of Henry Moore would challenge the generalized American fear of the "enemy within," as well as the perception that most contemporary artists were likely to be communists."[80] This context underscores the significance of the V&A's evolving curatorial strategy.

Through lending *Reclining Figure* to MoMA's loan exhibition—so soon after Ashton selected the piece for his V&A exhibition *Style in Sculpture* and following his earlier acquisition of the work—the V&A demonstrated its enduring influence and relevance to modern and contemporary art internationally. Rose also highlights MoMA's longer-term promotion of Moore's work in the growing Cold War context in staging its exhibition, *Painting and Sculpture at the Museum of Modern Art* (1948), which included four of Moore's sculptures.[81] She notes:

> *In the catalogue it was argued that the museum and its collection had played a crucial role during the war in protecting America's cultural life, its economy and political structures. Representing the work of artists from many countries, the collection could be positioned as symbolic of both individual freedom as well as the freedom of nations to place value on the artistic products of diverse cultures, and a means through which to encourage positive international relationships.*[82]

During the 1950s, several sculptures by Moore were installed in prominent locations in the U.S.[83] His increasingly emblematic global status culminated in the 1956 commission of a large-scale variant of *Reclining Figure* at the UNESCO headquarters in Paris (installed 1958).

These initiatives, aligning with transatlantic trends in museum innovation, positioned the V&A as a leading contributor to the evolution of museum practices and the international reception of modern art.

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Its early promotion of Moore work and exhibition innovation reflected the museum's impact in reshaping transatlantic cultural exchange.

Conclusion

The V&A's postwar contributions to U.S. loan exhibitions staged by MoMA, the Met, and the AIC positioned it as more than just a lender—it played a central role in shaping the international reception of British art. The three case studies—*English Domestic Needlework*, *Masterpieces of English Painting*, and *Henry Moore*—demonstrate how these exhibitions drew on the V&A's curatorial expertise and institutional leadership, evident in its deep scholarship on English decorative art, its protection and strategic deployment of its painting collections, and sustained promotion of modern work, including Moore's work. Much of this direction stemmed from Ashton's leadership, whose postwar vision positioned the V&A as an active cultural agent. Together, the exhibitions projected British art into the international arena at a time of significant geopolitical realignment, establishing a transatlantic framework for cultural diplomacy through the exhibition format.

The Met's subsequent investment in permanent galleries for British decorative art and painting mid-20th century, mirrored by the V&A's own gallery modernisation, illustrates how these exhibitions anticipated lasting institutional change on both sides of the Atlantic. The AIC's *Masterpieces of English Painting* (1946) prepared the way for MoMA's *Masters of British Painting* (1956), which reinterpreted works by Constable and Turner in relation to the modern canon's evolution. The following decade, MoMA's *Turner* retrospective reframed Turner as a proto abstractionist. Meanwhile, MoMA's *Painting and Sculpture* exhibition (1948), embedded Moore's work into Cold War narratives of freedom and artistic expression, affirming the power of display as a diplomatic tool.

Together, these developments signalled a broader pattern of transatlantic exchange—one in which the V&A played an essential, though often under-acknowledged, role. While American museums reaped significant cultural capital from exhibiting British art, the V&A also advanced its international profile, leveraging exhibitions as instruments of "soft power." The subject expertise and leadership of figures such as Ashton, Read, and Reynolds were critical to this repositioning. Contrary to claims that the V&A's gallery modernisation simply emulated MoMA's white cube, this study has shown the museum actively shaped modern curatorial practice through reciprocal dialogue and strategic lending.

Notably, the V&A's emphasis on "highlights" in postwar displays was not simply a logistical response to limited access to collections, but part of a wider philosophical shift adopted in its permanent galleries, which prioritised select masterpieces for general visitors, supplemented by study collections for specialists.

This article has focused on curatorial intention and institutional collaboration aligned with governmental priorities for promoting British art. It is also important to recognise that the content of postwar exhibitions

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was shaped in part by the availability of objects following wartime dispersal and conservation challenges. Further research might explore how such logistical constraints intersected with curatorial agency during this formative period.

This history also invites reflection on the asymmetries within cultural diplomacy. Britain's role in the Anglo-American partnership was not one of equal influence, and the V&A's participation often reinforced U.S.-led frameworks of cultural authority. Yet these exhibitions also reveal American reliance on the rich curatorial expertise and collections of British institutions. Hence, a more complex dynamic emerges: one of mutual benefit and shared investment in redefining British art for a global stage. The V&A's role reasserted its leadership at a time when national prestige and international influence were increasingly negotiated through museum display.

As museums in the 21st century confront Cold War legacies of colonialism, and globalisation, the V&A's mid-20th century strategies offer a model for transnational collaboration, but also a cautionary note. Institutional autonomy, curatorial agency, and the politics of cultural representation remain contested terrain. Future research may explore how the transatlantic loan exhibition evolved in later decades and whether it would be desirable for museums today to build on—or break from—these precedents to foster more equitable and inclusive forms of global exchange.

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Endnotes:

1 Brennen notes how American museums like the Met also evacuated collections to safe storage during the war.

Brennen 2021, https://www.metmuseum.org/articles/met-collection-world-war-ii.

2 Burk 2007; Reynolds 1995, pp. 7–9; Porciani 2018, pp. 373–397; Knell, MacLeod, Watson 2007; Pearson 2017.

3 Examples include MoMA's *Modern China* (1946)*;* the Art Institute of Chicago's *Porcelain Portraits* (1945-1946); and the Met's *The War's Toll of Italian Art* (1946).

4 Saunders 1999, esp. chap. 2; UNESCO 1945; Rouquié 1959, pp. 20–35; Public Law 565 (80th Congress), 1948.

5 Berrin 2021, Preface. Berrin emphasises the wartime emergence of national arts policy in the United States that leveraged "national diplomacy exhibitions" used to enhance international cultural relations and especially "to resolve America's lagging art status and difficulties with 'the foreign.'"

6 Taylor 1999, pp. 169, 174; Baeza Ruiz 2017; McCann 2023.

7 Wilk 2006 pp. 133-145, 134; Barringer 2006, p. 134.

8 Nye 1990; 2004.

9 Arndt 2005, p. xviii.

10 Douthwaite, Nehring, Alberti., 2024

11 Conforti 2000, pp. 250–263; Dutta 2007, p. 94; McClellan 2008, chaps. 1–2; Curran 2016, pp. 9–11, 22, 52, 174; Conn 1998, chap. 6; Baker, Richardson 1997, pp. 11, 23, 42.

12 Conn 1998.

13 Van Horn 2017

14 Pevsner 2005; Bauhaus Imaginista 2018–2021; William Morris Gallery 2020.

15 Conforti 2000, p. 46; Burton 2015, https://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/summer15/burton-on-first-generation-of-scholars-at-victoria-and-albert-museum.

16 Conlin 2006, pp. 40–41; Eatwell 2000, pp. 21–28; Eatwell 1994, pp. 25–30; Graves 1918, p. V.

17 Haskell 2000, pp. 1-2.

18 Comfort 1870, p. 12; Howe 1913, p. 114; *The Loan Collection*, in "The New York Times," 29 November 1874, p. 10.

19 Gennari Santori 2015; Breck, Rogers 1925, pp. xix-xx.

20 The National Gallery Act 1856; National Gallery (Loan) Act 1883; Treasury Minute, 24 March 1917; Treasury Minute, 6 July 1920; National Gallery (Overseas Loan) Act 1935, pp. 193–194; WORK 54/83, TG 1/1/1; T 162/337/2, 1930–1934.

21 Royal Commission on Museums and Galleries 1930, ZLIB 29/780, TNA.

22 Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries 1929, p. 35.

23 Upchurch 2016; Pollen 2024.

24 ICOM 1950, p. 5.

25 Ashton contributed to *The International Exhibition of Chinese Art* (1935-36), at the Royal Academy, and curated the *Exhibition of Chinese Art* (1936) at the V&A. *Exhibition of Chinese Art…* 1936; Steuber 2006.

26 V&A Archive: "Official Visits Abroad by Keepers of the Museum with Reports on Foreign Museums, Collections, etc: 1921-1933" ED 207 1921-1933 "REPORT ON MUSEUMS IN AMERICA" by A. L. B Ashton 3/11/1923

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27 The National Archives (TNA): Letter to C. G. Sugden, Ministry of Education from W. L. Wilson of the Foreign Office, Feb 6, 1945, FO 371/41001/1. UE 141/141/77. Telegram from the British Embassy in Washington DC. to the Foreign Office.

28 The Massey Commission (1946), chaired by the Canadian diplomat Vincent Massey, recommended the purchasing of artworks for Britain's national art institutions using the Chantrey Bequest. The report advocated a clearer division between national art collections and was instrumental in distinguishing the postwar collection policies of the National Gallery and the Tate Gallery. See also: "Massey Report on Oil Paintings and Watercolours," V&A Archives, ED 84/155; "Correspondence and Papers Relating to the Massey Report," V&A Archives, MA/46/6/8 (1946); Upchurch 2016.

29 V&A Archive: "Victoria and Albert Museum Advisory Council Minutes 1937-1946." 16 May 1945 Advisory Council Minutes No. 69, 1.

30 "Queen Mary Brings Fortune in Art; 240 U.S. Masterpieces Returned" *The New York Times*, September 4, 1946, p. 20.

31 John Rothenstein, *American Painting*, in "The Times," April 19, 1945, p. 5.

32 *Paul Mellon's Legacy*, 2007. American collector and philanthropist, Paul Mellon's sustained commitment to British painting was formalised in the U.S. through the founding of the Yale Center for British Art (1977) and earlier in London's Paul Mellon Centre (1970). Although Mellon's collecting interests were already well established by the mid-1940s, the AIC's *Masterpieces of English Painting* exhibition may be seen as part of a wider cultural moment that affirmed and expanded American appreciation of British art.

33 V&A Archive, MA/1/N402, Letter from Leigh Ashton to the Department of Education, 16 July 1945.

34 Sorensen n.d., https://arthistorians.info/ashtonl. Ashton served as Director of the Neutral Countries Division of the Ministry of Information during the war, and later at the British Embassy in Ankara, Turkey, managing British propaganda to maintain Turkish neutrality.

35 The Met 1945, http://library.metmuseum.org/record=b1044782. Retrieved 3 May 2018.

36 V&A Archives, Advisory Council Subcommittee Memorandum, 2 June 1944; Met: Francis Henry Taylor papers, FHT-14-02_057: 28.

37 FHT-14-02_057: 28. "Committee on architectural rearrangement." The Met's rearrangement was by architects Robert B. O'Connor and Aymar Embury II at a cost of $9 million to newly install and modernise 135 galleries, including newly laying out 30 European decorative art galleries, with sections devoted to English decorative art, completed in 1954.

38 "British Galleries" opened at the Met in the 1980s, followed by the V&A's "British Galleries" in 2001. Heckscher 1995, pp. 34–36; The Met 2020, https://www.metmuseum.org/exhibitions/listings/2020/british-galleries; Elliott 2025, pp. 289–290.

39 V&A Archive: Box 10, Folder 22. 1943-1954. Leigh Ashton to Francis Henry Taylor, 5th December 1944. The National Archives (TNA): Letter to C. G. Sugden, Ministry of Education from W. L. Wilson of the Foreign Office, Feb 6, 1945, FO 371/41001/1. UE 141/141/77. Telegram from the British Embassy in Washington DC. to the Foreign Office.

40 The Met 1945. Exhibits included book bindings, bed hangings, coverlets, table covers, carpets, wall hangings, samplers, costumes, furniture, furnishings, boxes and baskets. They were generally arranged chronologically "so that the visitor will first come upon the work of the Elizabethan period and, proceeding through the exhibition, arrive eventually among the embroideries of the Queen Anne and Georgian eras. Among the American collections were loans from Judge Untermyer and Mrs. Myron Taylor and books came from the Pierpont Morgan Library.

41 Remington 1945, Foreword.

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42 Met 1945.

43 Remington 1945, Foreword.

44 Remington 1945, Foreword.

45 Remington 1945, Foreword.

46 Remington 1945, Foreword. He includes the following V&A publications in the bibliography: Victoria and Albert Museum. A Picture Book of English Embroideries: [Part 1] Elizabethan and Stuart; Part 11, Stuart; Part in, Georgian. London, 1926-1928; *A Picture Book of Flowers in English Embroidery.* London, 1932. See also: Nevinson 1938.

47 The West Wing redevelopment by architects Robert B. O'Connor and Aymar Embury II reorganised the entire collection of European painting from the 13th to the 20th centuries. See: Heckscher 1995, pp. 34–36; The Met 2020, https://www.metmuseum.org/exhibitions/listings/2020/british-galleries; Elliott 2025, pp. 289–290.

48 Wilk, Humphrey 2004, pp. 1–17; Benton 1997, p. 317.

49 The Met's 2020 British Galleries redevelopment was a $22 million project that also strengthened 19th-century painting and sculpture, where the museum's collections had historically been considered weaker than the decorative arts. For the V&A's British Galleries development see: Wilk, Humphrey 2004; Burchard 2020.

50 Gibbs Smith C. H., *Revolution at the V. and A.*, in "The Sphere," 14 February 1953, p. 230. See also: Burton 1999, pp. 196-197.

51 Other loans came from the Royal Collections, the Royal Academy; Col. T. Sheepshanks, Arthington Hall, Leeds and the South London Art Gallery, Camberwell. See: Batchelor: https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artists/william-hogarth-265/essay/exhibitions-displays. Retrieved 2 September 2022

52 Colvill 2004, p. 321, see also: Dutton, 2004, p. 88

53 Batchelor: https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artists/william-hogarth-265/essay/exhibitions-displays Retrieved 2nd September 2022.

54 Press Releases from 1947 | The Art Institute of Chicago. Retrieved 14 January 2024.

55 Batchelor: https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artists/william-hogarth-265/essay/exhibitions-displays Retrieved 2nd September 2022.

56 Knight 2006. The Gouzenko Affair (1945-1946) involved the defection of a clerk, Igor Gouzenko, from the Soviet Embassy in Ottowa to Canada with evidence of Soviet spying in the West, leading to Canada taking an anti-soviet stance in foreign policy.

57 Rich 1946, p. 8, https://www.artic.edu/assets/9dfa9662-880c-280b-d279-5ddbbfc96ed0, retrieved 7 May 2019.

58 Rich 1946, p. 9.

59 Rich 1946, p. 9.

60 Finlay 1994, pp. 43–59.

61 Rich 1946: 9

62 *Queen Mary Brings Fortune in Art*, in "The New York Times", September 4th, 1946, p.20

63 Reynolds joined the V&A in 1937 becoming Keeper of the department of Prints and Drawings and of Paintings. Kauffmann 2014, pp. 405–414. Retrieved 14 May 2021, https://www.thebritishacademy.ac.uk/documents/1495/18_Reynolds_1808.pdf.

64 V&A Press View, 31 Jan 1946, MA/49/1/59, p. 187.

65 V&A Press View, 31 Jan 1946, MA/49/1/59, p. 187.

66 Gardner 1965, p. 12

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67 Knox, "The New York Times," 9 January 1954.

68 FHT-14-02_057: 59.

69 "The New York Times," 8 January 1954, p. 19.

70 "The Sphere," 23 November 1957, p. 290. The paintings galleries were installed in the V&A's North Court in 1957.

71 V&A Archives, Memo to the Director, 8 Feb 1940, MA/1/BB819/3; Correia 2015.

72 *Cavalcade:* 213, V&A Press Cuttings, MA/ 49/1/59.

73 Ashton 1946, pp. 3-4.

74 MoMA Archives, Curt Valentin Papers, 1908–1956.

75 V&A Archive: Miller to Ashton, 12 August 1946, MA/1/N406

76 Roob 1987; Rose 2015.

77 Martin 2015, Sweeney, 1946, p. 6

78 Taylor 1968, p. 462; Gale 1994. Herbert Read joined the V&A in 1922 as Assistant Curator of the Ceramics Department. Ian Gale, an art critic, notes that 1929 was "Read's annus mirablis" when he became Personal Assistant to Maclagan, providing him with an opportunity to publish in *The Listener* magazine and other publications. Gale describes how Maclagan introduced Read to prominent artists such as Moore, who introduced Read to other prominent modern artists like Ben Nicholson, Barbara Hepworth, and émigrés from occupied Europe, Walter Gropius, Piet Mondrian, and Moholy-Nagy.

79 *Recognition of British Art Abroad, an Achievement of the last 10 years*, Sir Philip Hendy, "The Times," 25 April 1956.

80 An observation that overlooked Moore's left-wing politics. Rose 2011, p. 32

81 Four of Moore's sculptures were included in MoMA's 1948 exhibition titled, *Painting and Sculpture in the Museum of Modern Art*.

82 Rose 2015.

83 Moore's sculptures included *Family Group* (1949-1950), Wichita Art Museum, Kansas; *Three Standing Figures* (1953) Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas; and *Draped Reclining Figure* (1952-1953) Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Washington D.C.

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